Qualitative Sociology Review

International Perspectives
on the Future of Qualitative Research in Europe

by

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Qualitative Sociology Review

Volume VIII
Issue 2

International Perspectives on the Future of Qualitative Research in Europe

Editors of special issue:

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International Perspectives on the Future of Qualitative Research in Europe

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Over the past decades, Qualitative Research has repositioned itself within the discipline of sociology. Today, a large variety of Qualitative Methods is used in a broad range of research areas. There is no doubt that they have succeeded in overcoming their marginalization, and it can even be claimed that Qualitative Research has attained a somehow privileged position. Presently, we can witness a growing number of scientific contributions to a large variety of fields and specialties based in Qualitative Research; there are numerous sessions, workshops and conferences each year, not only in Europe but globally, and scientific associations and research networks dedicated to Qualitative Research are quickly growing. Moreover, the emergence of several high-impacts journals and the institutional expansion of chairs, readers, and other permanent university positions with this specification evidently reflect that Qualitative Research has, indeed, become established.

However, its growth and success deliver not only new opportunities, but also new challenges. As is well known, the impact of Qualitative Methods varies from discipline to discipline and we still observe manifest local and national differences. Achievements are not evenly distributed and we are faced with an excitingly complex and varied landscape if one tries to figure out the current state of Qualitative Research in Europe. To discuss the current state of Qualitative Research in Europe and its perspective for the immediate future was precisely the purpose of the midterm conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) Research Network Qualitative Methods which took place in Bayreuth, Germany, in September 2010. Consequently, the conference focused on vital problems related to the future of Qualitative Methods in European sociology, as well as in neighboring disciplines. The papers presented and the discussions dealt with questions concerning methodological innovations and the contributions of Qualitative Methods to substantive areas of research, as well as to sociological theory. The overall goal was to develop further and promote Qualitative Methods within an emerging European research realm while fostering exchange with researchers and scholarly networks in other world regions.

Organized by the Chair of Sociology of Culture and Religion of the University of Bayreuth (*Bernt Schnettler*), the event had a remarkably international attendance. For two days, intense discussions were held between more than 90 scholars and researchers from Germany and many other European countries, as well as from the USA, Latin America and Africa. Within this framework, numerous contributions to Qualitative Methods were presented from within a broad spectrum of research areas, including religion, new technologies, migration, ethnography, research on Africa, grounded theory, discourse analysis, urban sociology and community studies, as well as social memory studies.[1]

In this special issue, we publish selected papers based on presentations given at the conference.

[1] A detailed report about the sessions and the whole conference activities, including a short video documentation, can be accessed at: http://www.soz.uni-bayreuth.de/de/conferences/ESAmidterm2010/Report/index.html.

In addition, we include a documentation of the inaugural addresses delivered by Krzysztof Konecki and Bernt Schnettler, along with the comprehensive transcription of the two plenary sessions on "The Future of Qualitative Research in Europe" dedicated to discussions concerning the conference's leading question.

It was in these two plenary sessions where a number of renowned international scholars from several European countries – each of them an outstanding specialist in Qualitative Methods – discussed with colleagues from the U.S., Africa and Latin America about the forthcoming challenges and risks for Qualitative Research in Europe.[2] Qualitative Research in Europe operates in an increasingly interconnected research space. The density of cooperation between researchers from various countries and across disciplines has significantly developed over the past years. Participants in the plenary session discussed how Qualitative Methods can be strengthened in Europe without stepping into the trap of standardization and mainstreaming. They also debated about the social relevance of this kind of research and how it may contribute to solutions for social problems. And they asked in what way we can work against the marginalization of non-mainstream Qualitative

[2] The first plenary was moderated by ESA Research Network Qualitative Methods (RN 20) president *Krzysztof Konecki* and included *César Cisneros* (Mexico City), *Thomas Eberle* (St. Gall), *Hubert Knoblauch* (Berlin), *Elísio Macamo* (Basle), *David Silverman* (London), and *Miguel Valles* (Madrid) as speakers. The second, chaired by *Bernt Schnettler*, comprised scholars including *Jan Coetzee* (Rhodes University, South Africa), *Giampietro Gobo* (Milan, Italy), *Krzysztof Konecki* (Lodz, Poland), *Anne Ryen* (Agder, Norway), *Jörg Strübing* (Tubingen, Germany) and *Ruth Wodak* (Lancaster, UK and Vienna, Austria).

Traditions – e.g., from Spain and Latin America – in an Anglo-centric academic world. The speakers held diverse opinions about the role of theoretical fundaments and the relevance of an appropriate methodological basis for Qualitative Research. However, they unanimously and strongly supported the claim for autonomy of Qualitative Methods and the need to enhance our efforts of making the results of Qualitative Research better known to the wider society, as well as to our colleagues in sociological theory. The discussants also encouraged the RN to increase its intents of including scholars from Eastern European countries who are still underrepresented. They also commented on the possibility of involving sociology's neighbor disciplines in order not only to strengthen interdisciplinary research, but also to develop further methodological innovations and the interdisciplinarity of Qualitative Methods.

The fact that the conference had to cope with the absence of two plenary speakers opened the space for an experiment: *Katja Mruck* (Berlin) and *Günter Mey* (Stendal) delivered their statements via video message, introducing their online journal project called *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (FQS). This experiment vividly demonstrated the new opportunities of mediated forms of communication and multi-site-collaboration, the advantages of computer supported distributed research and the leading role that audio-visual analysis plays in this respect. However, the limitations of this mediated participation was well-expressed by the lack of sharing the co-presence live experiences typical for meetings and con-

ferences with our two absent colleagues. This is only partly cured by the fortunate fact that one can repeatedly access Mruck's and Mey's video presentation online (for the link, see p. 202 [Documentation of the 2010 Midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association Research Network 20 Qualitative Methods "Innovating Qualitative Research: Challenges and Opportunities. New Directions in Religion, Technology, Migration and Beyond" – in this issue of *Qualitative Sociology Review*]).

Contributions to this Special Issue

The papers, debates and discussions at the midterm conference were framed by the challenges and opportunities for Qualitative Research, finding itself at the crossroad of an on-going development in which it has been established successfully and is now facing an evolving institutionalization. One must assume that in the future Qualitative Methods will have to struggle to preserve their methodological openness and flexibility. In this sense, innovation is, and surely will be, an integral part of the majority of all Qualitative Methods. The recently flourishing book market on Qualitative Research vividly demonstrates the unstoppable appearance of new approaches, procedures and techniques that broaden the scope day-by-day. At this critical moment of becoming part of a disciplinary mainstream, innovation is a special imperative. Innovation is necessarily tied to critical reassessment and reflection of the current state and should include seminal examples that take up the future challenges. Accordingly, the task of the two plenary sessions was to evaluate the

current state in order to open the horizons. There are few documents which strive to collect the plurality of perspectives, experiences and voices on Qualitative Research in its richness as carried out throughout Europe and on other continents. Trying to summarize the faceted discussion would be futile and reductive. Instead, we decided to include the entire documentation here (see p. 164).

Another important, critical reflection was done by *David Silverman* during the conference. In his programmatic keynote-speech, Silverman argued strongly against the shortcomings of an atrophy version of Qualitative Research in which verbal statements, collected in interviews, are taken as "mirror" to the subject's motivations. This frequent error is partly an outcome of a poor understanding and deficient methodological training, which underestimates the role of observable behavior and "naturally" given data. Thus, Silverman advocated improved methods of data-collection and analysis in order to achieve better results. A book based on this is forthcoming (Silverman forthcoming).

Seminal examples of innovative approaches in Qualitative Research are included in this special issue. They have been selected according to their potential for opening up new perspectives. Certainly, this issue can not cover all areas in which stimulating new developments in Qualitative Research are going on. Furthermore, the compilation is probably biased by the editor's subjective preferences; all possible flaws should be attributed to that fact. The selection has also three marked emphases: on ethnography, on

discourse, and on visual and audio-visual analysis, thereby highlighting some of the outstanding current trends in the field.

Ethnography can still be considered the baseline and "mother" of all Qualitative Methods because of its special dedication to fieldwork and natural data. The article by *David Wästerfors*, who studies social ties in a residential care institution for juvenile delinquents, *Regine Herbrik's* work on emotional styles in several Christian churches and *Bernd Rebsteins's* analysis of communication on social events in the migration milieu, are grounded in extensive ethnographic fieldwork. Also, the analysis of *Katharina Inhetveen*, who writes on the problems of translation and their methodological implications for conducting Qualitative Research in multi-lingual settings, would have been impossible without her fieldwork in African refugee camps. The same holds for *René Tuma's* methodological paper on the improvements for interpretive social research from particular everyday life and professional practices, which rely on data taken from "naturally occurring data sessions."

The analysis of discourse – in all its varieties and applications – is, without doubt, one of the leading trends in interpretive social research, with a decisive impact in sociology, history, linguistics and a number of cognate disciplines. *Reiner Keller* argues for a new programmatic approach that combines Berger's and Luckmann's sociology of social construction with the perspective of Foucault, proposing what he labels as "sociology of knowledge approach to discourse" (SKAD). His inclusive proposal is deeply committed to

Qualitative and Interpretive research traditions in sociology and it shows special potential for bridging the still existing gap between Germanic, Francophone and Anglo-Saxon approaches. Two articles are located at the intersection of discourse and visual analysis. *Jan Krasni*, dealing with data extracts from media coverage on bonus payments to top bank managers, combines two methods of media discourse analysis in order to achieve new insights into power relations inherent in texts and into the manner in which collective memory is constituted. In her article, *Antonia Schmid* also takes up the challenge of analyzing visual data, given the fact that pictures and images play a central role in contemporary society by mediating meaning in a seemingly universal environment.

Finally, audio-visual data analysis lies at the core of *Herbrig's* contribution, who demonstrates how the emotionalization of religion depends on the practices of visualization as presented in the media and on site in several congregations and churches. Her results are part of a multi-method research design, including video-analysis, interviews and participant observation. *Rebstein* emphasizes the role of contextual information collected in focused ethnographic fieldwork for the interpretation and analysis of videographic data sequences, demonstrating how fieldwork and data analysis go hand-in-hand and methodically depend on each other. Finally, *Tuma* is specially focusing on the further development of video analysis. He concentrates on a widely neglected topic, namely the "natural practice" of analyzing video data, in order to gain insight into the ways in which non-scientific members

deal with video. His article is an impressive exercise in reflexive methodology. By revising the sense-making practices in several contexts of "video in use," he demonstrates how to extract methodological insight from a close look into these practices.

Given its rapid development, richness and diversity, summing up the current state and future prospects for Qualitative Research has become an impossible task. Our purpose is far from drawing comprehensive pictures. The snapshots presented in this issue, however, may serve to engender new debates that continue the on-going duty of innovating and improving our research approaches in Qualitative Methods.

Acknowledgments

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Analyzing Social Ties in Total Institutions

Abstract   A common view is that an individual delinquent can be rehabilitated in a "home" in the countryside, away from his or her original urban social ties. An ironic result is new social ties with other juvenile delinquents as they spend a considerable amount of time together at a secluded institution. Drawing on ethnographic studies in residential care institutions, this article discusses two aspects to consider when analyzing social ties in such settings: the institutional prerequisites for and the everyday achievement of isolation and intimacy.

Keywords   Isolation; Intimacy; Social Ties; Residential Youth Care; Total Institutions

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There are at least two reasons to study social ties in residential youth care. First, there is an irony in placing "troublesome" youth in residential care for rehabilitation, providing excellent conditions for socialization with other youngsters having the same or similar problems. Studies in social work are concerned about "peer influence" (Andreassen 2003:137-142; Dodge, Dishion and Lansford 2006) – that is to say, processes through which fellow inmates transform each other in morally unwanted ways – and research reviews conclude by suggesting shorter and more well-organized visits at institutions (Andreassen 2003:137-142; Dodge et al. 2006). The debate may seem new, but it is in fact quite traditional. As Foucault (1998) shows, criticism of the prison or prison-like institution for reinforcing the problem it was supposed to solve is as old as the prison itself. In the more specific case of youth care, Polsky (1962) has reported the existence and risks of a "deviant subculture" and its pecking orders among troublesome boys. Bondeson (1974) has shown that criminal attitudes are strengthened during imprisonment, and Levin (1998) found a local youth culture within an institution that obstructed treatment. Still, there seem to be few alternatives to contemporary society's general and intense use of incarceration as a response to crime (Christie 2004; Wacquant 2009). Social ties offer a more analytical and less normative way to conceptualize both what residential treatment tries to achieve – cutting off troublesome youth from previous contacts and memberships – and what its critics fear might be its consequence: getting them even more deeply involved in "wrong" social circles or differential associations (Sutherland and Cressey 1970).

Second, studies of social ties in residential youth care may help us conceptualize complex layers of durable interaction patterns in and around total institutions in general, as well as actors' various uses of them. For followers of Erving Goffman's (1990a) classic study, it comes as no surprise that institutions for troublesome youth have much in common with other institutions in which inmates spend long stretches of time in close company with each other and with staff, as at "homes" for the elderly, for example. In Gubrium's (1997) ethnographic study of an American nursing home, *Living and Dying at Murray Manor,* the elderly displayed agony over the broken social ties created by their institutionalization, but they also found ways to maintain some of those ties, as well as to establish new ones. The importance of telephone calls to friends and relatives "outside" and the many and careful preparations for excursions "back home" that Gubrium reports are recurrent in youth care as well, as are inmates' ways of forming cliques, supporting relationships, and creating friendships within the institution. Studies of social ties in residential youth care will be fruitful for elaborating transferable sociological perspectives on life in total institutions, especially regarding how inmates, as competent and reflexive agents (Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984), deal with the total institution's characteristic combination of isolation and intimacy.

Method

This article is based on an interactionist perspective on ethnographic data gathered during a three-year study of interpersonal conflicts in a Swedish youth care institution (Wästerfors 2009a; 2009b; 2011), as well as similar data from an ongoing study of school work in a set of institutions within the same national network. Public youth care in Sweden consists of around 30 so-called "special, approved homes," spread out in the country and harboring youth "with grave psycho-social problems" and cared for under the Care of Young Persons Act (in Swedish *LVU*). It also provides

treatment for youth who have committed serious crimes, sentenced to "secure institutional treatment" within these special, approved homes instead of prison. As this study primarily draws on instances and tendencies that are relevant for the study of social ties, I do not go into detail on my fieldwork more generally (for those details, see Wästerfors 2009a; 2011), but I will nonetheless explain some of the methodological circumstances that made me pay attention to and document social ties in order to start analyzing them, although later on and without planning to do so.

One such circumstance was my recurrent visits at Silverbäcken, the first institution studied (Wästerfors 2009a; 2011), and its "tight" and still somewhat remote atmosphere among the youth (called "pupils"). To reach Silverbäcken I had to go by car from a sizeable urban area and into the countryside, and even there the institution was cut off from its surroundings by its distance from farms and houses. But, I soon learned that I could spot and greet some of the pupils in central neighborhoods in the urban area I just left, when they had their home visits over weekends or vacations. Even though my fieldwork took place in a rural "there," in what seemed to be a social enclave for rehabilitation, field members were situated in urban areas as well, my private "here." At the time, my fieldwork was single-sited, but its members' lives were not.

Further, as I followed days at Silverbäcken, participated in lessons, meals, breaks, activities, excursions, talks, and whatever happened (Wästerfors 2011), I quickly found that I had almost no "backstage region" (Goffman 1990b) in relation to the pupils' intense company. I spent my time in sofas

and chairs in the combined living and conference room, at the tables in the dining room or at the entrance to the kitchen where the kitchen maid supplied me with the day's gossip, in the yard or garden, in the school building and its small hall and study rooms, et cetera. Apart from a week or two when I was reading electronic casebooks and so used a small office in the staff wing of the main building, the toilets were the only rooms where I could be alone and, if necessary, write some potentially controversial notes. Otherwise, I took notes openly; sometimes the pupils commented jokingly, sometimes they stole or "borrowed" my notebooks and put notes in them (e.g., "A. IS VERY SMART"). I was in the company of pupils, staff, or both all the time. These experiences intensified when my fieldwork continued some years later in a still ongoing project on schoolwork within this network of public youth care institutions, thereby visiting more institutions. When I am in contact with pupils, I have no escape from intense interaction, and when I go to teachers or other staff members, interaction with them is unavoidable. When I go to and from the institutions by car or train, however, it feels like a commute to a remote and isolated place.

For the purpose of generating ethnographic data, these circumstances can be terrific for ethnography as getting into and sustaining relationships, "to grasp the active «doing» of social life" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:14). What I want to point out here is how they made me attend to the settings as conditions for intense sociality and isolation. With the help of analogies to Gubrium's (1997) study of a nursing home, I started to distinguish this quite diffuse or blunt pair of phe-

nomena (intimacy-and-isolation) in terms of social ties. I started to note the discrepancy between "getting out" of cities and into quiet and pastoral landscapes, where most of these institutions are placed, and "getting into" inescapable interaction with staff and pupils during a whole day. Writing new ethnographic field notes and re-reading and re-analyzing my previously written ones (Åkerström, Jacobsson and Wästerfors 2004), I tried to get a sense of how field members act under such conditions and – in an ethnomethodological sense (Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984) – simultaneously accomplish them.

I attained more material as I came to spend some nights in a youth care institution situated in a region where it was hard to find another place to sleep. First, I borrowed a small cottage just outside the rurally situated and fenced institution, intended for visiting relatives, and then I used a small room for staff working over night. Although I enjoyed the bustling company with pupils and staff during the day, I felt terribly alone at night. One evening, I went out to run in the forests, another evening I joined the pupils' snacking and watching TV in the ward upstairs (even though I was supposed to be "free"); both activities definitely softened my slightly depressing feelings of being disconnected (see Conrad [1997] for interpretations on boredom in terms of disconnection). Methodologically this sensitized my research to conditions of isolation and intimacy, to develop a certain perspective "in conjunction with those in the setting" (Emerson et al. 1995:3). Later on I also used photos, some of which will be shown in this article, since I found it difficult to communicate the aura in and around these "homes" merely with words.

"Cutting off" and "Getting together": Conditions for Social Ties

Gubrium's (1997) findings on social ties in and around an American nursing home in the 1970s have parallels in my data from Swedish youth care institutions forty years later. Gubrium reported on the elderly who missed people, things, and places; they could speak about the institution as their final home, complain about the institutional and not home-like environment, argue that they "deserve better than this," and convey a feeling of injustice at having to live in a nursing home. Against this background, it was important for the elderly to sustain those social ties that remained. To visit relatives and friends was a significant act that never took place without announcements and careful preparations. Recurrent visitors to the nursing home similarly contributed to sustaining ties to the outside world. To have a daughter as a regular visitor was very prestigious, for instance, and telephone calls were essential and worth fighting for; a cancelled call could cause intense, upset feelings among the elderly.

In my data, these tendencies look almost the same: pupils display nostalgia about their homes, cherish visitors from the outside, carefully prepare and announce their home visits, and display feelings of injustice and hostility towards the institution and its staff for cutting their original and identificatory ties. A difference is, of course, that society generally pities the elderly, but not necessarily troublesome youth. Indeed, cutting young people's presumably unhealthy connections with friends and relatives back home belongs to established rehabilitative strategies aimed at

re-enforcing bonds with conventional society (Platt 1977). Since the beginning of the so-called "child-saving movement," male and lower class adolescents have continuously been relocated from their homes and families to special facilities in the countryside with the intention of saving them from "urban corruption" (Platt 1977:65). The contrast, an imagined "rural purity" is not only thought to provide excellent conditions for rigorous rehabilitative work, but also to transform the youth. The ideology is probably comparable to how rural resorts are celebrated for their curative functions (Friberg 2006). The fact that urban areas from the very beginning of Western youth care systems were associated with social problems and criminality, "the city symbolically embodied all the worst features of modern industrial life" (Platt 1977:40), made replacements logical. Urban areas were seen as the main breeding ground of criminals whereas the country life was thought to be healthier for mind and body.

The Swedish system of special approved homes is no exception in this respect; these homes are surrounded by a distinct country feeling and at a distance to urban areas. One may talk about a lingering "urban disenchantment" (Platt 1977:36) and a corresponding rural enchantment. The institutions often constitute small systems of cottages (where each cottage is a ward) and staff is recruited locally. The names of wards or cottages often connote "countryside" in one way or another (for instance, they may end with Swedish -gård which means yard or farm), and often village names from the surroundings are picked up and used in order to name specific wards or sections. The institutions "celebrate" outdoor activities and garden work; sometimes they even have animals for pupils to care for, signaling a lifestyle "closer to nature," than what many pupils are used to from their neighborhoods in inner city areas and suburbs.

Figure 1. Figure 2. Youth care institutions typically communicate a country feeling, as their systems of cottages are embedded in a "green context." *Source: self-elaborated photographs.*

The youth care institutions are in this way typically embedded in a green context, far from "the hoods" or *betongen* in Swedish (literally "the concrete"), which is the expression that the pupils (and sometimes the staff as well) use to refer to their immigrant-dominated city neighborhoods back home. Ironically, though, the physical distance is not always as great as the symbolic demarcations may imply. As cities grow and as middle class suburbs expand, many of these homes that originally were placed far away are now quite close to villas, roads, schools, gas stations, and shopping malls. Nowadays the rural feeling can be a bit limited, confined to the immediate surroundings.

Figure 3. Not until one gets a little closer are the fences and locked doors and windows distinguishable. *Source: self-elaborated photograph.*

Inside these buildings, one finds what might be called thick interaction regions or settings for intense sociality. School buildings often have small rooms or "work stations" (typically a desk with a computer) large enough for just one or two pupils and a teacher; gyms may even lack windows if they belong to the "secure" wards.

Narrow corridors and living rooms stripped of personal belongings, paintings, and books emphasize the tight atmosphere, as do the small distances between pupils' individual rooms and living rooms and the kitchen on the one hand, and toilets, bath rooms, and laundry rooms on the other. The compulsory leather

sofa in front of the TV, where pupils and staff are gathering several times a day, also provides conditions for intense interaction. I have a lot of field notes on disputes taking place here (Wästerfors 2009a; 2011), but also on discussions: the jokes, jargons, and commentaries about what is on the TV screen, about staff members coming and going, and so on. I also have notes on situational and institutional responses to disputes or, to borrow Emerson's and Messinger's (1977) terms, the micro-politics of trouble being played out in and around these disputes, as well as notes on physical contacts between pupils and between pupils and staff, and how they are made accountable. In play fights, for instance, it is accountable to touch each other, as opposed to in many other situations where touching can be interpreted as a provocation. Intense interaction is also generated by tight time schedules; school days are filled with short lessons and short breaks, and there are similar schedules for treatment

sessions, leisure time, outdoor activities, and excursions. Inside the buildings there are a lot of sites for intense sociality.

Figure 4. A study room in which small groups of pupils have lessons together with a teacher.
Source: self-elaborated photograph.

Figure 5. A sports hall without windows since it belongs to a closed secure ward.
Source: self-elaborated photograph.

At Silverbäcken, unscheduled time was typically filled with unwanted activities from the staff's perspective (Wästerfors 2011). During breaks, or after or during cleaning, pupils could run back and forth in the small corridor outside their rooms, play wrestling with each other or just yelling and irritating staff (Wästerfors 2009a:69). Their internal social ties (e.g., clique formations) were on display in these occasions, for example, when it came to who is to be mocked and how:

> [i]t's Wednesday and I stand and talk with Sixten [staff member] about Wednesdays being noisy. "The corridor here is narrow," Sixten says, "everybody runs back and forth when they are supposed to clean" [every Wednesday]. "They have nothing else to do," he says. And this day turns out to be one of those noisy ones: Ron, John, and Magnus [pupils] start fighting, but mostly for fun, it seems. At one occasion, John lifts Magnus and carries him away or almost throws him towards a wastepaper basket in a corner. "No, no, not the basket!" Magnus cries. He does not end up in the basket, John just holds him over it as a joke. Lottie [staff member] is passing and says: "Do you usually do this?" [extract from field notes]

Whereas Magnus' response: "No, no, not the basket!" indicates that this had happened before (and it had), Lottie's question: "Do you usually do this?" indicates surprise and lack of knowledge. Pupils at Silverbäcken used the time during breaks and between activities to try out their strengths against each other and

simultaneously try out their social ties: "Can I trust this guy?," "Does he stop playing with me when I ask him to?" – but staff did not always show interest in or awareness of their internal businesses. The fact that social ties were integrated in the quarrel dynamics was shown during the weekly meetings, when pupils complained about others not interrupting play fights despite being explicitly asked to.

Although pupils often find noisy interaction fun or at least captivating, staff are typically very much concerned with securing calm and silence. Staff give so-called hyperactive or stressed pupils tasks or practices that are supposed to pacify them, for instance, cleaning an empty room, away from other pupils, or taking a short break outdoors accompanied by staff only, finishing parts of a puzzle, et cetera. Sometimes staff also offer pacifying objects. Below are some photos of what might be called equipment for stressed individuals: a "stress ball" and other things to make one more relaxed (e.g., toys to practice balance and ball sense). This equipment is given to pupils who are supposed to concentrate on their schoolwork, and avoid being distracted by other pupils' talk, noises, gestures, or mere presence. These relaxing objects are kept in the teacher's office in one of the institution's school buildings and offered to pupils that staff deems to be distressed, worried, restless, and too extroverted in order to make them more loyal to the ongoing concern at issue.

Figure 6. Figure 7. A stress ball, here shown by a teacher, that pupils use in order to calm down and concentrate on schoolwork. *Source: self-elaborated photographs.*

Figure 8. More equipment to make pupils calm and concentrated: toys to practice balance and ball sense. *Source: self-elaborated photograph.*

Conditions for isolation are intricately combined with conditions for intimacy. Thick interaction regions and a tight and often edgy atmosphere unite a rural and relatively distanced institution, surrounded by symbolic demarcations. Pupils' nostalgic talk about their home neighborhoods and careful planning of their up-coming home visits (I will soon come back to that), their articulations of injustice, and hostility towards any-

thing from regulation of cigarette smoking and telephone calls to cleaning and safety routines, are acts that take place in a continuous stream of interaction between institutional members, temporarily cut off from the rest of society. Although prison-like in many respects, youth care institutions are not, as Foucault (1998) presumed regarding prisons, only individualizing and isolating people, rather, they combine temporary replacements with what Sykes (1958) calls "a society of captives" within these institutions, that is to say local communities with intense and occasionally stressful sociality. In the next section, I discuss how to identify more precise methodological entries into this duality and how it is accomplished in everyday life.

Making Social Ties Accountable

To analyze social ties in total institutions we need to examine not only the institutional prerequisites for the production of isolation and intimacy, but also occasions when this production takes place. The exchange below is quoted

from my field notes from the pupil Tim's lesson in a school building within a youth care institution. Tim has just moved from one computer screen to another in order to check some newspapers on the Internet, supervised by the teacher who has given him this task. Then Filip pops by, asking about the laundry:

> – Tim, what should I do with your laundry? Filip [a pupil] has just knocked on the door to a schoolroom, opened it, and addressed Tim [another pupil], who sits in front of a computer with his schoolwork.
> – Well, put it in the tumble-drier, but don't start it.
> – OK.
> Tim quickly closes the door. [extract from field notes]

This is an apparently banal episode between one boy sentenced for a narcotics crime and another boy sentenced for murder. At first sight we may say that nothing particular is going on, but after a closer look the episode need not to be viewed as banal.

First, it gives a picture of a "home" in which otherwise separate activities and functions (school work and laundry) are intertwined and connected quickly and in a seemingly self-evident manner, again far from Foucault's (1998) prison in which every individual has a specific place and every place a specific function. Neither the pupils nor the teacher seemed disturbed or amazed over this exchange, despite the fact that it briefly meshes schoolwork with laundry. When Filip is doing his schoolwork he is also supposed to be able to answer questions about his laundry, and when Tim is doing laundry he is perfectly able

to pop by Filip's lesson to ask him about it. Second, the episode also manifests a specific social tie between Tim and Filip, comparable to what Gubrium (1997) calls supporters, which also is evident in other instances of my data. As in this example, Tim and Filip sometimes collaborated around everyday tasks, and could count on each other in that sense (even though they did not know each other on the outside). They were doing this in a discreet and apparently "natural" manner that I recognized from other pupils' equally supportive relations in other wards and institutions.

A way to explain the everyday creation of social ties in this setting can be found in the interconnection between these two points. If Tim's and Filip's social tie is seen as not only a background to the current sequence of events or as a social fact "already-there-only-to-be-displayed," but rather as a social tie done and managed here and now in a "seen, but unnoticed" (Heritage 1984:181) fashion, we may say that Tim and Filip make their tie into a "feature of ordinary social interactions and institutional workings" (Heritage 1984:181). They do so by employing institutional circumstances: the laundry, the schoolwork, the fact that they occur simultaneously, and the fact that Tim's laundry must be moved in order to make space for Filip's. These circumstances make their supporting cooperation accountable – visible and reportable, concrete and rational – in the eyes of others as well as themselves.

In this setting, there is nothing strange about Tim answering Filip about laundry during

a lesson, and similarly nothing strange about Filip interrupting Tim and his lesson with questions about laundry. What is important to keep in mind, though, is that this "natural-ness" is not simply there, but accomplished by competent actors who draw on and reproduce their setting's features in terms of a convention-ally unnoticed web of everyday accountability (Heritage 1984). Filip does not introduce or ex-plicitly frame his question in any particular way; he just opens a door and says, "Tim, what should I do with your laundry?" as if this act would be perfectly normal. The very self-evi-dent way through which this is done, together with the very setting in which it is done, also makes it so.

Because everyday life in youth care institu-tions is filled with practical errands and tasks intertwined, there are plenty of opportunities for pupils to create ties in similarly accountable ways. In the above excerpt, Tim and Filip do not simply manifest their social tie, they "do" and "rehearse" this tie by employing youth care cir-cumstances to make it accountable. Conversely, the very "intertwinedness" and intensiveness of institutional life are accomplished through the everyday production and management of social ties.

Interestingly, the institutions' provision of iso-lation or disconnection can be used and accom-plished in similar ways. Consider the follow-ing field note, taken during a break and "snack time" between lessons in another youth care institution.

Clemens [a teacher] talks with the boys about "why you're here;" "you're forced to be here, that's how it is," he says, but it is "important to do something with your time." This is referring to a previous fight between a teacher and the boys before the break, presumably intended to motivate them to study instead of fight. Mi-chael and Rick [pupils] complain: "You weren't growing up in the «hoods» [betongen]," Michael says. "No, exactly," Rick says, and goes on: "You don't know what it is about" and looks down at the table. "Even if you behave, «soc» [the social service bureaucrats] is all over you." Then he tells us about how he once got a thou-sand Swedish crowns [about 100 Euros] from his sister and then got checked by the police in the street and became suspected for things, just because he was carrying this money around.

"If you had a thousand crowns [carried around] they wouldn't have been checking you!" he says to Clemens. Rick says that "Aina is getting at you" – "aina" is [originally Turkish] slang for the police, used in immigrant-dominated suburbs. Michael responds that "«Soc» never has time for you, man" [to help], and Rick says, "«Soc» just gives you another three months [at a special approved home]."

Clemens is listening to all this and then says a phrase I've heard before: "We cannot under-stand how it is [in the «hoods»], but we can try to understand." He praises Rick for being so in-terested in schoolwork after all [as he proved to be before, too], that he asks for new things to do in school, and so on. Then he wants to end the break: "Now it's half-past [ten], we have to get going." [It's actually a little later than that.] Cle-mens finishes the break and says to Michael: "You're having religion now, right?" Everybody returns to rooms and workstations. [extracts from field notes]

Again, it would be easy to suggest that the social gap between staff and pupils displayed in this instance (the pupils coming from the "hoods" [betongen], the staff that openly says they cannot understand the fact that pupils are "forced to be here," et cetera) is merely "out there," as a solid and objective background for Clemens and the pupils to respond and adapt to. But, if we turn our interest to how this distance or disconnec-tion is invoked and drawn upon in interaction, we may – to borrow Heritage's (1984:196) words – start to gain some insight into what "objectiv-ity and facticity consists of," that is to say, how distance and disconnection are made into and managed as unquestionable matters of fact in distinct situations. It is true that staff is locally recruited, and since the institution is situated in an idyllic landscape far from the "hoods" where the pupils are recruited, staff and pupils make up two disparate social categories with different styles, dialects, and backgrounds. It is equally true that the pupils are sentenced or in other ways forced to spend time within the institu-tion whereas staff members are free to leave at any time. However, it is not predetermined that circumstances like these must have significance for all daily interactions between institutional actors, or how they may gain such significance. Therefore, we need to start analyzing how ac-tors invoke and thereby reproduce them in mundane processes.

In the example above, the pupils' rejoinders "you weren't growing up in the «hoods»" and "you don't know what it is about" point out a social cleavage between pupils ("we") and staff ("you"). The staff member's utterance "we

cannot understand how it is…" confirms this cleavage whereas the continuation, "…but we can try to understand" tries to bridge it. This local and recurrent staff phrase thereby unites isolation with intimacy: despite the fact that pu-pils are detached from their "hoods" and that staff cannot understand their original context and background, staff use "but we can try to understand" as a motivating mantra to reach the pupils. Clemens's reminders of schoolwork and his praise of Rick's interest in school serve as a motivation for "back to business" (invoking a local going concern, cf. Wästerfors 2011) and as a soft rebuff of the pupils' attitude.

Rick's and Michael's stories about "soc" (the so-cial service bureaucrats) and "aina" (the police), on the other hand, indicate "sad tales" that ac-count for troublesome or untoward behavior (Scott and Lyman 1968). By invoking these sto-ries, Rick and Michael seem to be saying that (1) there are undeniable and objective reasons for their behavior (both within and outside this institution), and (2) staff cannot fully un-derstand these reasons since pupils belong to a context that staff members know nothing about (betongen). Rick's and Michael's sad tales are quite ingeniously crafted: simultaneously, they are made utterly significant for and inac-cessible to staff.

Along these lines, we can analyze how isola-tion or disconnection in residential youth care can be used and created in various ways. As the difference between "here" and "there" is turned into an interactional resource, overlap-ping the overall difference between the ru-

ral institution and the inmates' urban home neighborhoods, differences within the institution are also reproduced, namely the problematically bridged cleavage between staff and pupils. Sad tales from the "hoods" not only tie pupils closer to each other (making up a "we"), they also achieve their isolation within institutional youth care.

A concluding example may help to distinguish how social ties to the outside can be achieved and employed on the inside:

> [a]t the end of a lesson, Nora [a teacher] and Isak [a pupil] start talking about Isak's upcoming home visit. It is Friday and Isak is going back home for the first time in weeks; he's "so excited," Nora says repeatedly, and Isak agrees. He starts talking about what he is going to do: they will have tacos at home, and then Isak must take a stroll in the neighborhood. "I will just stand there and breathe," he says, and he shows this by standing in the classroom, closing his eyes and breathing theatrically [and a bit jokingly], as if enjoying the longed-for air of his streets. He does this several times, and talks more about what he misses from home and how he will try to figure out "who's still there and who's not," referring to his friends and what they are up to now. He sounds like he is hoping to get a sense of this just by walking around in his neighborhood and talking with friends and acquaintances [many do not know that he is in juvenile care, he says]. Nora and I keep asking what he is expecting of this visit and we all enjoy the talk. Before, during the lesson on mathematics, Isak had a hard time concentrating, saying that he was "confused" and "wound-up" because of this home visit. Later on he tells his friends in the ward the same thing. [extract from field notes]

To talk up home visits is an interaction ritual (cf. Collins [2004] on, for instance, tobacco rituals) in youth care settings. Similar to Gubrium's (1997) observations among the elderly in a nursing home, a home visit from residential youth care is almost never carried out silently and without announced preparations and expectations. Even though there are cases where the pupil feels uneasy about going home over the weekend (because of family situations or relations), it is no exaggeration to argue that home visits are mostly articulated in a positive fashion. In this example, it is noteworthy that Nora, a teacher, describes Isak's excitement openly, to me and to Isak at the same time, and that his excitement thereby turns into a seemingly objective feeling, accounting for his lack of interest in school.

Thus, Nora and Isak collaboratively boost Isak's home visit and make it into a natural reason for his behavior. His home visit, in turn, signifies his social ties to people back home, on the outside, whereas his storytelling and bodily performance here and now ("closing his eyes and breathing theatrically," "we all enjoy the talk") signify his social ties on the inside. By first telling Nora and me and then his friends in the ward, he uses his home visit, apparently about sustaining old social ties, to sustain his ties to staff and fellow inmates. It later turned out that Isak's home visit lasted only two hours, which further underlines its limited practical significance and its huge symbolic one.

Isak's social ties to both the outside and the inside are made accountable with the help of institutional circumstances. It seems to be an apparent fact that the institution has cut Isak's ties to friends and acquaintances in his original neighborhood, and this fact is employed and rehearsed in his narrated excitement. It would not have made sense to "just stand there and breathe" or try to temporarily repair one's weakened relations by a short home visit had it not been for the isolation that the institution creates. It is also held as an apparent fact that Isak has established new social ties inside the institution, a fact that Isak draws on and reproduces by telling in a personal and quite warm tone about his very much longed for home visit. Consequently, the intense company within the institution this Friday provides Isak with resources for his home visit ritual. Isak, Nora, and other institutional members (including me) make both isolation and intimacy into features of ordinary interactions and institutional workings.

Conclusion

Using ethnographic data from studies of residential youth care in Sweden, I have identified and discussed two aspects to consider when analyzing social ties in total institutions: (1) conditions for the creation of isolation and intimacy, and (2) their everyday accomplishment by institutional members. Inspired by Gubrium's (1997) analysis of social ties in a nursing home, as well as my own field work experiences in previous and ongoing research projects, I have tried to distinguish not only prerequisites for cutting off and establishing social ties in youth care settings, but also what to look for when analyzing members' methods to make ties accountable – observable and reportable.

The placement of troublesome urban youth in rural areas – from the "hoods" to pastoral landscapes and green surroundings – is apparent, as is the local recruitment of staff and the inherent gap between pupils and staff. Equally apparent are regions for intense sociality inside the institutions' cottages or wards, staff's use of pacifying objects and pupils' use of arenas for the display of social cliques and supporting relations. What is harder to observe is the much more subtle "seen, but unnoticed" (Heritage 1984:181) ways through which institutional members invoke and draw on these and other institutional circumstances to make their social ties seem natural, objective, and unquestionable. We need to study not only institutional conditions for social ties, but also institutional members' use of phrases and stories, their ways of addressing each other and embedding social ties into everyday errands and the other way around, their "theatrical" performances, and their openly recounted feelings. If not analytically treated as "judgmental dopes" (Garfinkel 1967), but as competent and reflexive actors, engaged in projects in their own right, inmates in total institutions can be pictured in and through occasions when they mobilize the institutions' special provision of intimacy and isolation to make their everyday achievement of social ties accountable.

Such an approach offers a less normative stance than research on "peer influence" (Andreassen 2003:137-142; Dodge et al. 2006). Instead of

merely aiming at minimizing "bad influence," an interest in social ties leads us to investigate the organization and maintenance of social relations in these settings more generally, no matter how they are valued by others. Further, this approach can be fruitful for elaborating transferable sociological perspectives on life in total institutions, especially on how inmates manage and reproduce these institutions' characteristic social conditions, their conditions-at-work. Since institutional features are found and made in everyday occasions, it is not simply a matter of analytically "zooming in" from a bird's eye view of institutions and their overall arrangements to a microscopic view of members' daily interactions, as if the

former showed the background and the latter the foreground. Rather, it is a matter of becoming familiar with members' own ways of managing and transcending this sociologically assumed background-foreground approach in mundane practice.

Acknowledgements

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Translation Challenges: Qualitative Interviewing in a Multi-Lingual Field

Abstract   This paper suggests how translation processes can be integrated in qualitative interviews in multi-lingual research fields. While theoretical and methodological problems of language and translation have been thoroughly reflected upon from different perspectives in qualitative research, the literature provides little guidance for the practical gathering and handling of multi-lingual material. As a contribution to filling this gap, the paper suggests a systematic, comparative combination of oral and written translations of interviews, which would serve both a diagnostic and a heuristic function. Based on an ethnographic study in Zambian refugee camps and conceptual distinctions between schemes of translation, I identify, in oral translations, five forms of translator's decision to depart from the literal wording in favor of a pragmatic translation intended to aid continuation of the conversation. As an important element of the suggested procedure, the comparison of the translation modes is systematically discussed with the translating research assistant, leading not only to reflection on further translation practices, but, most importantly, to an awareness of important substantial aspects of the material. This heuristic function of the comparative combination of translation modes thus leads to an enhancement of the research process.

Keywords   Qualitative Interviews; Language; Translation; Ethnography; Multi-Lingual Fields; Interpreter; Refugee Camps

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Introduction:
Language and Qualitative Methods

Language is at the core of most qualitative research methods. Numerous approaches are explicitly rooted in theoretical and methodological reflections that make language their primary source for social research.[1] Other qualitative methods concentrate less on theoretically examining linguistic aspects of the social, but they nevertheless rely heavily on verbal data as their empirical material. The material of language-based qualitative research can range from deliberately research-produced texts, such as interviews or group discussions, to data that exist independently from the research process, such as pre-existing records of "natural" conversations examined by conversation analysts, or "observed conversation," as Georg Klute (2001) calls it, in ethnography.

Interpretative approaches to social research are interested in the field participants' perspective, in their constructions of reality, the emic perspective; theoretical results are to be grounded on these reconstructions. While many qualitative methods differ widely from each other – and their exponents often fight vigorously – with respect to their methodological and practical approaches, there is a broad consensus that language is of basic importance for interpretations, categories, everyday theories, and actions in the social world. Studying language, in the form of verbal material, is used as a central gateway to sociologically accessing social patterns and processes. As Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann emphasize, language "is capable of becoming the objective repository of vast accumulations of meaning and experience, which it can then preserve in time and transmit to following generations" (1967:52). Accordingly, language is crucial for all methods that aim at tracing the participants' generalized patterns of meaning and experience.

Traditionally, qualitative sociologists have mostly researched social fields in the language they spoke (or seemed to speak) themselves. For a long time, problems concerning the understanding and translation of other languages have thus not been prominent in discussions on qualitative sociological methods (see also Lopez et al. 2008:1729; Enzenhofer and Resch 2011:6). It was mostly neighboring disciplines that explicitly faced and considered problems of doing research in languages which are not the researchers' mother tongue. In particular, social anthropologists take an unanimous stance: for research in a culture where the language is not the researcher's own, one has to learn the native language. This was already demanded by Bronislaw Malinowski (1972) in his early remarks on methods, where he emphasized how important it was to speak Kiriwina during his research on the Trobriand Islands. Another anthropologist, James Spradley (1979), points out that an ethnographer has to learn the native language even when it appears to be the same as the researcher's, as in his example of the sociolect of skid-row men. Without learning the native language, interpretations of the field participants can hardly be studied:

> [w]hen ethnographers do not learn the language, but instead depend on interpreters, they have great difficulty learning how natives think, how they perceive the world, and what assumptions they make about human experience. (Spradley 1979:20)

Speaking the native's language seems today to be the widely accepted standard for ethno-

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[1] For an overview, see Knoblauch (2000).

graphic research,[2] while interpreters are still used, especially in interview research.[3]

But, what is a researcher supposed to do if there is not one native language in his/her field of research, because the field itself is multi-lingual and encompasses so many languages that an ethnographer hardly has the chance to learn them all (see also Hannerz 2000:249)? Such cases of multi-lingual research fields seem to have become more frequent in the social sciences recently, for example, in international migration research, studies on world society, multi-sited ethnographies, and so on.

In a multi-lingual research design, translation processes involving the cooperation of several researchers and/or interpreters become inevitable – in spite of Spradley's plausible admonition. A basic difficulty of such designs is that every translation involves an interpretation of meaning by the translator (Cappai 2003), and that the rationales of these interpretations cannot be conveyed within the research group without, again, the use of cross-language translations. While problems of cross-language translations in qualitative research have been discussed from several methodological perspectives, practical tools for dealing with these difficulties in

a reflected way are rare.[4] Ulrich Oevermann's (2008) solution to treat a translated transcript just like any other transcript might work for certain qualitative approaches,[5] but fails to help with the question of how to go about integrating and systematizing translation in the research process.

In this article, I will consider methodological problems that arise in research contexts involving foreign languages, in which the researcher has the impression of not understanding anything at all. Some of the problems of translation and cross-language understanding apply to sociolects and foreign languages alike. Reflections on foreign languages in qualitative methods can thus also shed light on latent problems in seemingly monolingual research. However, a basic difference between foreign languages and sociolects in interviews seems to be that cross-sociolect communications offer ways to achieve better understanding in the course of a conversation, starting from a shared grammar and vocabulary repertoire that exists in spite of "false friends" and misunderstandings (Cicourel 1974). In interviews with foreign language speakers, there are not just misunderstandings, there is no understanding at all.

Addressing this problem, I will suggest a procedure for dealing with translations in a specific research situation, namely in ethnographic interviews in a multi-lingual field. The suggestion aims at the practical, hands-on level of qualitative research, rather than continuing the methodological discussion on translation in multi-lingual research. I will outline an approach for combining two forms of translation, an oral translation during the interview and a written translation after the interview, using the recorded material. The suggested comparative combination is to be integrated in a close collaboration with local research assistants, which not only includes translating, but also discussion of questions arising from translations and, connected to this, of substantial problems in the phenomena under study.

First, I will briefly outline the research context in which the idea for this procedure was developed. Second, I will discuss the individual and the combined advantages of oral and written translations in ethnographic research. The specific benefits of combining oral and written translations encompass a diagnostic function, which allows for identifying general and translator-specific tendencies in oral translation during interviews; and a heuristic function, which brings out problematic aspects and new generic questions concerning phenomena and research problems, helpful for the further gathering and analysis of material.

The Research Context

Refugee camps as a multi-lingual field

The following comments are based on practical experiences in a research project on the political order of refugee camps (Inhetveen 2010). The fieldwork in two Zambian camps was conducted from May to November 2003. One of the camps was Meheba Refugee Settlement in Zambia's North-Western Province, with a size of 80 km² and 42,000 refugees at the time of the research. Most of the inhabitants were Angolan, many from rural areas in the Moxico Province and without formal education – which also means they did not speak Portuguese or English, the administrative languages in Angola and Zambia respectively. Most of the material presented in this article stems from Meheba. The other camp was Nangweshi Refugee Camp in Zambia's Western Province, a classical, compact camp with 28,000 refugees at the time of the research. Practically, all the inhabitants of Nangweshi main camp had fled from Jamba in south-west Angola, the former headquarters of the rebel group UNITA, and many had gone to school there (Inhetveen 2010). Thus, I conducted a large part of the interviews directly in Portuguese, without oral translation.[6]

Typically, a number of specific actors are present in a refugee camp, living and working there. Especially in Meheba, the refugee population was remarkably heterogeneous, with inhabitants

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[2] The question remains open, however, as to what degree of mastery is associated with "speaking a language." In many cases, the readers of an ethnography will not be able to assess how well the researcher actually speaks the native language he claims to speak.

[3] See, for example, Temple and Edwards (2002), Temple and Young (2004), Schröer (2009), Sheridan and Storch (2009).

[4] In this respect, the discussion on quantitative methods is more advanced, offering quite elaborate forms of controlled translation, especially in comparative survey research (see, for example, Behling and Law [2000], Harkness [2003]). The translation problems that quantitative research faces are, however, different in several respects from those in qualitative research, making it difficult to just transfer the respective procedures (for a suggestion see Lopez et al. 2008).

[5] For a more elaborate treatment of cross-language data as secondary data analysis, see Temple, Edwards and Alexander (2006).

[6] This material was also analysed in its Portuguese form. Quotations were translated only in publications, for the purpose of presentation to the readers (see the suggestion by Ummel [2008]).

from different nations and, as far as the Angolans were concerned, different regions and language groups within Angola. Also part of the camp, and the research project, was personnel from different organizations, in particular staff from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Refugee Officer (RO) as the representative of the Zambian government, and branches of several non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The agencies worked with Zambian and international staff, as well as casual workers recruited among the refugees. It was this diversity of actors that initially triggered my interest in refugee camps: the long-term involvement of different social actors in one social and organizational unit.

Considering the manifold array of actors, it came as no surprise that several languages were spoken in the research field refugee camp. While English is the administrative language in Zambia and *lingua franca* in the world of humanitarian organizations, the staff members and refugees had many different mother tongues. As mentioned above, a part of the Angolan refugees spoke Portuguese, and a few inhabitants of Meheba spoke English due to a Zambian school education. While the material from this research does not, by far, encompass all languages spoken in the camps, it includes at least ten of them: English, Portuguese, German, Luvale, Umbundu, Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Swahili, and Bemba. I spoke English, on a few occasions German, and tolerable Portuguese, but none of the indigenous languages. In many situations, I would have been lost without an interpreter.

Research methods and research situation

My research question implied an interest not only in the refugees, but in the relationships between all the different actors in the camps. For studying the agencies that were involved, higher organizational levels were also relevant, national offices as well as international headquarters. The research project as a whole included, thus, a number of research sites and methods, while the material from the camps formed the main data corpus. In Meheba and Nangweshi, I mainly conducted observations, interviews and informal conversations. In the national and international offices of organizations and government agencies, the emphasis was on interviews and archival research, in addition to online documents that were analyzed selectively. The following discussion refers to the interviews with camp refugees and thus to only one of the methods employed in the project.

During almost all of these interviews, a local research assistant was present. In both camps, I worked with young refugees who were familiar with camp life and camp administration and who could speak a high number of languages (even for African standards, where many people are multi-lingual anyway). The research assistants fulfilled a whole array of essential tasks: in the extensive terrain of the camps, they acted as guides; they established contacts with refugees; they helped to clarify countless background questions; they interpreted during informal and observed conversations; they supported the theoretical sampling with their ideas; they discussed with me

questions of interpretation for sections of the material; and they orally translated during interviews and produced written translations of selected interview recordings. These last two tasks, in their combination, will be the central theme of the following comments.

When, in this research, a single local assistant translated for a single researcher, this arrangement was connected to specific characteristics of the research situation – which it shares with many other studies. Firstly, a six-month period of field research in Africa in the course of a Europe-based research project is typically (though not necessarily) conducted by a single researcher or very small teams. Co-workers have to be recruited locally. Secondly, research in a multilingual field, such as a refugee camp, is not possible for a single person without the help of translators.[7] Thirdly, most refugee camps, including Meheba and Nangweshi, are situated on the periphery of the host country. This means that professional translators with knowledge of the locally relevant languages are hard to find, and one normally works with assistants who may be experienced, but who have no formal training as translators. At the same time, the opportunities for training them as interviewers are limited when one spends only a few months in one camp. Even though a small number of peer-to-peer interviews were conducted by one

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[7] I use the term "translator" instead of the more common "interpreter" for somebody doing oral translations during conversations, in order to distinguish more clearly between the general methodological term of "interpretation" and the term "translation," which denotes a cross-language conversion. As it is argued, a "translation" always implies an act of "interpretation" in this sense.

assistant in this research, a broader, more systematic application of this method would have demanded more time and resources. Lastly, one has to consider the limited technical equipment available, the difficulties of working with computers in a dusty environment with an unreliable power supply for just a few hours each day. While I would not want to complain about a research situation that was, after all, very good and altogether a pleasure to work in, the above-mentioned circumstances should be kept in mind for understanding the choice of procedures suggested in this paper.

Oral and Written Translations of Interviews

The procedure suggested in this article does not stem from the drawing board, but was an outcome of the field research depicted above. When doing interviews with refugees in the Zambian camps, I was often dependent on a translator – in this case my local research assistant. This situation was new for me and came with a fair amount of uncertainness in conversations with the interviewees and in the analysis of the interview materials. I thus asked my research assistant in Meheba for additional assistance: for selected interviews, he translated again what the refugees had said and what he had already translated orally in the interview situation. This time he translated the interviews in written form, from the audiotape, into English. This *ad hoc* idea proved to be methodologically useful, and the following suggestions stem partly from my practice during research in the refugee camps and partly from a systematization of

these practices which I undertook afterwards, using materials from this project.

At first sight, the combination of an oral and a written translation may seem like an unnecessary duplication. If I employ an assistant who I think is capable and skilful, why should I ask him to translate the same interview text twice? After all, I do not work with two different translators, employing a kind of control mechanism, as is common in quantitative survey studies using questionnaires in different languages (Harkness 2003), and as Norbert Schröer (2009) has proposed recently for the hermeneutic sociology of knowledge.

The reason for this double translation lies in the potential gain from combining oral and written translations as distinctive modes of translation. While other researchers have focused on the similarities between the two (Temple and Edwards 2002), I will highlight the differences and the potential that is held by relating them to each other.

There is a consensus in social and linguistic sciences that you cannot find the correct reproduction of a statement, with identical meaning, by just picking the right semantic equivalent in another language. There is, as Schröer puts it, "no neutral set of correspondences" between languages, no "authentic" translation (2009:17-18 [translation – K.I.]).

Of course, translations can be "simply wrong." If I translate *pomodoro* as *potato*, this is not due to insurmountable barriers between cultural

worlds of meaning, but just a mistake. However, what translations cannot be is "simply right." As becomes obvious when dealing with more complex statements, translating opens up a range of possibilities, and none of them is a straightforward one-to-one translation. The one and only right translation into another language does not exist (Cappai 2003). As a consequence, the translator has to make decisions between divergent, but equally eligible options. Manifest or latent, this choice is unavoidable.

Different criteria for adequacy can guide this choice. They can be situated along a continuum between two poles: does the translator translate as literally as possible, looking for the closest semantic equivalent? Or does one translate first of all the practical meaning of an utterance, to secure the continuation of an ongoing communication? In this sense, Thomas Scheffer (2008) distinguishes between a representative and a performative scheme of translation. While the representative scheme translates as literally as possible, the performative scheme serves, first of all, as a basis for subsequent conversational operations. Both schemes lead to "correct" translations, differing due to their divergent propositions.

The question is, then, which criteria for translational adequacy are valid in a certain situation of translational practice. In both cases, one has to put up with specific losses due to the translation process. Translating as literally as possible, on the one hand, involves the risk of distortions due to cultural differences in the use of lexically corresponding concepts. Translating the practi-

cal meaning of an utterance, on the other hand, permits a greater distance from the verbal and grammatical constructions used by the speaker in the original utterance.

For oral translation during an ethnographic interview, in our case between English and an African language, the performative scheme is important. The research assistant has to translate in a way that makes sure the conversation can continue. He expresses the meaning of each utterance in a compact way that enables the linguistically excluded participants (that is, the researcher and the interviewee alternately) to grasp its content and to connect follow-up utterances to it. In doing so, the translator considers the different cultural patterns of meaning which separate researcher and interviewee, and "moves" the text "towards" the person who is to receive it – in line with a formulation used by Friedrich Schleiermacher.[8] The translator thus moves away from the representative scheme, from the attempt to make a "verbatim" translation. The oral translation, following the performative scheme, is oriented towards continuing the conversational practice, and is thus functional in an interview situation.

But, the ethnographer is also interested in what has been said literally: which concepts and formulations were used, what was the sequence of the related stories and events, which parts of the assistant's words were translations and which parts were additional explanations for the researcher? Thus, I asked for a written translation

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[8] As quoted, in German, by Cappai (2003:22).

in which the representative scheme served as a benchmark for a translation as close as possible to a lexical equivalent. For this task, the translation situation after the interview is also crucial. It enables the translator to listen to or read passages repeatedly and to decide on a translation without being pressed for time, as is the case during an ongoing conversation (see also Kalina 1998:17-20).

This additional, written translation is, however, not a test of whether the oral translation was "good" or "bad," or a correction of its translational choices. While the literature on qualitative methods mostly asks at which point verbal material should be translated, orally during data gathering or in written form after transcription, I do not treat these options as alternatives. My question is not whether one of these possibilities is better; rather, I look at the advantages of their combination. This enables us to reconstruct the decisions made during oral and written translation respectively by a research assistant, and to consider them in our interpretations. I call this the *diagnostic function* of the combination of oral and written translation. Moreover, the differences between the two translations of the same verbal material give us clues about crucial points in the content; these, in turn, serve as starting points for additional discussions with the research assistants. I call this the *heuristic function* of the combination of oral and written translation.

Before elaborating on these two methodical functions of a comparative combination, I want to briefly comment on the respective advantages

of oral and written translations independently of their combination.

The use of oral translation during field research goes with a number of benefits. In a multi-lingual field, it makes the researcher's participation possible in the first place. During interviews, an oral translator enables the researcher to ask follow-up questions and to request explanations in case they have difficulties comprehending what has been said. Moreover, due to the co-participation of translator and researcher in the conversation with an interviewee, the translator/local research assistant acquires information about what especially interests the researcher in the specific project, and at which points she needs further clarifications. The practice of oral translations during interviews contributes, thus, to an integration of both researcher and local assistant into the research process.

A written translation of research material after its collection has benefits as well. It provides the researcher with more precise material in the sense of being closer to a lexical equivalent of the original wording, in accordance with the representative scheme of translation. Furthermore, it offers the translator time and space for making explanations and annotations concerning linguistic questions and the phenomena that are addressed in the material. This translation commentary can be oriented towards what the research assistant has learned (for example, during oral translations in interviews) about the interests, open questions, and priorities of the research project. Unlike during oral transla-

tions, these written explanations can be notated separately from the translation itself.

The respective advantages of oral and written translations have led to a widespread separate use of these two forms of translation in qualitative research. Obviously, combining both also offers the advantages of both. The question addressed in the following considerations, however, is concerned with the possible increase of advantages gained by such a combination, exceeding the sum of the individual benefits offered by each part.

The Diagnostic Function of Combining Oral and Written Translations

The diagnostic function of combining the two forms of translation helps us to discern what actually happens during oral, rather than written, translation. The comparative combination sheds light on the decisions the translator makes during each translation process. This applies to general tendencies in oral *versus* written translation, as well as to the individual inclinations of a specific translator. Thus, the comparative combination of translations provides the team with important information for the research project.

Comparing oral and written translations of interviews from Zambian refugee camps, I identify, in the oral translations, five forms of translator's decision to depart from the closest orientation towards literal wording, that is, the representative scheme. Before discussing these on the basis of examples, I would like to repeat that the research assistants were not profes-

sional interpreters, who would have a whole array of systematic translational instruments at their disposal. At the same time, however, the research assistants possessed a great amount of local knowledge relevant to the phenomena under study, which an external interpreter would lack. This knowledge, and awareness of the researcher's interest in it, also influences the translation process.

A first form of departing from the representative scheme consists in the translator add-

ing explanations for the researcher's benefit. The translating research assistant explains to the researcher what the interviewee has said. These explanations are not always explicitly indicated, and in an interview situation they can be hard to tell apart from the translation in the strict sense.

This is the case, for example, when pronouns used by the interviewee are replaced by names or job titles, as in the following passage (see Table 1):

Table 1. Written and oral translation of an answer of Mr. Samukonga Chinyemba (SC), Luvale to English.

written translation	oral translation
SC speaking: Those who have cases when they go there, they tell us when they come back. They don't come to tell us about him.	Translator speaking for SC: Those who go for their meetings, the, they, they bring information and they talk about him that, as the RO, but no one has ever presented him to us as the one who kee-, who, who keeps us here in the Settlement, we've never been presented to him.

Source: self-elaboration.

The quotation is part of the answer to my question whether the interviewee knows the Refugee Officer (RO), the Zambian government representative in the camp, if he would recognize his face. While the written translation conveys a rather short answer, the oral translation is considerably longer. It contains commentary which is not recognizably set apart from the translation. The translator identifies, firstly, the two pronouns "they" in the two sentences of the written translation as different actors. The first "they" denotes refugees who go to the RO's of-

fice with certain concerns and later tell the other refugees about it. The "they" in the second sentence denotes, according to the oral translation, the camp administration, which could have introduced the RO to the refugees – who often refer to camp administration as "they" or "those who are keeping us" (Luvale: *vakiku vatulama*). The translator mentions the RO explicitly to the researcher, who is the addressee of the translation, and explains to her that it is the RO who takes care of the refugees in the camp.

Another version of this first form of translator's decision consists in adding an explanation, based on local knowledge, to a personal name which has been mentioned. A refugee might, for example, mention a certain Mr. Lumba, and the research assistant might add in his translation that Mr. Lumba was a former RO in the camp, who now lives somewhere else.

While such added explanations are often difficult to separate from the translated representation of what has been said, the second form of the translator's decision is clearly designated. It consists in the translator's explicit interpretation of what the interviewee has said – or seemed to intend. The following example is taken from the same interview as the previous one, a conversation with SC. This handicapped refugee lives in the "home for the aged," which consists of a living area with the usual clay houses, and gets some extra support and attention from the camp's "Social Services." In one section of the interview, I wanted to know which staff members of humanitarian organizations are known to SC. The research assistant translated my question as follows (as confirmed by the written translation of his question in Luvale): "How about those of the UN, of the UN, do you know them, have you ever seen them?" The following table shows the written and the oral translation of the interviewee's answer (see Table 2):

Table 2. Written and oral translation of an answer by SC, Luvale to English.

written translation	oral translation
SC speaking: This UN, which guards us, the one at the administration? Those we know them well because they, they came to chat with us.	Translator speaking for SC: [waka?] UN, ahm, I think, it's, it will be a bit difficult because there's, there's a problem to distinguish between UN and LWF, yeah, yeah. They know LWF because they are the ones who take care of them, they see them, yeah, but they, it's difficult to know the distinction between UNHCR and LWF.

Source: self-elaboration.

The written translation represents a relatively short answer: We (the refugees) know the United Nations, which are running the camp, well, because they came to talk to us in the living areas.

In the oral translation during the interview, the research assistant barely starts translating what has been said. He immediately begins with his own interpretation, which is that the interviewee in actual fact is not referring to the UN, but to LWF, which is an NGO working in Meheba. The translator explains this error on the part of the refugee by pointing out that it is LWF Social Services staff who come to the interviewee's living area, and that it is often difficult for the camp inhabitants to differentiate between staff members of the different organizations. In the written translation, there is no indication of a possible mix-up of the visiting agency staff.

In the further course of the research, this phenomenon, for example, that refugees could rarely identify the agency staff working in and making decisions for the camp, became central for interpreting the relations between camp administration and refugees (Inhetveen 2010).

A third form of the translator's decision during oral interpretation consists in the implicit interpretation of meaning by employing a more specific vocabulary than the interviewee has used. An example is the research assistant in Nangweshi, who always translated the Umbundu word meaning "war" in general as "civil war" when interviewees talked about the conflict between MPLA and UNITA in Angola. This tacit interpretation leads to an increased detailedness of the resulting research material, that is, the translated interview text in relation to the wording of the interviewee.

The opposite is the case in the fourth form of the translator's decision, which consists in a resumptive interpretation of meaning. By summing up an interviewee's statements during the oral translation, the detailedness of the resulting text is decreased. In the following example, an old refugee woman, Nene Muswema (NM), tells us about the situation that led to her flight from Angola. This was during colonial times, when a vehicle full of white, armed soldiers appeared at her home (see Table 3):

Table 3. Written and oral translation of an answer by NM, Chokwe to English.

written translation	oral translation
NM speaking: When they found me there at home, they went straight into catching goats and chicken, the soldiers, and I was alone with only a child at home. They caught the goats, and only gave me twenty ngwee. It's only twenty ngwee. All those goats and chickens that filled the vehicle. And they just got a twenty ngwee and gave me.	Translator speaking for NM: Soon as they dropped from the vehicle, they started chasing animals, goats and chicken, caught them, put them in the vehicle and gave her a coin.

Source: self-elaboration.

The translator sums up NM's story about colonial soldiers invading and robbing her home, a situation which continued and finally made her flee to Zaire. By retelling and summing up the rough course of events, he omits, among other things, the repetitions in the text. He

leaves out the situation that the interviewee was at home alone with her child, in this case the repetition of information that she had given earlier. He also omits the repeated naming of the small value of the coin she was given. By this omission, the drama expressed by these repetitions is lost: the mismatch between the little coin and the whole vehicle full of animals stolen by the soldiers.[9] The oral translation contains, thus, less detail about the recounted events and about the interviewee's evaluation of them.

The fifth form of the translator's decision consists in adaptation to sociolects that are relevant in the field or in the work of a research assistant. This might be, for example, the *humanitarian speak* that pervades refugee aid organizations, or what is perceived as social science lingo, or the sociolect and individual

habits of the researcher with her personal background.[10] Such adjustments or adaptations to sociolects have the tendency to lead the translation away from the representative scheme, as do adaptations to general conventions in the target language when a more literal translation would seem awkward to the translator. The following example of such adaptive processes stems from an interview with the Angolan Chief Toh Muzala Likonge, a refugee in Meheba (see Table 4).

In the oral translation of CL's answer, the assistant uses the English expressions the researcher used: he reverts to the expression "leader" which I used in my question. For the interviewee, he translates the English concept of "leaders" into a Luvale concept approximating "elders." In his answer, the interviewee also uses a more specific and differently connoted expression approxi-

Table 4. Written and oral translations from an interview by the author (KI) with Chief Likonge (CL), English to Luvale and Luvale to English.

written translation	oral translation
KI speaking: And how is it in Meheba, for the whole settlement, who has the power and can make the decisions for the whole settlement, who is the most superior leader here? CL speaking: Eh, here in Meheba, RO is the elder who guards us. He is the one we stay with here.	Translator speaking for KI: Regarding our area here in Meheba, who is the elder [leader] of our area of Meheba, who makes decisions for all of us here in Meheba? Translator speaking for CL: Here in Meheba it is the RO who is there, who takes care of us, he is the one who guards us. The RO is our leader.

Source: self-elaboration.

mating "elder," which the research assistant again translates into English as "leader." In the written translation, he stays closer to the representative scheme, using the word "elder." In his written back-translation of his own question in Luvale, he includes a note in brackets about the transformation in the oral translation and thereby informs me about it. This translation problem concerning the concepts "elder" and "leader" is prevalent also in other interview sections, and it shows how translators have to decide between translation options none of which is an exact equivalent of the original expression. This led to comprehensive discussions about translations and variations in the semantic field of "leader" and, similarly, of "government," a concept which has several different translation options in Luvale. Results and shared knowledge arising from these discussions can enhance the translation process during further interviews.

Different forms of translational adaptations are also known in comparative quantitative research. They are purposefully employed in translations of survey questionnaires (Harkness, Van de Vijver and Johnson 2003). In the case of adaptations in the oral translation of an ethnographic interview, however, the implicit adaptive practices have to be identified in the first place. For this task, the comparison of oral and written translations can serve as a diagnostic tool.

The five forms of the translator's decision in oral translation, which I identified in my research in Meheba do not represent an exhaustive list. In other fields and with other translators, there will be different forms prevalent.

However, each identified tendency that occurs in such translations can also be instructive for the handling and examination of translations in other research contexts. When such forms of departing from the representative scheme in oral translations are explicitly identified, they often remain useful within the performative scheme, which is dominant in the interview situation. At the same time, since they are now open to discussion and consideration, they will not impair analysis of the resulting material (while, for example, an unidentified translator's commentary might be mistaken for an utterance by an interviewee).

The Heuristic Function of Combining Oral and Written Translations

From the diagnosis of implicit translation decisions, a heuristic benefit can be gained for the progressing research. This is facilitated by a further methodological step, namely systematic discussions with the translating research assistants about the comparison between the oral and the written translation of an interview.[11]

Such discussions provide an opportunity to talk about the translation tendencies of the assistant, maybe encouraging some of them and abating others, and, most importantly, to take them into account during analysis of the material. In addition, and no less importantly, these discussions point to semantic fields and phenomena that are

[10] These forms of linguistic adaptation can also be observed in the interviewees' utterances in what seems to be monolingual research; for a discussion and examples of such "translation competence" among informants, see Spradley (1979:19-21, 52-54).

[11] Systematic discussions and/or interviews with the translator are also part of other suggestions concerning how to handle translations in different methodological contexts of qualitative research; see Temple and Edwards (2002), Temple and Young (2004), Schröer (2009).

connected with obviously difficult translation decisions. These are fields of vocabulary and phenomena which repeatedly turn out to be of importance for the research project. In the case of the present research project, some of the biggest translation problems existed at the contact points between refugees and staff members, the interface between the life worlds of the camp inhabitants and the organizations of the international refugee regime. More generally, oral and written translations produce different types of data, each of them consisting of text that is translated in a specific mode, following a specific scheme. Similar to a triangulatory procedure, the comparative combination of these texts brings out more facets of the phenomena at hand, and accentuates the discrepancies that are inevitably produced by the different modes of translating the same verbal material. Analyzing these discrepancies then facilitates differentiation of the research problem and the formulation of hypotheses.[12]

In my research on refugee camps, the comparisons and discussions also led to further questions that were pursued during later phases of the research. I have mentioned two examples: firstly, the question of concepts and perceptions of those who have power in the camp; and, secondly, the extreme vagueness in the refugees' perceptions of the camp administration and its

organizations – which in turn has major consequences for the political order of the camp and the refugees' position in it.

The benefits of a comparative combination of oral and written translations can thus be summed up as follows: information is gained about general and translator-specific tendencies in oral *versus* written translations, which then can be taken into consideration in the progressing research (diagnostic function); and information is gained about problematic semantic fields and phenomena, which can then, in a form of theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin 1990), be followed up in the further gathering and analysis of field material (heuristic function). The comparison between the two translation modes and discussion of them with the translating research assistants thus serves to generate further substantial questions and considerations, and creates new perspectives for further encounters with the field in observations and conversations.

Concluding Remarks

It has to be emphasized that the comparative combination of oral and written translations does not claim to solve the basic problems of translation in empirical research. A written translation from the audiotape is no more "original" then the oral translation during the interview. But, at least, a comparison of the two translations can make us observant with regard to some problematic points in the translation process. These are then open for further discussion and interpretations.

I have only dealt with one methodological problem of qualitative research in a multi-lingual field: the problem of the translator's decisions made by research assistants. There are many more and manifold problems connected with the translation of verbal material, which exceed the mere translation of words and sentences – as Joachim Matthes (1985) showed 25 years ago in his critical discussion of intercultural research using narratological methods. General problems of translation between languages can be, and have been, discussed in a methodological perspective. With respect to concrete practical options of integrating translations in qualitative research designs, the literature does not offer many guidelines or suggestions. The specific difficulties of how to handle translation challenges in qualitative research practice obviously depend, to a large degree, on the specific methods employed, both in the collection and the analysis of material. For example, methods of sequential analysis as those Matthes (1985) and Schröer (2009) refer to, aiming at discovering latent structures in the text, differ from research approaches that are primarily interested in the manifest meaningfulness of what has been said (without, however, ignoring the way it has been said). It seems that the more microscopic the analytical gaze at the verbal utterances is, the greater are the problems connected to translation processes – with their necessary transformations in the fine-grain structure of the material. Concrete ways of handling translation challenges will always require an assessment of their adequacy in the specific methodological context.

But, regardless of the methodological standpoint and any reflected and systematic practical solutions: ethnographic research in a multi-lingual field will always expose methodological weak spots. A Babylonian confusion of languages can rock most methodological ivory towers. Considering these fundamental problems, what could be their consequence for our research practice and agenda?

If we shy away from research in multi-lingual fields because of methodological problems, certain topics can hardly be researched. At the same time, a number of these topics seem to be gaining importance in social research, such as international migration, transnational networks, international organizational regimes, and many more (see also Hannerz 2000:249-250). For example, a great part of the research in and on Africa, a continent rich with multi-lingual fields, would be affected. From my viewpoint, it is clear that to simply ignore the respective research fields cannot be the solution for the translation challenges they imply.

Thus, we should go about such research while trying to deal with its methodological problems in an attentive and reflective way. We are not going to solve them in the strict sense, but we can factor them in more systematically. The comparative combination of oral and written translations in ethnographic interviews, which I have proposed in this article, hopefully contributes to this task.

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[12] I would like to thank Kurt Beck for pointing out this similarity to triangulation. In the context at hand, the most relevant function of those methods outlined by Uwe Flick (2000) would be triangulation as a way to additional findings – as is also the case with regard to the more conventional way of triangulating methods employed in this research project on refugee camps.

Acknowledgements and Credits

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Entering Discourses: A New Agenda for Qualitative Research and Sociology of Knowledge

Abstract The article argues for a new agenda in qualitative research and sociology of knowledge. It starts with the assumption that meaning-making activities which lie at the heart of sociology's interpretative paradigm today are widely embedded in expert proceedings and organized or institutionalized work on symbolic ordering. This holds true for the sciences or other specialized discourse realms (like religion), but it also counts for public discourses/public arenas. While interpretative traditions in sociology have addressed issues of discourse research, they did not succeed in establishing a proper sociological approach to discourse. Therefore, the article proposes a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD), located in the social constructivist tradition of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Such an approach is able to account for discourses as processes of symbolic ordering and to take up questions of discourse research raised by French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault indeed insisted on discourses as "truth games" and activities which set up knowledge claims. But, this interest in politics of knowledge has not so far been taken up in today's arenas of discourse research. Therefore, SKAD proposes concepts and procedures for a new agenda of sociology of knowledge, deeply committed to qualitative and interpretative research traditions in sociology.

Keywords Discourse; Knowledge; Dispositif; Foucault; Berger and Luckmann; Symbolic Interactionism; Interpretative Paradigm; Qualitative Research

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The following text argues for a new agenda in qualitative research and sociology of knowledge. Taking up the concept of discourse and embedding it in the social constructivist approach – itself largely anchored in the interpretative paradigm and sociological pragmatism – it presents theoretical groundings, methodological implications and some working devices for a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD). This qualitative approach to discourse has been established in German soci-

ology since the late 1990s in several paradigmatic books (e.g., Keller 2010; 2011); since then, it has instructed research across the social sciences.[1] The article first sets up the arguments for entering discourses from sociology of knowledge sites; it then presents theoretical groundings and methodological reflections of SKAD, discusses some knowledge orientated devices for doing SKAD research and concludes with reflections on methods of discourse research.

Entering Discourses

For some decades now, sociology has broadly acknowledged the ascendancy of knowledge societies. According to Anthony Giddens' diagnosis of reflexive modernity these kinds of society are special in the way they rely on expert knowledge. Such knowledge, gained by organized procedures, shape every detail of everyday life as well as organizational proceedings and institutions, starting from the way we "do orgasm," passing by the daily practices of education, sports, food and drinking, our ways of working, organizing production and consumption, ending up in the higher spheres of political governance in national or global realms of

action in "world risk society" (within Ulrich Beck's meaning). As Birmingham Cultural Studies author Stuart Hall and his colleagues argued in the 1990s, we are living in times of "circuits of culture," indicating by this slogan that meaning making activities and social construction of realities have become effects of organized production, representation, marketing, regulation and adaption of meaning (Hall 1997a). In stating this, Birmingham Cultural Studies have been heavily influenced by the interpretative tradition in sociology, mostly by symbolic interactionist and Weberian theorizing and work. But, insisting on organized or structured ways of processing circuits of culture, the Birmingham School referred to rather different theoretical traditions too, including some of Michel Foucault's concepts:

> [r]ecent commentators have begun to recognize not only the real breaks and paradigm-shifts, but also some of the affinities and continuities, between older and newer traditions of work: for example between Weber's classical interpretive «sociology of meaning» and Foucault's emphasis of the role of the «discursive.» (Hall 1997b:224)

It is interesting to see here Stuart Hall, Mr. Cultural Studies himself, arguing for an integrated perspective on meaning-making, including both Weberian and Foucauldian thinking – bearing in mind that common sociological (and poststructuralist) debates seem to draw a sharp line between these two authors. But, if we look more closely, we can state indeed, that Max Weber's work on *The protestant ethic* (Weber 2002) is nothing less and nothing more than a discourse study *avant la lettre* of religious discourse, and its pow-

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er effects in capitalist societies. In making his claim on the connection between *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, Weber analyzed several kinds of texts: religious books, advisory books, sermons. It was from such textual data that he developed his ideas on "innerworldly ascetics" and deeply structured ways of living everyday life, home or work. Although, Weber insisted on the subjects' part in meaning-making, this never meant individual or idiosyncratic activities. *The protestant ethic* delivered a deeply social "vocabulary of motives" (within Charles W. Mills' meaning), an institutionally preconfigured "definition of the situation" (within William I. Thomas' and Dorothy Thomas' meaning). Charles W. Mills (1940) was well aware of this implication of Weber's sociology, when he argued, with strong references to Weber and sociology of knowledge, for a sociological analysis of vocabularies of motives and situated actions. And Thomas and Thomas (1928) were – together with, for example, George Herbert Mead and others from the Chicago tradition – at least familiar with the German context of *verstehen* and meaning (making), to which Weber was deeply committed.

As far as I know, Weber never used the term "discourse," but the Chicago pragmatists did. They argued that social collectivities produced and lived in "universes of discourse," systems or horizons of meaning and processes of establishing and transforming such systems. George Herbert Mead stated in the 1930s: "[t]his universe of discourse is constituted by a group of individuals ... A universe of discourse is simply a system of common or social meanings" (1963:89).

Alfred Schütz, the main author of social phenomenology, referred to this notion too, for example when he considered in the 1940s the conditions of possibility of scientific work:

> [a]ll this, however, does not mean that the decision of the scientist in stating the problem is an arbitrary one or that he has the same «freedom of discretion» in choosing and solving his problems which the phantasying self has in filling out its anticipations. This is by no means the case. Of course, the theoretical thinker may choose at his discretion ... But, as soon as he has made up his mind in this respect, the scientist enters a pre-constituted world of scientific contemplation handed down to him by the historical tradition of his science. Henceforth, he will participate in a universe of discourse embracing the results obtained by others, methods worked out by others. This theoretical universe of the special science is itself a finite province of meaning, having its peculiar cognitive style with peculiar implications and horizons to be explicated. The regulative principle of constitution of such a province of meaning, called a special branch of science, can be formulated as follows: Any problem emerging within the scientific field has to partake of the universal style of this field and has to be compatible with the preconstituted problems and their solution by either accepting or refuting them. Thus, the latitude for the discretion of the scientist in stating the problem is in fact a very small one. (1973:250)

And later on: "[t]heorizing...is, first, possible only within a universe of discourse that is pregiven to the scientist as the outcome of other people's theorizing acts" (Schütz 1973:256).

Whilst later work in the Alfred Schütz, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann tradition only

marginally took up this concept (if at all), the symbolic interactionist perspective indeed has seen several research agendas turning to discourse, implicit or explicit. Without being exhaustive, one could mention Joseph Gusfield's study on the *Culture of Public Problems* (1981), Anselm Strauss's attention to "ongoing negotiated orderings in social worlds/arenas" (1979; 1991; 1993) or the broad work on "social construction and careers of social problems." Essential assumptions of the latter have been presented by Hilgartner and Bosk (1988:56) as follows.

In its most schematic form, our model has six main elements:

1. a dynamic process of competition among the members of a very large "population" of social problem claims;

2. the institutional arenas that serve as "environments" where social problems compete for attention and grow;

3. the "carrying capacities" of these arenas, which limit the number of problems that can gain widespread attention at one time;

4. the "principles of selection" or institutional, political, and cultural factors that influence the probability of survival of competing problem formulations;

5. patterns of interaction among the different arenas, such as feedback and synergy, through which activities in each arena spread throughout the others; and

6. the networks of operatives who promote and attempt to control particular problems

and whose channels of communication crisscross the different arenas.

In the context of symbolic interactionists' social movements research in the 1980s and 1990s such ideas were closely linked to a concept of public discourse, referring to issue framing activities of competing collective actors in public struggles for the collectivities' "definition of the situation" (e.g., Gamson 1988). But, despite these efforts and multiple studies it seems that the interpretative paradigm's analysis of discourses did not succeed in establishing an approach of its own to discourse integrating the different usages and elaborating on the proposed initial frameworks. Neither did cultural studies in the Birmingham tradition, where concrete research used social semiotics or argued for critical discourse analysis as established by Norman Fairclough and others (see Hall 1997a; Barker 2000; Barker and Galasinski 2001).

Discourse research in today's social sciences is mostly attributed to the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Such a diagnosis might be sustained by Norman Denzin's ongoing insistence on the importance of poststructuralist or postmodernist thinking for interpretative sociology (e.g., Denzin 1992). But, it is clearly indicated by the impressive book of Adele Clarke on *Situational Analysis* (2005). In her manifesto for a "grounded theory after the postmodern turn," Clarke argues very convincingly how grounded theory's focus on situation and interaction can be inspired and complexified not only by Anselm Strauss's social worlds/arenas model, but by introducing discourses as important elements of

the situation under analysis. Clarke then refers to Michel Foucault as her major "modest witness" for qualitative sociology's discursive turn. She proposes various devices, such as situational maps, positional maps and social world/arena maps in order to account for the "discursive elements" of situations. *Situational Analysis* was developed at almost the very same time as the present author's plea for an original sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (1999-2003), using many of the same references in interpretative sociology and discourse research although several thousand miles away, and without knowing of each other. But, while Clarke sets a strong focus on situations, my own work (Keller 2011) takes discourse(s) as central. Therefore, I would refer to Clarke's approach as rather complementary to SKAD.

Having shown so far the interpretative paradigms basic arguments of social actors meaning-making in universes of discourse, and before entering more deeply into the theoretical groundings and methodology of the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse, let us now turn to discourse and discourse analysis as these terms are widely used in today's social sciences. Here, too, no exhaustive account is possible (see Keller 2010). At present, various notions of discourse are used in the humanities. In Germany, Jürgen Habermas (1985) contributed extensively to the dissemination of the term discourse. But, in the Habermasian tradition, discourse is hardly an object of inquiry, to be empirically analyzed. Instead, it is regarded as an organized and ordered deliberative process to which a normative ethics of discourse is applied. A case in point concerns

conflicts emerging around environmental issues or technological risk, where round tables are set up, bringing together concerned and committed actors in order to discuss what should be done. This usage, which is current today primarily in the political sciences, has created – and still creates – some confusion in debates on discourse research. The traditional political science approach to discourse is mainly interested in the relationship between arguments (ideas) and interests: in short, discourse matters if the better argument wins over the material interests of (the most) powerful actors. However, this argumentative approach to discourse so far rarely analyses the politics of knowledge.[2] More common to sociological perspectives is discourse analysis as a label for the micro-orientated analysis of language in use, which is based in pragmatic linguistics and, closer to sociology, in conversation analysis inspired by ethnomethodology. Here the focus is on concrete "text and talk in (inter)action" (within Teun van Dijk's meaning), with more or less attention either to linguistic issues or "sociological" questions, including for example turn taking in group discussion or the interactional construction of references to larger social or mental entities. Today's linguistics use concepts of discourse in order to address linguistic questions of language change and usage in larger social contexts. In order to do this corpus, linguistics builds up enormous corpuses of textual data around selected items (such as political issues) in order to look for statistical correlations between words. Somewhere between linguistics and social sci-

ences is *Critical Discourse Analysis* (by Norman Fairclough), its British-Austrian version *Wiener Kritische Diskursanalyse* (by Ruth Wodak and others) and its German counterpart *Kritische Diskursanalyse* (by Siegfried Jäger). These approaches are all based in linguistics, but with slightly different discourse-theoretical elaborations; they direct discourse research mainly to "unmask" the ideological functions of language in use or to discover and "heal" situations of "asymmetrically biased communication" and "disorders of discourse."

If considered more closely, we can state that none of the approaches to discourse research mentioned so far is interested in larger societal and historical meaning-making or questions of power/knowledge, which are central to Foucault's arguments on discourse (see below). These approaches cannot (and, to be honest, do not aim to) account for the sociohistorical processings of knowledge and symbolic orderings in larger institutional fields and social arenas. It is evident that discourse research anchored in linguistics addresses linguistic questions – and Foucault's main purpose was to give discourse a twist away from such issues. The "no interest in knowledge analysis" is also particularly clear in research done by critical discourse analysis, which implies that the researcher knows and unmasks the illegitimate, ideological and strategic use of language by "those in power" in order to "manipulate the people." This often results in a rather reductionist "proof" of the presence of ideological notions and functions in a concrete set of spoken or written language (discourse). There is no place for any surprising results or insights to be derived from such em-

pirical research, because the discourse theorist always already knows how ideology works. The ethnomethodologically inspired tradition of discourse analysis looks for the situational producing of ordered verbal interaction and communication. This is very useful for in-depth analysis of singular discursive events, but it does not (and does not seek to) grasp larger historical processes of knowledge circulation.

As far as I can see, there are two further candidates to address questions of meaning-making via the concept of discourse. I suggest calling them, for want of a better expression, *discourse theories* – including the philosopher Michel Foucault or the political scientists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Discourse theories are designed to analyze the social formation of circuits of culture, power/knowledge relationships or political struggles for hegemony and the articulation of collective identities on more global levels of social orderings. The Laclau and Mouffe tradition combines a rather extensive definition of discourse – the discursive and the social are but one[3] – with a reductionist analysis of "hegemonic functions" of texts and articulations, mainly focused on political identity building around a particular issue. The attention here is drawn to political claim-making in the name of the "common good" (Laclau and Mouffe 2001).

The main point I want to make against the Laclau and Mouffe approach to discourse refers back to

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[2] It should be noted that there are some other approaches to discourse in political sciences, closer to interpretative thinking, which can't be discussed here.

[3] It seems that what in sociology has been called (for a hundred) "symbolic ordering" and "meaning-making" or "social signification systems," etc., is here referred to as "the discursive."

Foucault's interests in the discursive constitution of knowledges – which they either do not or cannot draw our attention to. So why could and should this part of Foucault's thinking be of interest for interpretative sociology? How did he refer discourse to knowledge and meaning making? This merits a closer examination.

As a philosopher turning to empirical and historical studies, Foucault developed his approach to discourse and the complexities of power/knowledge quite apart from sociological positions (which where rather marginal in the French context of the early 1960s). Nevertheless, he invented his own "historical sociology of knowledge" (see Keller 2008).

> Foucault explores the domain of the sociology of knowledge: ideas in their social context and the explanation for their continuity and change, as seen against the changing significance of history, politics, and economics. ... Foucault attempts to construct a history not of ideas, but of events, and these events are critical insofar as they serve to show the disruption of previous modes of discourse. ... He is interested in the ways discourse is represented in documents in his historical guise and how these, in turn, become important or significant, or statements of entire sets of conflicting times, durations and spatial forces. ... The document provides an anchor with which Foucault grounds his work on the classification of the world ... Language does not guide Foucault to a consideration of the distinctions between the sign and the signifier, or between language as a system of rules and speech as competence or performance. Rather Foucault distinguishes rules and practices ... The sociology of knowledge in Foucault is represented in the search for the concept that will show how

certain practices within a field of regulation or control vary, revealing the effect of power and of invisible forces on the practices. ... [H]e introduces the material and political forces that shape and are sedimented in structures of knowledge. (Manning 1982:65)

In a certain way, Foucault can definitely be understood as a representative of the Durkheim tradition, which advances a genuine sociology of knowledge analysis of social "systems of thought." But, he did so in somehow abductive ways close to qualitative research in sociology. By this, I mean that he worked "bottom up," starting with certain methodical devices and sensitizing concepts in order to analyze in detail historical (textual) data representing past institutions, practices, actors and knowledges – what Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow called an "interpretive analytics" (1982). Foucault's fundamental achievement was first to look at discourses as socio-historically situated "practices," manifest as textual data, and not as the development of ideas or lines of argumentation, and second to "liberate" discourse analysis from linguistic issues. In so doing, he laid important foundations for a sociological analysis of discourses. When he argued that his main concern was the "analysis of problematizations" (Foucault 1984), that is, the appearance of central breaking or turning points in the history of social constitutions of subjectivities or particular orders of practice, he came quite close to the interests of the symbolic interactionists.

Although Foucault's work is often presented in a rather monolithic way, I would like to insist on (and point to) his varied uses of the term

discourse. In his seminal book for discourse research, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972a), reflecting his own previous studies (especially the *Order of Things* [1970], a historical analysis of the sciences, published in 1966), proposes a theoretical framework which takes discourse as its central concept. Discourses are considered as historically situated real social practices, not representing external objects, but constituting them. This implies looking at concrete data – oral and written texts, articles, books, discussions, institutions, disciplines – in order to analyze "bottom up" how discourses are structured and how they are structuring knowledge domains and claims. Foucault speaks of "discursive formations" (1972a:34-78), for example, the "formation of concepts" (what concepts are used and how they relate to each other) or the "formation of enunciative modalities" (as the "places for speakers" and the established criteria – for example, academic careers and titles – to access them). His notion of the statement (Foucault 1972a:79-117) refers to the typified core elements of discursive events and concrete utterances, that is: what makes them part of a particular discourse and sets up a particular knowledge claim. The analysis of discursive formations leads us, via empirical data, to the rules and regularities which operate – and are operated by socialized actors – in a given or emerging disciplinary field, including rules instructing (rather than determining) who is allowed to speak, how a particular discourse is to be performed and what could be said. This idea can easily be shown in the present text where the author is following social sciences discursive for-

mation, excludes, for example, gossip about his adventures of yesterday evening or changes of language settings towards *der deutschen Sprache*, in which he could pursue his arguments (if allowed to).

Foucault, in his later works, never realized the kind of analysis he projected (or stated retrospectively) in the *Archaeology*. But, he returned to discourse several times: *L'ordre du discours* [The order of discourse], presented as oral communication in 1970 and strangely translated as *The Discourse on Language* (included as an appendix in the American translation of *Archaeology* [1972b:215-238]), in fact pursues the framework of discourse research by introducing more explicitly ideas of power and mechanisms of the "inner structuration" of discourses (as the "commentary" which, for example, differentiates between important statements and the rest). But, most interesting for interpretative social research: in the *Rivière case* Foucault (1982) addresses discourses as *battle fields*, as *power struggles* around the *legitimate definition of phenomena*. This lesser known work comes very close to symbolic interactionist positions. Here, Foucault and his team are dealing with a case of parricide in the early 19th century in French Normandy: Pierre Rivière killed his mother, sister and brother, in an act of revenge, in order to regain the "lost honor" of his father. The interesting point is, that this person presents a large written account of his motivation – and he really seeks to be punished. But, there are some other accounts, too: the police, the doctors, different psychological schools – they all produce their own and often contradictory version of "what is

the Rivière case." This all is highly consequential: Is he responsible for this act? Should Rivière be accused and killed for murder, or labeled as "insane" and sent to some psychiatric hospital? We thus can observe a classical struggle for the common institutionally acceptable definition of the situation and the actions to be taken.

Foucault's implicit affinities to pragmatist and interpretative sociology are very clear here. Indeed, his relation to pragmatist philosophy was stated very early on by Richard Rorty (1982:XVIII) or Nancy Fraser (1997), referring to pragmatist notions of discourse. "Foucault and Pragmatism" is taken up in detail in a current special issue of *Foucault Studies* (Koopman 2011) with contributions discussing Foucault and Dewey, and so on. In symbolic interactionism and interpretative sociology, Lindsay Prior (1989), Brian Castellani (1999), Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott (2007) or Adele Clarke (2005) and others have drawn attention to the interest of Foucault's work for interpretative sociology. We can hear an echo of Herbert Blumer's, Anselm Strauss's and many others writings on symbolic interactionism when Prior states:

> [i]ndeed, for Foucault the familiar objects of the social world (whether they be death, disease, madness, sexuality, sin or even mankind itself) are not «things» set apart from and independent of discourse, but are realized only in and through the discursive elements which surround the objects in question. Things, then, are made visible and palpable through the existence of discursive practices, and so disease or death are not referents about which there are discourses, but objects constructed by discourse. As the discourse changes, so too do the objects of attention. A dis-

course moreover, is not merely a narrow set of linguistic practices which reports on the world, but is composed of a whole assemblage of activities, events, objects, settings and epistemological precepts. The discourse of pathology, for example, is constructed not merely out of statements about diseases, cells and tissues, but out of the whole network of activities and events in which pathologists become involved, together with the laboratory and other settings within which they work and in which they analyze the objects of their attention. (Prior 1989:3)

Despite these engagements, discourse research, whether situating itself in "Foucault's footsteps" or more generally in poststructuralism, commonly does not refer to the pragmatist traditions in sociology; and interpretive sociology and qualitative research so far has not invested very much in elaborating a discourse research agenda on its own. But, as Adele Clarke has convincingly stated: discourses are not contexts of situations, but constituting parts of situations. Qualitative research has to take care of them if it aims better to address the complexities of today's social phenomena:

> [t]oday the qualitative research enterprise is moving beyond field notes and interview transcripts to include discourses of all kinds. We dwell ... [in] explosions of images, representations, and narrative discourses that constitute cultures of consumption as well as production, of politics writ a million ways, of diverse individual and collective social and cultural identities, including racial, ethnic, gendered, religious, and subcultural identities, of dense histories, of old and new technologies and media from television to the Internet, and so on. Because *we and the people and things we choose to study* are all routinely both producing and awash in seas of discourses, ana-

lyzing only individual and collective human actors no longer suffices for many qualitative projects. Increasingly, historical, visual, narrative, and other discourse materials and non-human material cultural objects of all kinds must be included as elements of our research and subjected to analysis because they are increasingly understood/interpreted as both constitutive of and consequential for the phenomena we study. (Clarke 2005:145)

The following section presents the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse, which aims to deepen such proposals.

The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse

Again it was Stuart Hall (amongst others) who prominently argued in favor of a knowledge-oriented concept of discourse in the 1990s:

> [d]iscourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or *formation*) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. (Hall 1997a:4)

The hypothesis I want to pursue here is as follows: Berger's and Luckmann's sociology of knowledge provides a theoretical framework, which makes it possible to integrate (or elaborate within) a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse.[4] In the 1960s, Peter L. Berger and

Thomas Luckmann brought together sociology of knowledge traditions, the interpretative paradigm (including symbolic interactionists' thinking and social phenomenology) and neighboring fields in their influential book, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966). In their work, the authors differentiated between, on the one hand, society as an objective reality which is sedimented within institutions and stocks of knowledge, and on the other, the way in which the acting subjects appropriate this reality in the diverse socialization processes. It should be noted here that the term "knowledge" refers to all kind of symbolic orderings and institutionalized symbolic orders (including common sense knowledge, religion, theory, ideology and scientific knowledges, and so on). Above all, Berger and Luckmann emphasize the role of language and the daily "conversation machinery" for the construction of a shared social reality. They discussed how knowledge is typified and realized through interactions and socially objectified in differing processes of institutionalization. It is also reified and becomes the foundation of social worlds differentiated by their symbolic horizons. Next, they talked about the legitimization of these knowledge/institutional complexes and also about forms or steps of legitimization, which extend from the simple usage of particular vocabularies through theoretical postulates and explicit legitimization theories to elaborate symbolic sub-universes. These legitimizations are supported by various forms of social organization. Together with the analysis regarding the structure of knowledge comes the question about the individuals, groups, actors, organiza-

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[4] Despite some minor differences, I consider this sociology of knowledge approach as going hand-in-hand with symbolic interactionist thought. The whole argument on SKAD is presented in Keller (2011); methods are discussed in Keller (2010).

tions, practices, artefacts and institutional structures which fix (or transform) such orders. The historically situated knowledge order within a society is internalized by the actors via socialization processes, and is then reproduced (and occasionally transformed) through the permanent use of language or other systems of signs and through nonverbal practices.

Berger and Luckmann indeed integrated a more Durkheimian view on society as institutionalized facticity with a more Weberian interest in social actors meaning making activities and Meadian perspectives on socialization processes and (wo)man's use of significant symbols. They temporalized and neutralized the older antagonisms between structure and action in replacing it by a more dialectical perspective, arguing for structures (institutions) as being the historical situated, emerging (side) effects of social actors' practices, "doings," negotiations, and social actors' agency and creativity as being constituted by a socio-historical *a priori*, that is, existing social contexts (in particular "symbolic worlds or provinces of meaning").

Although Berger and Luckmann highlighted the role of "theoretical conceptions" (ideas, theories, and others) in social processes, they emphasized much more that their main interest (and therefore also that of the sociology of knowledge inspired by these two authors) applied to "common sense" since in the end this seemed to them the most relevant level of social knowledge (1966:14-15). The Berger and Luckmann legacy in Germany at present uses the label of *Hermeneutische Wissenssoziologie* (hermeneutical sociology of knowledge;

Hitzler, Reichertz and Schröer 1999)[5] to mark its difference to other social science approaches to knowledge. Since it has always accorded great attention to the connection between language and knowledge, it has been presented recently by some of its proponents as the "communicative paradigm" in knowledge research (Knoblauch 1995). In taking up the foundational work on social construction, including its tenet that everyday knowledge should be the central point of reference for research, the *Hermeneutische Wissenssoziologie* has unfortunately concentrated mostly on micro-levels of knowledge analysis. It directed its interests towards ethnographies of "small life worlds of modern man" (within Benita Luckmann's meaning) or laymen and professional actors' interpretations of their everyday activities, to common sense knowledge and individuals as the knowledge actors of daily life. But, as we can see regarding the original argument on institutionalization and legitimization, this is a rather contingent and by no way necessary elaboration of their work. SKAD, although situated in this paradigm of knowledge research, is both an extension and a correction, elaborating on the "objective reality" side of Berger's and Luckmann's theory, that is on the (institutional) processes and structures in social relations of knowledge, in taking the *discursive* construction of highly consequential objective realities into consideration. But, as we have seen, the original work of Berger and Luckmann offers a rather comprehensive view on society as symbolic order and ordering,

including both institutional levels and actors' agencies, and the interplay between both. Their insistence on Mead and Schütz explains the "priority" assumed here over Foucault's argument for discourses, which only addresses institutional settings and practices. Foucault's perspective has to be grounded in a general pragmatist theory of the possibility conditions of human usage of symbols, of the "animal symbolicum" (within Ernst Cassirer's meaning). Without such an argument, the notion of discourse itself, as used by Foucault in the different ways we have seen, would lose its sense.

I cannot elaborate on the relations between Mead and Schütz here; I shall only note the strong argument presented by Ilja Srubar (1988) on the close connection between Schütz and Chicago pragmatist thinking. Along with Alfred Schütz, SKAD assumes that meaning is constituted in the human consciousness, in the transformation of sensual experience into conceptual experience. The process by which we ascribe meaning to our actions and interactions, social situations and/or the world, is necessarily located in human consciousness. Without a process such as the layering of meaning, or the constitution of meaning, there is no separation between I and the world, no perception of space, time, the social, and so on. But, this capacity of the consciousness is not a genuine, extra-worldly "production capacity," as if consciousness creates the existence and the meaning of the world out of nothing in an act of solitary, productive creativity. Consciousnesses do indeed, as social phenomenology and symbolic interactionist thinking have largely shown, draw on social interpretation schemata

in a fundamental typification process in order to perform their orientation capacity. This occurs by means of signs, that is, significant symbols or knowledge schemata, which are taken from the socio-historically generated and established collective stocks of knowledge/universes of discourse, for the most part primarily within socialization processes. The specific, subjective stocks of knowledge of particular individuals are inconsistent, heterogeneous, complex sedimentations and actualizations of knowledge triggered from the outside, which always exist in a situational, pragmatically motivated relation between focalization and blurry horizons, actualized by "external" stimulations.

George Herbert Mead and the tradition of symbolic interactionism considered in more depth how individual competence in the use of signs/knowledge or of significant symbols develops within socialization processes. Above all, Mead emphasized the primacy of communication and of the universe(s) of discourse that always historically "comes before" the individual. The existence of social-symbolic orders – never ultimately achieved, but always being in the "process of ordering" – and the corresponding communication processes are a necessary prerequisite for the development of individual consciousnesses that are capable of intellectual reflection. Thought is therefore a form of communication turned inwards. Research into the social phenomenon of discourses is obsolete without such a theory of sign-processing consciousnesses (which does

not mean that everything is already said here).[6] Significant symbols as well as the "legitimate ways to use them" are processed discursively, and the corresponding social rules are working as instructions in discursively embedded utterances. Historically, they make up the more or less solidly fixed pre-existing "supply" to be used by particular individuals and consciousnesses. The language system of meaning is a pre-condition of the inevitable, necessary "desubjectification" of the individual's interpretation practice; in other words, the historical-social assignation of the possibilities for a "subjective" orientation of individuals in the life-world. Its usage always presupposes the participating actors' capacity for interpretation. Every long-term use of significant symbols is a social practice regulated by social conventions. These conventions form the basis of discourse practices as a set of more or less powerful, more or less institutionalized instructing rules. They are actualized in practical usage, thus simultaneously reproduced and altered, or changed, as needed. So individual or collective actors' complex involvement in discourses is socially regulated, but not determined. There is therefore, in principal, a certain amount of freedom in interpretation and action in concrete situations as well as a surplus of forms of communication and models for the attribution of meaning. Societies differ in the available spectrum and in their ways of producing such choices.

I identify discourses, following Foucault, as regulated, structured practices of sign usage

in social arenas, which constitute smaller or larger symbolic universes. Discourses are simultaneously both an expression and a constitutional prerequisite of the (modern) social; they become real through the actions of social actors, supply specific knowledge claims, and contribute to the liquefaction and dissolution of the institutionalized interpretations and apparent unavailabilities. Discourses crystallize and constitute themes in a particular form as social interpretation and action issues. Discursive formations are discourse groupings, which follow the same formation rules. For example, a scientific discourse is manifest in texts, conferences, papers, talks, associations, and so on, which can all be studied as data. It emerged historically out of actions and interactions committed to "tell the empirical truth" about phenomena "in the world" – both in its form or formal appearance as well as in its contents: what could – and should – be told about these phenomena. Once institutionalized and given general legitimation, it pre-structures (as Alfred Schütz indicated in the citation above) what could be said and done in this particular discourse arena. Michel Foucault, in his seminal works already mentioned, identified the ways in which dimensions of discourse can be analyzed as emergent discourse formations without recourse to the unmasking of "real" or "covert" reasons and intentions of particular social interest groups or actors. He then proposed corresponding dimensions of analysis of discursive formations which, when combined with historically situated institutionalization processes and the interwoven actions of social

actors therein, can be a benefit for interpretative sociology. In discourses, the use of language or symbols by social actors constitutes the sociocultural facticity of physical and social realities. The meaning of signs, symbols, images, gestures, actions or things is more or less fixed in socially, spatially, and temporally or historically situated (and therefore transformable) orders of signs. It is affirmed, conserved or changed in the concrete usage of the signs. In this respect, every fixed meaning is a snapshot within a social process that is capable of generating an endless variety of possible readings and interpretations. Discourses can be understood as attempts to freeze meanings or, more generally speaking, to freeze more or less broad symbolic orders, that is, fix them in time and by so doing, institutionalize a binding context of meaning, values and actions/agency within social collectives. SKAD is concerned with this correlation between the sign usage as a social practice and the (re)production/transformation of social orders of knowledge. It is called the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (analysis) because the perspective towards discourses implied in SKAD can be situated in the sociology of knowledge tradition founded by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. This is mainly due to SKAD's research focus on knowledge and symbolic orderings and because it benefits from its connection to this tradition, close to qualitative research. More specifically, this approach proposes a perspective on discourse that bridges the gap between either agency or structure oriented traditions in sociology of knowledge. In-

deed, just as Berger and Luckmann addressed the manifestation of institutions out of processes of institutionalization, we can consider the processing of discourses through society as a dialectical interplay between actors producing statements, and the pre-given, as well as emerging structurations and sociohistorical means they have to draw upon.

SKAD is not a method, but a research program embedded in the sociology of knowledge tradition in order to examine the discursive construction of symbolic orders, which occurs in the form of competing politics of knowledge. Social relationships of knowledge are complex sociohistorical constellations of production, stabilization, structuration and transformation of knowledge within a variety of social arenas. SKAD examines discourses as performative statement practices and symbolic orderings, which constitute reality orders and also produce power effects in a conflict-ridden network of social actors, institutional dispositifs, and knowledge stocks. It is emphasized that discourse is concrete and material, it is not an abstract idea or free-floating line of arguments. This means that discourse appears as speech, text, discussion, visual image, use of symbols, which have to be performed by actors following social instructions, and therefore discourses are a real social practice. SKAD research is concerned with reconstructing the processes which occur in social construction, objectivization, communication, and the legitimization of meaning structures in institutional spheres and issue arenas. It is also concerned with the analysis of the social effects of these

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[6] Consider, for example, the (widely forgotten?) work of Florian Znaniecki on *Cultural Reality* (1919).

processes. This includes various dimensions of reconstruction: sense making as well as subject formation, ways of acting, institutional/structural contexts, and social consequences; how, for example, they become apparent in the form of a dispositif. That means: an installed infrastructure designed to "solve a problem" (for instance, consisting of a law, administrative regulations, staff, things like cars, computers, and so on; all kinds of disposals) or in the adoption or rejection by social actors in their everyday life, for example actors refusing to "behave in an environmentally-friendly way," as "enterprising selves" (within Nicolas Rose's meaning), "flexible man" (within Richard Sennett's meaning) or "a true African-America." This perspective assumes the normality of symbolic battles, contested problematizations, and controversies, of competitive discourses, whose manifestations and effects can be traced back only in the rarest cases to the dominance and intentions of individual actors (although, one can perhaps not dismiss them upfront). The (more or less institutionalized) speaker positions which are available within discursive battles and the corresponding discourse or issue arenas, as well as the social actors who are involved within them, are not "masters of the discourse universe," but are rather (co-)constituted by the existing structuring of discursive orders or formations. Nevertheless, they in no way act as "cultural dopes" (as Garfinkel put it some time ago), but rather as lively, interested producers of statements, as articulators with more or less strong resource and creativity potentials. The symbolic orders that are produced

and transformed in this process constitute the aggregated effects of their actions; unambiguous temporary forms of dominance or hegemony are probably rare, but they are non-standard configurations that should not be excluded from an empirical point of view.

I describe discursive fields as being social arenas, constituting themselves around contested issues, controversies, problematizations, and truth claims in which discourses are in reciprocal competition with one another. The topics of SKAD's analysis are both *public discourses*, as well as *special discourses* performed in close arenas for special publics. They are analyzed with regard to their bearer, to matching or differing formation rules and content positionings, as well as to their effects. In the processing of discourses, specific *discourse coalitions* and statement bearers can "win out" over others, by a wide range of means. As Thomas Kuhn demonstrated a long time ago for scientific revolutions: paradigm shifts do not have to emerge out of arguments; there are many kinds of other reasons. This holds true for discourses, too. However, the then occurring discursive formation cannot be understood as an intended and controlled effect of individual actors. What is at stake in these discourses is the fixing of collective symbolic orders through a more or less accurate repetition and stabilization of the same statements in singular utterances. Argumentative consensus-building processes as projected in Habermas' normative discourse ethics, where all participants are equal, and the best argument wins, may appear as a very particular and rather seldom occurring case in dis-

course processing. SKAD, therefore, addresses discourses as complexes of power/knowledge, which are to be the object not of normative judgment, but of empirical inquiry.

SKAD proposes some more terms in order to analyze utterances that are assumed to be part of the same discursive formation. The term discourse itself indicates a structuration context, which is the basis of disseminated discursive events. The unity of the structuring context, that is, of the discourse in question, should be considered as a necessary hypothetical construct for sociological observation, an essential research hypothesis. This means that discourses indeed exist as/in performances: if we, the observers, state that there is such a thing as a scientific or religious discourse, or an issue driven discourse in public or special arenas, we indeed assume that very different usages of signs and things belong to the same phenomenon – and then we try to give accounts for that phenomenon. This is much the same thing as in every field of sociology. For example, research on families is rather similar: it assumes that assemblages of individual persons can be regrouped, researched, compared, analyzed if considered as "families" (and not, for instance, as a company of friends or biological organisms).

As concrete families are performances of "doing family," discursive orders are the results of a continuous communicative production within individual language and action events, which are, however, not understood as spontaneous or chaotic, but rather as interwoven, structured practices, which refer back to one

another. A pamphlet, a newspaper article or a speech within the context of a demonstration, actualizes, for instance, an environmental policy discourse in differing concrete forms and with differing empirical scope. Discourses are subject to the conditions of institutional inertia: individual discursive events never actualize and reproduce a discourse's structure in a completely identical way, but rather always in a more or less varied form. "Actualization" can therefore be understood in two ways: as the transfer of discourse-structuring patterns into a real event and as the accompanying modification or adaptation to the current conditions of a situational context. Consequential discourse transformations can rarely be related to such an individual event. Rather, they originate out of the sum of variations, in a kind of switch from the quantitative to the qualitative effect. The materiality of discourses (as discursive or non-discursive practices, "real speakers," texts, speeches, discussions, things) simply means: the way discourses exist in societies.

For producing/articulating interpretations, *social actors* use the rules and resources that are available as discourses in their discursive practice, not as deterministic regulation, but as *instruction*, or they react to them as *addressees*. Only if discourse research accounts for this agency of actors can it be understood how the more or less creative implementation of such practices happens. SKAD does not hastily mistake the discourse level as being a condition of possibilities or limitations of utterances with the factual interpretation and practices of social actors. Social actors are not only the empty addressees of

knowledge supplies and the value assessments embedded therein, but are also socially configured incarnations of agency, according to the sociohistorical and situational conditions, who more or less obstinately interpret social knowledge supplies as "offered rules" in their everyday interpretation activities (Hitzler et al. 1999), standing in the crossfire of multiple and heterogeneous, maybe even contradicting discourses, trying to handle the situations they meet.

Subject positions

In what follows, I will give short illustrations – inspired by my own research on waste issue discourses in Germany and France (Keller 2009) – of some further concepts of SKAD, be-

fore finally turning to questions of method. Firstly, social actors are related to discourse in two ways: on the one hand, as the holders of the *speaker position*, or *statement producers*, who speak within a discourse; and on the other hand, as *addressees of the statement practice*. The sociological vocabulary of institutions, organizations, roles, and strategies of the individual or the collective – but always of social actors – can be used for a corresponding analysis of the structuration of speaker positions in discourses. But, actors generally appear on the discursive level, too: *Subject positions/Identity offerings* depict positioning processes and "patterns of subjectivization," which are generated in discourses and which refer to (fields of) addressees. Consider the following cartoon:

Figure 1.
Source: Website Bergischer Abfallwirtschaftsverband. Retrieved February 5, 2010 (www.bavweb.de/).

We do not have to enter here into details of interpretation and meaning-making. I just want to show how a subject position might appear in a given discourse. This cartoon makes a statement on what could be called the "bad guy" in today's environmental and citizenship discourses. He is the one who pollutes, the bad wild waste-maker, the "simple man from the street as big pig" who destroys nature, whilst others are trying to enjoy it. He is the one to be "disciplined," punished, corrected.

The following example is showing up his counterpart, the eco-citizen who has appeared in public discourses all around the western world since the late 1960s:
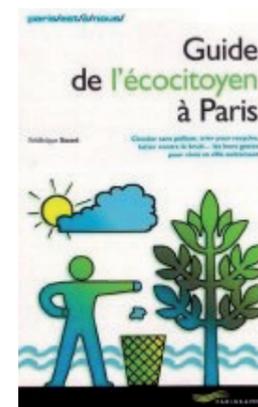
Figure 2.
Source: Website. Retrieved February 1, 2010 (www.greenrepublic.fr).

Practices

The term practice(s) depicts very generally conventionalized action patterns, which are made available in collective stocks of knowledge as a repertoire for action, that is, in other words, a more or less explicitly known, often incorporated recipe or knowledge script about the "proper" way of acting. This knowledge can

originate, establish, and develop itself (further) in fields of social practice through experimenting and testing actions in relation to specific issues. SKAD considers several forms of practice: discursive practices are communication patterns, which are bound to a discourse context. They are not only interesting for discourse research as far as their formal process structure is concerned, as in genre theory and conversation analysis, but rather equally so in consideration of what was called by Foucault the (sociohistorical emergence of) rules of formation, their adoption by social actors and their function in discourse production. Discursive practices are observable and describable, typical ways of acting out statement production whose implementation requires interpretative competence and active shaping by social actors. SKAD differentiates between the latter and between model practices generated in discourses, that is, exemplary patterns (or templates) for actions, which are constituted in discourses, fixed to subject positions and addressed to the discourse's public or to some "counterdiscourse." To continue with the above-mentioned example of environmental discourse, this includes recommendations for eco-friendly behavior (as for example: turning the shower off while you shampoo your hair, using your bike, preparing slow food). Similar to the subject positions discussed earlier, one should not think that the model practice will actually be implemented simply in the way it was imagined in discourse. Its "realization" has to be considered in its own right. The idea of "model practices" can be illustrated like this:

Figure 3.
Source: Mülltrennung im Wohnheim; Website Studentenwohnheim, Bonn. Retrieved February 1, 2012 (www.ende17. stw-bonn.de/?page_id=22) [Waste separation in the student hostel; student hostel, Bonn.]

Readers do not have to understand all the German words used in here. Let me only explain that this diagram shows us a rather complicated system of waste classification in order to guideline students' behavior concerning waste in a German students' hostel: there is the blue color for paper (which has to be flattened before thrown away) – but only for some kinds of paper (such as newspapers, cartons, etc.), not for others (as tissues, dirty papers, women's tampons). There is yellow for all things marked with a green dot (the German recycling label in waste disposals) – except paper and glass. There is green for all organic waste (except meat, fish, cheese, etc.). There is grey for all the rest (meat, fish, condoms, etc.). And there are four further differentiated kinds of waste (as glass, bulk garbage, electric appliances, special or hazardous waste). The text gives a large number of instructions, not only in classifying different kinds of waste, but also in indicating the correct actions to be performed. And it introduces a third kind of actor in the little blue field at the right bottom side: *Umweltmentor.* A sideline note: "[t]he environmental coaches take care in keeping the students' hostel environmentally friendly and supervise regular waste separation. Your environmental coaches are S. and M." This is the soft police of disciplining the "bad guys."

Dispositifs

The social actors who mobilize a discourse and who are mobilized by discourse establish a corresponding infrastructure of discourse production and problem solving, which can be identified as a dispositif. Michel Foucault (1980:194-228) introduced different notions of dispositifs. SKAD takes up that one which is most common in everyday French (and in a certain way may be linked to the Anglo-Saxon word "disposal"). Dispositif then refers to what could be called an infrastructure established by social actors or collectivities in order to solve a particular situation with its inherent problems of action. Consider the state's need to get some "money of its own:" financial laws, administrative regulation, tax authorities, tax assessment, tax investigators all together, mixed up with texts, objects, actions and persons, constitute the dispositif in question – an ensemble of heterogeneous elements, drawn together, arranged in order to manage a situation, to respond to a kind of "urgency" (within Michel Foucault's meaning). SKAD distinguishes between *dispositifs of discourse production* and *dispositifs* or infra-structures emerging out of a discourse (or out of several discourses) in order to deal with the real world phenomena addressed by the discourse in question. A dispositif is both: the institutional foundation, the total of all material, practical, personal, cognitive, and normative infrastructure of discourse production, and also the *infrastructures of implementation* emerging out of discursively configured problematizations of fields of practice. Consider the issue arena of "household waste," recycling, and so on, important issues of public debate and policy decisions in recent decades: with reference to the discourse (re)production level, the discursive interventions of the various management, spokespersons, and press committees and also the research centers who diffuse and legitimize a specific construction of waste issues through their statements, brochures, and so on, should be mentioned. With regard to implementation one could include among these the legal regulation of responsibilities, formalized proceedings, specific objects, technologies, sanctions, courses of studies, personal and other phenomena. For instance, waste separation systems are part of the dispositif and effects of discourses on waste. This includes the corresponding legal regulations, the waste removal company's staff and, finally, also the waste separation and waste cleaning practices to which people submit (or refuse). Dispositifs mediate between discourses and fields of practice. SKAD is therefore not just textual analysis of signs in use, communication, text or image research. It is simultaneously case study, observation, and even a dense ethnographic description, which considers the link between statement events, practices, actors, organizational arrangements, and objects as more or less historical and far-reaching socio-spatial processes. The following pictures illustrate this idea of the dispositif by picking up very arbitrarily some elements:

Figure 4.
Source: German Journal for sustainable waste treatment. Retrieved February 5, 2010 (www.rhombos.de).

Figure 5. Some elements of waste disposal systems.
Source: Website Bergischer Abfallwirtschaftsverband. Retrieved February 5, 2010 (www.bavweb.de/).

Symbolic Orderings

We have so far discussed some core conceptual elements of SKAD. We shall now focus on the "knowledge side of discourse," that is of the symbolic orderings proposed and performed in singular discursive events and series of such events. Discourse includes both: form and content. Discourse research may concentrate on the sociohistorical genealogy, variation and transformation of such forms, following questions like: In what way does a speech or a text have to be formally constructed to count as being part of political, religious, scientific discourse at a given historical moment and context? Second,

at least in sociology, there is a remaining interest in what is being said and by whom, with what effects – that is: in contents, actors and power. Please remember Max Weber and his analysis of *The protestant ethic* – a study not about formal aspects of sermons, prayers, religious books, but about their content – and its effects. Naturally, all like forms, contents, actors and powers will change over time. Nevertheless, discourse oriented research tries to account for the processes by which different, often conflicting ways of symbolic ordering, compete – and this is what content is all about – and why some of them will be more consequential than oth-

ers. This means, roughly, that there is no longer a need to show that all is social construction or contingency, but to illuminate, interpret and thereby understand (make understandable) how and with what effects such a contingency is reduced in social engagements. This holds for scientific discourses, as well as for discourses in the public realm or in special issue arenas. Therefore, SKAD does not address singular, isolated, individualized discursive events for their own sake, but always as being part of a series of such events. Foucault proposed a very useful idea here, close to qualitative research agendas. In his *Archaeology*, he stated that discourse research is about statements, not about singular utterances. This idea of "statement" refers to what could be called the typical core element of knowledge configuration processed by a given discourse. To give, but one example from interpretative sociology: William Gamson (1988) speaks of "discursive frames" (for example: a certain way to consider nature, be it as a sophisticated "clockwork" or as "our great mother"), argumentative reasoning and rhetorical framing devices in order to identify and analyze such statements. SKAD proposes a slightly different framework of sensitizing concepts, closer to sociology of knowledge, in order to analyze the content part of discourses, distinguishing between *interpretative schemes*, *classifications*, *phenomenal structures* [*Phänomenstrukturen*], and *narrative structures*. Together, these elements create the *interpretative repertoire* of a discourse.[7] I shall now consider these concepts more closely.

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[7] The term "interpretive repertoire" was coined by Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter, before Potter turned to a "purer" ethnomethodological perspective. See Wetherell and Potter (1988), Keller (2009:36).

The term "interpretative scheme or frame" (*Deutungsmuster*), close to Gamson's idea of frame, but situated in the German traditions of *Deutungsmusteranalyse*, depicts meaning and action-generating schemata, which are combined in and circulated through discourses. Such interpretative schemes can be applied to different kinds of phenomena or events, and indeed, they do undergo historical and social transformations. Interpretative schemes are part of society's "stocks of knowledge." Discourses differentiate in the way they combine such frames in specific interpretative frameworks. They are able to generate new interpretative schemes and ways of positioning them within the social agenda – which is exactly what characterizes discourses. An example of this is the interpretative scheme of the "irreducible risk" of complex technologies, which has found its way into social stocks of knowledge over the last few decades within, and because of, the various environmental discourses (and disasters). This frame can be applied to nuclear plants (which is evidenced by the Japanese events earlier this year), as well as to waste disposal infrastructures or nanotechnologies and many others. It might be opposed by a framing in terms of "deficit of political system" (this was the Chernobyl case) or "singular human error." Differing from Gamson and some social movement research, SKAD argues that such framings are of interest far beyond the singular question of their strategic use just because they always aspire to configure reality. And against Gamson's and others' empirical research strategy, I would argue that such interpretative schemes may appear in very different ways, and analytical strategies have to take care of this: they need careful reconstruction,

which cannot be reduced to a quantified "measure" of key words or key expressions (a strategy adapted by William Gamson and his colleagues in their analysis of media discourses), and which has to expand beyond media platforms in order to reach for the complexities of arenas of discourse.

A second element for the content-focused analysis of discourses is the exploration of the classifications (and therefore qualifications) of phenomena, which are performed within them and by them. Classifications are a more or less elaborate, formalized, and institutionally fixed form of social typification processes. Like every form of symbolizing, sign usage within discourses classifies the world, separates it into particular categories, which creates the basis for its experience, interpretation and way of being dealt with. Competition for such classifications occurs, for example, between discourses about how (potential) technical catastrophes should be interpreted, which identity offerings can be considered legitimate, what the differences between correct and condemnable behavior may look like, and if perpetrators are certifiably sane or not (one could consider Foucault's Rivière case here, see Foucault [1982] or his book on the *Order of things*). Classifications have specific impacts for action. Although, in the interpretative paradigm, this was shown in the seminal work of Bowker and Star (2000), discourse research has so far rather seldomly addressed the issue of classification work.

Alongside interpretative schemes and classifications, the concept of phenomenal structure [*Phänomenstruktur*], corresponding somehow to Karl Mannheim's classical notion of *Aspektstruktur*, offers a complementary third access to the levels of content-related structuring of discourse (see Table 1).

For instance, constructing a theme as a problem on the public agenda, requires that the protagonists deal with the issue in several dimensions, and refer to argumentative, dramatizing, and evaluative statements; the determination of the kind of problem or theme of a statement unit, the definition of characteristics, causal relations (cause-effect), and their link to responsibilities, identities of involved actors and non-humans, problem dimensions, values, moral and aesthetic judgments, consequences, possible courses of action, and others. The phenomena which are constituted by phenomenal structures do not necessarily appear as a "problem to be solved," even if they are always in a very general way about "meaning-making and problems of action." The existing state of discourse research provides insight into some of the elements mentioned above of such phenomenal structures. For example, the subject positions constituted by a discourse can be differentiated in a variety of ways. Discourses carry out social actors' positionings as heroes, rescuers, problem cases, sensibly, responsibly acting individuals, villains, and so on. Social actors are not pre-given or pre-fixed entities with clear interests, strategies and resources. SKAD discourse research is very much about the discursive processes in which actors emerge, engage themselves or are engaged by others, claim or perform reciprocal positionings, and are involved in multiple ways in discursive structurations. This also includes discourse-generated model practices, which provide templates for how one should act concerning issues that have been defined by the discourse. The concept of phenomenal structure takes on these kinds of consideration and links them to the fact that discourses, in the constitution of their referential rela-

tion (and so their "theme"), designate different elements or dimensions of their topic and link them to a specific form or phenomenal constellation. This does not describe any essential qualities of a discourse topic, but rather the corresponding discursive attributions. Both the structural dimensions of such a phenomenal structure and their concrete implementation have to be depicted out of empirical data; this constitutes a major difference towards the concept of "conditional matrix" as established by Anselm Strauss and Juliette Corbin in their grounded theory approach.

Table 1. Phenomenal structure: administrative discourse on waste issues, France.

Dimensions	Concrete Implementation
Causes	Waste as "sanitary issue;" discrepancy between amount produced and disposal or recycling infrastructure: • Wealth growth, economic and technical advances, consumption needs of the consumers → rise in waste produced • Waste as a problem of deficient waste disposal at landfills • Waste as a problem of a lack of citizen responsibility and discipline • Waste as a problem of national payments balance/usage of raw materials • Waste as a problem of international competitive conditions
Responsibilities	• Politics/Government/National administration (must develop and enforce a waste politics framework program in coordination with the economy) • Regional corporations, Economy (individual responsibility for the implementation of the political specifications) • Citizens/Society (giving up irrational fears and selfish denials; taking over responsibility for waste, acceptance of the technologies)
Need for action/ Problem-solving	Low problem level; technical mastery of the waste issue is possible through recycling and elimination; guidelines: • Large-scale technological expansion and optimization of the disposal and recycling infrastructure • Obtaining acceptance of removal infrastructure through the use of communication und participation • Comprehensive mobilization of citizens' responsibility (local authorities, economy, consumers)
Self-positioning	• Representatives of the scientific-technical, economic, and pragmatic reason, of civil (socio-cultural/socio-technical) progress • Government as the administrator of the collective interest
Other-positioning	• Civil actors (regional corporations, economy, citizens) show a lack of consciousness for their responsibility, irrational fears, and suppression • Irrationalism and fundamentalism of German waste politics, disguise for economic protectionism
Culture of things/wealth model	Not a topic of the waste discussion; follows seemingly "sacrosanct" modernization dynamics and market rationalities; material model of affluence; freedom of needs (production and consumption)
Values	• Government secures collective interests (affluence, progress, modernity) • (Actual and moral) cleanliness of the public space • Nature as (scarce national) resource, whose usage can be optimized • "Society as it is right here and now" as realization of "good life"

Source: Keller (2009:232).

A final element that is part of the content-related shaping of discourses should be discussed here. The structuring moments of statements and discourses, through which various interpretation schemes, classifications, and dimensions of the phenomenal structure (for example, actors, problem definitions) are placed in relation to one another in a specific way, can be described as narrative structures. Narrative structures are not simply techniques used to link linguistic elements together, but as *mise en intrigue* (employment; within Paul Ricœur's meaning), as a configurative act, which links disparate signs and statements in the form of narratives, they are rather basic modality of humans' ordering of the experience of the world (cf. Ricœur 1984:5). In the seriality of discursive events constituting a discourse, the above mentioned elements of knowledge configuration are tied together in a particular "narration," and are integrated via a common thread, a story line. Narrative structures link the various interpretation elements of a discourse into a coherent, portrayable, and communicable form. They provide the acting scheme for the narration with which the discourse can address an audience in the first place and with which it can construct its own coherence over the course of time.

It should be noted here that these elements for analyzing the "knowledge side of discourse" presented so far can each be used separately or all together in empirical research. They indicate what to look for, and how to "order" results of analysis. SKAD proposes further kinds of ordering devices, such as maps of engaged actors, maps relating actors and competing discourses or more general maps trying to account for the processing of discourses in the public sphere. Consider the following example in Table 2 (taken from Keller 2009:287).[8]

This table shows a snapshot of two competing subdiscourses on waste issues in Germany in the late 1980s. The "structural-conservative" subdiscourse mainly insists on technological problem-solving and keeping the economy running as it is. His opponent (culture-critical discourse) argues for a cultural turn towards another way of life with less consumption and waste. The two (sub)discourses were reconstructed and typified out of empirical data. They are articulated by different discourse coalitions (which means: actors who use the same interpretative repertoires, whether they may acknowledge this or not). Some actors are located at the centre; this indicates that they are articulating mixes of both discourses. The more actors are located to the right or left side of the table, the more profiled are their articulations towards a "purified version" of each discourse. Of course, this indicates only tendencies.

[8] Keller (2009) uses several tables or "maps" in order to account for the discursive arena of waste politics in Germany and France, which can't be included here. These mappings refer to relations between opponent discourses and economic, political, administrative and civil societies actors/entities and the public sphere, as well as to the arena of actors involved in this processes, according to their "statement producing activity," which might be central or at the margins of a given discursive field. Close to this are Clarke's ideas of "mapping," as well as Michel Foucault's, Gilles Deleuze's and Bruno Latour's arguments on "cartography."

Table 2. The public discursive field of legitimate statements and articulators in (West) Germany (discourse on waste) in the 1980s (some examples).

Actors (Articulators)	Structural-conservative discourse on waste (technological-ecological modernization): better technology will solve all problems	Culture-critical discourse on waste (political-ecological restructuration): change of cultural and economical model (way of life) necessary
Politics/administration	Discourse coalitions * German Federal Government (ministry of economics) * federal states governments (Baden-Württemberg, Nordrhein-Westfalen) * parties: * FDP * CDU/CSU * SPD * communities	Discourse coalitions * (ministry of environmental issues) * federal states governments (Nieder- sachsen, Hessen) * parties: *SPD *Greens * communities
Economy/environmental associations	* interest associations of economic actors (BDI, DIHT, VCI) * important business companies * companies working in the waste business	*environmental associations *trade unions
Experts	* scientific and administrative experts *federal environ- *federal expert council	* scientific and administrative experts mental office for environmental issues * parliamentary office for technology assessment * NGO based research centers for environmental issues
Media	* some newspapers (i.e., *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*)	* some newspapers (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) * some newspapers and journals (i.e., *DER SPIEGEL, Die ZEIT*)

Source: Keller (2009:287).

On Methods

SKAD aims to direct qualitative research's attention in sociology, sociology of knowledge and interpretative traditions towards the field of discourses. As Adele Clarke (2005) argued very convincingly in *Situational Analysis*, discourses are not external to situations, but should be considered as internal components. That means: whenever qualitative sociological research deals with concrete phenomena and empirical questions, it can take care of this discursive dimension in order to give more complex accounts of "what is going on." SKAD research even takes the discourses under consideration as the "situation to address." Strategies of qualitative research are highly interesting here, as discourses are ways of meaning-making, manifest in concrete textual data. If sociology seeks to be an empirical science, that is, a specifically accountable form of reality-related analysis rather than being a writer's novel or journalist's report, then certain claims of general disclosure and transparency of the steps of research and interpretation must be maintained. This requires

a systematic procedure of analysis and applies independently of whether or not subjective or collective stocks of knowledge (or the forms of externalization/articulation, which document them or are indicative of such: books, speeches, newspaper articles, films) are being analyzed.

Like certain other qualitative approaches, SKAD, therefore, favors sequential analysis of textual data directed towards its own research questions, to give an account of discursive claims and statements beyond the single utterance or discursive event: line-by-line, step-by-step development, debate and choice of interpretations, in order to build up an accountable analysis of frames (*Deutungsmuster*), phenomenal structure, classifications and story lines. The open coding procedure elaborated by Grounded Theory is helpful in indicating this procedure as it demands careful checking of interpretation and categories against the data at hand. In this sense, SKAD is part of the newer hermeneutical tradition in sociology of knowledge, which takes care of the fragile relation between "questions towards" and "answers given" by empirical data. For example, in my own research on waste issues, a "risk" frame was elaborated out of newspaper data. This interpretative scheme entered German discourses on waste in the early 1980s, and appeared in many different ways: as textual utterance, as newspaper title illustration, as scientific analysis of waste incineration; in French discourse on waste the main organizing frame to be found was the importance of the French engineers mastering of all kinds of technological procedures, including types of waste disposal.

I speak of interpretative analytics in order to emphasize that discourse research places various data types and interpretation steps in relation to one another, for example, more classical sociological strategies of individual case analysis or case studies combined with detailed close analyses of textual data. I also speak of interpretative analytics because, in contrast to other qualitative approaches in sociology, SKAD is not *per se* interested in the "consistency of meaning" inherent to one particular document of discourse, but rather assumes that such data is articulating some (not all) heterogeneous elements of discourse or that maybe they appear as crossing points of several discourses (as in many books or newspaper articles). So, discourse research has to break up the material surface unity of utterances. The mosaic of the analyzed discourse or discourses develops incrementally out of this process – this is certainly one of the most important modifications of traditional qualitative approaches in the social sciences, which very often take one interview, for example, as a "coherent" and "sufficient" case of its own.

In order to work through complex fields of discursive data, SKAD uses ideas of theoretical sampling and concepts of minimal and maximal contrasting (see Strauss 1987:22-40; Strauss and Corbin 1998:201-216). Theoretical sampling means the step-by-step building up of data, in starting analysis early and in following argued criteria for continuing data collection, aiming to explore the whole range of the discourse or the discursive field of interest, of positions taken and actors appearing (or, surprisingly, not appearing). Minimal and maximal contrasting is a systemat-

ic strategy to cross the field of inquiry in order to establish the range of important findings and to achieve detailed accounts of particular elements of analysis. To be clear: SKAD, unlike classical Grounded Theory, does not aim to explore particular "situations and (inter)actions" and their basic social processes, but ongoing discourses in social arenas. Besides these strategies from Grounded Theory, the rich tradition of qualitative data analysis, of case studies and fieldwork methods as developed in symbolic interactionism and interpretative sociology, can be usefully referred to in order to grasp the materialities and dispositifs of discourse, as sociological discourse research deals, to a great extent, with current issues (this is one major difference from the historical orientation chosen by Foucault).

SKAD is, like all discourse-focused approaches, itself a discourse about discourses, which follows its own discourse production rules, ways of enabling and disciplining. Statements about individual data, as well as generalizing hypotheses, for-

mulations and conclusions, must be argued and explained. However, the criteria for the evaluation of evidence and inconsistencies are themselves a part of discourses, and in this way there is no escape from the network of meanings. It cannot be ignored that the SKAD reconstruction work is also irreducibly construction work. The interpretation can be called reconstructive because it refers to data, and its goal is to reveal something about the data's interrelation and peculiarities. In this general sense, all discourse research necessarily proceeds in a reconstructive way. Such analyses proceed constructively because they generate interpretations, conceptual schemata, and observations out of the data, and in so doing they generate types of statements that were not in the actual data as such and could not have been. Since the construction process is determined first of all by the relevancies – the questions, analysis concepts and strategies – of sociological discourse research, these are geared towards giving the "field's own relevancies" a chance.

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Bridging the Gap: Image, Discourse, and Beyond – Towards a Critical Theory of Visual Representation

Abstract
Pictures and images play a central role in contemporary society. Not only do they mediate meaning in a seemingly universal language (Fromm 1981), but their relevance for the construction of perception and beliefs cannot be underestimated. In global, political and religious discourses, controversies often revolve around images. The influence visuality has on the forming of ideas has already been discussed in the 1930s (Freud 1932). Today, even neurobiologists acknowledge the influential power of mental images (Hüther 2004).

But, despite the well acknowledged impact the Pictorial Turn has had up to date, discourse analyses are typically carried out solely on linguistic material. Nevertheless, even in the Foucauldian sense the term "discourse" relates to epistemes and power not only conveyed by language, but also by pictures and images, in "a mushy mixture of the articulable and the visible" (Deleuze 2006).

Nonetheless, the specific characteristics of pictures and images render analysis ever more difficult. Visual representations are a case *sui generis*. They cannot be transcribed into language completely. Research on visual artifacts can be put to work as a disclosure of how symbolic orders and the accordant identities are constructed. Something present, a picture or an image, is analyzed with regard to its ideological implications, as studies related to Cultural Studies usually do. Yet, beyond the visible picture, if representation is the making-present of something that's absent (Pitkin 1967), what respectively who is being made absent by the presence of the visible? The ambiguity of representation as "standing for" *versus* "depiction of" might at the same time enable a critical approach in the analysis of visual discourse.

In this article, I attempt to conceptualize a methodological approach for conducting discourse analyses on visual material. For this purpose, I will introduce a dialectical notion of representativeness as imagery that draws on Gayatri C. Spivak's critique and Hannah Fenichel Pitkin's Political Theory of representation, as well as on Siegfried Kracauer's deliberations on film. Finally, I am going to give an example for putting this approach into research practice.

Keywords
Discourse Analysis; Critical Theory; Dialectics; Picture Theory; Picture Analysis; Visual Representation; Visual Politics; Pictorial Turn

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Introduction: Cultural Studies, Visual Politics, and Power

Regarding concepts and notions developed in the context of Cultural Studies, power can be considered a fundamental term. For Oliver Marchart, culture has political relevance because of its connection to power (2008). Their potential alliance to power is also, as I want to suggest, precisely the reason why debates about pictures and representativeness oscillate between two basic positions. Iconoclasm aims at the destruction of pictures because their power is conceived as dangerous. Due to the aniconism in the *Old Testament*, this perspective is deeply rooted in Western culture, whereas idolatry as the worship of false images is considered a cardinal sin. However, both positions, idolatric as well as iconophiliac, imply an acknowledgement of the power images hold, of their potential to structure perception and consciousness. Images are productive, and power in discourse is also existent as iconic power (Mitchell 1986). Conceptions of reality have been mediated by images in all cultures at all times. The function visuality has for the processing of perception into notions, for shaping ideas, has been discussed very early by Sigmund Freud (1932). Following the Pictorial Turn, this centrality of visual representation has been widely recognized in most scientific disciplines. The developments related to this turn usually refer to a certain epistemological stance that takes into account the ubiquity of pictures in contemporary society and their centrality for the construction of perception. Since W. J. T. Mitchell's proclamation in 1992, it has not only been attempted to substitute this by a so-called "iconic" and a "visualistic" turn.[1] Beyond such academic claims, the process all of these terms describe has had effects on the humanities, as well as on the natural sciences. Apparently, the centrality of pictures represents a certain consensus in all kinds of scientific disciplines today. Even neurobiologists, like Gerald Hüther (2004), have started investigating how mental images shape the brain structure.[2] Yet, in spite of the widely recognized influence of the Pictorial Turn, discourse analyses are usually only conducted on linguistic artifacts. However, the term "discourse," as Michel Foucault established it, is linked to epistemes and power in ways mediated by both language and pictures/images, in "a mushy mixture of the articulable and the visible" (Deleuze 2006:33). In globalized discourse, controversies often revolve around images, like in the violent conflict about the caricatures published by the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. In his book *Idols of the market. Modern iconoclasm and the Fundamentalist Spectacle* (2009); Sven Lütticken even refers to the violent conflicts of contemporary world politics as "image wars" (2009:11). Hence, visual representations should be methodically included in discourse analyses.

Nevertheless, a systematic study and analysis of those pictures available to any member of society

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[1] For a brief overview regarding the content and implications of the proclaimed turns and related fields of study, see Schnettler (2007:195). Since this article focuses on visual representations that are widely distributed, usually by mass media, the above statement is limited to these as well.

[2] It is important to stress that Hüther does not state this process to work the other way around, as biologistic argumentations would.

is, apart from some exceptions such as Bernt Schnettler's notion of *Visual Knowledge* (2007), a relatively new phenomenon in the social sciences and thus, still rather scarce (Bohnsack 2009).[3] Notably in the context of Cultural Studies, respectively Media Studies, to some extent, established tradition of picture analysis from a perspective informed by social science has been developed (cf. e.g., Lacey 1998; Rose 2001; Hepp 2010).

Discourse analysis on visual data exceeds classical methods of picture analysis as established by art history, and methodological approaches that refer to the research instruments established by the latter (Müller 2003; Bohnsack 2009), primarily in its scope. But, these options concerning quantity affect the status of the pictures in question, too, and thus alter the modes of the approach, the research perspective, as well. This is why I want to argue that the focus on the relationship between power and culture so characteristic for Cultural Studies should be extended towards a Critical Theory of visual representation. "Critical" not only because it draws on approaches to representativeness that have been framed by the Frankfurt School, but also because such a theory and the related methodology might be able to correct those "surpluses" of Cultural Studies that overemphasize the audience's self-will, their agency.[4]

In the following, I want to argue that in order to convincingly grasp the influence pictures and images exert on ways of thinking – on discourse in the Foucauldian sense, that is – it is necessary to expand the focus and not only look at pictures themselves, but at their position in a certain discourse constellation, their function for that discourse and their relationship to other pictures, and especially their dialectic work of constituting absences while representing.

I am thus going to investigate possible ways to analyze visual artifacts that factor in the specific logic of pictures and images, while at the same time looking at the relation between pictures and their context. This relation between visual text and social context, and its connection to power, is what I refer to as Visual Politics. This term marks an understanding of cultural artifacts that includes not only the particular qualities of the material picture – as in art history – or the meaning people make of it – as in late Cultural Studies, but also the modes of production that constitute the artefact. Furthermore, I do assume that these modes of production at the same time constitute a particular need – or desire – for the cultural product in question.

What I am thus attempting is to combine discourse theory and discourse analysis with perspectives usually associated with the Frankfurt School. To stick with Foucauldian terms: I am trying to find a way to bridge the articulable and the visible in doing discourse analysis, and expand this framework to visual texts while concurrently using analytical instruments of Critical Theory to allow for connecting the findings to their political and economic circumstances.

For this purpose, I am going to briefly outline some basic theoretical assumptions and the thereby arising methodological consequences. I will then introduce a dialectical notion of representativeness that draws on Gayatri C. Spivak's postcolonial critique and Hannah Fenichels Pitkin's Political Theory of representation and offer a way to grasp the relationship between what is made visible – what is present – and what is made absent in the process of representation. In order to do so, I will use a theoretical, as well as methodological perspective that has been elaborated by Siegfried Kracauer. I am going to argue that in spite of the divide that exists between Critical Theory[5] and schools of thought labeled as "poststructuralist," his approach can be put to work in contemporary discourse analysis as well.

On Theoretical Assumptions and Methodological Consequences

In his essay *Critical Theory and Cultural Studies: The Missed Articulation* (1997), Douglas Kellner criticizes the turn Cultural Studies have made since the 1980s, a turn towards "postmodern forms of identity politics and less critical perspectives on media and consumer culture" (1997:20). This, as he calls it, "tendency to decentre, or even ignore completely, economics, history and politics" instead stresses the creative and productive use the audience makes of pop-

ular material.[6] On the other hand, approaches associated with the Frankfurt School have been accused of economic determinism or reductionism (Kellner 1997). Kellner dismisses this kind of totalizing labeling of different schools, which I find a viable way to pursue, particularly since the situation has received an additional spin lately by the implications of the pictorial turn.

I believe that the postmodern tendencies both Cultural Studies and Foucauldian thought represent on one side and the potential that approaches of the Frankfurt School hold for analysis of pictures and images on the other side do not necessarily have to be played off against each other. Instead, a combination of their specific advantages might offer a way out of the *cul de sac* either school of thought can turn out to be when it comes to analyzing visual artifacts, especially because both schools of thought have deemed ideology critique as essential for a critical research on culture. Kellner's proposal to bring together the concepts of an active audience and a manipulated one (1997:28) will be taken on here with regard to the Frankfurt School's economic analysis. Yet, the latter will be complemented by an approach that takes seriously the specific potential that pictorial representativeness holds.

The Gap to be Bridged: Critical Theory *versus* (Post)Structuralist Approaches

With respect to pictorial representativeness, Gertrud Koch has pointed out a fundamental contra-

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[3] Ralf Bohnsack has elaborated an approach to picture analysis, which, as it focuses on the content and the iconographic qualities of the analyzed pictures on the one hand, and on real-life documents on the other, falls prey to the same problems that Cultural Studies face, namely, a neglect of the absences produced in the process of representation. See also below.

[4] A renowned representative of such a stance is John Fiske (2000).

[5] I am aware of the different usage of the term "Critical Theory" in Anglo-American *versus* European contexts. In this article, it refers to Critical Theory in the tradition of the so-called Frankfurt School.

[6] I believe this tendency also reflects the influence Foucauldian theory has had on the Humanities, that is, an emphasis on the potential for resistance any power structure holds, which is a consequence of Foucault's analysis of power as working on microsocial levels as well.

diction regarding Theodor W. Adorno's Critical Theory, namely, the incoherence of his analysis of the commodity as fetish (*Warenfetischanalyse*) going back to aniconism, and his thoughts about the autonomy of the aesthetic (Koch 1992). Both strands of thought recur in popularized form as typical assumptions of Cultural Studies: the "autonomy of the aesthetic" (1992:26) as productivity of the artefact or as the resistant power of the recipients.[7] The valorization of the potential resistant power of cultural artifacts has become the division between both schools, though, since the Frankfurt School's notion of "the aesthetic" was limited to "high culture" (Kellner 1997:17). In turn, their picture critique resonates in image analyses of Cultural Studies relying on ideology critique – that must remain phenomenological, as I will try to show. Without expanding their scope towards a perspective that can encompass not only the audience's, but also the iconic power of the respective image in its context, such analyses will not be able to reach beyond a descriptive level.

Before discussing how the benefits of these approaches can be combined, I want to summarize briefly their respective shortcomings.[8] In short, postmodern or (post)structuralist approaches fail to acknowledge how texts – by which I include pictorial and all other kinds of visual texts – are produced by media industries, and

how the commodification of any cultural text ultimately determines its production. This is not to say it determines its reception in just the same way – although, that probably holds true in a mediated way, too. Yet, the pre-structuring of a cultural commodity alongside certain ideological biases that are in turn produced by the capitalist mode of production and the national organization of humankind today cannot be erased by stressing possible ways of resistance to these (Spivak 1988). In addition, I believe that the emphasis these approaches put on the content of the represented, on the material that is made present in the process of representation, renders impossible an understanding of the ways images work, especially with regard to those modes of subjectivization that are made accessible exactly by those cultural texts in question. On the other hand, picture analyses in the iconographical tradition, as well as that of art history, pursue a hermeneutical approach and focus, too, mainly on properties of the picture itself: that which is present in the representation. This stands in opposition to the (post) structuralist insight that meaning is produced in the process of perception, and that the production of meaning is always dependent on context. So, in spite of art history scholars claiming that the "classical" instruments their discipline offers form the gateway for any analysis of visual artifacts (Bredekamp 2006; Schnettler 2007), when it comes to what I have called Visual Politics, this approach is a too narrow one. It may become useful for detailed analyses, but it definitely needs completion to make it a useful instrument in social sciences' research.

Regarding Critical Theory, the accusation of economic reductionism cannot be held on to at a close look, as Kellner points out (1997). Yet, this perspective does, at first glance, not allow for the structuring power of discourse as Foucault has elaborated in *An Archeology of knowledge* (2007). Hence, this approach would benefit from an "update" as well.

Either way, there is no doubt that the analysis of "statements" on a visual level is even more difficult to standardize than it has been for linguistic statements. Pictures and images hold genuinely unique qualities that are translatable in language only partially, which renders questionable any scientific analysis of pictures that does not account for their context. This becomes obvious when it comes to analyzing in detail the microstructure of a "fragment of discourse" (Jäger 2009:193) or, on an even smaller scale, a statement, "the elementary unit of discourse" (Foucault 2007:90). That is why it is ever more important to stress that discourse analysis relying on Foucauldian terms is a relational method and statements, linguistic as well as pictorial, need to be analyzed in their relationship to others. Elements of discourse constitute each other mutually. According to Rainer Keller and others, any discourse analysis is an approach "… that identifies the different elements and dimensions of the thematic field as *constituting and stabilizing each other reciprocally*" (Keller et al. 2003:11 [translation A.S.]). Hence, discourse analysis aims at the ways texts and context are connected (Angermüller 2001). I believe that this perspective can be very useful for the analysis of pictures, too: assuming that meaning is produced in the process of perception, and that

structures of cultural artifacts are more or less open, and thus allow many or few alternative readings, the production of meaning is always dependent on context, and this holds true for pictures as well.

This emphasis on the overall structure, on the relationship between text and context is what I believe can be the key for putting to work an analysis of pictures and images that does not fall prey to the essentializing assumption that meaning is in some "magical" way incorporated by the artefact. Neither enables this perspective determinist views such as that meaning is forced upon a passive audience top-down by the culture industry.

Furthermore, using an approach built on discourse theory protects picture analysis from being mere interpretation dependent on the interpreter by narrowing down the arbitrariness of meaning. Pinning down the meaning of pictures – moreover, by means of language, which is still the preferred medium of scientific communication – is a much more precarious task than to do that with linguistic texts (Schnettler 2007). Hence, linking picture analysis to context – discourse, that is – might enable a viable way.

To summarize these presuppositions, the attempt to sketch aspects of a Critical Theory of Visual Representation will draw on (post)structuralist thought or Cultural Studies insofar as meaning is understood as being constituted in a relational way and that signs – pictures and images – receive meaning in the process of reception, that is, in the respective relation between sign and recipient. Therefore, this meaning is historically con-

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[7] See, for example, the three-part model elaborated by Stuart Hall. He distinguishes between a dominant, a negotiated and an oppositional reading (cf. *The summary by Marchart* 2008:131).

[8] Such a purpose necessarily implies a certain reductionism I want to apologize for. Amongst others, this summary is based on Gayatri C. Spivak's thoughts about power and representation (1988; 2008) and, regarding Cultural Studies' subjects, Douglas Kellner (1997).

tingent on one hand. On the other hand, it can be narrowed down for a historically specific time and place for the same reason. In the irreducible tension between the fundamental polysemy of cultural artifacts and those determinants that pre-structure their reception, there can be no ultimate meaning. Yet, since we as producers and participants of discourse access the same ways of articulation and the same artifacts at a certain, historically specific time, this article will not carry out the epistemological apologias of radical discourse theory. Instead, the insights of the latter regarding the relational constitution of meaning will be combined with a dialectical approach towards representativeness in the following.

Economic Reductionism:
Image and Ideology

The social and political character that the usage of images takes on in modern society becomes evident when it comes to visual representations of relational entities. These entities cannot exist in first order realities in concrete form inherently, since, being societal relations, they can only be comprehended as abstractions. With regard to Marx's concept of ideology, Mitchell has attempted to show the problematic implications of using pictorial concretizations for such entities. Mitchell, a pioneer in the field of picture theory, elaborates a close connex between representativeness as imagery, and ideology in his book *Iconology – Image, Text, Ideology* (1986). Particularly in his essay *The Rhetoric of Iconoclasm. Marxism, Ideology, and Fetishism*, he subjects the concept of ideology itself to an iconological analysis. According to him,

…the concept of ideology is grounded, as the word suggests, in the notion of mental entities or «ideas» that provide the materials of thought. Insofar as these ideas are understood as images – as pictorial, graphic signs imprinted or projected on the medium of consciousness – then ideology, the science of ideas, is really an iconology, a theory of imagery. (Mitchell 1986:164)

However, with Marx's conceptualization of ideology as "false consciousness," this science takes on an ironic turn and becomes in itself "a new form of idolatry – an ideolatry" (Mitchell 1986:167). In the following, Mitchell analyses the relationship between Marx's concepts of ideology and the commodity and the images that they are built upon, the *camera obscura* and the fetish. He investigates these images' productive work for processes of perception, their potential for generating knowledge. Mitchell's aim is to show how these images on the one hand facilitate Marxist analyses, yet, on the other hand, disable them at the same time by reifying these images and treating them as "separable abstractions instead of dialectical images" (1986:163). Instead, "ideology and fetishism have taken a sort of revenge on Marxist criticism, insofar as it has made a fetish out of the concept of fetishism, and treated «ideology» as an occasion for the elaboration of a new idealism" (Mitchell 1986:163)

Mitchell's analysis is relevant here insofar that, following Raymond Williams and Louis Althusser, he points out the consequences of reifying the two pictorial concepts by and for a "vulgar" Marxism (1986:170). He certifies all controversies about theory of ideology a "spell of…optical symbolism" (Mitchell 1986:170) and,

in opposition, advocates taking Marx's pictorial metaphors seriously by situating them historically. Thus, he very generally calls for including the particular historical constellation that empowers images in the analysis. This claim can also be understood as a postulation of a relational perspective to whose benefits I shall return below.

Remarkably, when discussing "dialectical images," Mitchell quotes precisely those antinomies between iconoclasm and idolatry that Gertrud Koch names: on the one hand, the contradiction between those aspects of Critical Theory that emphasize the enabling potential pictures hold, on the other hand the orthodox Marxist interpretations, which reify Marx's pictorial metaphors to such an extent that they become distorting mirrors (1986:204). In contrast, Mitchell stresses the polyvalence of dialectical images, their double existence as "mirror(s)" of history and at the same time "window(s) beyond it" (1986:205). With regard to the "hypericons" of the fetish and the *camera obscura*, he indeed reconstructs the particular historical life process that produced these images. Yet, aside from these, he does not offer a methodological approach that would point beyond these highly specific dialectical images. However, he gives a short, but significant indication when criticizing that Marx has neglected the "power of imagination." The reconstruction of "vision itself…as a mechanism subject to historical change" (Mitchell 1986:175) should thus include parameters he doesn't specify any further. Yet, for the time being, I want to conceive these as the conjunction of re-presentation as depiction (*Darstellung*) and perception or

imagination. At this point, I want to build upon Mitchell's analysis and dwell on the double role of pictures to synthesize conceptions of reality and at the same time offer the means to abolish the "illusions of ideology" (Mitchell 1986:178). The "paradox of ideology" to be not only erroneous, but a "coherent, logical, rule-governed system of errors" (Mitchell 1986:172) shall not, as Mitchell does, serve as a starting point for the analysis of dialectical images, but for generating a dialectical approach to the analysis of images and be extended by introducing the category of desire into the concept of representation.

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin and Gayatri C. Spivak: The Multidimensionality of Representation

In her book *The Concept of Representation* (1967), Hannah Fenichel Pitkin investigates the different aspects of representation and differentiates between descriptive, symbolic and substantial representation. Yet, every representation, be it linguistic, political or pictorial, is "the making-present of something that's absent" (Pitkin 1967:8), all of them share the quoted structure. Hence, a painting can comply with this structural definition just as well as somebody holding a political mandate. It is precisely because of its multiple dimensions why representation shall be understood as an interface between aesthetics and politics here. On the one hand, its practical-political aspects as in substantial representation or "speaking for" (*Stellvertretung*) and its subject-related aspect as in re-presentation in art or philosophy (*Darstellung*), are irreducible. Yet, they cannot be separated completely, either,

as Gayatri C. Spivak (1988) has pointed out in her seminal essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?*

On the basis of the according section in Marx's *Eighteenth Bruma*ire (1946) about the small peasant proprietors' representation in 19th century France, Spivak (1988) highlights the connection between political representation and economical representation:

[t]he relationship between global capitalism (exploitation in economics) and nation-state alliances (domination) is so macrological that it cannot account for the micrological texture of power. To move toward such an accounting one must move toward theories of ideology – of subject formations that micrologically and often erratically operate the interests that congeal the macrologies. Such theories cannot afford to overlook the category of representation in its two senses. They must note how the staging of the world in representation – its scene of writing, its *Darstellung* – dissimulates the choice of and need for «heroes,» paternal proxies, agents of power – *Vertretung.* (p. 279)

This interrelation between *Darstellung* and *Vertretung* becomes obvious in the light of the different principles underlying them. Whereas representation as *Vertretung* or "acting for" emanates from (objective) interest, from "acting in the interest of" (Pitkin 1967:209), a theory of subjectivization that relies solely on the notion of interest fails to explain why, as in the case of the French peasants, the desire for "paternal proxies, agents of power" (Spivak 1988:279) becomes more powerful politically than class interest does. To give a more drastic example: a theory relying only on interest cannot explain why the Germans chose a "leader" and the

according National Socialist regime, which could not possibly conform to their "objective interest." In order to grasp such ultimately irrational political actions and attitudes, it becomes necessary to introduce the concept of desire.

Re-presentation as symbolic-descriptive depiction, as *Darstellung* – structurally also a "making present of something that's absent" – is not based on an "acting in the interest of," but on a symbolic quality (Pitkin 1967) – an image that desire can be projected on. This lacking coherence of interest and desire that, as Spivak points out, Marx has already stressed, and their interaction in representation might be the key for an adequate notion of iconic power. To enable a comprehensive approach towards the possibility of identification – of the audience with the represented, of the nation with its leader, of the peasants with Napoleon – in the process of representation, I want to bring in the category of desire for a theory of visual representation that does not abandon ideology critique altogether either. For this purpose, I will return to Hannah Fenichel Pitkin's definition of representation. Her determination of representation as a process of "making something present that's absent" serves as a starting point for my following conclusions since it implies two contradictory moves that can be called the "dialectics of representation."

The "something" that is made present in the process of representation is at the same time constituted as being exactly that which is represented and not anything – so there is at the same time an absence created by the presence, a "that which

this is not." This fundamental quality of representation becomes further problematic when it is humans or social collectives of any kind that are represented. For now, the descriptive quality of the picture, the "depiction of," gets corrupted by traces of "standing for" or even "acting for." This certainly depends on the respective context. For example, a picture of a group of Japanese-looking people in an exhibition about World War II will very likely have the effect of those depicted being taken as examples of a hostile, then victimized people. The people depicted will become representatives of "their kind." On the other hand, those that are not in the picture are not part of the scheme being made by those perceiving the depiction. They are being made absent. The same group of people depicted in a TV show about U.S. campus life will probably come to "stand for" people belonging to the same social group: they will be an example for the social self.

The example shows that in analyzing pictures, it is not only important to look at text-context-relationship. It is also crucial to ask what, respectively who is being made absent by the presence of the visible? The methodological problem here is evident: how can this be answered? Of course, defining the other of that which is represented would be an infinite operation. However, it is exactly the socio-political context that allows for a narrowing down of that theoretically infinite number of "something absent," because what is made absent is never arbitrary, but determined by current power relations and ideology.

Siegfried Kracauer's Dialectical Approach

To grasp the specific absence created by a visual representation, an appropriate methodology is necessary. I believe that the approach Siegfried Kracauer has laid out in his essay *The Little Shop-girls Go to the Movies* (1995), holds the key for this operation. Its first paragraph reads:

[f]ilms are the mirror of the prevailing society. They are financed by corporations, which must pinpoint the tastes of the audience at all costs in order to make a profit. Since this audience is composed largely of workers and ordinary people who gripe about the conditions in the upper circles, business considerations require the producer to satisfy the need for social critique among the consumers. A producer, however, will never allow himself to be driven to present material that in any way attacks the foundations of society, for to do so would destroy his own existence as a capitalist entrepreneur. (Kracauer 1995:291)

Initially, this approach can be regarded as typical for the Frankfurt School because of its emphasis on economic interest. It might even be read as an example of the determinist reductionism cited above, since it relates all variables, including the content of cultural artifacts, solely to material sources and interest, especially since Kracauer concludes: "[s]ociety is much too powerful for it to tolerate any movies except those with which it is comfortable. Film must reflect society whether it wants to or not" (1995:292).

But, his formulation does not have to be read as a totalizing account of the way society functions, particularly because the term "must reflect

society" already implies the notion of an active audience. Actually, put under a close reading, in his conception of the relation between capitalist mode of production and cultural content, Kracauer already includes that activity, which Cultural Studies have later marked as a supposedly resistant practice. The assimilating forces of the culture industry are out in the open, transforming the "taste of the audience" and its "need for social critique" into new, highly successful products, as contemporary TV shows such as "The L-word" about a lesbian community in Los Angeles document. Yet, this is not the place for defending the Frankfurt School's approach against false reductions. The point I want to state is that however insufficient this account of culture industry might be, Kracauer's analytical model is not yet completed. He only starts by arguing that "films are the mirror of society" (Kracauer 1995:291). He further writes:

> …in the majority of films, things are pretty unrealistic. … But, the films do not therefore cease to reflect society. On the contrary: *the more incorrectly they present the surface of things, the more correct they become and the more clearly they mirror the secret mechanism of society*. (Kracauer 1995:291)

Referring to a "secret mechanism of society" might sound problematic, a little vague, like there was some device running society that was not accessible to analysis. But, in continuing, Kracauer states the exact opposite. His dialectical approach is enclosed in his phrase: "the more incorrectly they present…, the more correct they become." The fundamental analytical move lies in this following statement: "[s]tupid and unreal film fantasies are the *daydreams of society* in which its actual real-

ity comes to the fore and its otherwise repressed wishes take on form" (Kracauer 1995:292).

What is Kracauer doing when he calls filmic representations "the daydreams of society?" I believe that he is reading the absent from the text that is present. According to Kracauer, that which is shown represents a daydream, namely, a wish, a desire.

This perspective on representation provides a powerful insight concerning the interrelation between interest and desire, and regarding the relationship between a re-presentation as depiction (*Darstellung*) and those that are being represented by it (*Stellvertretung*). To apply it as an analytical tool, we have to ask: which society, which discourse constellation, which social and political situation, has produced this particular wish? To stick with this psychoanalytical metaphor: Who is dreaming this, what is her situation – as a society? Therefore, Kracauer offers a way to get a grasp on what might be called the ideological implications of a text – without being in danger of reading anything into a text. To wit, the potential absences of a text are narrowed down very distinctly by this analytical move. All we have to do for setting to work a truly qualitative inquiry is to ask who or what has produced this desire? Which specific absence is the origin of this presence?

With Kracauer, the historical placing of a picture that Mitchell calls for means questioning the material picture with regard to its relation to societal context, the non-coherent "image behind the picture." This query would be impossible with the common methods of ideology critique in the tradition of Cultural Studies that are directed only towards a pic-

ture's presence. Only asking which specific absence has created that which is made present in the picture reunites the moments of desire and interest in a theory of visual representation and directs them towards the absence of a picture:

> [i]n order to investigate today's society, one must listen to the confessions of the products of its film industries. They are all blabbing a rude secret, without really wanting to. In the endless sequence of films, a limited number of typical themes recur again and again; they reveal how society wants to see itself. The quintessence of these film themes is at the same time the sum of the society's ideologies, whose spell is broken by means of the interpretation of the themes. (Kracauer 1995:293)

In addition to framing a dialectical approach to the analysis of cultural texts, Kracauer by this gives an accurate description of the interest that drives discourse analysis: "a limited number of typical themes" does not only refer to aesthetic motives like those art history might elaborate, it can also be read as the result of an account of the discourse in question. I do believe that without having witnessed the emergence of (post)structuralist thought, Kracauer has provided some very useful instruments for qualitative inquiry that actually bridge supposed gaps between the academic traditions in question. By linking the dimensions of re-presentation as *Darstellung*, towards which desire is directed, with conceptions of reality and representation as *Stellvertretung*, he offers a possibility to grasp how society's actual contradictions are synthesized in a picture. As opposed to a perspective that focuses only on the present content of a picture, in so doing, that which is made absent by that exact picture becomes available for analysis.

Conclusion and Implementation

I want to conclude by demonstrating the potential of such an approach with an example, an analysis of the front cover of Germany's probably most influential weekly magazine, *DER SPIEGEL*.

Figure 1. Front cover of *DER SPIEGEL*, „Die Gier des großen Geldes. Finanz-Investoren greifen nach deutschen Unternehmen" [Big Money's Greed: Financial Investors are Snatching German Companies]. No. 51, December 18, 2006.

The picture features a giant locust. Iconographically based upon films such as "Godzilla" or "King Kong," it is pulling apart a city with its legs, while from its back, skyscrapers are rising – a classic example for the pejorative splitting-off of the financial sphere and the sphere of production as in antisemitic projections. Yet, crucial for the picture's ideological work is its positioning by the caption *Big*

Money's Greed: Financial Investors are Snatching German Companies. Not only does it mark the in-group, the own collective – Germans – as a threatened victim, moreover, it places it in opposition to "greedy financial investors." The pictorial re-presentation (*Darstellung*) of locusts thus represents (*Vertretung*) a hostile out-group, the "financial investors," "grabbing for/snatching (*greifen*) German companies," visually performed by the humongous insect in the picture.

Following Kracauer and questioning this picture how contemporary German society "wants to see itself," this representation implies a distinct, Manichean division into a menacing exterior on one side, operating in an unrestricted capitalist mode, and on the other side, carrying a positive connotation, the national interior marked as its opposite. Disclosing this partition with Kracauer as a desire, as a society's "dream," allows for naming those contradictions that are being made absent thereby – the capitalist constitution of one's own society.

Opposing an antagonistic exterior to the nation makes invisible the opposition of the classes[9] in favor of the visual presence of a hostile collective. Seemingly, the audience represented here includes "the man on the street," members of the working class, as well. Regarding the constitution of meaning of this picture, the possibility of a resistant productivity of the audience remains unlikely. The iconic power of this picture consists in its potency to include those who

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[9] Letting aside here the question of how appropriate the ideal typical description of classes fits reality.

benefit least from the dominating order, thus, in synthesizing actual clashes of interest in one image. The obstinacy of "the people" that Cultural Studies have stressed has been integrated in the picture already, so that the re-presentation as depiction implies a representation of interests that can be revealed here as being an ostensible representation.

An overemphasis on the openness of a picture – the contingency of the absent – would fail to comprehend how iconic power is generated relationally, just as hypostatizing the ideological closeness of pictures – the determining power of that made present – would. I hope to have shown that, when conducting discourse analyses on visual representations, in order to grasp dominating structures in the connex of pictorial representativeness, discourse and power, an approach that integrates insights from Critical Theory can be useful.

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Visualizing the Unseen:
Depicting the Abstract in German Media

Abstract   In my paper, I will combine two methods of media discourse analysis in order to achieve new insights into not only power relations inherent in texts, but also into the manner in which collective memory is constituted. Firstly, I will critically examine the social semiotic method of qualitative multimodal discourse analysis developed by Theo Van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress as a resource for describing how verbal semiotic modes, together with mixed linguistic/non-linguistic modes, are used to establish and confirm power relations within pluricoded texts. Secondly, I will investigate the practicability of applying the concept of Key Visuals/Key Invisibles, postulated by Peter Ludes and Stefan Kramer, to multimodal compositions in order to gain a sociological and cultural understanding of the means by which certain content becomes part of collective memory and how it is manipulated. In this way, I hope to determine if an operationalization of Key Visual/Key Invisible is possible in order to view its associative potential as a semiotic resource.

I will apply this methodological device to video sequences of German news releases reporting on bonus payments to top bank managers during the world economic crisis in 2008. Thereby, I will examine if the discourse generated by these reports is characterized by a highly negative representation of managers: the news releases seem to hold them responsible for the economic crisis instead of investigating its causes. I will analyze which devices are used in the accusation of the managers and will attempt to determine if there are Key Visuals/Key Invisibles used to this end. If this is the case, I will analyze their use within the context of the truth imperative of journalistic reporting. In this section, I will focus on the connection between mediated content and the possibilities of depicting or recording the unseen processes of bonus payment.

Keywords   Social Semiotics; Collective Memory; Media Discourse Analysis; Multimodal Composition; Bonus Payments; Bank Managers

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On September the 15th in 2008, Lehman Brothers Inc. announced that they are not solvent anymore. This declaration marked one of the largest bankruptcies in the history of the U.S. American market. As we will soon find out, it had also major consequences for the rest of the world. Europe, Russia, Japan – all these nations playing with the U.S. market system had experienced the big bang of world financial crisis.

The picture of the front of the main building of this bank, the moving text on its wall, people leaving the building with their packages, some of them even crying is not unfamiliar any more. These pictures are interrupted by shots of graphics and charts recorded on the stock market. There is a hustled crowd, busy people in business suits, we see their worried faces while telephoning or discussing something with their colleagues. In parallel, one also hears shocked, concerned or even indignant voices of TV moderators. News about the world economic crisis coming at full speed. All these visual and audio fragments are in the memory of many viewers of the media coverage of financial market events during the weeks following the 15th of September 2008. But, why does one recall these images when thinking about the world financial crisis? An answer could be found in the fact that the medially distributed content, and especially in TV broadcasts, is not a matter of viewer's choice. In other words the viewer's choice is reduced to a binary opposition between participation as an addressee or not participating at all in this kind of communication. Having in mind the popularity of TV programs and the more or less same global sources of the video footages, the number of people sharing the experience of the news content is not to be underestimated.

My task in this paper is to analyze the question of guilt for the crisis in its national framework[1] and its representation in German media releases. As every big catastrophe in human-made systems, for this one, too, some logical or – even better – human cause needs to be found, an evil or irresponsible individual or a series of individuals who sacrifice everything for their own interests, who need to be punished for the incidents they presumably caused. In case of the financial crisis one could see the bank manager as such a scapegoat. He or she is (represented as) a person who – so it seems – does everything for money, for special achievement rewards called bonuses, who gambles with other people's money, who is an egoist and immoral person. From this problem a new discourse arises: the bonus payments discourse. In Germany – in comparison to other European countries – this is a very large topic with a lot of material in the mass media.

This kind of construct helps keeping all events plain and simple as needed for public discourses. However, keeping an event plain and simple is not entirely the same as reporting the truth about the events. It is my deep belief that forced individualization, rationalization and significant reduction of context cannot be seen

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[1] With national I also mean international content, which is being introduced in a special way to the domestic audience.

as a mean of trustworthy and fair presentation and reporting. [It doesn't make people understand, but only gives them plain information, which is completely worthless without knowing the context.] However, if we take the situation as it is, it is possible to observe certain standards and regularities in the news galaxy. Therefore, I will first try to determine a proper theoretical framework for the analysis of audio-visual collective memory and define its basic units. Afterwards, discursive construction of collective memory is to be examined with the help of an example of the mentioned bonus payment discourse. This will be done in the context of multimodal discourse analysis and within the framework of social semiotics.

Theoretical Framework

In this paper, my aim is to introduce a new unit into the analysis of multimodal discourse and combine it with achievements from research about the collective memory, which is immanent in cultural studies. The collective memory in one culture/cultural area/cultural community is being formed according to specific discursive rules, mainly by the means of different media practices. In order to analyze them plausibly, one has to be able to find the right tool from the palette offered by the study of media semiotics, which deal with all phases of media existence from production through distribution down to its reception (Hess-Lüttich 2001). The task of a discourse analyst is to pursue the ideological standpoint of the discourse's producer and to examine the position of power represented by these units. The ob-

jects analyzed here are not understood as verbal texts, but as pluricodic entities in a context of new media and in an even broader sense of new media networks.

On the one hand, the theoretical framework of this paper is based on works of Manuel Castells' theory of information networks. If we consider the pursuit of the position of power in a text intrinsic to discourse analysis, we will be able to find a similar notion in Castells' writings:

> [i]n a world of networks, the ability to exercise control over others depends on two basic mechanisms: the ability to program/reprogram the network(s) in terms of the goals assigned to the network; and the ability to connect different networks to ensure their cooperation by sharing common goals and increasing resources. I call the holders of the first power position the «programmers,» and the holders of the second power position the «switchers.» (2004:34)

I will not entirely share this terminology with regard to the power position holders. However, it is of use for this work to see the society as a network or rather as a number of interdependent networks. In this way, the discourse analyst establishes a connection between outer social actors and their interests embedded in the ideology of the media representation.

On the other hand, my theoretical tool is based on the social semiotic theory of multimodal discourse analysis, which has been developed in the works of Kress and Van Leeuwen. Social semiotics offers the tool to reveal the position of

power hidden in the pluricoded text in an ideological or – in Castells' words – programmatic way (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). Leaning on the discourse analysis as it has been done at the East Anglia school of linguistics on the one hand and within the older schools of semiotics on the other hand, they have come to their own concept of discourse analysis, which is especially oriented towards media content design. According to social semiotic theory, all semiosis is multimodal (Lemke 2002; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006), whereas a mode is merely a code-like semiotic rule. The sign is not to be understood as a static unit, but much more as a result of a social action, which produces a palette of different semiotic resources (Van Leeuwen 2005). According to Fraas (2005), this process can be seen as a collective construction of meaning through different semiotic codes.[2] Therefore, semiotic resources are just a potential of meaning-making, whereas semiotic modes of representation, which exist in a given cultural area/space, are its realizations dependent of a respective communication goal (Jewitt and Van Leeuwen 2001; Kress et al. 2007; Meier 2008). Understanding texts always as a product of different modes (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998), these texts can be defined as multimodal compositions (Van Leeuwen 2003), which are constituted depending on a medium they tend to exist in.

In cross-medially oriented research, the materiality of the medium is also seen as a semi-

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[2] Original quote: "die kollektive Konstruktion von Bedeutung über semiotische Kodes" (Fraas 2005:256).

otic resource, which allows the realization of a specific mode as participating in the meaning making process (Stöckl 2004). The conceptualization of a multimodal composition or the mode of a higher rank, which determines how the modes of the composition are brought into accordance, is called design in social semiotic theory (Kress et al. 2007). It is exactly this conceptual level, which shows the discursive techniques and tendencies through the value of specific semiotic choice.

With regard to their existence as production, reproduction and distribution, the role of multimodal composition in society can be seen from different perspectives (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). These processes also have a certain semiotic capacity, although this is not their primary goal. The materiality and availability of the specific composition therefore has a respective and mass media specific semiotic potential, which should partly be taken into account during the analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001; Stöckl 2004).

Social semiotics postulates common dimensions of meaning that all semiotic systems fulfill by creating a multimodal composition. On the basis of social semiotic communication theory, every mode should be able to have three dimensions of meaning: the *ideational*, which enables the connection between the semiotic system and the real world; the *interpersonal*, which establishes a connection between the sender, the mediated content and the receiver; and the *textual*, which relates to the coherence of the signs and modes within the complex

multimodal unit and its suitability to discursive requirements (Stöckl 2004; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). It is these three dimensions that directly link to Manuel Castells' notion of shifting from virtual reality into real virtuality. And this is the way media networks function – communicating the real world through the flow of symbols, which is no more than a form of discursive praxis (Castells 1997).

Key Visuals – *Key Invisibles*

In order to better understand the concept of Key Visuals, some remarks on its history are needed. Although the term itself relates to Key Words (Kramer and Ludes 2010), its roots go back to the concept of Mnemosynes, which has been sketched out in the work of the German art historian Aby Warburg (Ludes 2001). In his writings, Warburg compares Mnemosynes with a kind of engram or rather with what he calls dynamogram, showing a specific motion (regardless of the type of image itself). Those are pictures, which should help us researching the expressive values of the representations of inner and outer moving life. Although his work relates to the period of the Renaissance and solely to art works, there are some considerations, which are of interest for our research.

Warburg speaks about the iconology of the *Zwischenraum* (middle or medial space: it could even be said *agora*) and sees it as a contribution to research in developmental psychology on examples of images and drawings of causes and their representation (2010). This notion

is closely related to the goal of Key Visuals, which are supposed to document the history of a mentality (Ludes 2001). Even Warburg's mention of the *Pathosformel* (a form evoking pathos) is in many aspects related to the concept of infotainment in the sense of strong feelings being communicated through the medium content. Among other things, the main characteristic of this form is its repetitiveness in many different works, which becomes recognizable as a pattern, which in any case educates the viewer.

As Castells notes, the modern information society consists of different interdependent networks wherein media networks play a significant role. He points out: "image-making is power-making" and "flows of messages and images between networks constitute the basic thread of our social structure" (Castells 2000:507-508). In other words, the iconic turn represents the main shift in modern media and determines the social reality we live in. The study of visual semiotic systems should in so far be one of the dominant critical disciplines.[3] Within the context of the internet he notes that "[m]ainstream media, and particularly television, still dominate the media space, although this is changing fast. … People think in metaphors, and build these metaphors with images" (Castells and Cardoso 2006:14). This notion shows once again the need not to limit a research on one medium, but to expand its multimodal

analysis to a variety of them – to do a cross-media/intermedia research in order to examine the discourse flow of visual elements.

Kramer and Ludes use Castells' notion of collective symbols, which have been remediatized through the networks and develop their own theory of constitutive units of collective memory: "Key Visuals are an essential element of all kinds of individual, group, and collective audio-visual memories" (2010:17). Ludes defines Key Visuals within the context of TV networks and notes that they

> …are produced as regular[ly emitted], daily actualized means of orientation …, so that the viewer can or must address to it at least in some of his life assessments. This form is the only one which has been emitted in the TV throughout of all the time of its existence. … TV news are usually not only trusted to high extend by its special audience, but it also has a high respect by the persons of the public life… (Ludes and Schanze 1999:172; Kramer and Ludes 2010:59-60)[4]

[Note the similarity with the notion of repetitiveness of Warburg's *Pathosformel*.] Kramer, on the other hand, sees Key Visuals as hypermedial images perceived as pure truth, which at the same time produce identity in the context of specific hegemonial configurations of

the memory. They condense the core of information in a picture or a video sequence or in linked websites. Key Visuals use the mechanism of modern media culture, which presupposes mimetic perception of the reality (Kramer 2008:98; Kramer and Ludes 2010:50).[5]

At the same time, Kramer and Ludes point out that aside from Key Visuals there are also relevant contents which do not participate in forming collective memory: "[t]he visual narratives are similar in terms of «who, what, when, where and how,» but any reference to the «why» is either very shortly sketched in the verbal commentaries or left out" (2010:68). Especially concerning our topic, the result of Ludes' research shows the fact that usually the carrier of democratically chosen positions are actors of Key Visuals constructed by media, whereas the economic "programmers" tend to define their own representation in media (Ludes and Schanze 1999:182; Kramer and Ludes 2010:69). As Ludes puts it: "the neglect of contexts is a further marker of the ever growing audio-visualization of news and information" (Ludes and Schanze 1999:183-184).[6] This means that the context of the event is being blanked out in favor of the impact that a single shocking incident makes. This is at the same time the very core of the mechanism that makes a Key

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[3] Additionally, the fact that we are only working on its establishment is devastating when we consider the long existence of visual communication in society in the broadest sense of the word. I mean thereby that there are no elementary or high school courses dealing with it in a way similar to how they deal with language.

[4] Original quote: *…als tagesaktuelle, regelmäßige Orientierungsmittel … so produziert [werden], dass sich die Zuschauerinnen zumindest in einigen wenigen Wertungen ihres Lebens danach richten können, ja müssen. [D]iese Form [ist] die einzige, die über den ganzen Entwicklungszeitraum des Fernsehens kontinuierlich ausgestrahlt wurde. … Fernsehnachrichtensendungen [genießen] nicht nur eine außergewöhnlich hohe Glaubwürdigkeit bei ihrem speziellen Publikum, sondern auch ein hohes Ansehen bei Personen des öffentlichen Lebens…*

[5] Original quote: *…den spezifischen, hegemonial herausgebildeten Anordnungen der Erinnerung im Moment als identitätsbildende „Wahrheit" „wahrgenommen" verdichten den Kern einer Information etwa in einem Bild, einer oder mehreren miteinander montierten Filmeinstellungen oder sich aufeinander beziehender Seiten des World Wide Web.*

[6] Original quote: *[d]ie Vernachlässigung von Zusammenhängen ist also ein weiteres Merkmal der zunehmenden elektronischen Audiovisualisierung von Nachrichten und Informationen.*

Visual work. The context becomes apparently self-evident, although the *why*-question hasn't been discussed at all – it has become the Key Invisible because of the self-explanatory characteristic of this multimodal unit.

The main actors of the discourse analyzed in this paper are German bank managers and politicians who appear in the same context. This note is rather important because it displays the convergence of two more or less stable narratives, as Ludes puts it. Focusing on bank managers introduces a sort of economic turn in media discourse: usually invisible investment bankers, private entrepreneurs or bank employees are now being visualized and represented without their own will (or at least without any own staging of their appearance). However, this does not mean that the representation becomes more objective or that a broader context is taken into concern. It only shows a small shift from one field to another or rather a surface hybridization of different areas without taking into account the influencing background processes. The simplification of the representation within the media tends to show the binary logic of a respective event, which is a construct itself and which leads, as Ludes points out, to an unrealistically simplified political discrepancy (Ludes and Schanze 1999).

Methodical Consideration

Although Key Visuals do not stand alone, but are components of bigger texts and/or compositions[7] (for example, a TV show, an illustrated article, a website with photo series or a video with links to other similar material) in their main modes (a frame or video sequence), they can still be seen as relatively autonomous multimodal units. They can be defined as open, cross-medially/intermedially validated entities whose existence is not only based on their quotability (their repetitive appearance in different media and/or texts), but also on their pattern-wise form. On the other hand, Key Words, whose "functional equivalents" Key Visuals are, usually appear simultaneously and articulate and determine their verbal dimension. Key Visuals can therefore be seen as not only constitutive elements of collective memory, but also as those elements which closely determine the visual stereotypes/frames.[8]

Van Leeuwen (2008) offers a compendium of categories for the representation analysis in the verbal mode, based on categories proposed by him and for the analysis of pictures and visual design. This is strongly connected to and has common ground with the analysis of video sequences made by Iedema (2001). A slightly different terminology, but coinciding in the meaning, for classification of depicted actors is proposed by Ludes in his coding instructions for identifying Key Visuals (coding instructions – Ludes 2001 CD: chap. 17).

The representation form of the social actors is hereafter differentiated into "Actor or Agent" / "passive Participant" (Ludes 2001) and "Actor" / "Patient" (Van Leeuwen 2008). As Ludes himself states:

> [a]ctors or agents are people, institutions, groups or organizations that actively pursue an aim, stipulate an event, or influence the succession of events. They play a central role in the report and are mentioned most often. There are some indicators that can help to decide whether somebody/something is involved actively: The option «actors/agents» can be chosen,
>
> • when analyzing words: if people are mentioned in the active voice (as opposed to the passive voice);
>
> • when analyzing images: if people are shown playing an active part in any event, or else, if they talk about action themselves, e.g., in a press conference. Their active role might be specified by way of a text insert, too. (coding instructions – 2001 CD: chap. 3.2)

On the other hand, Van Leeuwen (2008) describes three different dimensions of discursive construction of relation towards the viewer and a depiction of the person (Figure 1): social distance where the depicted person is on a different level of closeness and relationship to the viewer, which is made through long/close shots; social relation where different shooting angles provide a different kind of emotional detachment (horizontal angle: face to face, confronting, sideline) or a power position (vertical angle, from above or from beneath); and social interaction where a viewer can be addressed directly (if a depicted person looks at the viewer) or indirectly (if this is not the case). (Mis)uses of these three categories can be recognized in strategies of alienation (representing people as strangers), disempowerment (of the depicted person comparing to the viewer) or objectification (dehumanizing the person and reducing him or her to an object).
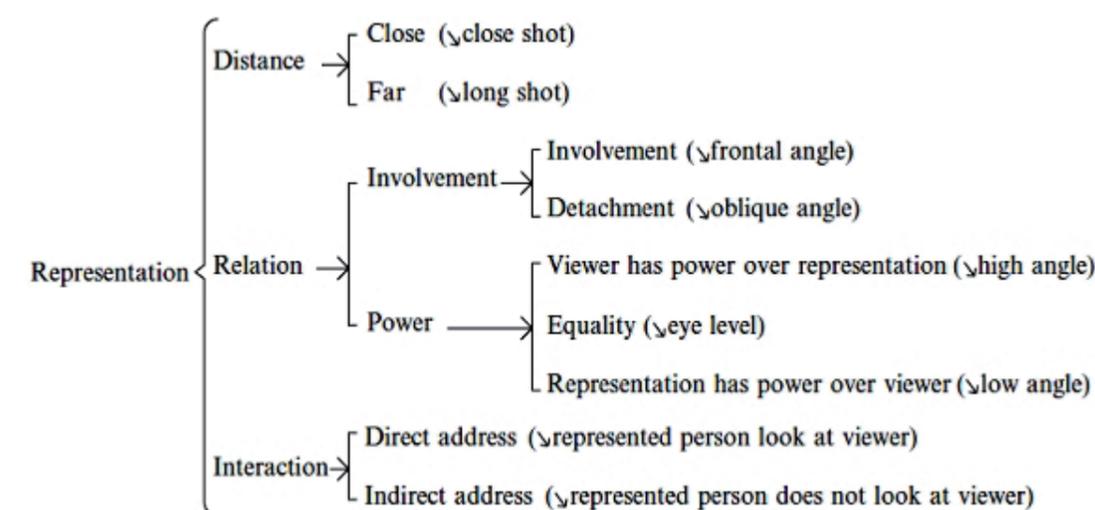
Figure 1. Representation and Viewer Network.
Source: Van Leeuwen (2008:141).

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[7] The main concern in Ludes' research (2001) was to determine Key Visuals within the relationship between memorization and media praxis. He does not explicitly concentrate on multimodal discourse analysis in the above described sense.

[8] The connection between Key Words and argumentative patterns is as close as the one between Key Visuals and visual topoi, as I will try to show later.
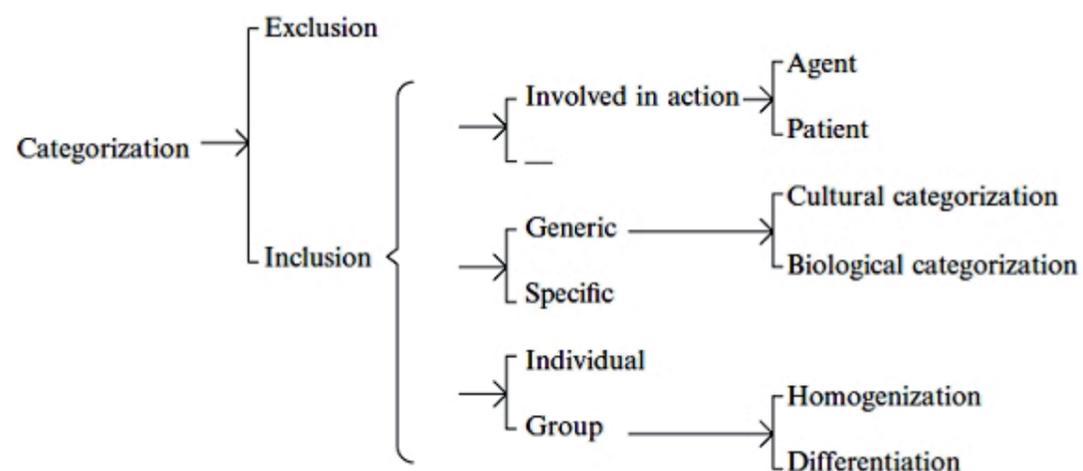
Figure 2. Visual Social Actor Network.
Source: Van Leeuwen (2008:147).

The other categorization of depicted persons concerns their representation as it is. Here, it is of interest for this research to mention the dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion (Figure 2) on the ground of some characteristics of the depicted person. In case of the first category I have the already mentioned binary division between agent and patient (depending on involvement in action), and individual and group concerning the social embodiment of the depicted persons. The category of group would then be what we have in our case, where the representation can either tend to a differentiation of the actors or to their homogenization.

For the identification of Key Visuals, I will try to slightly adapt Ludes' instructions for my requirements. As already stated, my main goal is to find out some of the most frequent Key Visuals and to determine their argumentative value in the discursive construct of the guilt of bank managers within the discourse about bonus payments. This differs in parts from the goal,

which Ludes had in his research. In this work, I will try to concentrate on the patternability of the Key Visuals and try to estimate a certain mechanism, which takes part in the creation of frames of interpretation.

In his intramedia analysis,[9] Holly (2010) examines the secondary audio-visuality. He sees the concept of reciprocal transcriptivity of semiotic systems and the intrinsic intermediality of the language as closely related.[10] Just as for Iedema (2001), a camera shot (the shot size, the horizontal and vertical angle) is for Holly a semiotic resource of recontextualization in different TV genres. He shows that the verbal (in our case factual argumentative pattern) and the filmic mode (a dramatized, but credible movie sequence) together build a meaning of a higher level (Holly 2010). In other words,

[9] According to Rajewska (2002), a comparison between the products within one medium is named "intermedial" (German for "intermedia").
[10] His analysis of news films and political talk shows is additionally supplemental to identify Key Visuals.

mediality and production (staging) of the verbal content, or more exactly its medial context, determine or at least significantly alter the meaning of its content, which is a different, but complementary process to the one intrinsic to Key Visuals. The verbal component is a trigger of the visual part of the multimodal unit, however, the meaning of the verbal part gets defined through other modes. So, in my opinion, it is not merely the naming of the video sequence, but a bit more – its verbal dimension. All this implies, as Holly (2010) himself states, that the frame analysis in the multimodal environment indeed is a required part of research when trying to examine the discursive praxis of a memory forming.[11] Hence, the verbal expression obtains the value of truth because it relates to a content outside of that specific semiotic system. In his interviews with media experts, Ludes asks questions about audio-visual stereotypes: "[d]o words explain pictures? Do pictures say more than words? Do words and pictures constitute two different realms? Are they almost inseparable and create something new, beyond words and pictures?" (2001: CD, chap. 17.2). I think, on the basis of the former issue, that the answer is properly given.

The Analysis

Even though there have been many discourses about top, investment and bank managers during a two-year period after the *Weltfinanzkrise* (the World Financial Crisis), it has actually set up or more precisely reanimated a special dis-

[11] The persons in talk shows are frame-representants of different ideological positions.

course in Germany, partly imported from Anglo-Saxon countries: the discourse about bonus payments. Many video excerpts concerning bank manager, give an impression that the guilt in this discourse has been very strongly personalized through the negative representation of the functionaries of the financial market and banking sector. The mechanisms which really caused the crisis are being rationalized and to a great extent simplified. Managers, already medially characterized through collective symbols and visual representation of conceptual metaphors (i.e., *Heuschrecke* [grasshopper] [Parr 2007; Ziem 2008]), are being denoted as the main culprits of the world financial crisis with aid of repetitively used argumentation patterns. However, the problem is that other, systemic, reasons are being disregarded (as, for example, the lack of legal regulation of the financial market, etc.).

The publicly expressed opinions of the minister, ministry officials and other relevant parties right after the Lehman collapse have been without exception against bonuses for managers. Similar demands regarding radical quitting of bonus payments for the managers (*Verzicht auf Bonuszahlungen* [Kreutzfeldt 2008]) have been intensified during the time. The fact that many of them received it in spite of bad results of their institutions has been commented in mass media in an extremely negative way on a daily basis. The comments and articles depicted bonuses as a question of morals, while the legal commitment of the bank to pay them was of less importance in that context. A movie about bank managers, which came out only shortly

after the Lehman Brothers bankruptcy,[12] can be seen as a clear articulation of the concept of the enemy, which bank managers present in the media.

Reports about managers in other big media agencies and TV stations in the Federal Republic of Germany showed more or less the same negative sentiment. The society and its system, where the existence of global financial market is possible, are very complex social models. It is therefore hardly possible, within a short TV format, to plausibly transfer the mechanisms of the financial market using every-day language and to comprehensibly represent and explain in the same manner its crisis and its consequences as the impoverishment and unemployment of large parts of the population. As Ludes (2001) points out, there is just not enough space in the new media updated at minute intervals and its presentation formats within the news for an extensive and considerable explanation of the background of an event. This can be seen as a consequence of the process of commercialization (Schütte 1998) which leads the informative media to the concept of infotainment (Krüger 1988). As an argument for this thesis we can consider the additional elements of this medium whose task is to create an emotional connection, for instance, an involvement into the content (Kroeber-Riel 1993; Stegu 2000). Among others, these include graphical design, audio effects, music, graphs, etc. As for the crisis representation, which is

being connected with the failure of the bank managers, we can see this as a pattern which is always included into the explanation of the consequences of the global crisis and the guilt of managers (Figure 3-6).

Figure 3. Bonus payments in Wall Street Stock Market Crisis. *Source: "Made in Germany" [December 8, 2009], DW TV. Retrieved August 20, 2010 (http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,4704666,00.html).*

Figure 4. Nordbank in Crisis. *Source: "Frontal 21" [November 9, 2010], ZDF. Retrieved November 10, 2010 (http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek/beitrag/video/1186270/HSH-Nordbank-in-Noeten).*
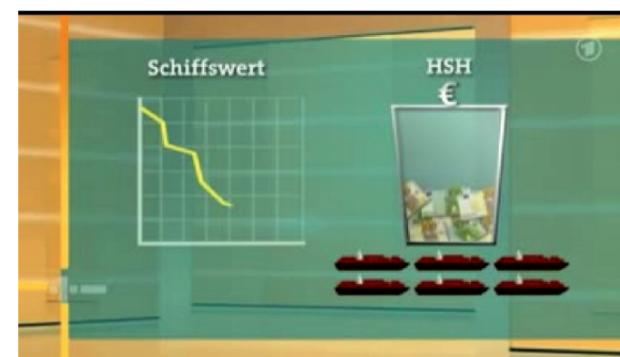
Figure 5. *Source: "PlusMinus" [July 27, 2009], Das Erste. Retrieved August 15, 2010 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mnTlcppQB3s).*

In spite of the complexity of the system, mass media offer a representation which makes it possible to believe that the bonus payments are a direct cause of the crisis. The use of the colloquial terms in the press as "fatty bonuses" (*fette Boni*) (Kröger 2008), "filled up loans" (*satte Gehälter)* (Friedrichsen 2009) and "fat money" (*dicke Gelder)* ("Sprudelnde Banker-Boni frustrieren Obama" 2010), in order to indicate the awards of managers, ascribes a very clear, negative emotional connotation. It is in a way a shift from an analysis of the

Figure 6. *City Boy. Source: "Report Mainz" [July 20, 2009], Das Erste. Retrieved August 20, 2010 (http://www.ardmediathek.de/ard/servlet/content/3517136?documentId=2782392).*

real background (which should be one of the main tasks of the investigative journalism) to an abstract moral evaluation. This has contributed to the creation and further development of the bonus payment discourse. Very often, the media revealed connections between top politicians of the respective German federal state and the boards of the local banks ("Panorama" 2009) and treated them in almost the same way. The fact that affiliated enterprises had big investment projects outside of Germany and that top manag-

ers had secret accounts in the "tax-heaven-lands" (*Steueroasen*) ("Frontal 21" 2010) was also brought up with a clear conspiracy hint in this context. The formulation that is most common in this context is that managers are only trying to cash the money for themselves, to "gamble away the money of investors" (*Anlegermillionen verzocken*) ("Report Mainz" 2009) and "normal people" (Xdrei – NDR) and do not have to bare any consequences for that. In the same manner, some of the reports showed that managers do not feel the crisis at

all, still living a life of luxury and that they get paid even for their bad job, whereas at the same time normal people have big financial and material problems. In order to show the extent of the guilt, a display of the amounts of their earnings and their comparison with the disaster of the "normal everyday person" caused by the crisis, is necessary. This is, for example, shown from the perspective of the mothers whose children are in kindergarten underfinanced by the city (Figure 7) or of the taxi driver (Figure 9).

Figure 7. Thanksgiving song for Nordbank. *Source: "Extra 3 – ARD/NDR Extra" [April 19, 2010], ADR 2010. Retrieved August 19, 2010 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQRiay9Xk74).*

The contrast within the representation of the social actors is apparent. We have a repeated sequence of a close shot on the children from above and then a long shot on the bank managers (Figure 7). If we use Van Leeuwen's tool to analyze this sequence we could say that a certain level of closeness is being established within the shot of the children and a level of distance to the manager. This is then a position

of power towards the children (which we see from a higher angle), and a position of equality with the managers. So, it is possible to interpret the message that the children are less powerful than the viewer, although they are actors. A person of great power, the bank manager, is being a patient. The viewer, however, is neither an actor nor a patient. He should, however, identify himself with one of the parties.

Figure 8. *Source: "Extra 3 – ARD/NDR Extra" [April 19, 2010], ADR 2010. Retrieved August 19, 2010 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQRiay9Xk74).*

The second pattern also bases on a contrasting depiction (Figure 9). In this case, it is a social contrast between the taxi driver and the managers and/or brokers. First, we see the former stating that if the latter bring a profit they should get their bonuses, because it also helps him (since he will be able to earn more money in this case). The angle is from below, so he is the one with power, controlling the car and maintaining the contact

with the managers. However, the closeness with him is evident, since it is a very close shot. Then we have a long shot of a business building from below, giving its peak the position of power. The next cut establishes a large distance between the viewer and the depicted persons with attributes of business people likely being managers (for example, the briefcase). Their action on the world financial market is being depicted through

the graph on the monitor of the Frankfurt Stock Market. Eventually, we see them from the distance, without any interaction with the viewer, having attributes of the higher class (expensive clothes, drinking wine in front of the Frankfurt Stock Market). The understanding of this unit could be seen as the distance between the "nor-

mal person," the taxi driver, and the managers as from "another world." We see the clear exclusion of them as a special group. Even if we are at eye level in the last sequence, we see that their world is where the power is positioned, because in order to see where they are, we need to look upwards.

Figure 9. View of a taxi driver on bonus issue. *Source: "Made in Germany" [December 8, 2009], DW TV. Retrieved August 20, 2010 (http://www.dw-world.de/dw/ article/0,,4704666,00.html).*

The guilt is being constituted firstly through the verbal mode by bringing the token of the metonymic term "bonus" always in connection with the clearly negative terms as "greed" (*Gier*), "flagrance" (*Schamlosigkeit*) and "voraciousness" (*Unersättlichkeit*). These biblical and very much archaic notions of sin are being connoted with the process of a highly modern, virtual and nearly invisible bank transaction process. Only after it has been verbally established, there is an attempt to exemplify this also by visual means (Stegu 2000).

As we can see in Figures 10-13, the visual argumentation pattern of the escape and refusal to answer to the journalist (which is an active social actor) is used very often to exemplify the guilt of the politician and/or the bank manager (who is in this case a patient). Note the repeated motion from right to left (which is by no mean rule, however appears more often than the other way around).
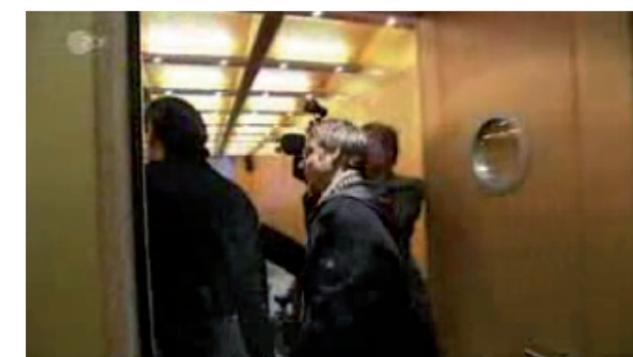
Figure 10. HSH-Nordbank in trouble. *Source: "Frontal 21" [November 9, 2010], ZDF. Retrieved November 10, 2010 (http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek/beitrag/video/1186270/HSH-Nordbank-in-Noeten).*

Figure 11. Managers beg for tax money. *Source: "Report Mainz" [July 20, 2009], Das Erste. Retrieved August 20, 2010 (http://www.ardmediathek.de/ard/servlet/content/3517136?documentId=2782392).*

Figure 12. Managers beg for tax money. *Source: "Report Mainz" [July 20, 2009], Das Erste. Retrieved August 20, 2010 (http://www.ardmediathek.de/ard/servlet/content/3517136?documentId=2782392).*
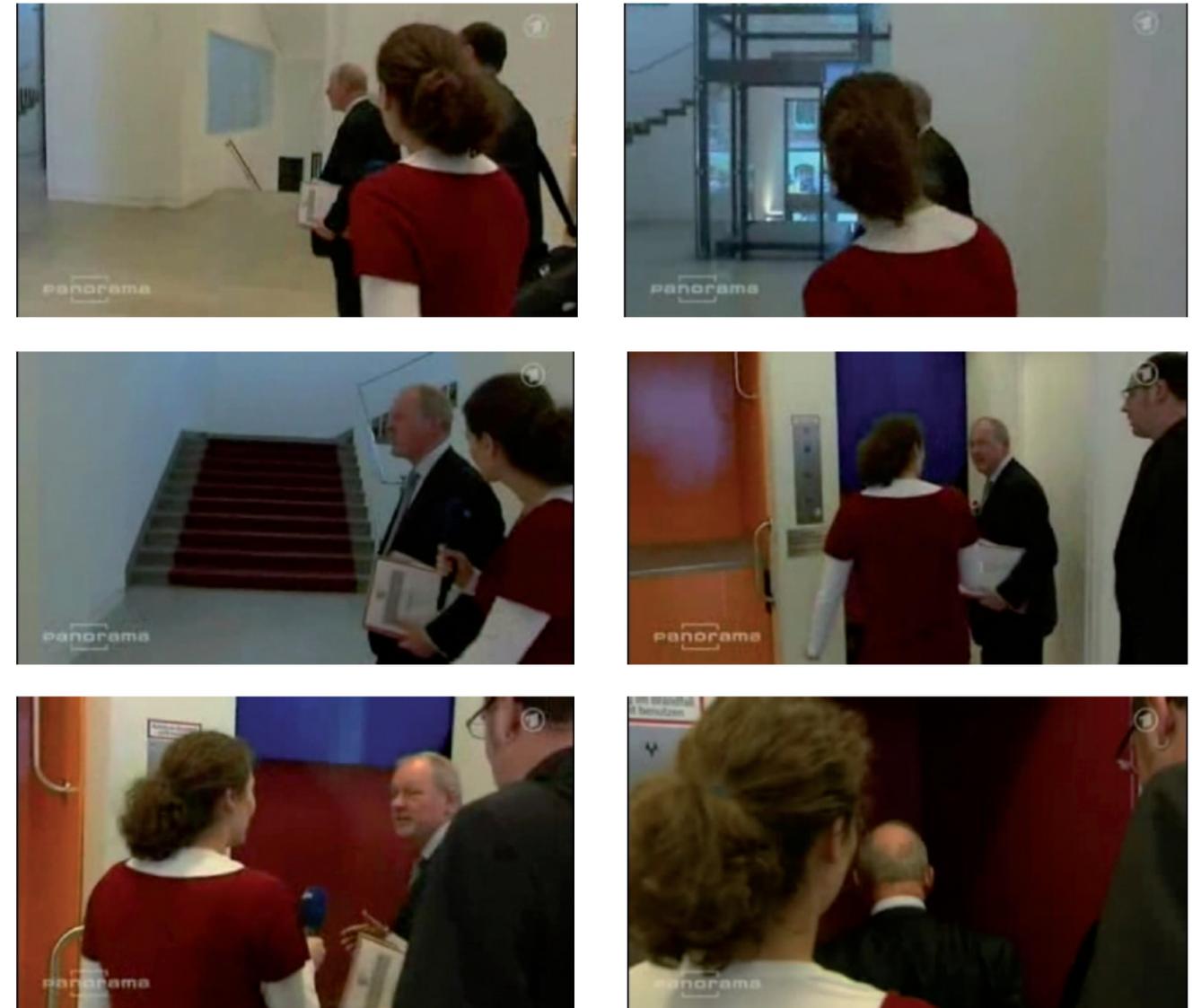
Figure 13. Luxurious loan despite of Governmental Aid. *Source: "Panorama" [July 16, 2009], Das Erste. Retrieved June 19, 2010 (http://daserste.ndr.de/ panorama/media/panorama282.html).*

This visual argumentative pattern in Key Visuals gives an impression of a visual stereotype – the visiotype (Pörksen 1997). Every time the patient is being chased by the journalist, the viewer shares the point of view of the actor and it occurs that an identification is suggested (note the similarity with the 3D video games). Through this device, a strategy of negative stereotyping is being pursued. There is also a strong impression of the dynamicity made through the moving and trembling hand camera. The mere mentioning of the *Bonuszahlungen* or bonus payments drives away the patient from the actor. As we see, the abstract term *Bonus* is connected with the way guilt or dishonesty are being represented through means of other modes (in this case it could be said it is a kind of evoked acting).

Findings

As already stated in the beginning, the way how meaning is realized in other modes depends on the mode itself, on the creativity of the author, on the ideology that the author stands for and on the chosen medium. It also gets a specific connotation through other modes, which determine significant parts of its entire meaning field (Stegu 2000; Stöckl 2004). By doing it they actually develop their own devices of constructing an abstract entity (cf. Barthes 1977; Van Leeuwen 2005). In the presented cases we had a chance to see how these tools are being developed and stabilized in their use.

The analyzed Key Visuals are, in my opinion, examples of different arguments used in application of relatively abstract concepts of reflecting on the problem of the financial crisis. These concepts do not answer, but should, as already stated, implicitly relate to the question of "why" and "how" in this matter, forcing the one who adopts them to think only within these concepts. The questions are then seen only through the scope of discursively facilitated frame research (with its emotional distraction and thematic attention restraints) and not on the ground of investigation or background research. The fact, that they are not explicit, is of even bigger interest for a discourse analyst.

In our case, the questions of how the crisis could have happened and why it happened have implicitly been answered in terms of "it is a human factor – a group of people misused their power" and "because these people are

bad." These concepts also imply the need for measures, which will assist in preventing such developments in the future. In other words, it is a call for a system adjustment. Therefore, the represented concept of "human badness" foresees and appeals for some changes, but not for a change of the system itself. It does not relate to the power positioned in the upper floors of skyscrapers of bank centrals itself. Instead, it implies that their present inhabitants need to be punished because of the bad results of their work. The immanent system-orientation of these patterns is at the same time revealed through its repetition regardless of the actors taking part in it. The conflict the viewer is witnessing or the representation of journalists asking unpleasant questions is to be seen as a part of the composition design just as directing or special effects are.

The repetitiveness, as one of the devices how Key Visuals determine the collective memory, is to a great extent responsible for adopting this type of concept. Their presence in different kinds of media networks[13] also helps to transmit the same point. The contexts in the sense of a broader composition (as the TV show or the program) or medium make their role as Key Visuals possible. It is traditionally the context which provides the ideological embodiment of a visual element.

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[13] Examples used in this paper are excerpted from websites, but they were originally shown on TV. However, being available at the same time on the official websites of the media houses and on TV programs, one can't hold them for TV content only. Apart from that, they are also to be found on private user's websites and YouTube profiles, which represent a significantly broader network.

Insofar as we see, the fruits of the use of social semiotic analytic tools for the examination of Key Visuals. They offer a possibility to analyze the argumentation devices used in the design of the composition. We see that Key Visuals are more than a neutral unit of the common memory, which depend solely on their contextualization. The shift towards the research of argumentative patterns/topoi is made possible through the very root of the Key Visual in the idea of Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne. The form evoking pathos (*Pathosformel*), with a clear and unequivocal emotional message constructed in the composition, delivers concepts in an intrinsically similar way.

The future research of Key Visuals using the methodical tool of social semiotics has the aim of examining other aspects of the meaning of construction. One of them relates to the depiction of objects as or instead of social actors. Another task is the direct comparison of simultaneously used modes (the transcript and/or the musical score of the sequence examined within the visual sequence itself). Deeper insights are also needed in the studies of the representation of abstract entities and concepts through nonverbal modes. I am convinced that this field is of special interest for all researchers in the field of visual communication and culture and that this work is not the last one to deal with it.

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Analyzing Emotional Styles in the Field of Christian Religion and the Relevance of New Types of Visualization

Abstract In the following text the theoretical conception, the employed analysis methods and some first results of the research project "The Emotionalization of Religion" are presented. The aim of the project is to compare newer Christian congregations with a Pentecostal or evangelical orientation to Christian parishes affiliated with the Evangelical Church in Germany or the Roman Catholic Church with regard to their respective emotional culture. The employed method set includes several qualitative methods, such as videoanalysis, the analysis of guideline interviews and participant observation.* A particular focus lies within the empirical paragraph on the question: What role do new types of media usage in Christian parishes play for the development, representation and analysis of new emotional styles?

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*This project is financed by the cluster of excellence "Languages of Emotion" (Free University Berlin).

Keywords Religion; Religiosity; Emotion; Emotional Culture; Video Analysis; Feeling Rules; Emotional Regime; New Religious Movements; Church Life

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Emotions in the Field of Religion

As shown by Roberts (2008), there are different kinds of options for how scientists can examine emotions. Physiological researchers discover the connections between neurological and physiological processes (for instance: of the brain) on the one hand, and certain emotions on the other. Furthermore, with the help of deficit studies, they are able to closely examine the problem of which emotions are impaired when a certain area of the brain is disabled. Moreover, to put it the other way around, they are trying to find out which emotions emerge when a certain area of the brain is stimulated artificially by activation studies. Behavioral studies ask questions concerning how emotions are linked to behavior and action, for example: Is the smiling generated by joy or does the smiling induce the joy? Historical researchers examine which emotions are particularly important for a society or for specific social groups over one or another historical period of time. In this regard, Roberts mentions John Corrigan's study as an example, which was concerned with the Bostonian protestants during the so-called "Businessmen's Revival." By carrying out field work, anthropological and ethnological researchers are able to draw comparisons between different cultures with reference to certain emotions, as well as compile lists of emotion words that are used in a specific culture or society.

Defining the emotions, which are seen as positive or negative for living a good life, and defining appropriate ways of coping with emotions is included in normative research. As religions are normative systems equipped with emotional norms of their own, normative research is of the utmost importance for studying the social field of religion. One could say that every religion has feeling rules of its own, which is how the term is used by Hochschild (1979). In my opinion, in the history of Christianity, the transition from behavior rules to feeling rules is, among other things, combined with the transition from the legislation of the Old Testament to that of the New Testament. Since the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament refer to actions, which are requested or forbidden, the two commandments of the New Testament refer to emotions:

> [37] [a]nd He said to him: «You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.» [38] This is the great and foremost commandment. [39] The second is like it: «You shall love your neighbor as yourself.» [40] «On these two commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets.» (*New American Standard Bible*, Matthew 22:37-40)

I am emphasizing the use of normative research at this point, because I think it is important to keep in mind the fact that religion deals with emotions in a regulative way. The focus of the following remarks is, however, not limited to a normative approach.

In order to lead onto the description of the research project, I would firstly like to relate to the problem of defining the term or the concept of emotion. The widely known and frequently applied definitions of emotion, like the one created by the psychologist Klaus R. Scherer, define a certain number of components, which are supposed to contribute to emotions in their entirety. Scherer and Brosch (2009) write, for example:

> [emotion is] an episode of interrelated, synchronized changes in several organismic subsystems in response to the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus event as relevant to major concerns of the organism. The three central components are (a) shifts in behavioral intention and direction, and, partially dependent on these action tendencies, (b) physio-logical changes (in cardiovascular activity, blood flow, respiration, temperature and muscle tension) and (c) expres-

sions in voice, face and body (such as laughing, crying, shouting, gesticulating, and cringing). In addition to these classic components, most researchers count (d) the cognitive appraisal processes that determine the relevance of events and elicit and differentiate emotions and (e) the overall subjective experience, the feeling, which phenomenally integrates the episode, as components of the emotion construct. (p. 266)

From our point of view, influenced by the phenomenological branch of the sociology of knowledge, two aspects are missing in this definition: the interpretation and the social construction of events. Scherer and Brosch speak of an appraisal process and of an evaluation. However, actors are only able to appraise a situation, if they have read/interpreted it first. Therefore, it will be helpful to employ a description of emotion, which includes the consideration that human beings are characterized by their ability to interpret their environment and their situations.

Similar to the social constructionist approaches of authors like Harré (1986), Lutz (1988) or Gordon (1990) summarized by Turner and Stets (2005) or Loseke and Kusenbach (2007), we consider emotions not just as natural biochemical reactions, we also see the emotional life of every human being influenced by socialization, culture, and tradition. It is important to point out the relevance of the sociality of the construction process. This means that we do not conceptualize emotions as constructed by an individual consciousness, but as produced within the framework of social interactions and communication in a wider sense.

Our study is concerned with emotions in the field of Christianity today. This means that we are interested in all kinds of emotions, feelings and moods, which are mutually constructed, mentioned, expressed by or observable in parishioners, preachers, pastors and other participants like organizers or church musicians during church services, celebrations and other occasions.

Before the conceptualization of the research project is presented, a few words have to be said about its foundation regarding the sociology of religion. Currently, we find a consensus in the discourse of the sociology of religion that the process of secularization, which is closely related to modernization, has not led to a demise of religion and religiosity in the life of people in late modern or postmodern societies. Some authors, on the contrary, even speak of a renaissance of religion or of resacralization (Bell 1977; Berger 1999). Concerning this, it is mostly emphasized that the well-established "conventional" Christian Churches register a decline in societal importance and in number of members. They lose their supremacy for the benefit of a variously shaped range of old and new spiritual and religious groups and practices (Luckmann 1967). Within this variety, we find meanwhile, in central Europe, too, an increasing number of religious movements and parishes, which are influenced by charismatic or Pentecostal branches of Evangelicalism (Kern 1998). At the same time, there is a growing number of parishes, which are characterized by the fact that the majority of their members have a certain shared migration background (Hüwelmeier and Krause 2009); so-called "migrant communities."

In the case of experience-oriented Christian movements and groups especially, we find an increasing number of new parish foundations in Germany, due to the so-called "Church Planting Movement." This process is at the moment discussed more in the media than in any scientific writings of the sociology of religion. The term "Church Planting" stems from the field, and describes Christian Churches' and free churches' endeavors to do re-missionary work in actual Christian-shaped, but meanwhile secularized societies. We encounter in Berlin, for example, pastor couples from South Africa, South America and the U.S., who initially bring together believers in small-scale house groups, house cells or home groups, which develop over time into independent full-grown parishes. Due to these new foundations of the past decades, an interesting and multifaceted spectrum of parishes has emerged, including charismatic and Pentecostal groups, as well as conventional parishes of the Roman-Catholic Church and of the Evangelical Church of Germany. This broad range of variety provides us with the opportunity to collect data in many different kinds of Christian communities, and to contrast our findings with each other.

A Three-Part Approach to Emotions in the Field of Today's Christian Religion

Our aim is to analyze these different religious groups and communities with regard to specific emotional coding. In contrast, different Christian groups with a neo-Pentecostal Protestant and charismatic influence are compared with the more conventional direction of the Protes-

tant Church of Germany and the Roman-Catholic Church. By doing so, we will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What emotional styles characterize the younger, often Pentecostal or Charismatic Christian parishes?

- To what extent do their emotional styles differ from those of more conventional churches?

Emotional style means thereby the situational condensation of the communicational codification of the emotional, which is accessible for our observation and analysis. In this study, we only focus on different types of Christian congregations. There are no other religions involved. We decided to make this restriction for two reasons. First, we think that different Christian communities are easier to compare than Christian and religious communities with other beliefs, like Buddhism or Islam. This is due to the fact that emotions historically play different roles in various religions. Second, we assume that we will find in the Christian congregations a fairly large quantity of distinguishable emotional styles. So the inclusion of different religions will be a desideratum for following studies.

The thesis to be validated by this project goes a step beyond our observations. It says that we assume new religious movement groups distinguish themselves by specific emotional styles, which go beyond their strong orientation in experience and can be characterized particularly by specific performances of emotional states. Furthermore, we assume that these specific emo-

tional styles are to be understood as a symptom of a social development, which can be described as an emotionalization of religion, meaning that the overall emphasis lies more and more on the display of positive and/or extreme emotional states – for example, joy, security, trust, as well as the more ecstatic emotions experienced whilst performing religious activities.

We want to determine each emotional style that can be found in all the various Christian groups by means of their own expressive repertoire, which flows into religious communication and are thus made accessible for analysis. This is to be achieved by surveying into ethno- and particularly videographic allotment. Our focus lies especially on ceremonial and ritual events like church services or worship and divine services.

In three different ways we analyze the emotions linked to Christianity in direct response to communicative coding, their performance, as well as their feeling rules and expression rules.

A. Performance

As our focus is partly on the communicative emotional forms of performance in which the actors realize their rituals or services, the analysis gains access through a series of video documentations. These communicative patterns include verbal, paralinguistic, gestural, mimicking, vocalized, orchestrated, situational and interactive aspects, and, as a whole, they form the language of emotion. Based on our first thesis that the researched groups use different kinds of codes, the question arises as to which types of codi-

fication can be identified by their corresponding repertoire of expressive patterns, and which emotional styles can be therefore reconstructed. Furthermore, we analyze how the emotional styles differ between the younger and successfully growing Christian movements and the rather traditional churches. Performance does not only apply to the outside as a mode of communication, but as well – in a physical way – to the actor himself as an instance of mediation. This enables the actor to experience emotions and is a precondition for him to interpret them.

B. Meaning

To investigate the way in which the observed performance of communicative patterns are interpreted by the members of the congregations, we focus on the attributions of meaning the actors applied to the emotions associated with their religious practices. The meanings applied to the distinctive emotions of the subject, as well as to the performance of their fellow actors shall be investigated by interviews. In this manner, we should approach the meaning created in the interaction via communication. We also see this level of analysis as a contribution to the reconstruction of the characteristic feeling rules for each category of religious groups either new or traditional. These feeling rules act as an interface between the individuals and their social group.

C. Milieu

The emotions, the services and the religious experiences we focus on are not detached from the other fields of the actors' religious

and everyday lives. Therefore, we ask how the witnessing, interpretation, expression and legitimation of emotions are embedded in the whole arrangements of religion and daily routine, and which features are attributed to them. Additionally, we want to know if the analysis of the secondary data shows a connection between the emotional styles of the observed groups (Evangelical, Pentecostal, charismatic, Protestant Churches or Roman Catholic) and the specific milieus their members are recruited from.

Table 1. Data Types and Analysis Methods.

Part of the Study	Data Type	Type of Data Collection	Analysis Method
A. Performance	audio-visual data of religious events	recording with video camera on tripod, transcripts of key sequences via score transcription	video analysis, sequential analysis of key sequences, picture analysis, content analysis
	video trailer, video clips, live broadcasts, photographs, pictures, screen shots, stills	data collection via web presences, video platforms	
	observation protocols	participatory observation	
B. Meaning	interview data	audio or video recording of guideline based interviews, transcription	content analysis, sequential analysis
C. Milieu	existing studies concerning the milieus the believers are recruited from observation	literature research, interviews	secondary analysis

Source: Self-elaboration.

This table shows for each part of the study the types of data which have to be collected, and it shows also how this data will be analyzed in each case. As one can see, we have to deal with a couple of different types of data. First, there is audio-visual data of several types: video films, recorded by the researchers themselves, using mostly long shot perspectives with the camera on a tripod, supplemented by observation protocols; video trailers, recorded by (semi)professional

media designers, commissioned by the churches or the congregations and accessible via the web presences of the congregations; photographs, pictures, stills, also provided via the World Wide Web. Second, there is interview data, which is used to treat the question of the meaning, the feeling rules and the emotional knowledge of the people themselves. Third, as to deal with section C, analyzing the milieus the parishioners are recruited from, there is the investigation of

a pool of existing studies. Each data type is to be analyzed with the aid of respectively appropriate methods. Existing methods, however, have to be modified and refined to become applicable to the study of emotions. The sociological video analysis of emotions, for example, is to be created on the basis of more general considerations on video interaction analysis by Knoblauch (2005) and Knoblauch, Schnettler and Raab (2009).[1]

In the following, examples shall be given just for the sections A and B with special regard to the meaning of new types of visualization for section A.

In regard to the concern of our study, the expression or display components of emotion, its communicative dimensions, are especially of interest. It is accessible with the aid of observational and video analytical methods. On the one hand, we agree with Goffman (1959), when he says that emotional expressions are not just linear representations of inner feelings, but aim at a certain expressional or display result, which is produced to meet the anticipated expectations of a certain audience. Therefore, emotional expressions conduct a crucial communicative function, which is related to the coordination of interactive processes, as well as to their motives. On the other hand, Hochschild (1979) emphasizes rightly that the research of emotional expressions should not be limited to the dimension of what she, with regard to Goffman's work, calls "surface acting,"

but should also include, with the aid of interview data, the dimension of "deep acting." This refers to the work that is accomplished by individuals to influence not just outer emotional expressions, but subjective, emotional feeling.

Christianity and Visualizations

In the course of the participatory observations we have conducted up to now, directly at events of different Christian parishes, particularly in Berlin, as well as in regard to data we collected from the internet presences of certain parishes, we have increasingly gained the impression that new types of medial visualization become more and more important for the composition of liturgical events and for religious life within Christian parishes. This development entails interesting consequences for the formation of new emotional styles as discussed below.

However, first of all, a few words have to be said about the history of the Christian faith and its attitude towards certain types of visualizations like images, pictures and texts within different media.

If we are asking questions about the meaning of visualizations for the practice of Christian beliefs and for the development of emotional styles within this frame today, we are undoubtedly confronted with a broad and complex discourse, which has been conducted for centuries past. It is widely known that the position of the Christian Churches towards pictorial representations of mundane and ulterior entities has always been anything but uncomplicated. The second of the Ten Commandments, forbids God's people, who

end up gathering in worship around an effigy of a golden calf in the desert, to manufacture material depictions (especially sculptural) of God.

This is the starting signal for a changeful dispute within the history of Christianity and Judaism on the question of whether or not pictorial representations of God and his creation or creatures can be reconciled with the Ten Commandments. Those images are to be considered problematic in two ways. First, the creation of an idol is highly problematic, since it could be worshiped by believers not only as a representation of God, but as actually being God himself. Second, the question is raised whether or not the creative reproduction of God's creations and the creatures themselves is a blasphemous act as well, since men claim by their reproduction the status of a co-creator, and therefore relativize the uniqueness of God's creative powers.

At this point, a distinction should be apparently introduced. Especially in regard to the religious discourse on visualization, one cannot simply speak of visualization on the whole. After all, it makes a big difference within this framework as to whether texts or images/pictures are being referred to.

Images and texts (written down speech) have been commonly described by certain characteristics for a long time. The iconic construction of meaning of pictures has been contrasted with the linguistic construction of sense, the "logos" of texts (for example, by Langer 1965). While language and writings were thought to be perceived sequentially, pictures have been characterized by the simultaneity of their perception. This de-

scription has, however, recently been challenged by authors like Krämer (2003). According to her, writings cannot just be described as sequential lines of signs, which represent spoken sounds. Krämer points out the synchronous dimension of texts, calling it *Schriftbildlichkeit*. The other way around, there are several types of images, which cannot only be characterized in terms of synchronicity, but also by their sequentiality, like comic strips, animated pictures and of course movies. The diametrical confrontation of text and picture seems, therefore, not to be helpful for the analysis of data material. Hence, it makes sense to follow Mitchell (1986), who suggested a dialectic of word and image.

The God of the Old Testament is not visible to human beings: he is invisible and unimaginable. He reveals himself to believers just through his word, his creations and his deeds in the world. Even after the new covenant of the New Testament, the vision of God remains situated in the afterlife, the time after death, and is not just described as visual perception, but as an experience, which affects the human being as a whole.

At the same time, the history of the Christian Churches are of course highly interwoven with the history of the visual arts. Images have over the course of time been adored; they embellished and organized the church and its interior, taught the parish and reminded it of rules, important occasions and historical figures, and told stories, but they have also been profaned and destroyed.

Ultimately, the idea of the vision of God (*visio benefica*) becomes, within the writings of Father

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[1] Since we are convinced that a method designed for the study of emotions and emotional styles by means of video analysis shall be sensitive to interactional and communicational frames and contexts, we do not adopt methods, which limit themselves to the coding and counting of emotional expressions (like Mayring, Gläser-Zikuda and Ziegelbauer 2005).

Augustine, a link between religion and aesthetics, since he develops an aesthetic in the shape of "Theophanies," as Rentsch (1987) puts it.

In the course of time, the image did not only have to deal with a critical attitude in the field of religion, but also within several scientific disciplines and discourses, in which terms like *Bilderflut* (Flusser 1995) have been coined. What may place images in a bad light and strengthen caveats, could be the suspicion that the image is a sign, which does not make itself identifiable as sign, but gives the impression of a natural or objective fact.

This perspective arises, however, just in case one insists on treating the image as a sign. When one agrees to recognize the special characteristics of the image and not to subsume it under the category of signs, another understanding of the image would be possible, as suggested by Wiesing (2005), using the term *artifizielle Präsenz* (artificial presence). This approach, of course, does not exclude the possibility of using images as signs. It rather emphasizes the idea that the image is not naturally/ontologically equipped with symbolism, but may gain some in the course of its usage, as well as through the act of interpretation.

Figure 1. Still taken from a video clip on the homepage of City Kirche. *Source: (http://www.citykircheberlin.de).*

Starting Points of the Analysis of Emotional Styles in Christian Parishes

Interestingly, we find several types of screens and monitors in a number of churches, on which during the church service, contents of different types are projected.

In younger parishes, mostly of free churches, this facility seems to be almost standard. This is not in the same way true for more conventional parishes, but especially in the framework of special forms of church service, like the ones, in which rock music is played (called *Rock-Messe*), a screen is placed next to the altar. Therefore, it is no surprise that Schnettler, Knoblauch and Pötzsch (2007) in their study on new forms of the communication of knowledge also encounter so-called "PowerPoint church services." What sounded rather exotic a few years ago, is nowadays in many newer parishes so closely interwoven with the liturgy that it is hardly noticed as an alien element. Accordingly, the words of the Bible interpreted by the pastor in his sermon are projected on the screen as well as prayers, which shall be spoken by the parishioners alternating with the pastor and lyrics of hymns and chants. In addition, we find ornamental and functional images on those screens.

In most of the old church buildings, the screen is a subsequently installed part of the facility, and in contrast to the building's architecture, looks rather provisional. The positioning of the screen seems to be in some cases a difficult venture.

It has to be huge enough, so that all of the spectators might have a good view of it and can see all of the projected content, but at the same time, it should not cover other, mostly older, church facilities, which are also important for liturgical means, such as the altar, the tabernacle or the crucifix. Especially with regard to the visualization of prayers and lyrics of church and worship songs, the projection mostly replaces the prayer and song book.

This causes interesting changes in the posture of the believers during singing and praying. They do not look down at a book held in their hands, their backs are not curved, their heads are not lowered, but they look up to the screen. Since they do not have to hold a book anymore, their hands are free, so they can be either lifted up, they can perform a praying gesture or they can hold hands with their neighbor. These changes are not mere accidental details, since the positioning of the body is one of the mechanisms of action applied by liturgy (Pickstock 2010).

Additionally to the redoubling of liturgical elements, the employment of projection media enables the parishes to include the presentation of video clips in the composition of the church service. We encounter this option mainly in parishes from free churches, which in some cases have even permanently installed a number of monitors inside their church buildings. The presented video clips are produced semi-professionally by Christian media agencies. As an example, the association "Open Doors" can be mentioned, which produces particular documentary films on the topic of the persecution of Christians in

several parts of the world. The presentation of the video clips can be integrated into the sermon, for example. Thereby, an interesting interplay is created in which the spoken language of the pastor's sermon is combined with the stylistic devices, which are characteristics of cinematic concepts. Therefore, the analysis of emotional styles in this field has not only to listen to spoken words, but also has to take into account that the presented video clips are equipped with certain emotion generating stylistic devices, because of their specific possibilities to combine animated pictures, spoken commentaries and texts, as well as background music.

One very special kind of usage of screens could be observed in an Evangelic church in Meckenheim (Germany), where a so-called "Twitter church service" has been celebrated. This event is described by the responsible pastor of the church in his internet blog, which is called *Pastorenstückchen* (which translated means tail of rump, which has been reserved for the pastor in former times). In fact, one of the participants of the event comments on this on his blog, in which one can find a screenshot of the "twitterwallr," which had been projected onto a screen during the church service.

Figure 2. Screenshot of the twitterwallr. *Source: (http://pastorenstueckchen.de/2011/02/ruckblick-auf-den-ersten-twitter-gottesdienst).*

The parishioners had the opportunity to send their comments on the text for the sermon (1 Corinthians 13) to the internet application Twitter via smart phone or laptop by using the church's Wi-Fi connection. Those comments, which were marked with a certain hash tag, were projected onto the screen and were, therefore, visible to the whole congregation. Following the pastor's blog entries, this event was invented to transfer the concept of verbal "Bible sharing" (that is, talking about one's own thoughts about a certain Bible passage) into a visual manner. The idea was, according to the blog entries, to include more people simultaneously into the discussion than could be involved in a verbal conversation.

Christian parishes use new media formats, however, not only for live visualization during church services, but also as a means of self-representation and for the documentation of church life, both for the group members themselves and for the outside world. This can be well observed with a look at the homepages presented by parishes on the web, which provide their visitors with images, texts and video clips. We find this not only in free churches, but also in the cases of quite conventional ones. The variety of utilized media formats ensures us that the employment of methods for video and picture analysis is unavoidable for researching emotional styles in the religious field.

By looking at an example of a video clip taken from an annual review presented by a free church from Berlin, it becomes clear, that the

composition of sequences serves as a reminder and as a kind of a pictorial, external memory (like a photo album) for the parish, archiving its shared activities and memories. It also functions as self-representation towards outsiders, since it can be watched and downloaded via the parish's website.

The video shows the parish's pastor baptizing several people in the Havel-river in Berlin. This sequence is interesting in regard to our research questions because it presents a multimodal dramaturgy of consecutive emotional styles. At the beginning of the sequence, the people going to be baptized stride slowly and solemnly into the river together with the pastor. Their facial expressions are concentrated and awed. One woman raises a hand in a praying gesture. During the process of each baptism the transition from this starting position/pose to another emotional style, which is rather unconstrained, happier, almost exuberant, is noticeable. Subsequent to the last baptism this second style culminates, supported by the changing background music, with a cheering gesture of the pastor, who even jumps up a little bit, while leading the newly baptized Christians back to the shore. The group seems to bring back this style to the beach, where other people wait for them. Finally, we see the almost invariably beaming faces of the newly baptized persons, each presented in a close up.

One can also find picture series on the web documenting special church services and other Christian events. The usage of such pictures

Figure 3. Press pack of an annual event – Freakstock. *Source:* http://freakstock.de.

tells us, that not only the spoken word is regarded as something important to keep and to communicate. In fact, it seems much more to be a matter of showing the visible parts of the liturgy, which appear highly appreciated in this framework. Featured are, for example, liturgical acts, objects, interactions between the celebrating clergymen, their gestures and the positions of the participants in the church.

Especially in picture series presented by free churches, the focus is not only on the liturgical acts of clergymen, but also on the "audience" – the participants of the church services. The presented photographs are taken from the press pack of an annual event called "Freakstock," which is organized by a free church named "Jesus Freaks." The organizers of the event provide the press not only with textual descriptions of the happening, but also with

pictures, which have been taken during the past years.

We see prayer postures[2] and interactions between participants. The panning shot of the audience indicates that not just the events on the "stage" seem to be important for the organizers, but also the emotional postures, gestures and mimics of the participants.

Another example is given in the following to illustrate the importance of the analysis of textual data, also collected from internet presences of parishes. The following text passages are taken from a letter, which has been published on the homepage of a free church located in Berlin. The author of the letter describes, what she experienced when she vis-

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[2] Another project, also located at the Cluster of Excellence "Languages of Emotion," focuses on the emotions of admiration and adoration (see Schindler et al. forthcoming).

ited a church service of the mentioned free church for the first time.

> …But then the sermon. A wave of energy set against me. The words coming from the mouth of the preacher captivated me immediately. They found their way directly into my heart. It widened, absorbed all of the confidence and trust in God that built itself up in the church during the sermon. The power, the strength of the Holy Spirit had been literally touchable. And they grew with each new sentence. A warmth flew through my body and seemed to emit healing rays.

> …Until now, there was not one sermon that could not be carried in everyday life. Or that is not kept safe in one's heart, and be it just one sentence which had been touching. Which maybe awoke old memories, which brought tears or let the whole body remain in near breathlessness, so as not to miss a single word, not to miss hearing a message.

> …When the blessing is issued, it can almost be captured with the fingertips, so palpable it seems to be. [source: http://www.citykircheberlin.de «translation R.H.»]

The description of the sermon and the blessing entails many emotional sensations, which seem mainly to be experienced in a bodily manner. The words of the sermon come from the body (mouth) of the preacher and travel into the body (the heart) of the believer, where they shall be kept. By doing so, the words establish a connection between the bodies of the pastor and his audience.

Lastly, an example shall be given of what we can learn from the interviews we conducted

with believers. The following short quote is taken from an interview with a young man in his early twenties, who is highly engaged in his work for a free church in Berlin. When we asked him, what emotions are, according to his point of view related to the "antagonist" of God, he said:

> I would not say that all the emotions I have, like angst, for example, that this is ascribed to the devil. I believe that God gives anxieties as well. Anxieties are also there to warn us. It is good to be scared so that we do not take too much risk. … I believe that at least the devil or evil, when it tries to wield power over humans, gains ground via these negative emotions. Just as God can and will show himself to humans by "the good." [translation R.H.]

Emotions are interpreted in these remarks as intermediaries or media, which can be used by different transcendent powers and thus also fulfill different functions. Emotions might be read symbolically as signals referring to something else, such as warnings. They seem, moreover, also to be understood as gateways for the exertion of the influence of divine or diabolic powers and, therefore, enable a connection between transcendent entities and humans.

Conclusions

To summarize, five key points shall be emphasized:

1. The importance of visualizations in the form of images/pictures and texts for Christianity is well-known. For hundreds of

years, artistically designed church windows, illustrated church interiors and opulent Bible editions and prayer books have born witness of this. It seems, however, to be interesting how Christian parishes include nowadays visualizations by means of new technical solutions. This development may be partly caused by the factor that the lifeworld of religion is not unlinked to the other lifeworlds believers dwell in, but is rather in fact tightly interwoven with them. Recent developments in the field of new media technologies and its associated reception and viewer habits do not halt in front of church doors, but are applied by church service organizers and pastors, matching the particular culture of a parish.

2. For the analysis of emotions in Christian parishes, the employment of new means of visualization provides an important entry point. This is especially true with regard to the performative, communicative dimension of emotions, which becomes accessible for us when we interpret image and video data materials created by members of the parishes themselves.

3. By doing so, it becomes clear, that the photographs, images and video clips the parishes present on their web pages, provide the spectator, among other things, with a visual/visualized knowledge of the "feeling rules" (Hochschild 1979) or parts of the "emotional regime" (Riis and Woodhead 2010:10) of a parish or a recurring event. In a pictorial/visual way, these materials

give information on the questions surrounding what emotions and in particular what forms of expressions of those emotions are acceptable and even socially desired in a certain parish or at a certain event.

4. At the same time, the forms of visualization we found in the data can be interpreted as one of several hints suggesting that there is a development going on in Christian Churches throughout Germany, which can be described with a term Meyer (2006) coined with regard to Pentecostal Churches in Ghana. She speaks of "religious sensations" and addresses different aspects by using this term. On the one hand, the term describes the increasing accentuation of a "sensational" dimension in religious life, which is characterized by "sensation" as an impressive and extraordinary event. On the other hand, it also signifies the integration of all the senses into the design of church life.

5. This expansion of religious life to all dimensions of perception and cognition can be seen as the foundation for the emergence of new emotional styles, which are also to be felt, expressed and communicated with and via all the senses. It confirms also empirically, that the analysis of emotions in the field of Christianity today has to consider the close connection between emotional sensations and the body, as suggested theoretically by Mellor (2007).

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Videography in Migration Research: A Practical Example for the Use of an Innovative Approach

Abstract   This article is an example of the practical application of natural video recordings to qualitative research. It describes the videographic method in relation to an ongoing project concerned with forms of knowledge communication within the field of migration. In this field, our visual approach provides a novel perspective on the well-known questions of cross-cultural communication and integration. Firstly, I want to discuss Videography and Genre Analysis in the form of an iterative, audiovisual data collection procedure and define the process of sequence selection and interpretation. Secondly, I will demonstrate how communicative structures are analyzed at different levels of Genre Analysis through the minute analysis of a short audiovisual data sequence from a roadshow that took place during a Latin American theme week. As well as detailing the process of gathering information on a situational level, I want to demonstrate the potential of the analysis to gather information about the structural environment on a trans-situational level. Through this discussion, I will also outline the importance of additional contextual information that – by means of further ethnographic research – could be uncovered in our fieldwork.

Keywords   Video-Analysis; Genre Analysis; Videography; Focused Ethnography; Migration; Integration; Cross-Cultural Expansion; Cross-Cultural Events

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In this paper, I will discuss the use of videography as an innovative, qualitative research method, offering a new "bottom up" perspective (Knoblauch and Tuma 2011:418) on a supposedly well-known field. In simple terms, videography refers to ethnographic field immersion that is accompanied by video recordings in naturally occurring situations. I will further discuss their role in an iterative approach below. In conjunction with a methodological description, I will outline how such a method may be practically realized, particularly with respect to ethnography. First and foremost, ethnography, in terms of our study in the field of migration, provides important contextual knowledge, allowing a minute analysis of communication. In contrast to the vast majority of research, which is primarily concerned with the diverse characteristics and processes of migration itself (Pries 2001; Han 2005), this work focuses on the forms of public social gathering[1] that occur as a result of diverse migration into our country. We focus on the social situations that emerge, primarily, from the dynamics of so called "contact and motion zones" in which migrants and the resident population interact. Interaction in these "cross-cultural situations" is structured according to the typical differences in knowledge between "strangers" and "locals" (Schütz 1944).[2]

The local focus is on events in the Bavarian region, particularly its urban centers such as Munich, Nuremberg and Augsburg. In these cities, the average percentage of citizens with a migrant background is well above average.[3] In our project we mainly focus on Spanish-speaking contexts. Here, we have collected an extensive body of real-life video data including 27 open social events. Thematically, these events include cooking classes and language courses, musical and cultural festivals, readings, discussions, intercultural open-air events and festivals of national-historic content. Related to these events are those members of migrant groups, migrant and cultural associations, as well as private and local political organizations who regularly participate in sociocultural and political activities during public events. All the events have been chosen within an iterative process with the aim of an extensive overview of different recursively occurring communicative patterns within the field of research.

In this research, my primary focus will be on a single event, which occurred during the Latin American theme week, *Lateinamerikawoche*, which took place in Nuremberg in 2011, beginning with an analysis of a short data sequence, which defined a typical piece of communication. I will then proceed to reconstruct parts of the situational and trans-situational structure.

Methods

There is still a clear lack of ethnographic studies within sociological research that focus on migration, especially with respect to research

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[1] Gatherings (Goffman 1961) are social situations in which participants communicate face-to-face, acting and reacting in each other's immediate presence. This social realm – the "interaction order" in Goffman's term (1983) – constitutes a level of social organization *sui generis*. Studying it in its own right contributes to a better understanding of the mechanisms of social integration.

[2] What is common knowledge in one place becomes specialist knowledge in another (Kissau 2010:360). "Strangers" (or migrants), as well as "locals" (or non-migrants), gathering in social events can be counted as holders of a stock of specialist knowledge also known as "migrant knowledge." Essential for this specific type of knowledge is intense, incorporated experience in the respective region of origin or incorporation as a family member.

[3] The average percentage of citizens with a migrant background in Bavaria is 19.4% in comparison with Munich's 35.2%, Nuremberg's 38.3% and Augsburg's 39.4% (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2010).

on ethnic and cultural communities or associations.[4] Laudable exceptions are the studies of Zifonun (2010), Soeffner and Zifonun (2005; 2008), Zifonun and Cındark (2004). As part of their Sociology of Social Worlds, they discuss the communicative aspects of different "life-worlds" or "milieus" (Soeffner and Zifonun 2008:120) within ethnic communities and the urban environment.

In accordance with Zifonun and colleagues, we maintain a sociological perspective, which is grounded in the "new" Sociology of Knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1991). However, in our own study we pursue a slightly different epistemological direction. By using video, we take a special interest in the communicative structures that appear in situational settings where different people meet and interact. The use of videography allows a situated form of audiovisual data collection that is paired with ethnographic fieldwork. In this approach, the researcher takes part in the situation not only indirectly, by filming somewhere from the "outside," but he or she observes the entire setting and experiences aspects that are beyond the focus of the camera. Aside from these observations, the researcher can also try to address different actors or engage

in group discussions concerning the event. Together, these observations and the information gathered from interaction are of great value to data analysis. Subsequently, I want to discuss this approach and its capabilities in detail.

Videography and Genre Analysis

Videography refers to the analysis of video-taped interaction when this process is attended by contextual, ethnographic inquiry (Knoblauch, Tuma and Schnettler 2010). It is part of a developing field of qualitative social research that deals with audio-visual data recordings of naturally occurring situations (Silverman 2005). As Bergmann (1985) points out, audio-visual data itself registers the situation as it occurs. In comparison to other forms of data, video is repeatable and intersubjectively accessible. Methods for analyzing social interactions with video have received substantial input, drawing on microscopic analytical approaches based on Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff 2010). In our project, the analysis aims to describe the patterns of communicative action. Therefore, we conduct ethnographic field research using the method of Focused Ethnography (Knoblauch 2005a). This method, as one important component of Videography, emphasizes the ethnographic aspects of video analysis (Knoblauch and Tuma 2011). In contrast to the anthropological ideal, where only long term studies are considered to demonstrate real ethnographies, Focused Ethnography concentrates on communicative, situational and temporary limited field immersion that is video-recorded to allow later analysis.

Thus, the researcher tries to observe a natural context that is not in any way dependant on their presence. In addition to the technical documentation and the conservation of communicative contexts, the researcher occupies the role of an observer in the field, composing field reports and collecting background information from performing agents accordingly. Subsequent analysis of this data takes place in regular data analysis sessions (Knoblauch 2005a).

In our project, sociological Genre Analysis (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995) provides detailed descriptions and analysis of recursive communicative action and structure (Ulmer 1988). Communication genres are consolidated linguistic patterns that provide specific solutions to communication problems (Luckmann 1988).[5] These solutions define the different functions of accomplishment, intermediation and the sharing of intersubjective experiences of life worlds. Schnettler (2011) mentions that these communication genres are basic forms of knowledge. Appearing as linguistically consolidated and formalized patterns, they offer a person historically and culturally specific, socially grounded and modelled solutions to communicative problems. They serve to manage and to communicate

intersubjective experiences of one's "life-world" (Schnettler 2011). Together, with non-genre-type communications, they form the "communicative budget" of a society (Luckmann 1988). Genres act as mediating instruments between social structures and the knowledge of the individual, providing material for the "communicative construction of reality" (Luckmann 2006). Generally, it can be said that communication genres form the institutional core of social life (Knoblauch 2005b).

Analytically, genre analysis has also been employed for technical mediated forms of communication. The special methodological approach of genre analysis consists in its threefold level of analysis (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995). This seeks to understand the (1) internal structural elements, (2) the intermediate level of interactive realization and the (3) trans-structural level, meaning the outer context as the embedding of certain communicative forms in the wider social structure. It is this broad approach that makes Genre Analysis especially apt for an application to naturalistic video data.

On the level of internal structure, the focus of analysis is on the prosodic and verbal characteristics that can be found in single utterances or sequences. This minute analysis focuses on communication that is disconnected from the specific interaction. Intermediate characteristics are, on the one hand, prosodic and verbal features (intonation, volume, velocity of speech, breaks, rhythm, accentuation, and quality of voice) and on the other, we consider gestural and mimic characteristics, as well as stylistic and rhetori-

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[4] "Migrant associations" are also involved in many of these social events. However, we think this label should be restricted in its use. All the groups we have been examining were not exclusively composed of one ethnic group, nor did they exclude particular members. Here, we always find people from the host country participating in these associations and in these events. Consequently, the associations we are studying are not only important because of their role in identity-building within the diaspora (Lehmann 2001:169), or as mediators and bridges between home and resident culture (Cappai 2000), but also because they represent a specific place of "cultural contact" in modern societies.

[5] According to the sociological concepts, the new sociology of knowledge serves to elaborate (Schütz and Luckmann 1973; 1989; Berger and Luckmann 1991), knowledge should not be defined in positivist terms as an external category. It is distinct in the sense that it is indispensably tied to personal experience, competence and performance and social because its distribution, objectification, validation and legitimization are bound to social interaction processes. Knowledge does not exist separately from society. Empirically, knowledge can only be studied in terms of communication, taking into account all communicative modalities, such as verbal, gestural, facial and postural expressions.

cal devices. In comparison, the analysis of the intermediate level (2) primarily focuses on the interactive context of communication. On the trans-situative level (3) analysis focuses on defining interactive relations, communicative situations and communicative milieus, as well as the selection of groups of actors.

In the sequence below, I want to show the usefulness of this iterative approach. Here, I start with a detailed analysis on the intermediate level, which also includes features of internal structure. Furthermore, I want to stress that this minute analysis of communicative aspects also provides information regarding the role of specific communicative situations within a trans-situative structure. For a successful analysis, contextual information (regarding, e.g., actors and organizers in a specific event) is often vital. Besides the specific realization of verbal and non-verbal communication and the inclusion of ethnographic perceptions, the inclusion of further data can be valuable to the construction of a comprehensive understanding of the situation and an understanding of a trans-situational structure. However, it is note-worthy that the sort of data mentioned below not only registers "what is going on," but inherently contributes to the formation of higher degree construct.

Use of Ethnographic Data

In our example, the method outlined for studying face-to-face interactions is supported by other forms of data. As Knoblauch and Tuma (2011) emphasize, ethnographic work

within Videography is not restricted to the interactions of the primary subject of the video analysis. Institutional contexts or the subjective knowledge of actors can also be of importance. In this example, further information regarding the specific event, its actors and the institutional environment are vital for a more detailed analysis and the reconstruction of the *Lateinamerikawoche* as a whole. (1) Field notes, in which the researcher records his or her impressions, observations, and reconstructions of "ethnographic conversations" (Zifonun 2010:317), provide such additional data and turn out to be essential to the process of analysis. Another form of data that offers "constructs of the second order" (Schütz 1962) is (2) the explorative expert interviews that generate further information, which is not observable in the video data. Furthermore, (3) a range of source material gathered in the context of self-expression can be valuable in analysis. This information can be gathered during a specific event, as well as from homepages, leaflets and the like.

Field Notes

During extensive field observation, it has become clear that one must not only pay attention to the event itself, but also account for its spatial and temporal environment. In our example, this indicates that observation must begin sometime before the event and continue after the event. In this case, the researcher often finds valuable information and gains a better understanding of the localized, performative realization which dominates the official part of

the event. Further information collected for the purposes of analysis is of trans-situational relevance. In general, field notes include information regarding location, time and duration of an event, as well as its setting, participants and the general atmosphere. In addition, they will often include notes on informal talk or work, which serve as a reminder to the researcher. Here, a researcher can add notes to clarify ambiguous situations or time marks to draw attention to a specific fragment of audiovisual data, as well as including the details of further information sources.

Interviews

Interviews with "experts" are an additional method that can be employed to answer questions that were raised during the event. Unfortunately, the interview, as a reconstructive method, is deficient due to the issues of courtesy, cognitive unreliability, intentional misinformation and a multitude of other reasons. Depending on the specific realization, it can also offer an adequate opportunity for the exploration of "sense" (Schnettler 2011).

The conceptual term "expert" is not rigidly restricted to a professional elite. Similar to Littig (2011), I use it to describe representatives that have developed a specific expertise that is often independent of their profession. They possess procedural or interpretative knowledge in a specific field of action and also hold powerful positions in

this field.[6] Pfadenhauer (2007) also understands the expert as a person with the responsibility of providing advice and making decisions. Experts typically have a stock of specialist knowledge (or expertise) that helps them to solve fundamental problems within a specific working field. Choosing these experts is part of an iterative practice (see below) in this research project. The advantage of such a practice, informed by theoretical sampling, lies in its ability to select cases through a step-by-step process based on an emerging theoretical interest (Honer 2011). In our example, the experts are members of the *Trägerkreis Lateinamerikawoche*[7] and had all been organizers and conductors of events. The open interview guideline focused on the role and experience of each person (1) during their own events, (2) during the *Lateinamerikawoche* and as (3) members or collaborators in the theme-weeks related groups and organizations. Besides a theoretical interest in realization and structural organization, another goal of the open interviews was to find out more about the key topics and thematic priorities of the interviewees. The question: "What can you tell me about the *Lateinamerikawoche*?" at the beginning always leads to an extended

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[6] In contrast to Littig (2011), the role of experts is not strictly related to their profession. Instead, experts can be members of organizations, institutions, groups, or clubs that hold leading positions (e.g., when they are also a member of the board or when they are the person in charge of a specific task).

[7] *Trägerkreis Lateinamerikawoche* is the name of a joint venture consisting of various organizations, institutions and individuals. They work together to arrange the *Lateinamerikawoche*.

narrative that covered further issues raised in the questionnaire beyond that opening question.

The technique used for these interviews is similar to what Honer (1993; 2011) describes as "quasi-normal-conversation" (in German: *Quasi-normales Gespräch*):

> [b]y opening up for its counterpart, by questioning what was said, by remarks, by clearly verbalizing compliance, by telling stories and sometimes also by uttering disagreement, by showing its own objective engagement and its own curiosity, the interviewer stimulates its counterpart better than with any other interview technique «to let oneself go,» to generate interviewees «existential» interest in the topic and – last, but not least – to be open for «exceptional» forms of conversing. (2011:48 [translation B.R.])

The idea behind this and similar forms of interview is to "normalize" the communicative situation for the interviewee as far as is practical (Pfadenhauer 2007:453).[8] Aside from more coincidental ethnographic talks throughout the event, these interviews offer a possibility to gather further information regarding situation and context, as well as to explore further aspects relevant for research.

[8] Pfadenhauer also strictly defines that an expert-interview can only be conducted by a "quasi-expert" able to talk to the interviewee at an appropriate level (2007:455). I am also convinced that substantial knowledge about a specific field of research and the participating actors is important for good ethnographic work. However, even when one has this specific knowledge, there might still be a "visible" disparity between the interviewee, who has been part of the field of research for a long time, and the interviewer, who is relatively new to this field.

Self-Expressing Material

The final source of additional data in the research process is the (medial) self-expression of a specific group, club or other organization involved in the theme week. These showcases are of particular interest when related to cultural events, theme-weeks or festivals. Examples of such showcasing have been found in printed and online newsletters, flyers, programs, posters and announcements on internet newsgroups, like on Facebook. These representations form communications which address the environment – advertising and informing with regard to a specific event. As such, they are often valuable indicators for later data analysis in which ambiguities can be eliminated and speculations can be avoided. Nevertheless, one must be aware that such data is not a portrayal of reality. As a higher degree construct, it is inevitably selective, directive and possibly incorrect.

As previously mentioned, both the situatively realized videographic method and the additional methods cited above are part of a step-by-step research process, which will be discussed in full later.

Iterative Research Process

Video-analysis is, not exclusively, but primarily, a method of discovery, which incorporates the above data. Here, we are especially interested in the forms and patterns of knowledge communication that occur on the situative level, but also the patterns that can be found at a higher level. To generate the data, we follow a theoreti-cal sampling method, which systematically selects similar, deviant and contrasting cases. In the case of video, each item – a naturally occurring event in the context of migration – requires extensive and time-consuming preparation, as well as the practical involvement required to realize the audio-visual recordings. Once the data has been taped, we begin initial analysis of the raw material. First, the material is cited and listed in a catalogue, which we refer to as a "logbook" (Knoblauch et al. 2010:17). The logbook provides a preliminary overview of the recorded data including an approximate description of the communicative aspects. During later analysis, this will help in identifying recursive patterns, even within comprehensive data corpora. The emergence of recursive patterns in the audio-visual recordings allows us to select particular short sequences for further analysis. This selection is one of the critical parts of the research process. It is tailored to the general research interest (in this case: looking for sequences relevant for communicating knowledge) and the recursive patterns that might emerge from the material itself, independent of our pre-established research focus. The selected sequences are transcribed, prepared for analysis, inspected and discussed in extensive data processing sessions. These sessions provide an opportunity for a minute discussion of communication fragments. Naturally recorded data not only contains information regarding situational realization, but also draws attention to the trans-situational level through positioning and structural classification. Apart from the researchers, who naturally possess extensive experience and knowledge of the field, there are others who will not be directly involved in the on-going research. Their "lack of knowledge" is not detrimental to the research and does not limit its success. In reality, "unbiased" members often contribute by discovering relevant details that are overlooked by the researchers involved. Thus, vital contextual information is provided to the unbiased members little by little, allowing them to understand what is going on. Data analysis in research groups not only supports and enables the generation of inter-subjective, comprehensive interpretations, but prevents the researcher becoming obsessed with unreasonable interpretations (Knoblauch 2001).

As we progress, findings from the described data sessions help us to choose further sequences from the data set and continue to the next step in the method.

Sequential Data

In this approach, the emphasis is on the situational collection of audiovisual data and its analysis as the "centerpiece" of the video-an-
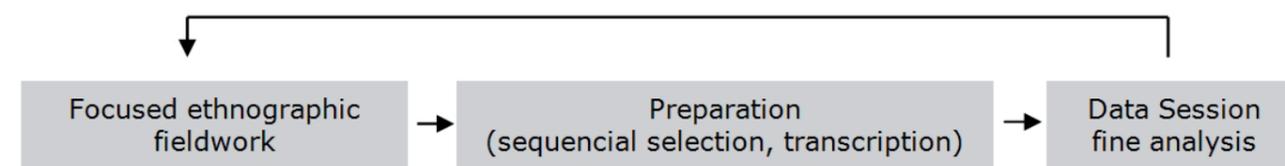

Figure 1. Iterative research process applied in video-analysis. *Source: self-elaboration.*

alytical experience (Schnettler 2011:191). This will be demonstrated with reference to a short sequence of knowledge communication that has been recorded during an annual intercultural theme week that took place in the city of Nuremberg. Within the framework of our research, this type of communication is recursive and can, therefore, be seen as typical.

The data sequence below is part of an arranged information meeting that took place under the auspices of the "Latin-American theme week," celebrated on an annular basis in Nuremberg (http://www.lateinamerikawoche.de). The event we will focus on here took place in the evening and lasted about two hours. Throughout this period, two women sit on stage behind

an elevated desk decorated with posters and deliver a speech to an audience of twenty to thirty listeners. The speech, as a whole, deals with the subject of the current political, social and economic situation in El Salvador. The particular extract we will focus on addresses the political role of communal radio stations in this country.

Maria, the manager (M) of a local Bavarian aid organization for Central and South-America, moderates the event, which is delivered by Angela (A), a Salvadorian woman and activist for the radio station, who is exclusively Spanish-speaking. Angela is the central protagonist of this event, representing a "voice from Latin America."

Image 1. In this staged event, the German-speaking female moderator (M) is performing consecutive translation for the Spanish-speaking activist (A). *Source: the video extract of the analyzed sequence can be accessed at: www.soz.uni-bayreuth.de/ de/videoanalysis.*

The following 26-second sequence is initiated by Maria, who speaks in well-articulated Spanish. Maria translates each part into German for the benefit of the audience. After finishing a sentence, Angela signals Maria to start the translation with a short pause. Maria begins her translation immediately. Consider the first part of the original speech, which is delivered in Spanish:

Transcript 1a. Sistema democrático.

1 A: en el salvador las radios
       in El Salvador communal radios

2   comunitarias se le(s) ve como
       are seen as

3   los medios opositores (-) ah:
       opposing media

4   (.) al sisTEMA demoCRATico
       against the democratic system

5   que hay en el salvador (-)
       established in El Salvador

Source: self-elaboration.

The sequence above (cf. Transcript 1a) is an example of the recursive communicative phenomenon observable in our data. Here, Angela talks about the democratic system in El Salvador, as well as discussing communal radios as a medial opposition to this system. When interpreted literally, one can easily get the impression that communal radios are nothing more than terrorist groups that manipulate the populace intending to bring down the democratically elected government. One can imagine that Angela intended to say something slightly different. See what Maria does in her translation:

Transcript 1b. Quotation marks.

6 M: hm (-) und ((caughs)) das problem ist
       auch das
       the problem is also that

7   in El SALvador eigentlich so kommunale
       radios
       in el Salvador such comunal radios

8   immer als opposiTION gesehen werden zum
       are always seen as opposition against

9   demokratischen (.) an'=in
       anführungszeichen
       the democratic in quotation marks

10   demokratischen system in el salvador
       democratic system in El Salvador

Source: self-elaboration.

Maria somehow seems to understand Angela's talk, but – so far – we can only suppose or guess she gives the right interpretation of this talk in Spanish. To reach a more fundamental state of understanding, it is crucial that we gather additional information about the actors, the situational setting and the environment.

Contextual Embedding

In terms of communicative genres, this approach is focused on the detailed analysis of recursive communicative situations. Step-by-step, it uncovers communicative patterns and genres, which are understood to belong to a structure that is partially visible, partially hidden. As I will demonstrate, the analysis and interpretation of this situationally realized interaction is aided by the contextual information that is gathered through other methods before, during and after the specific event.

Before we proceed to analyzing the above sequence in more detail, I will give a short description of

the participating actors, the situation itself and the institutional environment. This information was gathered through observations and informal ethnography by analyzing the program of the event, reading different web pages and by interviewing different participants during field immersion.

Actors

In the sequential example, distinct actors form this centered communication. Firstly, there is a distinction between the actors on stage and the people that form the audience on the floor. As can be seen on the venue homepage, the communicative goal of the *Lateinamerikawoche* is to inform its guests about different issues concerning culture and politics in Latin America. In their own performance, Maria and Angela's interaction informs audiences about El Salvador and Angela's work for the communal radio.

Maria acts as a moderator, translating Angela's narration to the audience and forwarding questions to her guest by translating German into Spanish. Beyond this event, she is a permanent member of the *Trägerkreis* and, like most of the other members, she participates not only out of personal interest, but also in an official capacity (as a priest of the Protestant Church). In co-ordination with her colleagues, she has also conceptualized, organized and moderated this event. Maria is closely concerned with the country of El Salvador and she has experience working and living there after several years as a migrant.

Angela, however, is the virtual expert of the pair. Due to her work at the oppositional radio station, and as a citizen of El Salvador, she has suffered

restrictions imposed by the highly corrupt state system. Her experience of life and work in El Salvador enables her to speak as the authentic "voice of Latin America."

The audience represents a third type of actor. However, a detailed and complete description of its constituents is problematic since most of the participants do not introduce themselves. Once the official part of the event was finished, only a few of them asked questions in German, addressing Maria who immediately translates them into Spanish. Nevertheless, video data contains some additional information on this subject. Internal structural features of the audience are recorded, such as their clothes, gender and approximate age. The actors, as well as most of the 26 people forming the audience, are dressed in "normal" attire. They are not wearing costumes, suits or liveries. There are people of all ages and a uniform distribution of gender.

One must be aware that, beneath the visible surface, there exists a great deal of additional information pertinent to achieving an adequate interpretation of the situation. However, we must keep in mind that it is impossible to ask each and every person attending one of the theme week's road shows, work shops or music performances about their attitude towards the subject matter or their intentions and expectations of the event. In the interview with Maria, I took the opportunity to ask her to estimate the number of attendees she knew personally. She answered: "one third," but more interesting than this short answer was her attitude regarding the number of attendees that were unfamiliar to her: "[a]n astonishing thing about the *Lateinamerikawoche* is that people

simply come. It simply is a fast-selling item." [interview with Maria [«translation B.R.»]

Situational Setting

For the purposes of a general interpretation, as well as a detailed analysis of a communicative situation, an understanding of the characteristics of the venue is valuable. Thus, we generally take pictures of the location and its surrounding environment. The sketch below (Image 2) shows the biggest hall within the *Stadtteilzentrum Villa Leon*[9] in Nuremberg. This was the location of all the festivities I attended during *Lateinamerikawoche*. Entering the hall through the main entrance, one stands right next to the stage: a dark painted platform half a meter high. On top of it, there is

a table decorated with theme week posters. Behind the table are two chairs for Angela and Maria. The ceiling features several spotlights and a video projector (which was not used during the event). Mounted on the wall behind the stage is a big canvas and two walls of the room are glass frontages through which one can see the lawn and parts of the lake outside. However, during the event, curtains obscure the view. The room has a hardwood floor. The auditorium consists of two blocks of chairs with a capacity of 112 seats. Centered on the opposite side of the room to the stage one can see the mixing desk where the illumination and the microphones are controlled by a *Villa* staff member. Next to the mixing desk and the glass frontage are more tables, five info booths and a bookstand attended by members of the *Trägerkreis*, which is mainly used before and after the official part of each event.

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[9] *Stadtteilzentrum* means a cultural center for citizens located in a specific city district. In Nuremberg, these centers are also called "Cultural Corner Shops" (see further below).
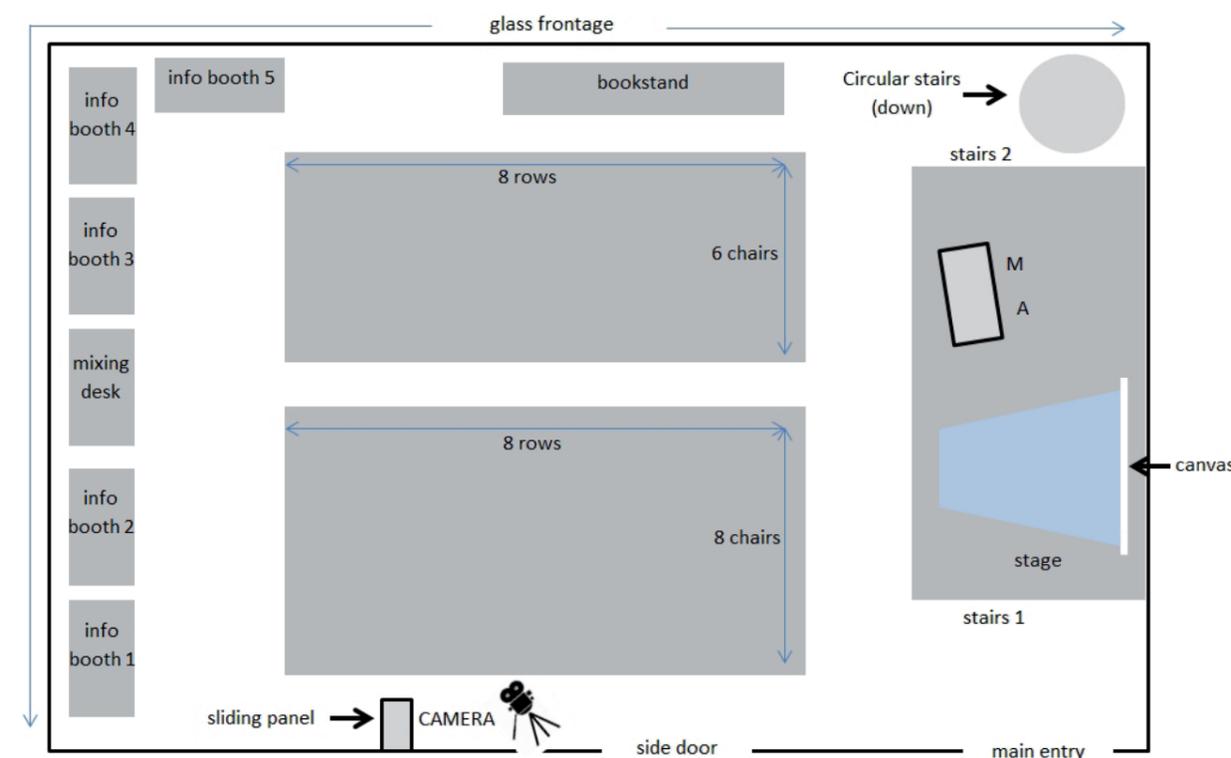

Image 2. Sketch of the event location. *Source: self-elaboration.*

The building itself is located next to a metro station in a park which includes a small lake and a pedestrian bridge. Named after the district *St. Leonhard*, the *Villa Leon* consists of both a newly constructed and a renovated building (Image 3 and 4). The events are located in the newly built section on the main floor. The brick building at the rear is the older part of the *Villa* (Image 3). The house occupies the plot of an old slaughter house and was established in the year 2001 as a substitute for the former community centre Rothenburger Straße.

Image 3. Image 4. The community center *Villa Leon* is a partly redeveloped, partly new-built event location that opened its doors in 2001. *Source: self-elaborated photographs.*

Institutional environment

In January 2011, the *Lateinamerikawoche* celebrates its 34th anniversary, making it one of the oldest intercultural events in Nuremberg. The theme week was initiated in the 1980s by the protestant student community (ESG) at Nuremberg University, at a time when Latin America was politically unsettled and suffered from injustice and violence. Today, the theme week and its 15 individual events are organized by a broad alliance of 13 groups and associations. Further, members of the so-called *Trägerkreis* are another protestant organization (*Mission Ein-eWelt*) and a municipal authority (*Amt für Kultur und Freizeit*), who not only run the building and provide an excellent infrastructure for the event, but are also involved in the planning committee and the promotion of this event. Furthermore, the city of Nuremberg is involved with its twin towns, in particular with the Nuremberg – San Carlos (Nicaragua) twinning. Private clubs and non-governmental organizations constitute other members of the *Trägerkreis*.

Thematically, the *Lateinamerikawoche* offers a series of events, including charity and fund-raising meetings, public rallies and lectures, as well as cultural exhibits and performances. These are designed to inform and raise political awareness of Latin America.

Analysis and Interpretation of Data Sequence

For a meaningful, non-speculative interpretation of video data, contextual information is essential. In this case, information about the *Lateinamerikawoche* was gathered beforehand through online research using a variety of web pages from participating organizations and institutions. We also engaged in personal talks with the organizers of the three events that we visited and the contact for the event location. Again, I requested formal interviews with each of these four experts a few days after the end of the theme week. Additional information was also sourced from field notes and leaflets I collected throughout these three days. As mentioned, these different types of information must be understood as reconstructions. Used with caution, they can be of great value to interpretation at different levels of Genre Analysis.

Intermediate Level

As I have already mentioned, the sequence above (cf. Transcript 1a) is an example of the recursive communicative phenomenon observable in our data, which will now be described in detail. In terms of speech content, Angela is alluding to the heavy criticism community radio stations receive in her home country without specifying who is attacking them. In line 2, she chooses a passive voice when describing this criticism: "in El Salvador, communal radios are seen as opposing media," emphasizing the fact that these radio stations were opponents to the established "democratic system" in El Salvador. This statement would seem rather ironic given the deficient state of democratic development in El Salvador and the condemnation of those who allegedly fight for democratic improvement as

"opponents" (line 3). The "democratic system established in El Salvador" (line 4) works rhetorically as a *contradictio in adjecto*. Angela emphasizes this, making it distinct from the rest of her speech. The irony is expressed through special pronunciation, distinct from standard Spanish (in Spanish, words are in principle "llanas," i.e., pronounced on the second to last syllable). In line 4, she raises the tone of her voice and places particular emphasis on two words: "sisTEMA demoCRATico" by exaggerating the expected prosodic contour.

The unusual pronunciation does not seem to bother Maria at all. Instead, she immediately understands the ironic color of the short sentence. The reason for her behavior becomes obvious through the visual analysis (cf. Score extract 1):

verbal interaction	gesture and facial expression

...al sisTEMA demoCRATico que hay en el Salvador — glances in audience direction and smiles
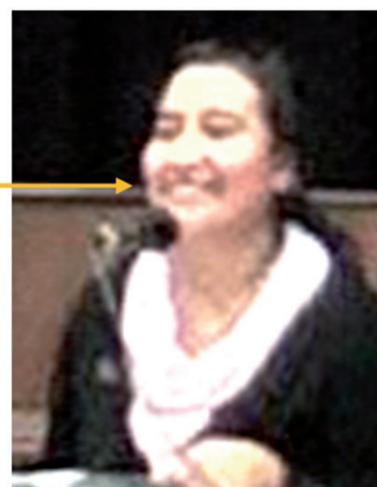
Score extract 1. Expressing irony. *Source: self-elaboration.*

After "medios oppositores" (line 3, Transcript 1a), Angela leaves a micro pause, followed by "ah," another signal of delay. This pause provides a break for further consideration and is followed by the two specially emphasized words: "sisTEMA demoCRATico." This is accompanied by a quick smile at the audience. It is the "simultaneous combination" or "orchestration" of several communicative modalities (Schnettler 2006), as lexical, prosodic and mimic elements that produces this communicative form and expresses the intended irony. In other words, her smile reframes her words, indicating that they should not be taken literally and are intended ironically.

Another important factor in the success of this translation is not directly observable in the situation. The knowledge that Maria has been living and working in El Salvador for two years – ascertained during a personal interview – is vital for a correct interpretation.[10] Maria does not rely on her mastery of the language, but draws on contextual knowledge regarding the specifics of El Salvador's historical and current socio-political situation. Since she has lived in the country and paid particular attention to news from it, she may be considered an expert in this area. This specialist knowledge not only qualifies her to moderate this event, but, in this situation, provides a tool with which she can reinterpret irony on behalf of the audience who cannot, in general though not universally, draw on similar expertise.[11]

Moderation

This sequence is an effective demonstration of Maria's knowledge of El Salvador's lack of an established democratic system. Thus, she is able to interpret the subtlety of Angela's words. Maria's use of specialist knowledge in her interpretation of Angela's performance makes her true meaning accessible to the German speakers in the audience. The discovery of a particular orchestration embedded in a larger sequence is known as "moderation." Analysis of the internal structure and of the interaction uncovers its use not only in the "translation" of one piece of information from one place, situation, et cetera, to another, but in the reshaping, reinterpretation and addition of new elements.

As demonstrated through the analysis; knowledge production and communication is not solely achieved through interaction. The way in which the performance is realized by the actors continuously develops and contributes to the process of "knowledge production."

As shown in the above analysis of the audiovisual data and the data gathered from a collection of public social events, moderation plays an important role in the process of communicating knowledge. In a number of analyzed sequences, moderation forms part of a predesigned performative arrangement, especially prominent in staged events. The communicative setting in which moderation occurs can be identified as an interactional triad, which consists of the audience, the performers and the moderator.[12]

Communicative Setting

As can be inferred from the sketch above (Image 2), this communicative setting is fundamentally asymmetrical. It effectively clarifies the role designated for each respective actor and the expectations that role places on them. On the one hand, Angela and Maria are positioned on stage, behind a table, and each of them has a microphone. On the other, the audience is positioned on a lower level in front of the performers, clearly signifying the core event does not involve equal interaction. In the audience, no one has a microphone and so these people are required to be silent in their role as attentive recipients.

[10] It turned out that Maria was not the only one who has been abroad for a while. The two other organizers of events at the theme week told me that they had been living and working in Latin American countries for several years.
[11] From an ethnological perspective, Inhetveen (2012) is also concerned with situational translation and the use of contextualization (this issue).

[12] For a more detailed description of moderation, translation and contextualization see also Rebstein, Rabl and Schnettler (2011).

The arrangement of chairs in several parallel rows also prevents communication within the audience. If an audience member wished to talk to another person on the floor, he or she must turn their body completely in order to allow a face-to-face interaction.

As an inspection of the entire material (logbook) reveals, questions are directed to the expert on stage for the first time, once the presentation is over, and even then only once Maria explicitly invites participation from the audience. Guests that have a question can address the expert with the help of a staff-member who hands them a wireless microphone.

This simple field observation hints at the structural concepts behind the theme week and events at this venue in general. This is not limited to this single event and its official parts. The floor plan was the same at the other two events I attended during the theme week and also at an event I visited half a year later in the same hall. In addition, the on-going communication between the performers on stage and the audience on the floor has always followed a similar routine. Questions were allowed only after the performance and in one case they had to be cancelled by the moderator, apparently due to time restrictions.[13] Nevertheless, the audience is a crucial part of the moderation triad, since the performance is for their benefit and meaningless in isolation.

[13] This observation refers only to the official part of the event. Generally, it is also important to keep an eye on the situation before and after this official part, when a multitude of face-to-face communication takes place.

Interpreting the Trans-Situational Level

Nuremberg hosts regular "cross-cultural events" and it pursues a special strategy in terms of cultural policy. Namely, that culture should not only take place in traditional institutions (e.g., museums, theatres), located in the very center of the city, but in the different residential districts in which audiences are easier to attract. Therefore, the city and its Department for Cultural Leisure (in German: *Amt für Kultur und Freizeit*) run eleven so-called Cultural Corner Shops.[14] These centers are used by a multitude of different initiatives, associations and other groups as meeting places and as venues for events like the *Lateinamerikawoche*. The *Villa Leon* is the district center of *St. Leonhard*, a neighborhood close to the city center. Its focus is the establishment of a series of musical and cultural events especially for children, as well as cross-cultural work in the district. One important facet of this activity is the *Lateinamerikawoche*, which takes place every year with the goal of "civic education and information regarding current questions of human rights and social policy, for example, in Latin America" (translation B.R.

[14] The conceptualization of these cultural centers comes from Hilmar Hoffmann (Frankfurt) and Hermann Glaser (Nuremberg). Their slogan "culture for everybody" (http://www.kuf-kultur.de/wir-ueber-uns/archiv/soziokultur-in-nuernberg.html) provided the inspiration for these cultural centers as platforms "for the creativity of people of various ages, nationalities, and social strata. It was intended as a space for social meetings and discussions, mainly for children, young people, senior citizens, women and foreigners resident in Nuremberg" (http://www.nuernberg.de/internet/portal_e/kultur/cultural_corner.html).

[source: http://www.kuf-kultur.de/einrichtungen/villa-leon/ueber-die-einrichtung.html]). "Informing the audience" is the official communicative goal of the venue *Villa Leon* and the *Lateinamerikawoche*. This was also mentioned in the interviews I conducted with members of the *Trägerkreis*. Gerlinde (G), the organizer of a theme week event focused on the twinning of Nuremberg and San Carlos (Nicaragua), told me that she is always surprised to see such a mixture of young and elderly people attending each year. Even at those events that are not easily accessible.

This theme week, currently approaching its 34th anniversary, seems to be an appropriate and successful forum for the presentation of thematically specific and challenging topics. However, there is more to this event than the desire to challenge its audience. All the interviewees told me that, each spring, they start the process of organizing the upcoming theme week and begin their search for experts. Selecting such people is not only a question of expertise, but also a matter of "originality." Angela seems ideal not only because she has experienced injustice and suffering at the hands of the state as a common citizen of El Salvador, but because of her pro-

fession and her actions as a member of a nonconformist radio station. Besides originality, it seems authenticity is highly important during the conception of the theme week events. Evidence for such an interpretation can be found in the theme week's program (see Image 5) where one can read an announcement for a musical event: "Worldmusic Café 46 … Brazilian music without clichés" and – as part of an announcement for another concert (see Image 6): "What music characterizes South America? Is Brazil only Samba? Is Argentina only Tango? Together with Alfonso Cão, we experience a trip through Latin American music, especially through Brazil, his country of birth" (translation B.R.). Obviously, there is a strong interest in non-stereotypical and authentic performances.[15]

Another aspect relevant to defining the qualities specific to *Lateinamerikawoche* was mentioned during an informal talk with Sabine (S), a member of the *Trägerkreis* who attended all the events

[15] In contrast to other events and festivities I attended, the *Lateinamerikawoche* does not require one to wear coat and tie. Even the performers on stage are wearing normal street wear. In a way, this also fits in with this "picture" of informality; it is not important what one is wearing as long as he or she contributes to the event in an authentic and positive way.
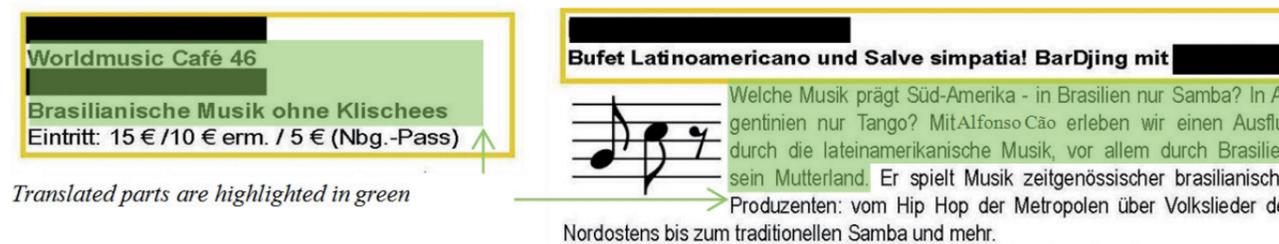

Image 5. Image 6. Two sections out of the program *Lateinamerikawoche*. Source: *Lateinamerikawoche program*.

I visited. Sitting at an info desk, S told me that, rather than organizing their own event, her Latin American charity group participates in the well-attended *Lateinamerikawoche*. The events organized by her own group, she told me, where usually frequented by far fewer people. In the interview I conducted with Maria, she mentioned having made the same considerations.

What these factors amount to is that events at the *Lateinamerikawoche* are of a different quality to the more experience-orientated scene-events described by Hitzler and colleagues (see Gebhardt, Hitzler and Pfadenhauer 2000; Hitzler, Honer and Pfadenhauer 2008; Betz, Hitzler and Pfadenhauer 2011). In comparison to such big events, the theme week *Lateinamerikawoche*, with a capacity of little more than 100 people, recruits their guests predominantly from the Nuremberg region, which boasts only a limited number of people who are interested in the theme week. This could explain why not all groups experience the desired support and attendance at events they have organized independently. Therefore, the theme week can be strategically chosen by some groups and organizations in order to ensure a "successful" performance. The attraction of those groups in terms of entertainment might not be high since their contributions often choose to approach "bulky,"[16] but important issues. Here, a well-known and officially-sponsored theme week, like the *Lateinamerikawoche*, guarantees the quality and integrity of the joint organizers. Furthermore, organization-

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[16] In the interview with G, she used the German word *sperrig* (meaning bulky) to describe the character of many of the theme week events.

al resources can be pooled. The city promotes the event on its own website, as well as in printed form and provides a modern and comfortable location.

Conclusion

In this article, the *Lateinamerikawoche* serves as an example of migration research, which has been undertaken using a videographic approach. Starting on the level of situational realization, it is possible to form a comprehensive image from the trans-situational structure.

In a minute analysis of a typical situation, there are always indications of structural elements. Not only are the actors taking part in the specific situation important (e.g., their number, their appearance, their actions, their utterances), but also factors pertaining to the specific environment (e.g., quality of the location, positioning of furniture, position of performing actors in comparison to the audience). Besides the awareness gained through analysis, a researcher often has the opportunity to experience a situation physically. In focused ethnography, he or she can engage in a conversation with different actors where statements are made and questions can be asked. This generates further information that can be valuable for data selection and analysis. That way, questions concerning a specific appearance, utterance, or action can often be answered. The use of interviews and other forms of data can also be approached from this perspective. In an additive way, they can offer information that cannot be observed in the situation itself, while also through explorative real-

ization, offering new ideas and impressions of personal estimations, dispositions, expectations, and like that are connected either to a specific situation or a specific structure.

Central to this research example is the idea of communicating specific knowledge in an original way. Within the situation, Maria, in her role as moderator, enables this kind of communication. Her language skills, her experiences of living and working in El Salvador, her knowledge of the local context of Nuremberg and of the audience attending the event are vital to achieving successful communication. With this background, she not only manages the verbatim translation, but also takes into account Angela's prosody and gestures and is aware of the implicit irony. As part of a tailored translation for the audience, she interprets and contextualizes Angela's speech. This enables non-Spanish speakers within the audience to understand what has been said.

We may conclude that there is a strong interest in the unobstructed communication of this specific knowledge. This conclusion is supported not only by the intermediate realization of the performance, but also the situational setting (the positioning of chairs facing the stage, the unidirectional method of communication, the elevated positioning of the performing actors). This specific knowledge is mainly directed to the audience from the experts on stage. The audience plays an important role in the communicative triad, but mainly acts as a recipient.

This feature already indicates a trans-situational

level in addition to the general ambition of originality and authenticity. In the situation, Angela, through her socialization and her work in El Salvador, becomes an expert within the *Lateinamerikawoche*. Briefly speaking, one can trust her expertise. Other hints that underpin this proposition can be found in the program of the theme week (e.g., music without clichés).

Finally, the focal point of this analysis is the opportunity *Lateinamerikawoche* provides for the participating groups to communicate with their environment. The venue offers a good infrastructure, located close to the city center and only a few meters away from the nearest metro station. The building, renovated in 2001, appears both modern and friendly. Its main hall is equipped with everything one needs to conduct an event. There is a video projector, studio lights and microphones; all of which can be controlled from a central desk. The theme week has been hosted in the *Villa Leon* since its opening. However, as its 34-year run proves, it has a much longer tradition. My interviewees consistently described it as a well-frequented and well-accepted platform for the communication of political and social issues. As such, it serves the members of the *Trägerkreis* as a strategic location in which the realization of their central goal (communicating specific knowledge in an original and authentic way) is more likely to succeed than elsewhere.

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The (Re)Construction of Human Conduct: "Vernacular Video Analysis"

Abstract Video technology became available in the 1960s and massively diffused into nearly all institutional spheres during the following decades (Zielinski 1986). It is not only used for provision of movies and entertainment (Greenberg 2008), documenting, and recording of events in the semi-professional and private domain (Raab 2008), but also for the analysis of human conduct in psychology and education (Mittenecker 1987) and in sociology (Knoblauch et al. 2006; Knoblauch et al. 2008; Kissmann 2009; Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff 2010). In this paper, I am going to argue that with the availability of video technology a form of discursive practice of interpretive (re)construction of knowledge has been established in a variety of vernacular fields of practice. Based on the available literature and an empirical example taken from a public demonstration of such a vernacular video analysis, I will show some elements of communicative practice that allow for detailed analysis of visual knowledge. Furthermore, I will discuss methodological issues, as to be approached, and which elements can be found that constitute the communicative (re)constructive processes of analysis.

Keywords Vernacular Video Analysis; Ethnomethodology; Interpretation; Interaction; Video; Workplace Studies; Visual Knowledge; Reflective Methods; Scientific Practice; Experts

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Background

From the beginning of the 19th century, when photography and film had been established, researchers have started to capture movement and make ephemeral phenomena of human conduct accessible to the human eye. One of the early famous examples are the images taken by Eadweard Muybridge (Brookman 2010), who experimented with the fixation of movement of animals and human beings into photographs. The images have been used to analyze and optimize human movement in different spheres: very early on, Ford used recordings to rationalize the work processes in his factory in order to optimize the organization of labor. The psychologist, Kurt Lewin, used film recordings in 1923 for the analysis of behavior in conflict situations; his student Gesell also published a book about film-analysis as a methodology for the scrutiny of human behavior (Thiel 2003). Film has also been used in anthropology (Ruby 2000). Very famous examples are the studies of the Balinese Character by Bateson and Mead (1942). In the study of human micro-movement (kinemics) Ray Birdwhistell (1952) pioneered with his microscopic approach, scrutinizing the movements of a smoker, while the Paolo Alto Group studied interaction in interviews (Bateson 1958). One might also recall Ekman and Friesen (their form is the basis for a popular TV-series called "Lie to me"), who developed a method for the fine grained analysis of facial expression (2003). Histories of the use of film and video in research within the social sciences remain (Heath et al. 2010; Knoblauch, Schnettler and Tuma 2010; Erickson 2011) rather short and are usually part of methodology introductions, but highlight the growing importance of audio-visual recordings.

The historical development of the connection between film and science has been studied by Reichert (2007), who describes it as a dispositive that brings together those two spheres and – by generating this specific dispositive – forms our knowledge (especially in sciences of the human). He argues that, at least from the 1960s onwards, the apparatus of the cinema has been understood as a tool for the transformation and organization of psychological dispositions and structures of the gaze. Referring to a number of examples (e.g., film in anthropology), he shows how especially film, but later also video is used for observation, recording, demonstration, instruction, and optimization of human activities. The author elaborated on the thesis that cinematographic practice does not only affect the production of knowledge, but constitutes it. In his book he discusses a number of deployments of film as medium of scientific research and presentation. He also has one example where it is applied for analysis: the Stanford prison experiment. However, due to his historic approach, he has no access to the interactional practice in which video is used, but rather the product. Reichert extracts from the visual products and the context, what is made visible and which forms of power-relations are contained in a specific form of technologically crystallized knowledge. For the understanding of the practice of those new technologies historical studies are very informative, but as sociologists we now should look at the interactional situations, in which actors do put the recordings to visual practice.

Assuming, that the availability of those recording technologies can change the way of perceiving the world and the social environment in a non-technologically determined way, one has to ask how and why specific images/

recordings and by that understandings of human action are produced as communication. Following the questions raised in the program for the sociology of visual knowledge (Schnettler 2007) and in the Science and Technology Studies (STS) field focusing on visuality (Burri and Dumit 2008), I argue that the performative forms in which visual knowledge is actively produced, engaged and distributed should be the focus of our scrutiny. Revising the literature available in the field, one clearly finds a large number of different studies about images and visualizations in science (for an overview see Burri and Dumit 2008), but there are only a few studies on video technology.

Professional Vision

One of the few studies of video in use (or as I call it: "vernacular video analysis") has been presented by Charles Goodwin in his papers concerning "Professional Vision" (Goodwin 1994; 2000). The author deals with the well-known Rodney King Trial at a Californian court. In the 1990s, this case of police violence that had been filmed by a bystander was the starting point for conflict and public outrage.

In his articles about professional vision, Goodwin identifies three general practices as essential components for the production of visual knowledge:

- "Coding Scheme:" Transforms the world into the categories and events that are relevant to the work of the profession;

- "Highlighting:" Dividing a domain of scrutiny into a figure and a ground so that events relevant to the activity of the moment stand out;

- "Graphical Representations:" External representations of distinctive characteristics of the material world to organize phenomena.

Reconstructing the Rodney King trial, Goodwin interprets how a member of the police (Police Officer Sgt. Duke) delivers his interpretation of the recorded beating in front of a jury. He describes and interprets the movements of Rodney King, laying on the ground as aggressive – to be more exact – as starting to be an aggressive movement, which legitimates the professional action of the policemen, who use violence to stop this aggressive behavior until Rodney King starts cooperating.

In this fine grained reconstruction, Goodwin shows how Sgt. Duke offers a perceptual field – a coding scheme of the behavior of the policemen, which is in accordance to their professional practice. Hence, they were sentenced not-guilty in the first trial. By highlighting and embedding in the perceptual framework of the profession, some convincing interpretation is constructed and presented as facts, supported by graphical representations of the video-stills.

Goodwin presents – together with his other examples – a detailed study about professional vision. He shows how members of a pro-

fession share a framework of coding schemes, how their practices of seeing are embedded in a community (a phenomenon that has also been addressed with the terms *Denkkollektiv* [Fleck 1981] or *Sehgemeinschaft* [Raab 2008]). However, in Goodwin's paper, the concept of community of practice that shapes the practices of seeing remains rather abstract and the practices he identifies are apt to fit most processes of seeing.

Few studies exist that focus on vernacular video in a more concrete sense. Most of them are coming from a methodology background or they are only indirectly addressing the process of analysis.[1] First, there is some reflection in education studies on video analysis and how it is used for self-reflection (Hietzge 2008). Furthermore, Laurier, Strebel and Brown (2008) look at the editing practices of professional movie editors. Finally, detailed studies have been published that deal with the production of video in the process of recording (Macbeth 1999; Mondada 2003; 2005). They also treat video not as a resource, but an object of scrutiny.

In their empirical studies, Tutt and Hindmarsh look into a data sessions conducted by social scientists, especially focusing on how the participants interact with each other and actively generate a shared understanding of what is going on in the video material. In the first paper, they draw attention on the side-work necessary to coordinate distributed research teams

(Tutt et al. 2007) to focus on an element visible on screen and the interactive coordination of the highlighting of this element. Based on the concept of re-enactment by Sidnell (2006), the authors show how gestures are used by the participants to render the phenomena on the screen visible to the participants in the data session, who are usually sitting in front of a display or screen. Data sessions are a typical form of interaction (in social science, but also in other fields as well), where a small number of participants is discussing some data fragments and interactively producing interpretations.[2] In the recent paper, Tutt and Hindmarsh (2011) show in detail how speech and gestures as part of the work of interpretation are interrelated, how the person that is highlighting a certain element on screen is creating a gesture space, which binds his co-participants attention and then is able to connect the action visible on screen with the printed transcript. This gesture space is important, because it can be returned to in subsequent moments of the interaction.

Re-enactments are not the only participants' possibility to solve the interactional problem depicted here. They can apply other resources to communicate their visual knowledge, but we find them in most cases of vernacular video analysis conducted in a discursive manner and with participants co-present. [There are forms of video analysis conducted by a sole analyst in front of a computer – when the pro-

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[1] See also Antaki et al. (2008) for an reflection on conversation analysis data sessions.

[2] See Heath et al. (2010:156) for some methodical characterization of data sessions.

cess is routinized. Here, situations where the sole analyst is confronted with ambiguity and problems will exhibit the features of the interpretation to us. But, for us, the discursive, interactional forms of this practice are a better starting point, for understanding this process.] Re-enactments are combined with other communicative methods that we can find in situations of video-analysis. If we want to understand how the processes of data analysis are accomplished in practice, the study of those methods of producing meaning is the relevant step in the research process. Further empirical work should start by collecting those vernacular methods. In my empirical example in the subsequent part of the paper, I am going to focus on the role of enactments, as well as some other methods that need to be addressed in similar fashion.

I now have shown that the production of meaning from video data is not just a cognitive process, but an interactional phenomenon that is produced by body movement, gaze and orientation. The participants of data sessions monitor not only the screen, but also each other, create shared spaces of understanding and fill those with meaning. The following example is taken from a specific public situation of analysis that adds some features of a presentation to it. As the analysis is a very complex process of instruction, understanding and interpretation, the presenters are encouraged to explicitly account for some of the basic interactional processes that are even more clearly articulated in this public demonstration. In situations of "backstage" work on the videos, those actions

can be routinized and do not have to be accounted for participants not acquainted with the specific data. It will be useful to see how actors deal with uncertainty, when encountering new visual recordings.

Example

The following case shows the presentation of an analysis of an incident of violence. It is taking part at a conference[3] that is hosted by a hacker and privacy activist group. Two speakers (in my transcript called Peter and Jörg) present and analyze video recordings of a recorded situation. They have prepared the recordings. The actual material analysis at the conference is preceded by a presentation that provided the audience with some background information and legal evaluations. During the analysis that is performed in a demonstrative way, results are presented, rather than new findings generated *in situ*. I will use this datum to highlight some of the basic work units of collaborative video analysis. Before looking at the actual analysis, there will be a look at the "object" of the speaker's investigation.

The data that is taken to vernacular video analysis by the actors has been recorded at a demonstration against surveillance of the public in Berlin in 2009. The accusation was made, was that a young man, who had asked a member of police for his identification number, had been beaten and injured in a case of non-justified

violence.[4] The data, covering this event, consist of synchronized recordings from different sources, namely police cameras, as well as camera phones and other camcorders used by surrounding participants of the demonstration.

The speakers (Peter and Jörg, they will be shown later in Figure 2) are responsible for the preparation of the material and state that they asked a production company to produce a synchronized split-screen[5] version of the recordings that have been made at the demonstration. As one can also see in the video, the recordings cut together have been taped with a variety of handheld video-cameras (some cell-phones with video cameras or similar devices), by participants of the demonstrations.

Figure 1. The analyzed video segment. *Source: recorded demonstration against surveillance of the public in Berlin, 2009.*

Figure 1 shows the screen in more detail. We can see four different perspectives on the action going on, on the top left side one recording made by a police team combined with the other recordings. The perspectives are "unified" by the time code on the top right corner, which highlights the fact ,also mentioned by the presenters, that the videos are synchronized in one objective timeframe, that the viewer can align with.

I want to highlight here, that there already exists the assumption, that the different "subjective" recordings of a situation combined to a multi-perspectival stream of visual information can give us access to one "real" event. This way of understanding the world via the video as an "objective, but incomplete" representation reveals the everyday understanding of interpretation of the visual: real events happen, but some things might be hidden and not be registered by the camera's eye. The assumption is: if one combines all perspectives available in the situation, one is able to understand the real events by seeing it. Not surprisingly, the totality of the video material is presented as fulfilling the role of a witness, but not one that gives an individual narrative account; instead it surrounds the event and looks at it from different visual perspectives that seem to form an almighty observer (interestingly created not by police, but by the video-activists). The way to demonstrate this case of violence is not by gathering all witnesses present at the demonstration or their narrative accounts, but rather just by collecting their recordings. Of course, the speakers at the conference selected earlier on, while preparing the data, which material is relevant, and which is excluded from the screen. Those

[4] When writing about this analysis, I am not taking a position whether the accusations made by the analysts are right or wrong. Here, I am not judging the case, but rather interested in how the process of interpretation is demonstrated.
[5] Mondada (2009) has shown the relevance of the split screen for a variety of professions that use video (and analysed its use in TV debates, where she is interested in real-time, on-air interaction between a number of speakers, that are cut together).

processes might also have been issues of discussions or just part of routinized visual expertise.

The multiperspectivity produced here is synchronized in time, but not in space. It is very hard for us to tell the spatial organization of the event or the relation of the objects by each other. The spatial self-allocation of the viewer is produced *in situ* by the speakers (being visible in Transcript 1, for example, in line 9, "up front").

Let us now look at the analysis going on at the conference: the transcript (Transcript 1) I am presenting here focuses on the speakers analyzing this data and consists of a short excerpt, some minutes into the analysis, where the proceedings of the beating are explained. Both speakers are speaking in turns (and sometimes in a dialogical manner). They are standing on a stage, visible to a big audience (about 200) in front of a projector-screen. Peter (on the left) is pointing towards a relevant detail in the video (I will elaborate on his actions later on). The situation is quite similar to the constellation one can find in PowerPoint presentations (cf. Schnettler and Knoblauch 2007; Knoblauch 2008). Actually, it is preceded by one.

Figure 2. Peter and Jörg, speakers. *Source: recorded conference.*

1	Peter	This is the one (-) who we always call the BEATer (.)
		Da ist jetzt sozusagen der, (-) den wir immer SCHLÄGer nennen (.)
2		Laughter and clapping in the audience,
3	Peter	This is the one
		[No, please, stop it, what's happening here is not nice
		Das ist auch der
		[Ne hört mal auf, das ist ja nicht schön was da passiert
4	Jörg	is starting the video, which plays for 2s
5	Peter	[stop it, please
		[halt doch mal an
6	Jörg	Mhm
		Mhm
7	Peter	This is the one who later on (.) BEATS and then there is another one, who we call the RIPPER. The beater is also the one that,
		Das ist auch der der später (.) SCHLÄGT und dann gibt es noch einen den wir REISSER nennen. Der Schläger ist aber auch der,
8	Peter	that you have seen, as he pushed the cyclist forward
		den ihr gesehen habt, wie er den Fahrradfahrer nach vorne gestoßen hat
9	Peter	the beater is the one that guided the cyclist up front in the scene earlier on.
		der Schläger ist auch der, der den Fahrradfahrer in der Szene davor nach vorne geleitet hat.

Transcript 1. Simplified transcript of the analysis. *Source: self-elaboration.*

The transcript shows a short fragment from the beginning of the analysis. The scene has been introduced, the split screen has been explained as a synchronized documentation and the sources of the videos have been discussed by the speakers – Peter and Jörg. Jörg controls the playback of the recording with his notebook and at the depicted situation is just playing a short fragment, which is paused shortly before the transcribed sequence begins. Peter introduces the following "scene" on screen as "not without relevance" (*nicht ganz unwichtig*).

This sequence of the analysis[6] is very important for our understanding as well because a coding scheme for the further understanding of the analysis is produced: speaker Peter (on the left hand side of Figure 2) is pointing at the bottom left image of the split screen and identifies a relevant actor. This actor is not just spotted, but (with some irony, emphatically pronounced, which causes the laughter) called "the BEATer" (line 1). The cause for this name is explained (because he is going to beat later on); the actor is introduced by his future action, which is anticipated by the analysis. As this is a case of demonstration, the speakers have looked at their video data before and are bringing their knowledge (typifications, relevancies) into the situation of analyzing this still. The coding scheme in this video is based on a narration containing some protagonists acting in a typical manner – there is a victim (the cyclist), and some of the policemen planning their aggressive actions.

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[6] One has to differentiate between a sequence of analysis, which is produced by the actors (e.g., one argument in the analysis) we observe and the scene or fragment they are observing (one video-clip the actors are playing).

The analysis is conducted on the still – the video is playing, and as soon as a relevant element comes into play it is stopped (as in line 5), where Peter asks Jörg to stop it. This interplay between stopping and commenting and showing a moved image is used to construct continuity in the story. Certain elements, such as the introduction of the relevant actors, background information, spatial arrangement, following or preceding actions are integrated in the pauses. The video – with its time code and continuous play (there is no major jumping backward in the playtime of the video) – is used for the production of a shared continuity.

The continuity of the story consists of the production of a shared time (via visible time code and storytelling), whereas the pauses are used to elaborate on the analytic details: they are supported by the highlighting and inclusion of specific movements on screen that are attributed with a specific meaning. Peter and Jörg have in another sequence, just before our transcript, interpreted that the police officers are "preparing for a criminal act against the cyclist." To support this severe argument, they produce many arguments that are constantly reintegrated into their story (e.g., in a later episode they are going to tell that the cyclist had asked one of the police officers for his identification number, which is interpreted as a motive for the aggression).

For this complex task, a communicative problem remains: How are the "story," the participants and the visible elements on screen brought together to a univocal interpretation of this? The

story on screen is not only told, but brought into the physical sphere for the co-participants by bodily action. Just as analyzed by Tutt and Hindmarsh, the ongoing action on screen – is brought back into the situation by re-enactment. Figure 3 consists of combined screenshots of Peter – who does not only tell about the action that the audience has seen before, but he is physically reproducing the movement of pushing and guiding. The form of representation here seems to highlight the role of the gesture, but I want to highlight that not only the gesture is necessary, but rather the orchestration with the other modalities and also the video replay technology. Peter is not just replaying the action, but more importantly, he is "orchestrating" (Schnettler 2006) spatial orientation (forward, upfront) with the typification of the actors and integrating them into the storyline.
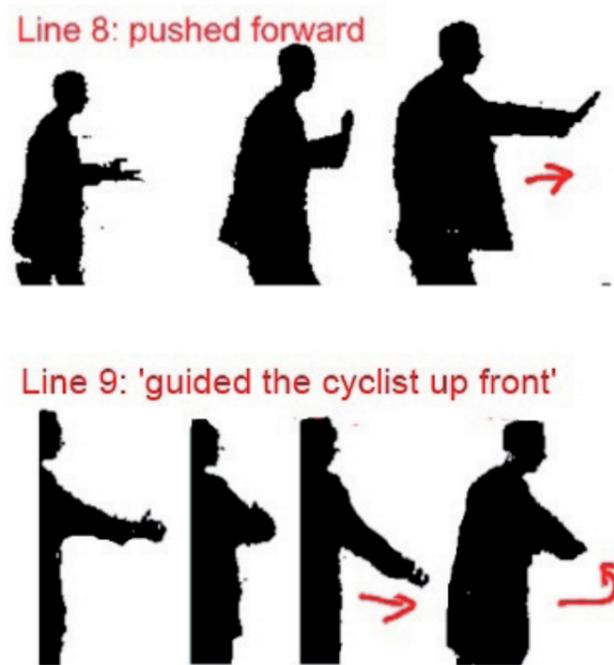

Line 8: pushed forward

Line 9: 'guided the cyclist up front'

Figure 3. Spatial orientation and re-enactment. *Source: self-elaboration.*

Conclusion

The data analysis (or here: presentation of such) is a situated process in which an event is discursively reconstructed. With the help of a specific technology that allows for combining perspectives, pausing and replaying a temporal and spatial allocation for the participants (and here: audience) is produced. Then a specific storyline with matching roles for relevant observed agents is constructed in which the visible forms of conduct are integrated. The specific elements of knowledge that are actively generated in this communicative process are repeatedly connected to each other. Certain typical movements and gestures are highlighted, interpreted and integrated in to the coding scheme that is produced via the production of a storyline.

Looking at the practices of interpretation and the presentation, I have shown that in this specific case especially the visual conduct was in the focus of attention and the spoken word audible on tape is neglected, focus is given to movement, typical gestures and mimic. Surely, this is due to the specific kind of data the participants are interested in, where the verbal interaction is hard to understand because of the multiperspectivity and the noise at the demonstration; however, it is quite interesting that a live commentary which is produced by the policemen seems not systematically integrated in the analysis. The examples I have presented here are – as mentioned above – taken from a specific kind of visual presentation in which already established interpretations are pre-

sented, made understandable and "proved." One can distinguish such situations with the aim to convince the audience with a certain construction of the event (similar to the Rodney King case) from those where an interpretation is not yet available. In data sessions with new data, this process is more complicated and might contain some other forms that actors actively produce (like guessing, showing uncertainty, communicating imaginary objects, etc.), but the ones I was able to show here were very explicit and can guide attention towards the interactive dimension of interpreting video.

Further work is necessary in systematically distinguishing details – which will also allow us to learn about the communicative character of visual interpretation work (maybe beyond the specific case of "vernacular video analysis"). I have chosen this example because it entails some of the characteristics, presented in interpretation/data sessions of human conduct in a number of fields: alignment in time and space, building a story or theory as coding scheme, selecting and highlighting certain movements, identifying them as actors, interpreting action as meaningful and connecting those elements to one coherent interpretation.

There are further elements one could analyze in this data: What kind of "theory" do the analysts develop on the on-going actions? What are their assumptions they are presenting and how is evidence further on constructed? Which other elements do they take and how do they relate them to their storyline? How do they deal with ambiguities and contradictions? This

details cannot be discussed in this short paper – but are part of an on-going ethnographic study.

Video analysis is a form of re-constructing meaning using audio visual data. As many social scientists do use visual data for research aims, the methodical basis has been laid. However, when looking at the practices of video in more vernacular fields, there are only a few studies that really show how video is used in practice. How does the availability of this technology and the spread of the practice of analyzing video data for a variety of ends generate social reality?

I argue that there are some specificities of video-analytic practices that go beyond the general practices identified by Goodwin, but only more empirical work will show how video is used in a variety of vernacular fields, and in how far the specific expert knowledge available in a field relates to the practices of professional vision. Looking at video-interpretation, I want to highlight that the production of those interpretations is not only a cognitive, but an interactive process based on bodily re-enactment and pointing, as well as orchestration with spoken language. Visual knowledge, then, is not only visual, but integrated into a multimodal process of instruction and understanding.

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International Perspectives on the Future of Qualitative Research in Europe

Documentation of the 2010 Midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association Research Network 20 Qualitative Methods "Innovating Qualitative Research: Challenges and Opportunities. New Directions in Religion, Technology, Migration and Beyond," held at the University of Bayreuth (Germany), 20-22 September 2010. The following documentation includes the inaugural addresses and all statements and interventions from the two plenary sessions on "The Future of Qualitative Research" that took place during the mid-term conference in September 2010 at the University of Bayreuth. Speeches and discussions were entirely videotaped, transcribed and carefully edited in order to present a thorough and readable documentation. The text was revised by all intervening speakers and is published upon unanimous approval. We are grateful to Carolin Dix for valuable support with transcribing the video data.

– Monday, September 20, 2010 –

Introduction to the conference

— *Bernt Schnettler* (vice-chairman of the Research Network): Dear Participants, on behalf of the local organizers, I welcome you very much to this midterm conference of the European Sociological Association Research Network Qualitative Methods at Bayreuth University. We are delighted that over the next two days, more than ninety scholars from twelve mainly European countries will work on the question of the challenges and opportunities for the future of Qualitative Research in Europe. The program will include two plenary sessions with outstanding experts in Qualitative Research from all over the continent who will discuss with scientists from Latin America, Africa, and the United States. The debates will centre on the challenges of an emerging European Research Space and the role Qualitative Research can play in it. In addition, twelve thematic sessions have been organized with a total of 48 presentations which will examine the contribution of Qualitative Methods to several substantial areas of social research, ranging from Migration, New Technologies, Contemporary Religion, Social Memory, Africa, Ethnography, Urban and Community Research, Discourse Studies, to Grounded Theory. Moreover, there will be a keynote speech given by David Silverman (London) that is followed by a laudation to Thomas Eberle (St. Gall), the former chair of our Research Network and current vice-president of the European Sociological Association.

Finally, let me express our gratitude to those persons and organizational bodies which have made possible this conference by their effort and financial support. In the first place: our organization team, whose members have been working incessantly throughout the last week in order to make your stay as comfortable as possible: Barbara Mayer, Alejandro Baer, Johannes Schaller, Marlen Rabl, Martin Asshauer, Max Breger, Georg Lindinger, and Bernd Rebstein. We are also very pleased that a number of colleagues have volunteered as session organizers and we thank them very much, because the core of this conference will consist in the work realized in the thematic sessions. The conference will be framed by two plenary sessions that open and close the meeting.

A conference like this needs proper funding and we applied a different concept than in previous years. We want to emphasize the support we receive from Bayreuth University in terms of rooms and infrastructure. This conference has received substantial financial support from the following institutions: the European Sociological Association; the Association of Friends and Supporters of Bayreuth University; The Bavarian Ministry of Science, Research and Arts; Bavarian Research Network on Migration and Knowledge (ForMig), which has also set up a poster exhibition in the hall. We also appreciate contributions from the Swiss Sociological Association, three Research Networks of the German Sociological Association: The RN Sociology of Knowledge, the RN Sociology of Science and Technology Studies, and the RN Qualitative Methods. The conference also collaborates with *Qualitative Sociological Review* and with FQS – *Forum Qualitative Research*. Last, but not least, I want to express my gratitude to the session organizers, the plenary speakers and to all those presenting papers at this conference. Dear colleagues, we hope that this conference will be another important step in the advancement of Qualitative Methods in Europe. We all wish you a fruitful conference. Now, I will give the floor to the president of the ESA Network Qualitative Methods Krzysztof Konecki. Thank you very much.

— *Audience* applauds

Presidential Address

— *Krzysztof Konecki* (chairman of the Research Network): Thank you, Bernt Schnettler. I would like to welcome all participants of the midterm conference "Innovating Qualitative Research: Challenges and Opportunities – New Directions in Religion, Technology, Migration and Beyond" here at the University of Bayreuth. Also, I would like to welcome the vice-president of the European Sociology Association, Thomas Eberle, and the members of the Board of the Network Qualitative Methods with the vice-chair of our network,

Bernt Schnettler, from Bayreuth University. I also welcome members of the German Sociology Association, who contributed to this midterm conference. We are pleased, as a Research Network of ESA, to be here in such a wonderful place like Bayreuth with its great cultural heritage and scientific achievements. This is a good place for being innovative in a sense of connecting tradition and future of Qualitative Methods and Qualitative Research.

What is meant by the title of this conference? Let me give you my interpretation of its topic: *Innovating* – not innovation – means that we are in the process of constructing methods, procedures and new areas of research. *Innovating* also could be understood as an activity that produces innovations. And we hopefully will have many final products, artefacts of this action. *Innovating* could also be understood as a process that still produces – in research practice – new and fresh perspectives or procedures that are often created *ad hoc*. *Innovating*, then, can be treated as a feature of scientific research *per se*. The qualitative tradition in social sciences shows evidently that methods are not to be regarded as a stable toolkit of the qualitative researcher. The corpus of methodological knowledge develops and is modified according to theoretical development and sometimes according to the progress of events in the researched field.

Such an understanding of *innovating* means that methods are *interactions* with the substantive field and the empirical and theoretical findings within. The consequence of the interaction is that methods influence another way of seeing the so-

cial world by the researcher and the empirical findings, which could influence how the method is used in a further investigation process or even have influence upon a choice of the "proper methods" to make further research progress. We can set this tentative hypothesis at the beginning of our conference: If *innovating* is a feature of Qualitative Research, then the substantive fields are *permanently open* for new discoveries in research or even open for theoretical findings, explaining what is going into a researched field. Modification of methods and the use of new methods in the current research allow us to find something new and achieve the serendipity context that means we could find something that we were not looking for. *Innovating* in the research field is that indispensable feature of the scientific progress and it opens new dimensions of social worlds and slices of empirical data. The depth of social reality and minuteness of our descriptive skills are difficult to measure and to determine a priori. They are dependent upon our "microscope" – methods and theories – that we still develop. That means *innovating*. That's a short explanation of the topic.

Now, I would like to invite all of you to discussions inspired by the title of the conference. I am very happy to see so many participants from so many countries. The European Qualitative Research is open for other continents, too. Welcome here in Bayreuth. I wish you good discussions, interesting lectures and a pleasant staying. Please consider the midterm conference of ESA as opened (Norwegian Bell rings).

— *Audience* applauds

Image 1. From left to right: Konecki, Silverman, Eberle, Knoblauch, Cisneros, Macamo, Valles.

Documentation of the Plenary Sessions

Plenary Session 1: The Future of Qualitative Research in Europe I

Chairman: Krzysztof Konecki; discussants: David Silverman, Thomas Eberle, César Cisneros, Elísio Macamo, Hubert Knoblauch, Miguel Valles; interventions from the audience: Reiner Keller, Maggie Kusenbach, Anne Ryen, Alejandro Baer, Antonia Schmid, Artur Bogner.

— *Konecki*: OK. Then we start our plenary session on the future of Qualitative Research in Europe. I am glad we have a plenary with so many experts in the field of Qualitative Research and I would like to briefly present each of them. Let me, in the first place, introduce to you David Silverman. He is a professor emeritus at the Sociology Department of Goldsmith College, London. He is an editor of many method books on Qualitative Research

– so many that I'm not going to read all the titles. Our second participant in this plenary is Thomas Eberle, professor of Sociology at the University of St. Gall, Switzerland. From 1998 to 2005, he was a president of the Swiss Sociology Association. Since 2007, he is a member of the Executive Committee and the vice-president of the European Sociology Association. He is a former chair of our Network and he was also a chair of the ESA Research Network Sociology of Culture. César Cisneros is a professor in the Department of Sociology of the Autonomous Metropolitan University, Iztapalapa in Mexico City. He teaches Qualitative Methods and social sciences epistemology. He is the editor for the Spanish version of the *Forum of Qualitative Social Research*, FQS, and there coordinates the Ibero-American branch. Cisneros has published extensively on Qualitative Data Analysis and the use of special software. Professor Elísio Macamo, born in Mozambique, is a professor of African Studies at the University of Basle. He was

a founding member of the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies. He is currently the editor of the *African Sociology Review* and a member of the executive board of the German-African-Studies-Association. Hubert Knoblauch is a professor of general sociology at the Technical University of Berlin. Since 2004, he is an elected member of the Referee Board for Empirical Social Research of the German Science Foundation DFG, he is a former chair of the Research Network Qualitative Research and currently an Executive Board member of the ESA Research Network Sociology of Culture. He is also a committee member of the European Science Foundation Scientific Program EUROQUAL – Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences in Europe. Miguel Valles is a professor of sociology in the Department Methods of Social Research and Theory of Communication at the Complutense University of Madrid. He is a leading expert in methods in Spain and has widely published on Qualitative Research Methodology. He works in the fields of combining qualitative and quantitative methods, history of social research methods, society, life and methods, qualitative interviews, Grounded Theory and computer-assisted qualitative analysis. He also has conducted research in sociology of population, old age and migration. He is also a committee member of the EUROQUAL-Network.

Having introduced our speakers and discussants, I proceed to read the questions that shall guide our discussion. Subsequently, I will ask each plenary speaker for his short statements of about five minutes each. After that, we will have time for discussion among the plenary, and finally we will open the floor for a general debate with all of you. You don't have to watch all these wonderful people and listen to them all the time. Please join in the discussion.

We would like to discuss the following questions:

1. How can Qualitative Methods respond to the challenges of an emerging European research realm? (How can we improve cooperation among the several existing parallel associations, initiatives, funding bodies, et cetera in the field of Qualitative Research?)

2. Is there a uniquely European Qualitative Methodology? (How can we improve the relations of European Qualitative Research with Qualitative Research in other world regions?)

3. How can we strengthen the connections between Qualitative Methodology and substantive inquiry?

These are the questions derived from the title of our conference and we will be interested in the statements of our plenary speakers dealing with these topics from their perspective as qualitative researchers. You have already heard my statements – please start giving yours in the indicated sequence: David Silverman, please.

— *Silverman*: (PPT is started) I can't resist using a couple of slides for illustrating my argument. Thank you, Krzysztof, thank you, Bernt, for the efficient organization of this conference. I wanted to make a few comments on the future of Qualitative Research and dip into its relation with substantive inquiry. In five minutes, this will hardly be a global diagnosis. It rather reflects my experience of the past few years in many workshops in Qualitative Research for PhD-students in different countries including France, Finland, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Australia. My issue is how we could improve the quality of such PhD-research. I want to talk about how these students can make their work analytically intelligent and thereby curiously more relevant to society. That is a two step trick I want to discuss. It is a kind of dance and it is a difficult kind of dance to execute. Step one is to move away from social problems in defining the research topics. Instead, we should define the research topics analytically. Step two is – having done such theoretically guided research – to move back, to address social problems in a more profound and relevant way. The problem as I see it is threefold. The first is that too many PhD-students begin with what I see as common sense research questions. Just to take one example of a student interested in education. He asked: "Are classroom lessons effective?" And you can see the way in which that was using a common sense topic as a way of defining the research problem. The second problem is that as many of you know, often, quantitative research can answer these common sense research questions. They can have a lot of samples. They can have reliable measures, and so on. The third problem is that if you want to implement the findings from such common sense defined research problems, the participants often know it better. If we are simply feeding back to the participants their own perception, it's difficult to surprise them or to improve things. And what is missing out in these problematic ways of proceeding is the participants' own unacknowledged local skills and practices, which they cannot tell you. There is a two-step trick. Step one of this two-step trick is to redefine the problem – as I see it – by theorizing the topic. I always begin from the constructivist perspective as my particular kind of way of doing things. There are other approaches, like Grounded Theory, and so on, which I think also provide ways of theorizing topics. I am not so sure about other, more American traditions like post-modernism, for example. I think the problem there is one so theoretically defines the topic one can never go back to the social problem. How can we redefine the problem? How do I find practical relevance? As an example, I offer you, in only thirty seconds, my own last research project on HIV-test counseling; where, instead of asking counselors or their clients what they saw was going on in the counseling-session and how effective it were – I studied the actual counseling-session. There, I found phenomena that all participants were unaware of. I found phenomena like counselors giving – what was supposed to be counseling – giving just pieces of advice to their clients. Why are

they doing this? I found the communication structure there, which I called *advice as information*. It turns out to be a very effective way, if you are giving advice to somebody, to manage the fact that you gain no acknowledgments from him. Imagine in a face-to-face situation with a friend who comes with a great problem with their life and you say: "Well, I think you really must change your life" and you get no response. How do you manage that situation? Well, these professionals found a way of managing that situation. In a ten minute counseling-session, they managed not getting any kind of response to this complicated and very personal advice they are giving. So, I found the communication structure; the participants were unaware of and yet it was present in their practice. And, this had practical implications. Finding practical relevance precisely by doing that two-step-dance, by initially moving away from distance concerns, away from journalistically defined social problems, theoretically defining our research topics. Let's say, I'm going to look at the "seen, but unnoticed" practices of the participants. Thereby – I believe – having much more potential of practical relevance. That is the conclusion of my comments. I am interested to hear from my distinguished colleagues whether they face the same or other issues in other societies.

— *Konecki*: Thank you, David Silverman. Thomas Eberle, please.

— *Thomas Eberle*: I would like to frame the question quite differently. The future of Qualitative Research in Europe depends on how success-

ful we are in institutionalizing it – in teaching, as well as in research. Qualitative Research has obviously been quite successful in the recent past. Many qualitative research projects have been funded and many textbooks and studies have been published, special journals have been created, and professorships for Qualitative Research were created. In ESA, as well as in other international associations, there have been founded sections for Qualitative Methods and with FQS (*Forum Qualitative Research*), we have a wonderful Forum for Qualitative Social Research, which spreads publications around the world. In other words: the institutionalization has progressed significantly. And, we have good reasons to look into the future optimistically. But, still, we have to go on and put much energy in those projects to increase the initiatives.

Aside from this huge progress, however, I also see great challenges ahead. I see a crucial battle taking place at the universities. Which profile is asked for the job-openings? Which kind of professors will be appointed? Those professors will play the music in the future in teaching, as well as in research. Many professors that are now prominent in Qualitative Research will be retired in the next ten years. Here, the important question is: Will they be replaced by Qualitative Researchers again? In Switzerland for instance, I observe a decline of those theories, which have legitimatized Qualitative Research. The interpretative theories are dropping from the university curricula and the theoretical landscape is more and more reduced to systems-theory and ratio-

nal choice as the two dominating paradigms. This development threatens the very bases of Qualitative Research. Tears come to my eyes when I see that one of our prominent Qualitative researchers, who built up a research team for the last 20 years, will be replaced by a rational-choice theorist. All our achievements are in danger if we lose the battle of proper appointments. It is difficult to keep track of the developments in the different European countries in this respect. This is one of the reasons we meet here with the ESA Research Network Qualitative Methods where such an exchange can take place. So, I'm really wondering what is going on in other countries in this respect. In any case, I don't think that there is a uniquely European Qualitative Methodology. As Europe is obviously not a unity. We have different research traditions in different countries and we are not very well aware of what is happening in different places. English has become the *lingua franca* because of the tendency that we are all orienting in general more toward the Anglo-Saxon world than to other European countries. This brings me to the next point. There is more and more pressure on young academics that they publish in English, in A-journals, and that they spend some time abroad, preferably in the U.S. We all know that this implies the danger of mainstreaming. Our American colleagues in Qualitative Research tell us that they are still marginal in the American sociology where Positivism is still home. Where are the triple-A journals for Qualitative Research? Triple-A journals are usually American. The requirement

to publish in triple-A journals, thus, helps to promote non-Qualitative Research. The institutionalization of such requirements, which is currently spreading – I think all over Europe – could more and more become an obstacle for the further institutionalization of Qualitative Research. So let me come to the last point: the respectability and reputation of Qualitative Research also depends on how prolific the research results are perceived. Sociology describes itself as a reflexive discipline. But, it leaves the floor, to solve practical problems in great deal, to the economists and the political scientists, for example, to rational-choice theory. If funding agencies go on to require societal relevance of research projects, our community should accept the challenge and produce some profound studies that contribute to solving societal problems. If we cooperate on an international level doing this, we probably have better chances to further institutionalize Qualitative Research in the future. I may add, I don't mean that we should do applied sociology. That is not what I mean by societal relevance. I mean it in a fairly broad sense. It doesn't mean that we have to take over common sense definitions of problems. But, I see if we don't tackle the problems which society thinks are important to tackle, we could lose the battle or appointments.

— *Konecki*: Thank you very much. César Cisneros, please.

— *César Cisneros*: Thanks a lot, Bernt Schnettler, for this invitation and the possibility to share some of my thoughts with you in the

conference. The topic is very challenging, but also a great opportunity to create bridges and get more understanding between us. I'm going to answer the conference questions from my Latin American perspective as a Mexican Qualitative Researcher. Here are my statements. First, we need to incorporate into our agenda discussions on how the epistemological perspectives are constructed and how further conditions can improve the quality of our work. In my opinion, an empirical sociology of epistemologies would constitute a step forward in our understanding of the social conditioning of scientific knowledge. The dialogue between methods, approaches and methodology has provided relevant reflections in diverse disciplines and the influence of any qualitative tradition has been evaluated or re-evaluated in different fields and conflicts. Methods, approaches and methodology have been enhanced thanks to such dialogues, but, also, as a consequence of the opportunity to know and to discuss what researchers are doing in different regions of the world. Knowledge based on different traditions, concepts and theories let us be aware of both: our unity and diversity. Qualitative Research is then very rich and charmed because of the various legacies and treasures gathered in each country. That is bringing me to my second point: The worldwide story of Qualitative Research is formed by diverse narratives, authors and approaches. Recognize national differences and experiences and discuss such diversity and analyzing its unity lead us to explore the conceptual roots of our current

practices as qualitative researches to act in a future globalized academia. All of us know that the dominance of English language in the globalized world of Qualitative Research has resulted in a number of reactions from non-English speaking researchers. The dilemma for many of us is the need to take a critical stance against such dominance. At the same time we recognize the need for disseminating our words to an international audience. And finally, my third point: Speaking as a Latin American sociologist, I would like to say there is a special *flavor* to Ibero-American Qualitative Research that has been intensified by the unique links between politics and sciences and practice and science. Also in Mexico, as in other Latin American countries, the quantitative sociology dominates the institutional panoramas, converting, in marginal the interpretive paradigms constituted by comprehensive traditions as phenomenology, hermeneutics, symbolic interactionism, constructionism, ethnomethodology and others. We know there is no one *real* Qualitative Research paradigm. There are many paths to follow when doing Qualitative Research. The path one chooses often shapes the research. There are many stories to tell about Qualitative Research in Ibero-America, but there is no time to talk about. Here it is important just to highlight a critical point. From my experience, Qualitative Research conducted in the Spanish and Portuguese speaking worlds vividly display the roles that culture and context play in our conceptualization and practice as interpretive human beings. This is a critical

point. We know that Qualitative Research is particularly well suited to articulate the complexities of culture and context. For such reason, and recognizing that Latin American research remains on the periphery of the international academic community, my interest is to create more collaboration between Latin American and European associations, keeping our identity as researchers involved in the movements for freedom and social justice in our countries.

— *Konecki*: OK. Thank you. Following the sequence of my introduction, the next is Elísio Macamo, please.

— *Elísio Macamo*: Good morning to everyone. Thank you very much for the invitation to come here and the opportunity to say a few things about this topic. Of course, I am particularly afraid because I had been invited as an African to tell about the future of Qualitative Research in Europe. I will dwell slightly on the past because I think, in terms of the development, Qualitative Sociology in African sociology is still lagging behind. I think that some of the problems coming out of that are also of some interest for a discussion about the future of Qualitative Research in Europe. Basically, there are two points I would like to bring up here. The first one is concerning the status of sociology in general in Africa. The second one is concerning the research praxis in Africa, also in the context of what is known as African Studies. As far as sociology in Africa is concerned, I think most of the sociological research in Africa is done in

a quantitative way. Instead, Qualitative Research in African sociology still lags behind. This has to do with the later development of sociology, which is basically a discipline that started in the sixties with the independence of many African countries, and rode on the waves of modernization theories and also on the wave of industrial sociology. For those reasons, there was a lot of emphasis on survey methodologies, and so on. The other factor was that the larger area that one could associate with Qualitative Methodologies was largely left to social anthropology. So, there has been an understanding within the African context that Qualitative Methodology is everything that is not quantitative. And this has had serious implications for the development of that particular way of doing research. Now, to my second point concerning the research praxis: There has been quite a strong emphasis on proofability in research. What I mean by proofability, which has been quite frequent within the context of social research in Africa and also to some extent in African studies, is to simply accept as valid what is intuitively correct. A lot of work that is produced in African research and in research on Africa has that stigma. Therefore, by reading such works, it is very difficult to agree on the nature of the data and it is also quite difficult to engage in a discussion concerning the particular methodologies that had been followed. Now, where do I see the opportunities for Africa, but also for Europe in the very nature of Qualitative Research? My understanding is that Qualitative Research places a lot of em-

phasis on what you might call "second order observations." Particularly, the way in which you can seek to retrieve your object through what your informants say. In that way you can define your object in a very particular way, which does not force you – as in the framework of plausibility – to make things concerning the validity and the objectivity of what you are saying. What that does is that it allows you to get into a discussion with your peers concerning the criteria which you use to create that which you are treating as your object is actually, you know, what grounds you have, what warrant you have to make such means and then get into a discussion about that. I find that particularly interesting. I think German phenomenological approaches, particularly in the area of the sociology of knowledge, have made quite important contributions. They stimulated a lot of methodological discussions that go beyond a simple knowledge of the context – which, of course, plays a major role within the context of plausibility. That allows for interesting exchanges and perhaps opens up opportunities not only for African scholars to come to Europe and do research in Europe. Also, it opens up opportunities for African scholars to engage European scholars doing research in Africa on a methodological level without always insisting on the issue of context and insisting on the importance of knowledge of culture. It would enable them to speak intelligible about realities that are strange for them. So, where I see the future of Qualitative Research in Europe is in making it possible for scholars from all over the world to find a common language to discuss how they make their object visible. Thank you.

— *Konecki*: Thank you very much. Hubert Knoblauch is next.

— *Hubert Knoblauch*: Thank you very much for the invitation and for the chance to talk about these problems we have been facing already for quite some time. I'm actually sharing Thomas Eberle's view quite a lot and I would like to answer the question on the background of experience not only of the ESA and of the Qualitative Methods Research Network, which I share for more than ten years now, but also on the background of a consortium, which is called EUROQUAL, which is slightly different to the ESA. It is initiated by the European Science Foundation on Qualitative Methods, but as opposed to our group, it is an interdisciplinary group. And, it failed incredibly. So this is some of the background. The other background, I should probably mention to people who are not from Germany, is that one might dare to say that Qualitative Methods are reasonably institutionalized in Switzerland, even more in Germany. So there are quite a number of professorships specialized on Qualitative Methods in sociology, but also in other fields. Qualitative Research is part of the regular curriculum for social science students. In sociology, in education science and some other disciplines. Well, on this background let me try to answer the first question about the European research realm. I think there is the tendency to create something like a European Area, of course triggered by the European Research Council. They demand from us to have something like qualitative representation of Qualitative Methods. But, there are also some obstacles. One of these obstacles we encounter lies, of course, in the Qualitative Methods themselves. It is the internal diversity of methods. There is a huge diversity of methods, ever increasing. Every one of us is working on innovations so this diversity is still increasing. That makes it really difficult to get an overview in such a huge number of methods.

In addition to this internal diversity, there is a special diversity across national and cultural areas. Thomas Eberle, you can tell this within a country, for example, but this applies also across nations, of course. It is one of the topics you have had since the existence of this network. It was such a huge diversity between national and cultural areas, between methods. There are different traditions in Spain, in Italy and so on and of course in Britain. Additionally to these two varieties, there are also disciplinary differences and varieties between the qualitative traditions in education studies, in sociology, in anthropology, and so on, which are again diverse. And in addition to them we have, fourthly, the trans-disciplinary development. Like, for example, Science and Technology Studies or Religious Studies, and so on. They develop their own, somehow qualitative traditions of research in the broader area of Qualitative Methods. All four of these levels of diversity, I think, are intervening the tendency towards a European Qualitative Methods Research Area. This is also the answer to what European Qualitative Methods means: the specificity of European Qualitative Methods is its diversity.

But, I think there are also bridges. We have knowledge about diversity and that's the major feature of the European Qualitative Methods. The tendencies and results of that, I would say, is that we all have adopted it, for example, with our reference to Grounded Theory, the tendency to a general methodology. That of course is an attempt of international standardization. The tendency towards a general methodology, however, is bound to harm the relation to theory. One likes to forget that from the beginning there weren't "Qualitative Methods" – Qualitative Methods is to my mind an unlucky historical coincidence. There have been interpretative methods and non-interpretative methods, standardized methods and non-standardized methods and by some practical reasons it turned out to be useful to call it Qualitative Methods. But, at least one tendency of this background is, of course, their relation to the theoretical basis, which founded them and were its legitimations. Thomas (Eberle), I share your view on that. I think the legitimations of Qualitative Methods are getting lost. One of the results of that is to my mind a series of "core-side-innovations" in Qualitative Methods. Core-side-innovations mean that methods are just translated in different theoretical speech forms and languages, which is quite useful. But, this is not really an innovation. It just sounds like. I don't want to criticize it, but

that is what is happening. It is not really innovative because the relation to what makes the Qualitative Methods has been lost. I don't know really if I should foster that. But, at least one of the demands would be, first – we tried it EUROQUAL, but it didn't succeed – to go for something like a formal organization, an Association of European Qualitative Method, whatever, something like that. This means that an intensified network, especially cross disciplines, is utterly important. My second demand would be to insert a huge variety of people in practical research, but also in the other substantive research areas like Science and Technology Studies, Sociology of Medicine, Health Studies, and Linguistics, and so on. There is a huge variety of people not only in the practical field, but also in substantive research areas, working with Qualitative Methods. And somehow, they are there developing their own canons of study, independent of sociology. Linguistics, in the study of communication, is a good example here. So, I would say if one does formally organize, one has to look for the connection to the substantive areas. And this leads to the most important demand that there should be an interaction between these various forms, which means there must be reflection. Opposed to the quantitative people, one difference should be: we should be reflective about what we are doing. I think that is what makes us different. We should reflect what we are doing and somehow be aware of reflective methodology you (Thomas Eberle) mentioned. We should be able to answer the question how we han-

dle the differences in our field ourselves. Unfortunately, that is what we are not doing. There is no overview; we do the same that is demanded of us. Instead, we write introductions, collective books, and so on. OK, that's it. I think these are the three demands: interaction, the form organization and the link to the substantive areas. Thank you.

— *Konecki*: Thank you, Hubert Knoblauch. Now, I would like to give the floor to Miguel Valles.

— *Miguel Valles*: Thank you very much. I would like to give some short answers to the five questions about the future of Qualitative Research. But, first thank the organizers, especially Bernt Schnettler and his team, for the invitation. Congratulations for organizing this initiative. Let me say something, in five minutes, about the main heading or thematic umbrella on the future of Qualitative Research. It is usual to read and hear, not only in the academic circles, that the future is in the present. I like to add that the future (in every field of human activity) is in the present, but also in the past. It is a mix of old and new generations' efforts, wishes, dreams, and so on. I understand the words of Thomas Eberle when I think of those wishes and dreams as a mix of tradition and innovation. Now, I'll try to make a first statement regarding each question, drawing from the present and past that I have lived in the last years. First question: How can Qualitative Methods respond to the challenges of an emerging European research realm? And, in brackets: How can we improve cooperation among the

several existing parallel associations, and so on? Here, there is a double question. I give a first answer drawing from the EUROQUAL initiative that Hubert Knoblauch has referred to. That initiative was promoted by the European Science Foundation with the cooperation of more than a dozen European countries with the aim of responding to the European challenge of disseminating the research experience of older and younger generations. I could refer to the various European workshops organized within the EUROQUAL networking program, such the one on "Archives" and "Biographical Research," but it would take a bit more time. And we have two or three people here who have organized these workshops: Hubert (Knoblauch) chaired one on "Visual Methods," and Anne Ryen did the same on the "Quality of Qualitative Research." Well, I could refer to those various European workshops, but that would take me a bit more time than only five minutes. Let me just refer to the one I was responsible for: it was on "Archives and Biographical Research." The promotion of a culture of sharing and of archival research sensitivity (if you let me use that expression), following initiatives such as "Qualidata" at Essex University is a possible answer, I think, to the question embraced in brackets, that is the second question that has been mentioned. I have only enough time just to mention projects such as the "Timescapes" project, where different universities, in this case British, took part. I could refer to the Spanish "Mourning archive project" (the "Archivo del duelo," a research on the forms of

grief rituals in public places after the terrorist attacks in Madrid, March the 11th of 2004), where there are blurred frontiers between the traditional disciplines or fields of social researchers, such as anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and so forth. By the way, Qualitative Research in some places is, in my opinion, narrowly conceived, associated to anthropology. In the mentioned project those traditional disciplines of social research are cooperating with experts in libraries, museums, and so on. I could also make reference to the EUROQUAL final conference held in London in May 2010 about "International Perspectives on Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences." It was very well organized by Paul Atkinson and his team of Cardiff University. There, nearly a hundred of abstracts were orally presented, mainly by young researchers talking about their research in progress. One way of estimating the near future of Qualitative Research can be inferred from the abstracts of those presentations. Well, we are about to have nearly 50 presentations in this conference. Most of them are abstracts from projects that many of you as researchers are doing at the very moment, so we can use them to make us an idea of the immediate future. Now, the second pair of questions is: Is there a uniquely European Qualitative Methodology; and, in brackets, how can we improve the relations of European Qualitative Research with Qualitative Research in other world regions? The first question seems to me a yes/no question, and I am tempted to give a quick no-answer. A first reasoning

is that there is a variety of different groups, schools, research styles even within a single European country. I am just thinking about the case of Spain, for example, where at the same time these research groups, schools or traditions are in contact or have received influence from many diverse groups in and outside the European frontiers. Globalization is the word to sum up this thread of reasoning… On the one side, in Spain and all other European countries there are many different groups of researchers belonging to different schools using different Qualitative Methodologies. But, on the other side, at the same time these groups, schools, et cetera are in contact with each other and work together also with other European and non-European groups. This leads me to the second part of the question: the question in brackets – How can we improve the relations of European Qualitative Research with Qualitative Research in other world regions, such as the Americas, Africa, Asia, et cetera? This is the question I prefer most. To express a first answer in this case, I'll just mention the FQS initiative. And, I think this is something real. Today, I'm glad to share the table with the colleague responsible for the Ibero-American branch of this online journal. Finally, I'm going to answer the last question: How can we strengthen the connection between methodological and substantive inquiry? It is difficult to teach methods in general and qualitative ones in particular without referring to classic works or without giving examples of current work. This is one observation that

is associated in my mind with the classic of *Street Corner Society* by William Foote Whyte. Or, to introduce biographical methodology to students of sociology, I cannot forget *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by Thomas and Znaniecki, as I share this table with our president from Poland. And in the Spanish context, I talk immediately about *Making the America* by Marsal, who emulated in part the work of Thomas and Znaniecki. But, in general, I prefer the connection between methodological inquiry, substantive inquiry and the historical and biographical context of the researcher. That's why I find it so pedagogical or simply useful (in terms of learning); those appendices where the author becomes more visible, narrating the history of research and the history of himself or herself becoming a researcher. So recording methodological appendices, or the making of every piece of research or the backstage process of research, from the demand of the study to its presentation, is one way to tackle the third question. I don't want to end my first statement without mentioning GTM (Grounded Theory Methodology) lessons. Its insistence on generating theory (substantive inquiry) as a task inserted or embedded within this methodology. And, last, but not least, the subtitle of this ESA midterm conference is a good example of the referred connection. The main title is "Innovating Qualitative Research" and we have already heard the address by the chair of the table. But, the subtitle is "New directions in religion, technology migration and beyond." Well, this has been my statement.

— *Konecki*: Thank you very much. I also have some kind of a statement. My approach, therefore, is very pragmatic and practical. I come from sociology of organization and management and I would like to say something about some institutional issues of our activity. How can Qualitative Methods respond to the emerging European Research Realm? Here, I have a similar opinion, close to Thomas Eberle's. In my opinion, referring to the institutional work for the developing of our academic course, it is very important to broaden our influence as Qualitative Methodologists, Qualitative Methods and the constructivist approach. This work can also improve the quality of our research. What is important, in many countries, like in Germany or in America, Qualitative Methodology is well established yet. Still, there are some doubts in the academic world about Qualitative Research and in many countries there still is this distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches. Also in Poland, where I come from, we have that strange situation. Before the Second World War, we had a strong biographical research that was well developed, and there had been a lot of departments of Qualitative Sociology. Znaniecki was crucial here. Then, under the communist regime, quantitative research was done a lot, adapted to some political institutes. Qualitative Methods instead, coming from this "bad guy" Znaniecki, who migrated to the U.S. and was accused of being a capitalist, suffered. Now, today, Qualitative Methods in Poland rather exist. To strengthen them again,

we must work in institutions and we need the cooperation with other ESA networks and also with ISA networks. What we also did in the past was cooperating with other networks. Cooperation between journals is another important issue. What we already have are these wonderful journals specialized in Qualitative Methods, if you think of FQS (*Forum Qualitative Sociology*) and QSR (*Qualitative Sociological Review*). To answer the question if there is a unique European methodology or not, I want to point out that uniqueness could easily be associated with self isolation. If we want to be unique, then we should forget desperately to cooperate. Just then uniqueness can be achieved, only this way. Any other way is very difficult to find because of globalizing journals. Every journal is different, I think. Except non-nationally based ones. We should start the cooperation in many substantive fields and with publication in European-cited journals or cooperate between European associations and national based associations in other parts of the world. This is the simple idea of how to improve the institutional development of Qualitative Methodology.

How can we strengthen the connection between Qualitative Methodology and substantive fieldwork? I think, the basic question here is, if Qualitative Methods fit to each and every substantive field? If this is the case, then the problem doesn't exist and we should do anything to promote Qualitative Methodology. Public opinion, for example, according to Herbert Blumer, should not be researched by polls, but by qualitative analysis of collec-

tive action. If Qualitative Methodology is not universal to any substantive field, we should work out how any substantive field generates specific methods that should be used to answer specific questions. And, I think we have such a situation, for example, with conversation analysis. It answers specific questions. And, I think we all agree to have, rather, that situation. But, with our methods we can already answer many of those specific questions. Here, the midterm conference can strengthen the links between Qualitative Methods and many substantive fields. For me, this would be a reason for planning the next conference more open to other fields and not strictly methodological. We should gain other researchers in substantive areas that use Qualitative Methods and we should cooperate with them in organizing joint research or conferences and publications. Thank you and, please, start the discussion.

— *Eberle*: We have obviously two different strands in the discussion. One is: How to improve Qualitative Methods and how to improve Qualitative Research; and the other is: How to organize it institutionally. These are two different things. And both have to be done. I see a certain contradiction in that the diversity in Qualitative Research also resulted in many different groupings, which are kinds of religious sects. These groups think only their own research should be counted as the real way of doing Qualitative Research and the way of all the others is not acceptable. I think, this may be done in a scientific

discourse and can be quite prolific in a scientific discourse. But, the problem is: How do you organize with these people? Can you join forces? And I think this has been a great problem for Qualitative Research and it took a long way, a long time, until we really joined forces and said we have a common goal. A common goal is that not only quantitative data is data. There are other kinds of data and other ways of collecting data and of doing data analysis. And, that took a long time. I may briefly introduce a Manifest we have done in Switzerland. It also took many years to reach this. This was trans-disciplinary with all other social sciences together, in collaboration with many professors of sociology, political science, social psychology, anthropology and other social sciences. And we finally reached it. This is in three languages, which is always important for Switzerland. That really was a great success. But, it also required a lot of effort. People usually don't have time or they are not ready to invest a lot of time in such things. Although, they say one should do it and that it would be important. Here, the problem is: you have to have a liberal stance. We may be ethnomethodologists, but we have to accept qualitative interviews. Otherwise, we can't join forces. And here, if we think about the creation of a European or even international association of Qualitative Research, the question is: Do we find the right people who can do a scientific debate based upon their convictions, but on the other hand be politically liberal and join forces with the others? That is a great challenge.

— *Konecki*: OK, thank you, Thomas. Hubert Knoblauch, please.

— *Knoblauch*: (to Thomas Eberle) Of course, we have special groups like discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and so on. But, then we shouldn't forget what you (to Cisneros) also mentioned. We have national varieties too, particularly here in Germany, which criss-cross whatever are the special tribes in Qualitative Methods. And of course, all of these, one should be aware of if we talk about innovations, all of these are bases for innovations, be it the conversation analysis-people, be it the discourse-people the German, the French or the English discourse-people – and so on. They are all, by the very fact that there are special breeds, there are basis for innovation. In this sense diversity is, of course, just the very feature of Qualitative Methods. The problem is, first of all, people are not joining forces, most of them, but then, there is no overview in this sense and there is no common denominator, so far, as I can see. And, don't think that the very notion of Qualitative Methods is a denominator. We can use it politically, and we have joined forces in Qualitative Methods, but this is not a denominator. A denominator is something else. It is some shared theoretical orientation, to my mind, in order to get all these various forms, which are innovative in themselves, together.

— *Konecki*: OK, please, David.

— *Silverman*: OK, I would love to make a statement, but I wonder if someone from the floor

wants to because we are monopolizing the discussion and it would be nice to hear intervention form the audience. I would prefer to hear questions, if that's OK for you?

— *Konecki*: Maybe not already, OK? Then Cisneros, please.

— *Cisneros*: Thank you very much for this opportunity to speak about the challenge of creating and developing an association. From my point of view, we really need an international association and keep our disciplinary differences, keep our national differences. Here, we have different groups, even if some of them irritate us in behaving like a religious movement with the right way of doing ethnographical analysis. This behavior is a challenge, especially for us as we are not just qualitative researchers, but also citizens. We need an international association of Qualitative Inquiry. We need an international association of Qualitative Research roughly organized by nations, organized by language sections, organized by methods or in another way. We really need to be aware not just of the challenges, but also of the obstacles and what we are really aspiring to do.

— *Konecki*: Then I would like to respond to César Cisneros. As him, I think international organizations of Qualitative Methodology are important and I believe we could easily do it. They could be nationally based. We already have the national sections of Qualitative Methods or some sections based mainly on this kind of methodology. We can contact them and integrate them on an international

level. It is a good idea and also very practical. I'm convinced we need such an institutional thinking. We need it, I think, I agree with you. OK, David Silverman is next.

— *Silverman*: I remember very well when I was part of the committee of the British Sociology Association and there was the discussion about whether journalists should be invited to attend our annual conference. And the consensus was no because they might distort what we came up with. This was actually bizarre. Although, we try to get our views across, we were so closed in our views. Well, things may have changed since I'm retired, I don't know. British sociology and journalism do have contact now, I guess. I believe the important way to face up to the wider world is, as Thomas Eberle and others have mentioned, the importance of thinking of the social relevance of our work at all times. As much as we have to be theoretically informed also to think of how that way of being theoretically informed can lead to addressing issues around in the wider society. And, certainly how we can demonstrate the plausibility of what we are doing and the unique insights we can offer to quantitative people. I remember, several years ago, I was asked to speak to the London University Department of Demography. And, I was very intimidated by what they may say to me talking about Qualitative Research. But, it turned out that the kind of research I was describing to them they hadn't so far come across at all. They just assumed that Qualitative Research was a kind of journalism they are not inter-

ested in. When they heard about the kind of research I and other people did, they got quite excited about it and decided to talk about collaboration. So, thinking about the outside world is really something we probably need to do more.

— *Knoblauch*: I need to contradict. I don't think this is the problem nowadays. We are already socially relevant. Everywhere – if it is in business and marketing research, social work or whatever – there is Qualitative Research and everyone is working with some computers and coding systems. And, it's fairly standardized. So, the problem is this kind of Qualitative Research has lost everything and nothing to do with what we wanted to do. In fact, it has become quantitative research. That's why I don't think social relevance is the problem. I see that a lot of Qualitative Methods have lost ground. I don't want to say there is no good work at all, but this work is always standardized. And everyone does it in an easy way, which is not good for us and not intentional, I think. This is the major problem. If it gains to found an international association, of course, we can support it. But, if we only do that, we are spoiling the whole business, the whole reason why we are doing that. That's what they are doing and why we haven't done it yet. This is not our intention and it is not the intention of other special branches, like conversation analysis or discourse analysis. This is the reason they never joined in. They just do their own thing. They do not want to be spoiled. I don't think it's the relevance. My question and my perception are totally different. From my point

of view Qualitative Research already is in the business, in politics, and so on. Paid research is done by companies and done for politics. We sell enough. Here, the label of Qualitative Research often is that of an easy available method for everyone. I think what we are doing is selling out and that's a serious problem. That is not the idea of academia.

— *Konecki*: Thank you, Hubert Knoblauch, for your emphatic contribution. Next one is Jan Coetzee.

— *Coetzee*: I have another impression from South Africa where I come from. Here, quantitative research is very much the dominating paradigm. Quantitative researchers do real work when it comes to relevance. Instead, there are various question marks over the qualitative material or qualitative data insofar that it cannot directly do changes in policies, decision-making, in other words: where the power issue is at stake. Power is the ability to make changes and to bring about a different foundation. I sometimes think that qualitative sociology's main problem is that it does not manage to project itself as an area where – irrespective of the epistemic reflexivity that's going on – and it can still make changes. That it can be effective with policy, maybe. I think, sometimes we probably are our own worst enemies by continuing with the debates on hermeneutics and on the philosophy of science, the words of things, even into linguistics. We have people out there, the policy makers; they want material that can make the difference.

— *Knoblauch*: I think we actually observe, of course, also the differences in the standards of Qualitative Methods in different ways. I am not sure if this is a real advantage if you are the one whose statistics are quoted by politicians. I just give you an example of the Technical University of Berlin. Here, also engineers have training in Qualitative Methods. You can imagine that kind of training, but they get training and later they go out and train themselves in these methods, but have no idea of sociology at all. That also is the case in business and in market research, in politics research and social works. I think there are still areas where Qualitative Research could be more relevant, but I don't see a general lack of relevance. I think what's happening is in these areas is the use of easy and cheap ethnography. These are the things done, but these aren't the things we want to have. That's what I'm saying. It's not everywhere, but it's there and it's not what we wanted.

— *Konecki*: OK, there is a request to speak from the audience. Can you introduce yourself please?

— *Keller*: My name is Reiner Keller. I am working on discourse analysis in social sciences. I have just two points. One, first is the question of translation politics. Together with some colleagues, I edited two books on discourse analysis ten years ago in Germany. Now, there are third and fourth editions in Germany and they are now standard works, from the sales. We sent it to Sage at the time to publish it also in English, but they consid-

ered it *too continental*. I think this was because there are contributions from Germany, from Switzerland, from Italy, from the Netherlands and from France. And so, for them it was of no interest to publish it worldwide because lots of the references were to European traditions, to works in German or in Italian. So, I think this is one major problem that we don't have funds for translations of works, because we don't want to merge everything into some Anglo-American thing. So, we have to have the original books and we have to produce the translations. For me, this is one very important point to organize. To get funding for the translations. There is a second point I want to mention. I am a member of the French Association of Qualitative Research, too. There are almost the same problems which are discussed here. And, I just attended the conference in Grenoble on Interpretive Policy Analysis. There were three to four hundred people around and it was a great thing. I mean, it was so successful because they didn't call it Qualitative Methods in Policy Analysis, but Interpretive Policy Analysis, so they took together what you mentioned. There were empirical studies and there was reflection on how to do, on methodological aspects, and so on. They made clear by this kind of labeling that the Qualitative Methodology is not something which is discussing itself, but it is applicated, it is used to answer real life questions in different fields. I think this is kind of a strategy to think about and to take together. Why not doing something like an interpretive sociology conference in Germany?

Where it would be clear that this is not just a methodological reflection for itself, but all this refers to questions of research and practical questions.

— *Konecki*: Thank you. Maggie Kusenbach is next.

— *Kusenbach*: I am Maggie Kusenbach and I teach in the United States. Originally, I come from Germany. I would like to respond to your comments about the U.S. sociology. I understand your frustration, but I want to say that sociology in the U.S. is quite different in terms of its theoretical debates. They are not interested in Systems Theory, they are not interested in rational choice. Instead, they are still debating conflict theories, structural functionalism, post-modernism. They are looking for works that address these debates in terms of their topics. The dominating interest is really still in social problems issues: race, class, gender. These are the types of topics the Americans will be interested in. The third limitation, of course, is the language. You know, if it is not in English, Americans are not going to read it. So, there is a sort of block, and some limitations to the things you have to do to engage Americans in the debate. At the same time, I see a lot of ways of how Americans are pushing outwards and generating new interests. There is a lot going on that maybe has to do with changes in politics. There is a lot of interest in globalization, global impacts of the U.S. on the world, and also a lot of interest in immigration. Americans want to know where these other people come

from. They want to understand issues in other places of the world. There is a new interest in going out and doing comparative work on the qualitative level. I think, there is a new interest in reaching out to other regions of the world. Americans are less concerned in legitimizing Qualitative Research. It is established, it is institutionalized. I am in a department where there are two quantitative researchers. We don't have this legitimation-debate. There is not so much energy spent on saying why Qualitative Research is a valid endeavor. That's past. We reach out to quantitative people. How can we work together? How can we do mixed methods research? How can we do interdisciplinary research? But, I think the most exciting thing is that there is interest in globalization, in immigration, the markets, disasters – I mean, Americans have a new interest in understanding what is going on and this might be a good opportunity for collaboration, working together on making Qualitative Methods better and more valuable.

— *Konecki*: OK.

— *Baer*: My name is Alejandro Baer and I would like to refer to the question our colleague, César Cisneros, raised. In this conference, we are three people from the Spanish speaking world: César Cisneros from Mexico and Miguel Valles and myself from Spain. I think, it is important to talk about the problem of how to avoid main-streaming and at the same time, as César said, be part of that debate without being absorbed into that. In our countries, we want to be part of and join that debate. And,

we have a lot of things to share. This is a question that I formulate to my colleagues from the continent and from America and Britain. How can academia, including journals and publishers, be a bit more open and open the doors to these other traditions? For example, in Spain we have an extraordinary body of scholarly work by the Madrid School of Qualitative Research. There are no translations into English from the works of Jesús Ibáñez, for example. In Latin America some people might have made their way to translations. But, these are individual cases. The fact is that whole traditions are totally obscured. So, this is a question I ask to the whole audience: How do you include these marginalized traditions to the international debate?

— *Silverman*: Well, I am obviously responsive to that. I think by that you might, to use a term from CA, to think about recipient design. Think about how you can take on board problems from the Anglo-Saxon traditions or the German and French traditions to think about topics they are looking for and show the relevance of the work you are doing in your tradition. Try to answer those kinds of questions. You could rather say: look, what we are doing is important and therefore you should listen to us. To demonstrate the ways in which it is relevant to the concerns in our societies. Now, you might think that is a hard task because we in the Anglo-Saxon traditions don't have to do that. There was a nice chapter by Pertti Alasutaari, a Finnish sociologist, in a book on Qualitative Research Practice three years ago where he is talking about hegemo-

ny of the Anglo-Saxon traditions. You know – how much easier it is from people working within that and people on the periphery. I, as an insider, still think it is possible to make/ show the relevance of your work to the kinds of concerns raised in other kinds of traditions. It is something you have to do all the time anyway, I mean, if we are speaking to people in other disciplines. I give courses on Qualitative Research to business students and I never studied business. I have to do a sort of recipient design, what I am doing to show its relevance of the kinds of issues they concern. That's what I'm wondering, if that kind of work can be done more.

— *Konecki*: OK. Then, Anne Ryen is next.

— *Ryen*: I just want to address a less heroic aspect of globalization in Qualitative Research. We definitely want to have high Qualitative Research. When we look upon what's taking place then we see: the world is turning into a market place. If we don't have the same possibility of getting published with the bigger companies that see the world as a market place, it is very hard to get through. And this is one way, I would say is … That would come in very practical issues. The fastest way of examining our theories, our force is by getting our ideas published and next getting sold out to the bigger markets. I come from northern Norway, but I worked in different parts of the world…This is another issue that we, as an organization, would have to address. If we don't do that, we can talk about all these fabulous ideas, but they will not materialize.

— *Schmid*: My name is Antonia Schmid and I work and teach and do research at the University of Wuppertal. I just went to the Sixth International Conferences on Qualitative Inquiry in Urbana-Champaign (Illinois, U.S.) and I had some experiences there that parallel what you said, (to Knoblauch), but also contradict what you said (to Baer). Well, a huge part of that international conference was held in Spanish, so I guess there is some sort of development … and also people there were actually, they didn't spend as much time with legitimizing the methods and you where right saying that. But, they were actually as frustrated as people in Europe with were the money goes. So, what we do, even if it's relevant – the question is not if it's relevant for the world, but if it's relevant for those who fund research. So, I would like to kind of enforce what you said (to Ryen). The question is how do we get to where the money is? So, that is, I guess, all without getting spoiled.

— *Konecki*: More questions? Maybe I can comment on something that Hubert Knoblauch and many of you have said about the popularity of Qualitative Methods in business, for example. My experience is that we had the big Congress of Polish Sociological Association and I organized a session there on "Innovations in Qualitative Methods." There was a big interest especially from the marketing companies working in business, public relations, and so on. We only had a very small room with space for maybe ten people. But, so many people where interested and in the end we got 85 people sitting everywhere in this tiny

room. Most participants were business people sitting there together with scholars discussing Qualitative Methodology. What could we offer to these people? We gave them typology, theoretical backgrounds on the methods like diversity, and so on. Probably they weren't too satisfied listening to us, but the biggest interest and a lot of questions were given to the practical aspects. Clearly, they were only interested in practice. For dealing with these people, we can probably use some explanations, accounts of our doings. But, I am not sure if we can get this border from the company towards the people from other disciplines and especially the business world. Probably, we should do what we do. I don't know if we really need to give them the theoretical backgrounds.

— *Knoblauch*: My task is contradicting. We all are doing Qualitative Methods, but does this mean we are not good in counting? Some of the best ethnographies used numbers. You know this is not really the point. So, we have to think about what the hell is Qualitative Methodology at a certain point. I'm convinced that the answer to these questions is theory, a certain kind of theory. We shouldn't forget that it comes from the interpretive paradigm. Qualitative Research is not for people lazy in counting. Although, we are all working within Qualitative Research and it is not really the most fitting notion. We should be aware of that. This is our task as scientists. I will just close responding to your approach. I know from the DFG (German Science Funding Agency) and I know also from the Swiss Foundation that qualitative research approaches are not

disadvantaged. The numbers of qualitative research projects are surprisingly high. So, not getting funded is not our most serious problem at the moment. Developing our skills is the most important thing and we should be aware of that.

— *Eberle*: Just one sentence. I don't disagree that we have now this advantage; and, I talked about the future. And, I said there are certain institutional contradictions which might end up that it will again be a disadvantage. For me, that is the challenge. So, I was talking about this challenge. Not about the present state.

— *Konecki*: Please.

— *Artur Bogner*: I would like to add a critical footnote to this very weal picture that has been debated yet. I see, when we are talking, the disintegration into various tribes of Qualitative Research we will forget that the largest – and most powerful of these tribes is outside the discipline. That is the discipline of history. And there are other disciplines like anthropology that also belong to these tribes. So, this is not only a danger, a paradigm or a problem to sociology in a narrow sense.

— *Konecki*: Thank you. More comments or questions? No. Just perfect in time. Thank you very much! [– *audience applauds* –] If not, then I would like to thank you for taking part in our discussions and listening to us. We will continue discussing these questions in the last plenary.

Documentation of the Closing Plenary: The Future of Qualitative Research in Europe II

– Tuesday, September 21, 2010 –

Chairman: Bernt Schnettler; discussants: Giampietro Gobo, Anne Ryen, Krzysztof Konecki, Ruth Wodak, Jörg Strübing, Jan Coetzee; interventions from the audience: Thomas Eberle, David Silverman, Maria Buscatto, Maggie Kusenbach, Reiner Keller, Tomas Martilla, Miguel Valles.

— *Schnettler*: Welcome to our very last point in this conference. We are approaching the end and I suppose we are all tired. And, you can see on the schedule that this is the very last point and we will have dinner just outside the room at 7 pm, but before we can have dinner together, I would like to take up again the initial question from the first plenary discussion we had yesterday on the future of Qualitative Research in Europe. We will again discuss this topic with a couple of colleagues, friends and experts from different areas of Qualitative Research. We will have a total of eight colleagues presenting their point of view. And, most of them are sitting here physically. Two of them are not. We will have a video statement at the end. But, before we will listen and watch them, I would like to open the floor for discussion. Remembering that we were discussing yesterday several points in this debate and there are especially two points I would like to remind you of. At first, the relations of our Research Network to other disciplines, institutions or funding bodies in Europe, for instance EUROQUAL, the European Science

Foundation, and so on – and beyond with other world regions. In the preceding plenary, we have already heard voices from Latin America and Africa. We had some input from other world regions. And, we will think about our relations with other associations. With Anne Ryen and Jan Coetzee, we are also lucky having with us two voices of colleagues working in Africa and we also have other voices from America and Africa in the audience. Secondly, we are not able to resume what you were doing in all the thematic sessions. I haven't been able to listen to all of them. But, I think it has been worth the effort going into different thematic areas. We will not have the chance to sum it up for the debate. But, we can think about our relations with the substantial areas of research with Qualitative Methods. So, that will be two points I would like to suggest for this discussion. It is open for you (to the audience) and we will try to have it not like the speaker delivering their perspective, but like an opener for a wider discussion with the audience. We will start again with a short statement and then have a break. You (to the audience) will have the chance to ask questions and start the discussion and at the end we will have the video. Now, I would like to ask Giampietro Gobo to start with his presentation. We all know him very well, so I don't have to present him. He is one of the founders of this Network and he also has a certain view on what is going on in Italy. I would like to ask you to share your view with us.

— *Gobo*: I think that the future of Qualitative Research has some positive aspects and some negative ones. The positive, I think is a phe-

nomenon I saw in many countries. There are new generations of PhD-students that prefer Qualitative Methods. Many dissertations are based on Qualitative Methods, much more than on quantitative methods. And also, thinking in terms of generations, not so far in the future, some of those PhD-students will be professors and Qualitative Research, I think, will compose the majority; also, because the quanti-professors will be retired at a time [– *laughter from the audience* –]. So, I think it is sociological or institutional or socio-demographic evidence that Qualitative Research will be dominant in the future. But, it is not the merit of Qualitative Research alone. Here, I totally agree with what César Cisneros mentioned yesterday. It is also by reasons of some social conditions. Yesterday, David Silverman talked about the interview society. I think, there is interplay between society and methods. Society created a space for some methods and not for other methods. So, I ask: Who did the job for the Qualitative Methods? I think it was economy. If you think about Total Quality Management, which is an important invention that overcame, in the 1980s, the Fordist line of management. Quantitative research is closer to Fordism. And, Qualitative is closer to that view. And so, I think that the society and the economy make space for the emergence of Qualitative Research because these methods fit better to business and management than quantitative methods. This is the positive part. The negative part, I think, is the issue of the quality of Qualitative Research. As we know, that quantitative research is quite poor and we criticize these kinds of results. But, also the stan-

dard of Qualitative Research is quite low. And, I think at least for four reasons. One reason is that many times Qualitative Research produces very common-sense results. It is often criticized as very descriptive. Somebody said: "We are kind of journalists." The second reason I found is that there are no practical missions for Qualitative Research. There is no interest to be practical, just for doing research, but no interest to advice, to suggest or to change things. The third reason – this is my experience – I do not conceive any interest in improving Qualitative Research Methods. This is not the case of quantitative researcher. If I go to a quantitative research meeting, you can find many thematic sessions of how to improve the question, how to improve the response alternatives, how to do much better data analysis. In qualitative research sessions, you often find just a presentation of research-results, but no contributions to the improvement of our methods. And, I think that also there are few concerns about being systematic in our research, in following a precise research design. In my opinion, these are weaknesses of Qualitative Research. And for this reason I foresee that in the future it will disappear as Qualitative Research. First, it will be dominant, but then, maybe in the 50's or 60's, when Thomas will be still alive [– *laughter from the audience* –], probably quantitative research will take over again.

— *Schnettler*: Thank you very much. I would like to suggest now Anne Ryen to continue her view on this. Anne is from the very upside of Europe, from the Nordic Countries she came here all the way from Norway. She is actually on our Board

and she is also the former president of this Research Network. So, please, Anne.

— *Ryen*: Thank you very much. Like most other people, I think I am right in the centre [– *laughter from the audience* –]. Let me comment on two topics. The first is talking from Norway to the global and the second is talking about Qualitative Research and also about the structure in which it is embedded. Let me first say something about the state of Qualitative Research in my country. In Norway, Qualitative Research is firmly based within and across disciplines and professions, and we tend to think of it as stages: better and better and more and more accepted. But, lately this assumption of linearity has been challenged. When you look at the quality, there are for sure trends towards a simplified version of Qualitative Research. And, in the last half a year, there have been two critical incidences as to legitimacy. The first was a TV program, called "Brainwash," where especially Qualitative Research by sociologists and, in particular, postmodern feminists, really were harassed in a number of ways. I think, they were easy targets, also because they didn't defend themselves very well and made extremely poor performances. The second critical incident, was a debate in a well respected weekly newspaper or rather a criticism of the impact of Qualitative Research on science starting with Woolgar and Latour's *Laboratory Life: the Social Construction of Scientific Facts* from 1979. And, the losers from the "Brainwash" on television cluttered up the situation further by releasing a couple of books too fast. This made a legitimate space for conservative philosophers and for attacks from the

medical profession; though, for most of the researcher's life will go on as before, back to daily life. But, we recently also had a couple of interesting policy documents or two White Papers. Report no. 20 from 2004-2005 called *Willingness to research* (*Vilje til forskning*) and report no. 30 from 2008-2009 called *Climate for research* (*Klima for forskning*). In the second, there was a quest for more research on health issues, a classic sociological field. However, the report stressed professional practice and a researched based policy and opens up for further research by the professions. This opens for more Qualitative Research, but it also opens for more of the kind of Qualitative Research that we worry about when it comes to quality. However, when you look at the ranking of research and universities, this is mostly based on quantitative measurements like counting citations, number of publications and journal status. This ranking may make us assume that Qualitative Research does well, but Max Weber with his "iron cage" taught us to be skeptical to bureaucrats. It is important, then, that the second White Paper, *Climate for research*, stresses that universities need to build a context that allows not only for research, but also for doing research without constant interruptions, hence, bureaucratic work, et cetera. New Public Management in Norwegian universities makes research time into residual time because of an ever increase in number of bureaucrats demanding more meetings to attend, more forms to be filled, et cetera.

Let me now jump briefly to the international level. If you look at research from the global perspective, it is definitely embedded in a western

superstructure. We all work at universities that function very well. They support us, we have good PhD grants, good offices, things are fairly well organized and therefore we are in a privileged position. So I think, when we discuss Qualitative Research we also need to discuss what I call minds, markets and money. I do a lot of my research in the African context. I know we use terms like "Westernism" and "Europeanism" both as external and internal criticism, but I would very much like to put in another concept – "Americanism" to better describe the contemporary impact due to the new U.S. interest in so-called indigenous research. But, as an organization, ESA needs an organizational strategy. I'm a bit skeptical about trying to make one global organisization because that might mean monopolizing the space. But, I'm very strongly in favor of collaborating across methods, places and spaces. For an organization like ours that is all European, it is essential to include more European countries. Europe is more than what we now manage to engage. What we have in ESA is fantastic, but we should always want more. We need to have more international partners or minds, but in particular new members from European countries not yet in ESA. One reason for the new interest in the so-called South is publishers' noses for markets, and our field, QR, is a good example of "New…whatever" that sells well, but history has taught us that methodological colonialism lurks around the next corner. So, we do not need more export, but more critical thinking on how better to explore in contexts different from the classic western ones – in ESA preferably inside Europe.

— *Schnettler*: Thank you very much. The floor is open for questions, comments, discussions. Thomas Eberle, please.

— *Eberle*: It is just a question for Anne Ryen. I mean, you have a lot of experience with African researchers. How would you practically develop closer relations from our network?

— *Ryen*: I think the main question is, if ESA is the right organization for international sociology or for European sociology. In ISA RC33 Logic and Methodology four of us, Blasius, van Dijkum, Balbi and myself have made an agreement with Sage on a methodology series with non-British and non-American authors. So, one way for ESA is to strengthen ties with ISA. But, because I have been working in African countries for about twenty years, I do have an incredibly good network with African colleagues and universities for the simple reason that we collaborate.

— *Schnettler*: Further questions? Krzysztof Konecki.

— *Konecki*: I would like to support your idea of including more countries from Europe. We are a European Sociological Association. But, if we have a look at the origin of sociologists and methodologists that cooperate with our network, then Europe is divided. From eastern Europe, we almost have nobody here. We should start to think, how to get these people. For example, we have good colleagues in Estonia. But, so far, they haven't joined our European institutions or organizations. We have to make an effort that

these other organizations from Poland or Russia take us seriously. Europe is divided into East and West not North and South.

— *Schnettler*: Ruth Wodak.

— *Wodak*: I would actually like to link to Giampietro's statement. Here, I see a big problem with future PhD-students. And, I'm not as positive as you are. I work in a British context and our important criteria apart from the RAE ranks are completion rates. Now, PhD-students get less and less time to do their dissertations. There is even talk about going away from three years to two years. Or, doing a Masters and a PhD in three years. Now, if you do that or if you try to do that and you do fieldwork in Qualitative Research and analysis in some hopefully good way, you will not succeed. It is totally impossible. Even if you do the fieldwork in the neighboring village and you don't have to travel somewhere. I see this as a big problem already now with my PhD-students. It leads to data-taking, which doesn't require so much fieldwork. You download newspapers, and so forth because that is very easily accessible. But, it goes away from the most interesting kind of data we like, which is everyday life in organizations and so forth. I think that this will lead to mainstreaming of topics, a mainstreaming of data and a lowering of standards in fieldwork.

— *Schnettler*: Thank you. There is a question from David Silverman.

— *Silverman*: (directed to Ruth Wodak) Did I get you correct, you are not really a sociologist? You are mainly working in linguistics. I'm just

wondering if other ways of extending the scope of what we do as a network should be to think about making ourselves a more welcoming environment to other people than sociologists. This is a real question, I don't know the answer. Should we have sociology in our title? These people are not only working in linguistics there are also people in the education business, some psychologists, people who are doing Qualitative Research using the kinds of approaches we do. Maybe we should make more of an effort to involve them in our work?

— *Schnettler*: OK. There is our next question from Miguel Valles.

— *Valles*: I just wanted to make my own remark to the oral presentation by Giampietro Gobo. Well, in relation to the references to journalism as a bad reference. I feel more open to that. I think we could learn the good things from journalists or journalism. I just remember the appendix in the work by C. Wright Mills *On Intellectual Craftsmanship*, please re-read that. It would be a good exercise to re-read those pages. Of course, he warned his colleagues that if they wrote like journalists, if they made themselves understandable to the wider public they could be taken as journalists and then loose (credibility in the academic world). So, my question is don't we, as the audience, don't you, as speakers on the table, think we could learn from them? One: make more understandable our results. Remember, that sociology opened up a field in a state of art where philosophers or philosophy was more dominant. And the other thing is: Don't you think that we can learn from jour-

nalists the way they archive, for instance visual material, or the way they archive what they produce in the mass media?

— *Schnettler*: So we take this as a suggestion and a different voice on our stance towards journalism. Now, please, Marie Buscatto.

— *Buscatto*: I want to address Giampietro Gobo again. You said that Qualitative Methodologists where not working much on the quality of their methods, so since you have been around quite a lot, could you maybe explain why you think we don't do it that often, that systematically and, maybe, how could we improve? These are three questions because I am wondering why. I totally agree with you – but why?

— *Gobo*: (To Valles) Very brief about journalism: you are right. But, on the other hand, you know that journalists usually write on topics they don't really know and often articles are superficial. Here, it is also the question of the adequate use of theory. They are just picking up theory from others. (To Buscatto) Now, about your issue of improvement: as a network, we try to set up a couple of groups, if you remember: focus groups, ethnography, discourse analysis and so one in order to produce improvement. But, often here are no real improvements. Usually, we are looking for new techniques and then we find out that in reality they are not that new. But, the techniques themselves are not improving in the way quantitative techniques are improving. I mean, the questionnaire, the data analysis in the last twenty, forty years they improved a lot. We are not improving.

— *Buscatto*: But why? How do you explain that?

— *Gobo*: That is because we prefer to not be systematic, that is something like "Western kind." We are not improving; we are just focusing on the topic. You have some exception, for example, conversation analysis. They improve their methodology a lot. Today, CA is quite different from the way it was done in the 1980s. They improve in the way they code the body movement. But again, this is just an exception. Usually, I don't see much improvement in ethnography, focus groups, and interviews. Maybe there are some new ways to analyze data, but there is no real improvement.

— *Schnettler*: OK. We are already in a hot debate, but I want to mention the improvement of something that in Germany had been called the discussion of the quality of Qualitative Research. We may discuss on that, if you like, but then we come back to the other issues. So now, I want to hand over to Jörg Strübing.

— *Strübing*: Yes, I'm just struggling on this issue, but in quantitative research: Is there really an improvement of methodologies? I would answer, no. But, what they do a lot is to improve their techniques. The use of new scales, new computer programs for new regression analysis models, and so on, and so on. They do a lot of that. But, there is no improvement of the general methodological model, which is pretty much fixed. So, there is not so much going on. It looks like more than it is, I would say. So, I would not be so much pessimistic in that point. On the other hand: What are we doing? Are we really

not improving our methods? I'm not so sure. At least in the field where I am looking at, you find quite a number of publications on new ways of looking at a certain method not technically. But, open it up in new perspectives, getting new sensibilities for the new ways of looking at data or at the field for instance. Of course, not all of this might be a great improvement. But, there is a lot of movement in our disciplines.

— *Schnettler*: OK. Thank you. We will get back to this discussion just in a couple of minutes. But, let me just give a chance to Jan Coetzee now. He has been on our Board for quite a long time. Jan is a professor of sociology at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. We are especially happy that he is here and not only because Bayreuth University has close relations to Africa and he is the one who had undertaken the longest journey. So, please, share your view with us.

— *Coetzee*: Thank you, Bernt Schnettler. I hope to be able to pick up on two of the issues that had already been raised. But, let me first start by just changing our topic a little bit. Not really changing, but giving it just a slight move in a different direction. That is: we are talking about the future of Qualitative Methods within Europe and I would like to add to that. We have to talk about *new Qualitative Methods within a new Europe*. Not only new Qualitative Methods, but also a new Europe. We all know that a new Europe requires a new approach. We all have seen with the enlargement of the European Union that many of the former classifications have lost their meaning. There is a need

to look differently at the focus of our intention that is mainly Europe. I think amongst others, we can really say that the traditional distinction between first world and second world and third world has, for instance, changed dramatically. And, what we have today is not so much a focus on European society or societies, but a focus on different societies within a broader context and all of them in transition. And, I think that really is a very important challenge for Qualitative Methodology because these challenges of societies in transition are very specific. And, it ranges from the more micro-approach or the micro-level, where one is talking about the human condition, where the focus is on the well being and on the capabilities of people. Then, it moves to a slightly more middle level, or meso-dimension, where the focus is on power and organizations. And, it then, also will move to the domain of governance, of civil society and eventually even to the most macro-domains. And, that is the value domain where we will have to rethink and renegotiate issues around human rights, around democracy, around sustainability, and so on. So, what that brings into the discussion is that we will have to change, according to my view, the focus. Maybe, we will have to move away from just thinking about Qualitative Methodology or Qualitative Methods. One of the papers in yesterday's session dealt with Pierre Bourdieu's relational sociology. I don't know who was the presenter and I am sorry that I missed that one. But, I find in Bourdieu's work exceptionally valuable aspects of how to improve the quality of Qualitative Methodology. And one of those, one of the issues that will

probably be the most important when trying to improving the quality of Qualitative Methods will be to stop thinking about qualitative and quantitative as if they are two different categories. I think, we're practicing a discipline, the discipline of sociology, that has to move beyond the old categories. We should, rather, think relationally about these issues not longer or the micro- and macro-, or on the objective or subjective levels. These things are related. They are, as Bourdieu would say, they are genetically related. And, I think that one of my own concerns, if I look at papers presented (and I might even be contradicting David Silverman) is that there is often too little theoretical reflection when we do Qualitative Research. David Silverman said he wants to see more evidence, more data and less theory. Maybe I'm misquoting you, David, or taking your statement out of context, but I'm much more in favor of more theory and more theoretical grounding because that is the way in which we are going to improve the quality of Qualitative Methods.

— *Schnettler*: Thank you very much, Jan. So, now, I want to hand over the microphone to Jörg Strübing, a good old friend of mine. We have published together on methodology, but that is not the reason why you are here today [– *laughter from the audience* –]. He is a professor of sociology in Tübingen, where he is teaching methods. Moreover, he is president of the German Sociological Association's Research Network Qualitative Methods. And, in that function, I would like to ask you to give us some of your views on the future of Qualitative Research in Europe and your relation, the rela-

tion of your Research Network with our ESA Research Network.

— *Strübing*: Thank you very much for this very nice introduction. Well, a lot has already been said and there is so much more I would like to mention that it would not fit in this session. Let me just pick up some issues, maybe out of context. One is that we are the ESA here. So, that is a sociological association and we are talking about Qualitative Methods. And, Jan Coetzee just mentioned we should overcome the distinction between quantitative and Qualitative Research and things like that. But, we should also have a look over the borders of our discipline, I would say. And, if we look at the situation of Qualitative Methods in Germany, in Europe, wherever, we should also look at our neighboring disciplines like pedagogical research, like educational research or psychology research for that matter. Sometimes we are complaining about the situation of Qualitative Methods, of having too few chairs at the universities, not enough funding, problems with reviews and things like that. But, in other disciplines, for instance, psychology in Germany, the situation is even worse. Here, Qualitative Methods do only exist in a niche. I do some work in summer schools for political scientists. And, if you look at them, you will find a very small amount of Qualitative Methods there and a broad set of sophisticated instruments of quantitative research. You'll find a lot of normative theory due to the specifics of that discipline and, as a consequence, very few Qualitative Research. So, there is a lot of work to do in terms of founding a broader base for our methods and our meth-

odological interest. I think cooperation should also go in that direction. I have not so much to say (to Schnettler) about the link between the German section and the European section, because we are close friends as you all know now and we often have beer together, as often as possible, so the link is just perfect [– *laughter from the audience* –]. Another thing is if we talk about improvement and how to go on, one discussion that comes up again and again is the discussion about quality criteria. And, this is a very tricky discussion. We have to have it, again and again. Solutions are still far away, I would say. Just to mention a few points here: quality criteria still are an issue that comes from conventions used in quantitative methods. And, they have a more closed approach in which it is easier to define a set of criteria that works more or less – they are not perfect, but it works more or less for most of what they do. We are not the Qualitative Methods. We wouldn't believe that. We are people who do a certain type of Qualitative Research, each of us: discourse analysis, grounded theory, hermeneutics, and what so ever. So, this does not allow for one set of quality criteria. And, there is a lot of work to do. On the other hand, we have to, kind of, negotiate among us and among the others about who gets the grants, who gets the funding, whose article is reviewed positively and published, and so on. Therefore, quality criteria are a kind of a media of exchange, you know? That's an important and maybe underestimated issue because we all feel that we can very well estimate the quality of our and our peer's work in our special method. But, that's not the only problem. It has kind of

an exchange character, that's important here. So, maybe I stop here and you include the others.

— *Schnettler*: Yes. Thank you very much. We will have some more beers together, but we also thank the German Section of Qualitative Methods for its contribution to make this conference possible. So, that could be a model of cooperation. The floor is open again. Questions, comments? David Silverman!

— *Silverman*: Both of you, Jan Coetzee and Jörg Strübing, mentioned the issue of theory. I don't fundamentally disagree with you. I think we always need both theory and evidence, clearly, and it is more the question of balance between the two. In some cases, you know, work is clearly under-theorized and purely descriptive and, therefore, needs more theoretical thought. But, there is a great deal of variation between these different societies and different disciplines, as we know. I am maybe making too large judgments here, but from what I read of, for instance, of some German Qualitative Research and some French Qualitative Research – well, Marie (Buscatto) is a significant exception – it seems to be heavily over-theorized. And, a great deal of U.S. works too, especially in the post-modern direction. And, the sad consequence is that you see PhD-students endlessly reinventing the wheel with their PhD Thesis. So, they spend chapter after chapter of theoretical justification, for what they do, without hardly leaving any space for what they are actually doing, on the contribution that they could make. So, it is never a sharp case. Sometimes we swing too much toward theorization and sometimes we swing too much

towards under-theorization. It is always a question of balance.

— *Schnettler*: Who wants to answer that?

— *Coetzee*: I think what we have to be careful about is to make a distinction between fact and theory. And, maybe my comment was more aimed at the fact that there is a need for factual information that can provide a basis for our own Qualitative Research. What I mean by that is, and that brings me back to my relational example, my French example of Bourdieu (but I could also have used as an example Margaret Archer's ideas about "analytical dualism"), whatever the theoretical example may be, I think we have a need for substantial, factual, theoretical material that can provide a basis for our own qualitative assessment. And, that's where I was moving towards when I said that these two issues – the level of structural elements and the one of constructivist elements – that these two should be brought closely together and that they should not be seen as separate. They require a double reading by us as sociologists and we need to incorporate both of those dimensions. Maybe that for the moment.

— *Schnettler*: Maggie Kusenbach.

— *Kusenbach*: I want to go back to something Jörg Strübing said and that I find interesting. I very much agree. You said that we all know it when we see good work. You know, we seem to have this implicit knowledge of what is good Qualitative Research. So, why couldn't we try to formulate the criteria by which we come to

these conclusions? What is your further thinking of how we could explicate that knowledge that we all somehow seem to have?

— *Strübing*: Yes, but I made the point a little bit differently. I said that we have a pretty good feeling about the quality of our work and of our peers work in our special method. That means, if I read Grounded Theory studies, I can easily find out whether it is well done or not. I wouldn't be so sure in objective hermeneutics or in discourse analysis or whatever. And, I feel that finding criteria for these methods would be different in some points and if we go to the very, very broad picture then it is something like adequateness or something like that. But, that's kind of how to work with it. But, that's not a good way of doing quality criteria. We had this conference not so long ago in our German section just on behalf of this subject. And, there were presenters who strove to come to terms with this criteria thing by proposing one big criterion. But, what would we do with it? And, how to, kind of, prove it? That's the problem. And, we need to differentiate that from the different methods. So, our gut feeling is, it might be a good starting-point, but it wouldn't work as a bridge to other methods.

— *Schnettler*: So, further questions? Comments? Reiner Keller.

— *Keller*: Just to add some observations in teaching Qualitative Methods. I talked with Miguel (Valles) during lunch. I think there is one problem: the kind of standardization of Qualitative Research via all kinds of small textbooks. I contribute myself to this problem [– *laughter from the*

audience –]. I tried to do it in a way that allows own thinking. During university studies, students are very – they like this because they like the great standardization because, then, they have the security to do work, which seems to be scientific, sociological because they are following step-by-step. And, we talked about that they expect us to give all the literature on the topic at the beginning of the university year. And, if you ask them to read two more pages, they will ask you if it is really necessary because they have to cope with all different kinds of struggles. So, I think that kind of standardization is a problem. On the opposite side, I think, there is a kind of insecurity, which is produced by the large amount of qualitative literature. Let me give you one example. Very often, I use the book written by Uwe Flick. Inside you can find twenty different interview-types. One is called *standardized* the next *quite standardized, more or less standardized*, and so on – [– *scattered laughter from the audience* –] and the students say: "I really don't know what to do. I escape, I'm not able to decide which one corresponds." These are the two structural problems. On the one hand, I think it is good that we are producing a large amount of output. On the other hand, there is a production of standardization. So, I really fear that the students get lost between these both. I think there is much work to do to get them engaged in doing and thinking and using, but not being subjected to it, and to have their own development.

— *Strübing*: I just gave a seminar on interviews and of course we started off with the Flick textbook where a number of interviews are listed

in a table. And then, I asked my students to let the air out of this table and to look what are really different types of interviews in that table. And, it came out that there are three or four different types and that's easy to manage. And, all the rest is fashionable naming. And, we should be very careful with fashionable naming in our discussion, in our teaching. We have a number of severe differences in our different Qualitative Methods. They go back to epistemological assumptions and theoretical grounding and we have a lot of theoretical grounding of methods by the way. Nevertheless, sometimes there is a need to give new names to old things. In my area there is a new label called "constructivist grounded theory." Grounded theory has always been constructivist, if you say so. And, there is no need to make new "additional methods." We should be aware of this because that's really confusing for students.

— *Schnettler*: So, there is quite a lot of what can be called side-effects of the success of Qualitative Methods. Anne Ryen, you wanted to comment on this, please.

— *Ryen*: I want to tell you stories from the North [– *laughter from the audience* –].

— *Schnettler*: So, you know, we have to have lunch at seven [– *laughter from the audience* –].

— *Ryen*: That's OK, I am acquainted with Swahili time…I'm a member of a Norwegian committee were we are looking into the bachelor courses in methodology for students in economics where they want to standardize the

whole national level. And, I don't know what to say. A most prominent professor of economics on this committee insists that the only method bachelor students of economics need to know is the interview. So, we are having a fight there. Another observation that is problematic to Qualitative Methodology is a new best-seller market for methodology books with half on qualitative methodology and half on quantitative. Fifty-fifty. Quick and dirty, mostly written by quantitative researchers who are rather unfamiliar with what has taken place in Qualitative Research in the last decades. I recognise this "resistance" to Qualitative Research, both in economics and political science. The paradox is that the majority of their students (at least in my country) use Qualitative Research. I have had excellent students who have done qualitative projects for private businesses and it does help to promote Qualitative Research when the businesses come back and say: "Do you have more students like that?" So, I think we also need a handle on the market.

— *Schnettler*: Is there any other question or comments at this point? That's not the case. So, I am very happy that Ruth Wodak is with us. She has not only been for long years on the Executive Board of Research Network. She is a distinguished professor in discourse studies at Lancaster University and she is originally from Vienna, so you are already living kind of a "European life." She is also the president of the European Linguistic Society. Maybe you can open the discussion for the relation with other disciplines?

— *Wodak*: Thank you, Bernt. I'm honored to be invited here on the territory of sociologists [– *audience: scattered laughter* –]. And, I must say to my neighbor (to Strübing), that discourse analysis is both a theory and a method, which already opens the field of interdisciplinarity. And, I would like to talk about, apart from interdisciplinary, two other brief points. One related to funding agencies, from the British and the Austrian perspectives. And, also something about application and relevance, because I think that's important. But, first to the question of interdisciplinarity. Being a discourse analyst means, that you are inherently interdisciplinary because I'm not regarded as a "real linguist" and I'm obviously also not a "real sociologist" or whatever. So, we have always been working in between the fields. And, moreover, discourse has become an inflationary term. Everybody does discourse analysis of some kind. Thus, I think it's very important to really do interdisciplinary research. And, that would mean: working together with sociologists, political scientists, historians; but also people from the management school and others. This implies, that we learn what they do, but they also learn what we do. My experience is that people say: "Oh it's great that you know how to deal with texts. But, you know, it's much too difficult and why should we learn all this strange terminology?" not thinking, that, of course, they also use terminology that is strange, but this time – for us, obviously not for them. So, I think to cross fields we have to be very curious and very open and have a lot of respect for other fields you are entering. Many people are very frightened. They perceive this

as a threat to the discipline. You might take something away, if you enter in this other field. My experience is, instead, extraordinary fruitful and brings a lot of innovation because my firm belief is: only interdisciplinary research is really innovative. It opens up new perspectives, which you don't get if you always stay in your own field. So, having said that, my own experiences, which fields can one cross over to relate to sociology and anthropology because they all do fieldwork, use interviews or do ethnography and so forth? They might do a different kind of ethnography, but it's, of course, also participant observation in many ways, but also, and this is my most recent British experience, management studies. I always thought that management scholars would be primarily quantitatively oriented, but there has really been a turn to the qualitative. They all come and say: "How do you do this qualitative stuff?" "What do we do with discourse?" and "Tell us how to analyse these data." So, I think this is really a new field, which has opened up enormously. I teach qualitative methods and discourse analysis for PhDs across disciplines in the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Lancaster. And, they all want to know what to do with their data. So, I think there is an enormous potential there for us to learn and vice versa. We can link well to these fields. I think political scientists might be the most closed group. There is a big and strong American quantitative paradigm there. But, otherwise, there is a lot of interest and we should – you probably use the mailing list – open up our invitations. I send around the call of papers of this network to all the other

networks I know and people also come. So, there is a lot of potential for fruitful learning from each other. But, you have to be willing to do that. It's stressful, it takes time, it's not easy to learn something new which we are not used to. Very briefly a word about funding agencies, both my experience with European agencies and those in the United Kingdom. We're expecting huge cuts now anyway and Qualitative Research costs a lot, ethnography costs. It takes time, you need transcriptions, and the funding is stopping. People don't understand what the relevance of this Qualitative Research is. And, that relates to my third point, the relevance. In the United Kingdom, we are expected now to illustrate the so-called impact of our research. That has become the new magic word that has to be measurable for the next national evaluation, we have to show who has taken our research and applied it, where, how and with which effect. Like a causal chain – which is of course impossible. But, we have to do that. We have to be able to explain the relevance of what we're doing. And, it's always challenged. "What is a case study?" "How can you generalize it?" "What does it mean?" "Who is going to apply this?" We have pages and pages we have to write about the impact. Therefore, one huge challenge for the future of Qualitative Research will be to simplify what we do and to work together with others, to choose topics which are relevant. Otherwise, the funding will stop. On a European level, it is very difficult to get purely qualitative projects: almost no purely qualitative projects get funded. So, that is my quite negative view.

— *Schnettler*: Thank you very much. I don't think it's negative at all. It's a call to think also about the structural and the financial aspect about the future of Qualitative Research. The floor is open again. Please, give me your questions and comments.

— *Guest* (Thomas Martilla): Thank you very much. I really liked your ideas about interdisciplinary work because this is something that I think is very important especially in the field of methods. One thing that you were saying is that for interdisciplinary work it's sometimes more important to one to learn than one to teach. I think, this might be an issue. We always want to go out, and want to teach our methods and they are underdeveloped in this or that area. So, it would be more fruitful to say: "You are doing this and that and I want to learn from you." And I think, this also opens the door that others ask questions to us.

— *Wodak*: If I may answer this?

— *Schnettler*: Yes.

— *Wodak*: You understood that completely in the right way. My experience is that one has to learn from each other. And, in one interdisciplinary project, which I belonged to, the sociologists gave lectures to us as non-sociologists, as historians and discourse analysts, and we all decided to read texts from each other to establish a common base of knowledge and of terminology. I'm convinced that you have to learn how to speak to each other. It is a different language, it is a different perspective, a different *Weltan-*

schauung. And, that is why interdisciplinary research takes more time, than the conventional one which one has always done. My experiences are that it's also very much more innovative once you cross that first threshold.

— *Schnettler*: Further questions? You are tired or waiting for dinner? What we can do at this point, if there are no other questions and comments: I would like to give the change to those who are not here to send us their message. I am not sure if that will work. I received this file just last night and was told it will work. Katja Mruck and Günter Mey can't be with us because they are giving a workshop on Grounded Theory Methodology in another place in Germany and the train connections do not allow them to be here, because we changed the conference schedule. So, I am really indebted to them. They made a video recording of their contribution and I don't think that I have to introduce them. Just remember the project they are pushing forward the *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, FQS, is very intriguing because it is actually connecting worlds if you are looking at those who are reading these articles, which are online. They are being distributed in the German speaking world, not only in the Anglos-Saxon academia, but also in the Spanish speaking world. There is a kind of growing network, a virtual and a social network, which is playing a very important role in the establishment of Qualitative Research. So, I would like to give them the chance to address their topics. So, please listen to them. It's maybe a kind of a propaganda video [– *laughter from the audience* –].

Image 2. Katja Mruck and Günter Mey.

Video: Statement by Katja Mruck and Günter Mey, FQS

[The video can be accessed at: http://www.qualitative-forschung.de/FQS/FQS.]

— *Mruck*: Hi, I'm Katja.

— *Mey*: And I am Günter. And, we, together with many others, are FQS (http://www.qualitative-research.net).

— *Mruck*: And, first of all, thanks to Bernt for inviting us.

— *Mey*: And, we hope that you are all having a wonderful time tonight.

— *Mruck*: OK, we need to be quick. Five to seven minutes is really challenging. Let's try to respond to two questions. So, the first one, my dear Günter, is: How can we improve cooperation in the field of Qualitative Research?

— *Mey*: I think most crucial is the kind of shared identity as Qualitative Researchers, and for this we would need shared places, virtually and in real life. These places should be open for all Qualitative Methods, not only what seems to be qualitative mainstream, but also exotics. And, it should help to bring together researchers from different disciplines and different countries. This would support to see what happens beyond my own perspective and would help to find new ways of thinking and researching.

— *Mruck*: This, exactly, has been our main idea for starting FQS; and, after working on FQS for more than ten years, we know how difficult it is to fulfill such claims. We were interested in making visible the rich stock of knowledge in different disciplines, but making things visible is just one step. Knowledge is used, but exchange not really takes place. For example, the possibility to comment on articles has only been used four or five times, although, we published more than 1.300 articles since 2000 and do have more than 13.000 readers currently. We were interested in making the stock of knowledge available to colleagues all over the world, but we still have the language problem: with an enormous effort we build up resources for review and copy editing on a voluntary base in German, English and Spanish – César knows what I am talking about – and we do need English to communicate over national boundaries. Every year, I do have a mail exchange with Norman Denzin, for example, on how to share resources instead of continuously building up new ones. Instead, we receive invitations to link to someone's site as a collaborating site. But, what we would need in my opinion is a truly shared building and maintaining of infrastructure instead of another next international or European institute.

— *Mey*: This, nevertheless means, that we have to continue, because we already see an increasing number of submissions from all over the world. The increasing relevance of Qualitative Research in different research fields and sub-disciplinary areas and the increasing relevance of selected research styles and methods, and FQS helps to bring forward some of them. This is obvious for discourse analysis.

— *Mruck*: And, for sure, it is not sufficient to have just separated resources. This, in a way, touches the second questions: How can we improve the relations of European Qualitative Research with Qualitative Research in other world regions?

— *Mey*: One important step might be to provide access to all open access journals from one starting point. Think of FQS…

— *Mruck*: The *Qualitative Sociological Review* (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/).

— *Mey*: *The Qualitative Report* (http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/) and the *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* (http://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/IJQM/), to mention just some of them. And, additionally shared data bases for review and copy-editing … And, maybe in the future one or the other might be interested in your "merge them all" – idea.

— *Mruck*: Yes, I would indeed love to bring together as many relevant actors as possible. Who knows – one day FQS and the *Qualitative Sociology Review* might merge and invite the American friends to join our efforts in the next step. And, for sure, we do not only need shared web resources like open access journals, but also real places to meet, discuss and build up shared identities across disciplinary areas, inspiring each other. We both are quali-

tative psychologists talking to qualitative sociologists currently.

— *Mey*: Indeed, that it is possible to bring together very different actors is one lesson learned from the "Berlin Meeting on Qualitative Research Methods" (Berliner Methodentreffen Qualitative Forschung, http://www.berliner-methodentreffen.de) we are celebrating annually since 2005. Many important representatives of Qualitative Methods in German-speaking countries and from different disciplines, working on data and their methods, together with 400 participants. Two days of Qualitative Research at its best, as we do know from the evaluation.

— *Mruck*: So, those interested in building up shared online infrastructures might also start to think about expanding such a German meeting and similar meetings already existing to a European meeting.

— *Mey:* Time is over, unfortunately, so these have been just a few ideas and maybe we will meet others interested next time in real life.

— *Mruck*: And, we do wish you all wonderful discussions and inspiring insights! Bye, bye.

— *Visual citation*: "If you have an apple and I have an apple and we exchange these apples then you and I will still have one apple. But, if you have an idea and I have an idea and we exchange these ideas, then each of us will have two ideas" (George Bernard Shaw).

— Schnettler: So, thank you very much. There will be more than apples afterwards [– *laugh-*

ter from the audience –]. But, as you have seen, there is one thing we have forgotten. That is the importance of technology. I will promise to put this on the net, so you can watch the video without these technical problems.

— *Silverman*: Can you also promise to remove the background music? [– *laughter from the audience* –].

— Schnettler: I suppose I'm not allowed to do that [– *some laughter from the audience* –]. So, I think we shouldn't go on discussing. So, please Krzysztof Konecki, give us your last words to this conference before we have dinner together.

— *Konecki*: OK, we are approaching the end of the conference and I am very happy that it is almost finished [– *laughter from the audience* –]. I would like to thank all participants for coming here and also for joining our discussions. I think that the future prospects of Qualitative Methodology are bright, even if the quality is bad [– *laughter from the audience* –]. But, we discuss this quality. Seriously, I really think in Grounded Theory it is improving [– *laughter from the audience* –]. We have discourse analysis, as well as conversation analysis or Grounded Theory that is better than before. And, I would like to add something else about the conference: I think that we should come back to the title of the conference, to discuss the connections with the substance of research and variants. Many words were said about crossing the boundaries and connecting different disciplines. I think that such a term like "Quali-

tative Social Sciences" could be used to cover geographic Qualitative Research, pedagogical, and in economy, in management. And, I think that this is the term that could cover and give the input to a strong development of Qualitative Methods in the future for all the different disciplines. And, we can have discussions between different disciplines and look for the specificity of using the methods, in sociology, or in psychology, and maybe we can find something inspiring for each discipline. And, what emerged during this discussion, I think the problem of quality of Qualitative Research, it was not the problem of our conference, but I think it is an important issue for all of us and of how to evaluate PhD Theses. I could ask then: who does evaluate PhD Theses if we do not have criteria to evaluate? We professors – we know what is done now or not. But, probably that is not enough to get credibility from the students. My own experience is that it is sometimes difficult to explain to students why this is not a good qualitative report because we

are not always aware of our own criteria. Here, we have to work on. This was my last sentence about the discussion, topics, substantive things. Thank you, Bernt, and thanks to your team [– *audience applauds* –]. You did a marvelous job and we all enjoyed it a lot. Not only these exciting discussions, but also the evenings. Thank you very much. I would also like to thank the invited speakers, the organizers of the thematic sessions and to the plenary speakers. You did a great job, a lot of work. We are tired, but we are happy. And, I close the meeting [*president rings Norwegian bell*].

— *Schnettler*: Thank you for coming [– *audience applauds* –]. We really enjoyed it and I have to say it again: It had been a brilliant team behind the scenes. More than eight people were working on this, so thanks to them [– *audience applauds frenetically* –].

QSR

For all sociologists for whom interpretative paradigm and qualitative research methodology are basic perspectives of studying social reality. In order to enable a free flow of information and to integrate the community of qualitative sociologists.

E V E R Y W H E R E ~ E V E R Y T I M E

International Perspectives on the Future of Qualitative Research in Europe

Volume VIII ~ Issue 2

August 30, 2012