



# Zeitschrift für Diskursforschung

## Journal for Discourse Studies

Herausgegeben von Reiner Keller | Werner Schneider | Willy Viehöver

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Introduction to the thematic issue and programmatic thoughts on the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography

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A Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography

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»Welcome to paradise«. Methodological accentuations to the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography based on field notes from a refugees' shelter

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Discourse Ethnography on Migrant Other Teachers: Turn the Stigma into Capital!



Ferdinand Sutterlüty / Sabine Flick (Hrsg.)

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Manfred Liebel

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## Editorial

Sehr geehrte Leserinnen und Leser,

wahrscheinlich ist es wenig verwunderlich und insgesamt durchaus erfreulich, dass ein so breit aufgestelltes interdisziplinäres Feld wie die Diskursforschung zunehmend weitere Forschungsperspektiven ausdifferenziert. Wir freuen uns diesbezüglich, Ihnen mit dem vorliegenden nunmehr dritten Schwerpunktheft einen Diskussions- und Forschungszusammenhang vorstellen zu können, der sich selbst als Diskursethnographie, spezifischer auch als »Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie« versteht. Zunächst kann es verwundern, den Diskursbegriff in so enger Nachbarschaft zur Ethnographie zu sehen, gilt doch letztere als ein Eintauchen in bestehende Situationen, Organisationen, Gruppen und andere Kollektive. Die Ethnographie sozialer Milieus, von unbekannten und bekannten sozialen Zusammenhängen, kann auf eine jahrhundertealte Forschungstradition zurückblicken. Gemeinhin nimmt sie mit den konkreten Lebens- und Handlungsvollzügen Praxisfelder unterschiedlichster Art in den Blick, von denen manche traditionell diskursferner angelegt sind, wie etwa die Jugendgangs der Chicagoer Nachbarschaften, der deutsch-türkischen »Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund« in Köln, oder die Prostitution im Frankfurter Bahnhofsmilieu. Andere Forschungen konzentrieren sich auf organisatorische Settings, etwa die Pflege in Krankenhäusern und Altersheimen. Vergleichsweise diskursnäher erscheinen die labororientierten Arbeiten der Wissenschaftsethnographie – zumindest dann, wenn man in Rechnung stellt, dass hier Wissen für Diskurse produziert wird. Freilich zeigen die Beiträge im Folgenden, von unseren GastherausgeberInnen *Florian Elliker*, *Rixta Wundrak* und *Christoph Maeder* editierten Heft, dass die scheinbare Nähe oder Ferne der Ethnographie zu Fragen und Feldern der Diskursforschung eher von der Justierung des Blickes abhängt, also von der Qualität der Gegenstände selbst. So leiten sie uns an, Diskurse da aufzuspüren, wo sie bislang nicht zu sehen waren. In den vergangenen Jahren haben einige wenige diskursethnographische Arbeiten auf unterschiedlicher theoretischer und methodologischer Grundlage bereits tastende Schritte und Erkundungen in dieser Richtung vorgenommen. Die nachfolgenden Beiträge stellen nun in theoretisch-konzeptionell prägnanter Weise verschiedene Vorschläge zur Ethnographie der Diskurse vor, die unterschiedliche Fragestellungen verfolgen und dabei insgesamt an Fragen des Wissens und seiner Bedeutung in Situationen interessiert sind. Das wird in der nachfolgenden Einleitung unserer GastherausgeberInnen im Hinblick auf die einzelnen Beiträge von *Florian Elliker*, *Rixta Wundrak*, *Christoph*

*Maeder* und *Yaliz Akbaba* ausführlich erläutert und verortet, und muss deswegen an dieser Stelle nicht vorweggenommen werden.

Wir wünschen Ihnen viel Freude und zahlreiche Anregungen beim Lesen,

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## Introduction to the thematic issue and programmatic thoughts on the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography

This thematic issue provides an introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography (SKADE).<sup>1</sup> SKADE emphasizes the relevance and analytical value of an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis. It is situated within the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis (SKAD), an approach primarily based on the work of Reiner Keller (1997, 2011a, 2011b, 2013). The SKAD paradigm has pursued two major objectives: (1) to link discourse theory to qualitative methodologies; and (2) to re-introduce a perspective that is concerned with wider societal structures into an interpretive research tradition that tends to empirically focus on the study of micro-settings (ibid., S.62). As a relatively recent methodological programme, SKADE aims at integrating the conceptual framework of SKAD with elements of ethnographic research strategies. This encompasses, among other issues, methodological implications for conceiving the study of discourses in ethnographic ways, practical ethnographic methods of data collection and analysis, and an ethnographic approach to delineating the research fields in which discourses are to be identified and analysed.

While the combination of ethnography and discourse analysis has been discussed in various forms, the suggestions put forward in this issue build on the previous and ongoing work of the contributors and editors that is – broadly speaking – situated within a qualitative and interpretive social science tradition of discourse analysis. Research talks in St Gallen (2016),<sup>2</sup> Cracow (2016),<sup>3</sup> and Augsburg (2017)<sup>4</sup> initiated the development of a programmatic framework – SKADE – suited to conceptualizing and articulating the shared aim of studying discourses in contexts of lived experience and interaction. The articles in this issue, each based on different projects and methodological variations, can be regarded as an initial contribution towards outlining a SKADE programme.

- 1 The German acronym for SKADE is WDE and stands for *Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie*.
- 2 Conference on discourse ethnography organized at the Research Institute of Sociology in St Gallen, Switzerland, 4–5 April 2016.
- 3 ESA RN20 Qualitative Methods Midterm Conference, European Sociological Association, Cracow, Poland, 1–3 September 2016.
- 4 Conference: Die diskursive Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit III. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven einer wissenssoziologischen Diskursforschung. Stream 1: Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie. Augsburg, Germany, 23–24 March 2017.

As with most ethnographic work, SKADE pursues an object-oriented strategy when it comes to determining a specific research strategy for a given project. Thus, the SKADE programme is open to different methodological procedures and may entail a plurality of different data. Continuing the tradition of SKAD, it furthermore engages with analytical and theoretical questions articulated in the work of Michel Foucault and translates these into an interpretive theoretical framework. Both of these concerns warrant explicit reflection on how different methods and types of data (triangulation), as well as theoretical schools within the interpretative paradigm, are combined. Such a combination, however, goes beyond ›adding‹ a method to the study of discourses; rather, it entails the necessity of discussing the underlying theoretical premises of the ethnographic approaches and discourse-analytical perspectives – a discussion that is informed at once by theoretical reflections and empirical research practice. The articles in this issue aim at fostering such a discussion, putting forward different theoretical assumptions for a programme of SKADE as well as suggesting new emphases for discourse-ethnographic studies.

If analysing discourses is understood very broadly as studying »patterns in the structure and functioning of language, and in the constitution and communication of meaning as it unfolds and becomes manifest in specific contexts« (Rau/Elliker/Coetzee forthcoming), then various research strategies can be identified that pursue an ethnographic approach to studying discourses. Established discourse-analytical approaches suggest using ethnographic methods as exploratory fieldwork in addition to the more conventional type of data (Wodak/Meyer 2001). Other approaches include linguistic ethnographies (Creese 2008; Blommaert 2006; Rampton et al. 2004; Tusting/Maybin 2007; van Praet 2010), socio-linguistic ethnographies of communication (Gumperz/Dell 1972), and studies that use classic ethnographic methods to analyse the use of language (see Jewitt 2009) – for instance in classrooms (Kress et al. 2004), or studies that address situated writing practices (Smart 2006; Swales 1998).

For many of these approaches, ethnography could rather be described as a useful tool with which to analyse »language in use« or »text in context«, but not as an integral part of the analytical and theoretical framework. Studies that aim to explicitly bring together both ethnographic research traditions and discourse perspectives (Smart 2008; Macgilchrist/van Hout 2011) have focussed on the political and legal domain, e.g. courtrooms (Michaeler et al. 2010); on biographical research, e.g. experiences and ascriptions of racism (Ransiek 2016); and on pedagogical practices (Langer 2008; Lin 2008; Ott 2011; Reh/Breuer/Schütz 2011), the latter broadly situated in a poststructuralist tradition (Fegter et al. 2015). Yet another methodological elaboration in which discourse and ethnography are combined is called *dispositif analysis* (see e.g. Lippert 2014).<sup>5</sup> Due to the various epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary traditions, these approaches vary considerably in how they conceive the relationship between discourse (and the notion of discourse itself) on the one hand, and ethnographic research strategies on the other (for discussions on the relationship between discourse (analysis) and ethnography, see e.g. Hammersley 2005; Keller 2007; Lima 2010; Ott/Langer/Rabenstein 2012).

5 See e.g. Jäckle (2011). For a critical discussion, cf. Keller (2007, 2016).

While partially building on these approaches, the contributors of this issue situate the research problems, concepts, and phenomena in question within a sociology of knowledge approach in a phenomenological tradition (see for a recent discussion on the relationship between phenomenology and sociology Eberle 2016). The following subsections in this introduction follow this contextualization. Section 1 introduces SKAD, establishing the basic notion of discourse and its theoretical underpinnings. Section 2 serves to bring ethnography and SKAD together by outlining some of the central epistemological premises and concepts. Both sections aim at programmatically outlining SKADE, demonstrating where such an approach differs from the aforementioned discourse-ethnographic strategies. In section 3, some of the main sensitizing concepts are introduced that the contributions in this issue regard as pivotal to SKADE. Finally, section 4 provides a brief overview over these contributions.

## 1 The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)

The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) (Keller 1997, 2011a, 2011b, 2013) departs from and incorporates the work of Michel Foucault (1974a, 1988, 1974b, 1978, 1991b, 1991a) and integrates his work into the sociology of knowledge in the tradition shaped by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's »Social Construction of Reality« (1966).

SKAD conceives discourses as both social power structures and structuring practices (Keller 2013). Situated within the interpretive paradigm and the qualitative research tradition, the approach has been developed to broaden the focus of qualitative research to include wider societal structures of knowledge – situated in a research environment in which, particularly within the German interpretive sociologies, empirical qualitative studies have predominantly practised micro-analytical methods, studying small life-worlds (e.g., Honer 1993) and scenes (e.g., Hitzler/Pfadenhauer 1998; for an overview, see Hitzler/Honer 1997). Empirical research in the SKAD tradition has particularly focused on studying and analysing discourses as they appear in and structure social domains that are considered of wider societal significance, such as the political field, the legal system, state bureaucracies, the mass media, the education system, large organizations of any kind, etc. Within this context of a concern with the macro-level, studying and analysing discourses ethnographically reintroduces the micro- and meso-level of analysis and thus constitutes to some extent a »return to the local«.

## 2 The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography (SKADE)

As Keller has suggested, there are several ways of relating SKAD with ethnographic research strategies (Keller 2003, 2011b, S.260ff), conceiving this relationship and research approach as »ethnography of dispositifs«, i.e. a »focused discourse ethnography« that is



primarily aimed at analysing dispositifs (Keller 2007; Keller 2016). Dispositifs are understood in the Foucauldian tradition as infrastructure aimed at solving specific action problems (ibid.). Keller suggests distinguishing between dispositifs of discourse production and dispositifs of discourse-related interventions in the world. The contributions in this issue depart from this focus on the infrastructural underpinnings of discourses and its implication, namely that discourse-related construction of reality cannot be explained by discourses alone.

While not specifically employing the notion of dispositif, SKADE as put forward – in differing ways – in this issue rests on central tenets of a phenomenological sociology of knowledge in the tradition of Alfred Schütz (1967), Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989), and Berger and Luckmann (1966). This scholarly tradition is particularly well suited as an epistemological and theoretical framework for discourse analysis as well as ethnography, as its conceptual apparatus is differentiated enough to consider and integrate phenomena of concern to both strands of research: (1) situated action and experience, actors, and cultural knowledge; and (2) larger sign- and language-based meaning contexts and (more or less obdurate) structures. In the following, we will highlight a few of these conceptualizations that are central to what we understand SKADE to be.

The »social« dimension of reality (or »sociality«) is established in two ways. On the one hand, it is established through the situated production of intersubjectivity – a process that is fleeting and evanescent and depends on the effort that the actors put into sustaining it. On the other hand, the knowledge that the actors use is socially derived, i.a. the action plans they routinely and implicitly or consciously and explicitly form and employ are largely based on socially derived stocks of knowledge (implying a different notion of agency for human actors and objects; for a differentiated discussion, see Pöferl/Schroer 2015). Acting (*handeln*) derives its meaning from these action plans, or what Schütz calls »actions« (*Handlungen*) (Schütz 1967). The way an individual's stock of knowledge is structured depends on the various contexts, situations, and institutions in which this knowledge was constructed and is repeatedly applied. Knowledge, experience, and action are shaped by a large range of social structures that may form relatively independent contexts on their own. This resonates with Foucault's later work, as Keller (2011b, S.138) points out, highlighting the importance of distinguishing between »discourses from discourse-external practices or fields of practice and the study of the relations between the two«. Actors experience reality in individuated and partially individualized ways and develop a sense of agency and way of acting that may go beyond merely reproducing structures. Thus, the development and formation as well as the effects and reality construction of discourses are »mediated« by and happen in interplay with local contexts and actors that are at least partially autonomous and endowed with a sense of agency. Consequently, the social and discourse-related construction of reality is construed to be at once objectified and obdurate – through processes of institutionalization and legitimation – as well as processual and evanescent in its everyday production through actors (see Berger/Luckmann 1966).

Experience, knowledge, and action are fundamentally corporeal experiences and cannot be reduced to sign systems and language in particular, although the latter plays a cen-

tral role in structuring everyday reality. In the phenomenological sociology of knowledge tradition, meaning constitution is based on bodily experiences and perception, the typification of which is considered to be at least in part pre-linguistic (see for a discussion e.g. Eberle 1984, S.60ff.). Acting (*handeln*) and behaviour/behaving (*verhalten*) are both corporeal and embodied processes as well as processes based on sign systems and language; while de facto intertwined, they must not be reduced to one of these dimensions. Consequently, SKAD analytically distinguishes between acting that is predominantly discursive (i.e. sign- and language-based) and non-discursive acting that is primarily centred around bodily movements and experiences (Keller 2013, S.71). Both forms of acting – discursive and non-discursive – may be structured by and related to discourses (understood as large-scale meaning context and structures) or may be structured by relatively resilient other (local) contexts and structures. However, it would be wrong to imagine two entirely separate worlds – the one of discourses and the other of non-discourse-related realities. The distinction is an analytical one and poses methodological challenges (see Wundrak 2018). The contributions of this issue differ slightly with regard to how they treat this distinction. Yet, all of them consider the relationship between local context and discourse as an analytically valuable one, posing the question as to what extent actors, for example, can be conceived as acting in partially autonomous or resilient ways when engaging with, relating to, and being subjugated by discourses. Situated within an interpretative approach, SKADE aims to answer empirically not only how orders of knowledge shape situations and its practices, but also how orders of knowledge emerge and are constructed in everyday interaction. These and further methodological problems warrant further theoretical discussion and empirical work.

To summarize: SKADE reflects on the relationship between the local and discourses. Discourses do not exist in a discursive universe on their own; rather, their formation, reproduction, and transformation; their effects and ways of intervening in the world; and the ways they are constructed through local action and experience, must (also) be understood and analysed in relation to the relevant contexts of the everyday life-worlds of the actors that at once use and are subjected to discourses. This in turn implies a study of these life-worlds, the actors engaged in discourse use, and discourse in daily interaction. Discourses are not reduced to text-based (i.e. discursive) forms of realities, but manifest themselves and even emerge in bodily action and corporeal experience.

Ethnographic research strategies – with their focus on studying social reality based on »first-hand experience and exploration« (Atkinson et al. 2001, S.4) and their concern with »culture«, i.e. with reconstructing the explicit and implicit knowledge that underpins and shapes perceiving, experiencing, interpreting, and acting (see e.g. Spradley 1979; Frake 1980; Quinn/Holland 1987; Geertz 1973) – are particularly well suited to studying both the local structuring forces and contexts and the discourses with which local actions in these contexts are intertwined, focusing on actually lived, embodied experience and action. In other words, SKADE studies – through participant observation and interviewing – how discourses are implicated in constructing and transforming reality, and how these differently shaped bodies of knowledge come to shape action and experience either in conflicting or complementary ways.

Certainly, this juxtaposition of ethnography and discourse analysis should not imply that they each have not considered some of the other's main concerns: many strands of discourse analysis consider materiality, the spatial situatedness, the embodied nature of reality construction, and various ethnographic traditions consider (hegemonic) discourses to be part of the forces that structure their research field. However, within a qualitative social research tradition, there are hardly any approaches that consider both ethnographic and discourse-analytical sensibilities in equal ways. The following section discusses some of the main sensitizing concepts of SKADE.

### 3 Sensitizing concepts in discourse ethnography

The articles in this thematic issue on discourse ethnography cover a range of common topics, each of which they consider in different ways. In the following section, we introduce some of the major sensitizing concepts that guide discourse-ethnographic research according to the programme of SKADE.

*a. Social actions/practices:* Practices, as outlined above, constitute a central interest of discourse ethnography that aims at going beyond the analysis of documents (understood as ›naturally occurring‹ artefacts) by analysing discourses based on data that has been collected through participant observation and interviewing. In a sociology of knowledge perspective, practices are understood as temporally and spatially situated social actions that are embedded in processes of meaning construction and constitution. In this tradition – going back to Weber (1978) and Schütz (1967) – acting has always been conceived to be embodied and material, and to entail ›inner‹ experiences as well as social action directed towards the environment and other actors (see for critical discussion of practices and how they relate to meaning, Reichertz 2016). Although in many cases the distinction is an analytical one, discourses may be reproduced both in so-called discursive and non-discursive ways (i.e. through communicative action and embodied action) and may inform the actors' perception by constituting introjected constraints.

*b. Micro-macro-linkage and local settings:* Such practices are often not only structured by discourses, but by other systems of relevance whose structuring effect is shaped by other social structures and forces (Elliker 2016; Elliker/Coetzee/Kotze 2013). While such structures may be located on the macro- or micro-level of analysis, discourse ethnographies often focus on the meso-level of analysis, i.e. on *local contexts* understood as bounded and spatially situated interaction scenes that may be embedded in specific group cultures or cultures of organizations or institutions. In this regard, Rixta Wundrak suggests engaging with the Foucauldian notion of »heterotopia« to analyse how local social settings and life-worlds are bounded (with a particular focus on the processes of social closure), how they are self-organized, and how they reproduce and contest at the same time relations and structures of the ›outside world‹, i.e. the larger social settings in which they are embedded.

Thus, as Florian Elliker highlights, discourse ethnographies need to entail careful consideration of how small local settings are chosen to analyse discourses that are understood as large-scale structures. He distinguishes between two principle purposes of a discourse ethnography: (1) analysing how a specific setting is structured by (a broad range of) discourses; and (2) analysing a specific discourse through a study of several small settings. In a radical situational perspective, even meso-level action appears as something »external« to the situation. Hence, discourse ethnographies need to develop a conceptual grasp of the local setting they are studying (among many other options, the articles in this issue use the notion of heterotopias, institutions, and group cultures). The distinction between a local context and discourses is a particular strength of a discourse-ethnographic approach, as it allows us to analyse how discourses are negotiated in the everyday life-worlds, to study the agency of actors (i.e. how actors are affected by discourses or remain resilient to them), and to investigate how discourses are interwoven with local practices.

*c. Discourse effects:* SKADE aims to show how discourses produce *specific* effects and social outcomes, as Yalız Akbaba and Rixta Wundrak demonstrate in their contributions to this issue – effects that could hardly be shown by using only »naturally« occurring documents as data, such as official administrative documentation. While Akbaba shows, based on a previous discourse-analytical study, how two different migration-related discourses lead to contradictory and ambivalent situations in the daily life of migrant teachers (and how these teachers actively deal with them), Wundrak analyses how her ethnographic experience sensitized her to how the imagery evoked by the refugees – embedded in the immediate context of a refugee shelter – related to (and contradicted) the dominant migration-related discourse, and how other social dynamics (not directly related to migration discourses) shaped interaction in the shelter. As Elliker highlights in his more conceptual article, studying such local settings in detail allows us to analyse what type of social forces lead to what type of specific social outcomes.

*d. Reflecting and selecting ethnographic experiences:* There is a broad range of contemporary ethnographic approaches, among many others the Chicago School, dramaturgical sociology, and cognitive anthropology, but also subjectivist and hyperrealist auto-ethnographies. They vary considerably, a possible common denominator being that ethnographic research consists of the construction of a field in which data are produced through participant observation (including audio and video recording). What type of knowledge an ethnographic research approach is able to produce and how this knowledge relates to the reality under study is a matter of contested discussion (see for an overview Adler/Adler 2008). Many of the contemporary ethnographies are not only aware that the researcher plays a central part in how they relate to the actors in the field, but use subjectivity as an epistemological source. As Wundrak and Akbaba discuss in their articles, reflexivity regarding the research process and the position of the researcher could play an important part in discourse ethnography. Both focus on the subjectivity of the researcher, and demonstrate how the reciprocal relationship of insights won by conventional discourse-analytical studies and the researcher's own ethnographic account reveals

further insights into how discourses operate in local settings and how they structure relations between the actors. They also demonstrate how other local systems of relevance shape the relations of actors in the field. Wundrak thus suggests that discourse ethnographies draw on the traditions of auto-ethnography to engage in such a reflexivity, using it as an integral part of data collection. In order to do that, discourse ethnographers can ask themselves how specific utterances came up in communicative interaction and how they are manifested in the researcher's protocol. In terms of sampling, Elliker suggests – drawing on Randall Collins' notion of the film still – that a discourse ethnography needs to reflect specifically on how local settings are sampled. This depends on the basic analytical purpose of discourse ethnography: to understand a local setting in its entire complexity and how this setting is structured by discourses, or to mainly reconstruct how a specific discourse is manifest in different settings. Depending on the analytical purpose, a different set of ›film stills‹ need to be chosen, demonstrating how they represent a particular ›film‹. In any case, a discourse ethnography will have to rely additionally on data other than ethnographic data. A particular strength of discourse ethnography is that it allows us to trace both how different local settings are linked by discourses (thus constituting a higher degree of complexity in terms of social organization) and what type of discourse-related sources are employed in everyday action.

*e. Data pluralism and »methodological constructivism«:* Overall, the authors of this issue maintain a stance towards the use of plural data material, and underline the importance of triangulation. In the authors' view, triangulation is not a progressive and self-triggering validation of a predetermined object, under the assumption that more perspectives on one object or one case give a more realistic picture of the whole. It is not a deepening or consolidation of hypotheses about an object. What a researcher does in the field when participating, observing, and writing field notes is actually the process of continuously constructing (research) objects. Wundrak calls this approach »methodological constructivism« (Wundrak 2012). According to the theoretical background of the sociology of knowledge, this should be understood as a social construction of research objects (Berger/Luckmann 1966). She suggests seeing the discourse-ethnographic process of collecting and analysing data as a »montage«, acknowledging the processual nature of both the way discourses take on specific forms in any given social setting and the practice of ethnographic research. In a SKADE context, to conceive discourse ethnography as a montage means to do discourse analysis in a case-reconstructive manner and to produce a »tale of the field« (van Maanen 1988). A montage results in a sociological story that is based on the actions and experiences of all involved individuals, including the researcher, and uses a plurality of data and cultural expressions. Furthermore, as one of the purposes of an ethnographic report is to translate experiences in the field to the imagination of the reader, Wundrak demonstrates how visual data may help to achieve this while at the same time expanding the researcher's reflective space, allowing them to better understand social relations and the associated meanings in the field.

*f. Truth/reality, power/structure:* As Christoph Maeder argues in his contribution, one of the core concerns of discourse analysis is how (mediated through organization and discipline in a given society) truths are established, and how these truths are implied in constituting options for action with regard to the individuals who are affected by these discourses. The notion of ›truth‹ is an initial focus that complements both a sociology of knowledge approach in the tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1966) and the various traditions of ethnography that have been more concerned with the broader notion of reality construction (part of which is often the production of truth[s]).

As the authors in this issue submit, the ethnographers themselves are usually in a privileged position (situated within academia) to be ›writing‹ the truth; any discourse ethnographer must thus engage in two reflections. First, what type of truth they are able to produce, which in turns depends on the epistemological framework underpinning the research endeavour. For example, while Elliker submits that ethnography may register objectifying processes and relatively obdurate realities in reflective and non-naïve realist ways (the possibility of which depends on the specific empirical research field), Akbaba and Wundrak focus on the situatedness of reality production and how the researcher is engaged in it. The strength of a sociology of knowledge approach consists of the fact that this is not conceived as contradictory: it conceives the social reality as being simultaneously objectified and obdurate, as well as being processual and evanescent. Second, the expectation that ethnographer is supposed to ›write the truth‹ positions them in specific ways in relation to the research participants. While this warrants empirical adjudications with regard to which strategies ethnographers employ to establish a rapport with the research participant, this speaks to the notion of power (and structure) – the second conceptual and empirical focus discourse analysis brings to a sociology of knowledge approach.

As Maeder argues, a SKADE research endeavour focuses on how truths are produced in spatially and temporally situated, manifest social actions – and how this production is underpinned by power. This power, however, also rests in the macro-structural dimension of discourses, i.e. in the higher degree of organizational complexity with which discourses connect a broad range of local settings. Power and structure thus form a connection that is to be examined in its local productive force and in the ways it connects various social settings. As Wundrak and Akbaba demonstrate based on their empirical research, discourse ethnographers are well positioned to observe, trace, reconstruct, and analyse how power and structure are implicated in the production of truths and realities. Both authors not only analyse how discourses structure relationships between actors and researchers in powerful ways. The objective of the analysis is also to understand how power dynamics and discourses – thus, meanings of truth – are constructed interactively. To what extent can actors ›resist‹ discourses, and to what extent are they subjugated by them? Where is power lodged? What other powerful processes of truth production are embedded in local contexts? How do they negotiate ›demands‹ of different, conflicting discourses or ›truths‹ *in situ*?



## 4 The articles in this issue

Elliker's contribution aims at demonstrating how a sociology of knowledge approach can be employed as an epistemological and theoretical framework to join discourse analysis and ethnographic research strategies, contributing to SKADE. The conceptual reflections centre around the relationship between the micro- and macro-level of analysis, based on the notion that the theoretical infrastructures of micro- and macro-sociological approaches, as well as the empirical manifestations of processes and structures on all levels, mutually depend on each other. The SKADE approach, Elliker suggests, provides a framework to conceptualize and analyse these linkages. He first engages with the notion that there is no external context to situated, local action – a notion that has been put forward in recent developments in Grounded Theory, similar to how context is conceived of in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. These notions of contexts, however, are premised on a focus on those senses that register impressions from outside any given actor's body, particularly (but not only) the visual, auditory, and tactile senses, thus restricting social situations sensorily to what the actors perceive is happening outside themselves. By considering ›inner experience‹ and ›meaning contexts‹ (*Sinnzusammenhänge*), Elliker demonstrates that elements do not necessarily need to be externalized to be relevant to interaction, and that the externality of constraints that operate in any given situation is to be located on the ›meaning level‹: it is in the form of meaning connections that actors may both establish trans-situational links and contextualize their activities to be part of something external. External contexts of interaction situations operate through constraining the comprehension of actors as ›introjected constraints‹ (Fine 1991).

In a similar vein, as external contexts are relevant to an analysis that focuses on local action (as ethnographic research often does), local micro-settings are relevant when macro-level phenomena are analysed (as discourse research often does). Engaging with a recent reconceptualization of a macro-analytical perspective, Elliker argues that micro-settings do not simply reproduce macro-level structures. Instead, they are centrally implicated in shaping *how* macro-level processes produce specific social outcomes. Local settings, importantly, may constitute contexts that are relatively resilient in the face of macro-level forces. This warrants a study of macro-level processes through the lens of local action, enabling any analysis to attribute specific social outcomes to one or several macro- *and* meso- or micro-level processes. SKADE, as Elliker suggests, is ideally suited to integrating both analytical concerns. Discourses, conceived as macro-level forces, are analysed in how they structure situated action conjointly with other social forces on the macro-, meso-, and micro-level. Local settings may constitute a relatively autonomous layer of practice: individuals' actions are shaped by knowledge that is structured by introjected constraints that it turn are linked to both local contexts and discourses.

From a situational perspective, i.e. seen and analysed from any given interaction setting, discourse-specific introjected constraints operate as external contexts, the externality of their constraining force situated on the meaning level. This does not reduce discourses to the meaning; rather, they are manifest in and reproduced through a more or

less large material(ized) infrastructure. A sociology of knowledge perspective, however, enables us to conceive the discourse-immanent ›structural connection‹ (that links the dispersed manifestations and articulations of discourses) as a meaning connection or meaning context, providing a consistent theoretical framework for the study of macro-level forces in local contexts. Elliker spells out the implications of this conceptualization for distinguishing discourses from local contexts (the methodological requirements for the ethnographic study of discourses), and distinguishes two principle analytical purposes of discourse ethnography.

Wundrak develops a methodological programme for SKADE. These methodological considerations are grounded in past ethnographic fieldwork as well as discourse analyses (in Romania and Israel), and are illustrated with her latest empirical work in a refugee shelter in Berlin. Assuming two roles in the field – as ethnographic researcher and as volunteer – Wundrak describes how the associated experiences entangled her in a range of associations that went beyond the dominant discursive frame at the time in Germany, enabled by investigating discourses as practices in local settings. While the latter of the discursive frames – the so-called »welcome culture« – did indeed appear as relevant, the multi-faceted statement »welcome to paradise« expressed by one of the local actors refers not only to the relative safety of a shelter, but in an ironic way also to the hopelessness and suffering of the refugees living in the shelter. Wundrak's methodological programme suggests ways in which researchers can analytically and reflectively deal with the associations evoked by such encounters within local settings, and how these observations can be conceptualized.

Drawing on existing literature on methodology, Wundrak introduces three emphases underpinned by the idea of data pluralism and triangulation: (1) the use of visual data as part of what she calls »montage«; (2) Foucault's notion of heterotopias; and (3) the use of auto-ethnography in discourse research. Extending Kalthoff's (2010) notion of »collage«, she uses the term »montage« to refer to the processuality of the ethnographic experience as well as the forming and shaping of discourses. The actions and performances of all individuals involved as well as the researcher's observations and associations, are part of the sociological story as montage.

Wundrak demonstrates how the researcher's visual imagination may be fruitfully included in such a montage, both by providing a reflective space to analyse cultural meanings and by offering the reader a visual imagining of the ethnographic experience. The concept of heterotopia refers to the space in which discourses become empirically manifest and are ethnographically investigated – notably the boundaries of these small life-worlds, the specific self-organization of such spaces, and the specific ways in which heterotopias are meaningful to the »outside« world. As real places (in contrast to utopias), heterotopias are »other places« that »simultaneously represent, contest, and invert« the larger social space in which they are embedded. Critically engaging with her own field notes, Wundrak suggests that drawing on the notion of »auto-ethnography« allows us to analytically leverage the differences between the researcher's view and the world under study, and calls for an examination of the researcher's irritations in their relationship to



the world. She conceives discourse ethnography as a discourse analysis in which reflection should be central. Reflection and subjectivity are primary epistemological sources of new findings and valuable insights.

In his conceptual article, Maeder thematizes the relationship between power, truth, and reality, and discusses how a sociology of knowledge conception of discourse analysis provides an epistemological framework that is well suited to the study of discourses ethnographically. Referring to the work of Michel Foucault, Maeder sees discourses as arrangements of knowledge and practice that produce and distribute truth(s) in powerful ways. Individuals are formed, produced, and distributed as *subjects* and are, through manifold techniques and practices, continuously disciplined. While subjects may partially use this productive power for their purposes, the effect of maintaining certain truth(s) rests in the structure of how things are arranged. Referring to the work of Keller, he argues that this notion of discourse provides a conceptual extension of the »post-Mannheim« sociology of knowledge in the tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1966) in terms of power and macro-structures. SKAD thus provides a conceptual focus on how power and discipline are generated and maintained in everyday life and science, and – complementing the notion of symbolic universes and institutions – thematizes the macro-structural dimensions of reality construction. In this perspective, however, the notion of *truth* is part of the more broadly understood construction of *reality*.

This corresponds to how truth (and power) have been thematized and relativized in ethnographic research. Truth is seen in relation to the cultural, social, and spatial location, and rather conceived as (*emic*) *perspective*, *cultural theme*, *webs of meaning*, or *cultural model*. Similarly, power is usually only one among many sociological categories that ethnographies employ to study the production of truth(s) and realities. Many of the ethnographic traditions (such as the Chicago School, dramaturgical sociology, and cognitive anthropology, but also subjectivist and hyperrealist auto-ethnographies) are more concerned with studying the production of reality in interaction and organization and less with power and truth (as is research in the tradition of symbolic interactionism). Discourse research, with its focus on power and truth, can thus fruitfully be combined with an ethnographic observation of practices, as the latter will time and again be confronted with the production and distribution of truth or »partial truths«. Maeder thus suggests speaking of SKADE in those cases where ethnographic methods are used to study how, within normative contexts, truth(s) and rules are enforced as situationally manifest principles of order and structure, i.e. to study the discursive practices of truth production. In a SKADE perspective, however, such discursively established truths are partially limited in their power through partially resistant actors and local contexts.

In her contribution, Yalız Akbaba demonstrates how mutually relating a discourse-analytical approach and an ethnographic research strategy produces additional analytical insights by providing a theoretical and empirical framework that leaves more space for the reflexivity of the researcher. The argument is based on her empirical study of migrant teachers in Germany (Akbaba 2014, 2015, 2017). In that study, Akbaba empirically re-

constructs two migration-related discourses: an integration discourse and a utility discourse. The former presents migrants with two types of opposing messages: while demanding assimilation, it constructs them as remaining incommensurably different, and while highlighting the economic and demographic necessity of immigration, it construes it also as a threat. Within the latter (the utility discourse), migrant teachers appear as instrumental and useful to the integration process of minority pupils. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in classrooms, Akbaba is able to demonstrate *how* these two discourses are related to each other in the everyday practices of the teachers. Instead of assuming specific discourse effects based on textual analyses, the ethnographic work shows how teachers deal with the different discourse frameworks and their everyday implications in situated (communicative) action. Based on this combined approach, Akbaba develops the notion of »double-binding ethnicity« to describe the contradictory effects of migration-related discourses in the lives of migrant teachers.

Conceiving discourses from a SKAD perspective, Akbaba argues that the notion of »practice« constitutes the »common ground« for ethnographic research and discourse analysis. Drawing on a similar distinction put forward by Keller (2011b) between discourses and a relatively independent practice context, a practice approach calls for a detailed analysis of how practices and discourses relate to each other – an endeavour, Akbaba argues, for which ethnography is well suited. She does, however, critically engage with what she calls a »positivist« or »realist« legacy of ethnographic research, which she sees as prone to »naturalist« or overly objectifying assumptions, arguing that the strength of ethnographic research lies less in demonstrating some »objective« reality than in the degree of complexity with which local settings can be studied and analysed. At the same time, she demonstrates how her own ethnographic accounts were first structured by the conventional insights of migration discourse analyses, implying a neglect of other categories of analysis, e.g. how power and gender structure classroom interactions. Using data from her own study, she demonstrates how the reciprocal relating of ethnographic data and insights from a discourse-analytical approach (Akbaba/Bräu/Zimmer 2013) enlarged the room for the researcher's methodological and theoretical reflexivity and fostered the development of the concept of »double-binding ethnicity«.

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## A Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography

**Zusammenfassung:** Dieser Beitrag geht in drei Schritten der Frage nach, wie die Untersuchung lokaler Settings für die Analyse von Prozessen und Strukturen auf der sogenannten Makroebene fruchtbar gemacht werden kann. Erstens wird aus der Perspektive einer (radikalen) Situationsorientierung gezeigt, dass Interaktionen *auch* durch *externe* Bedingungen strukturiert werden (auf der Bedeutungs- und Sinnebene) und dass zweitens Mikrosettings auf eigenständige Art und Weise die konkreten Auswirkungen makrostruktureller Prozesse mitbestimmen. Drittens wird gezeigt, wie die theoretische Rahmung der wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie (WDE) es erlaubt, Diskurse gleichzeitig als situative *und* externe Bedeutungskontexte lokalen Handelns zu konzeptualisieren. Der Aufsatz stellt verschiedene Analysezwecke einer WDE vor.

**Schlagwörter:** Diskursanalyse, Diskursforschung, Analyseebenen, Situationsanalyse, Ethnographie, lokaler Kontext, wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse, Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography

**Summary:** In this conceptual paper, I discuss in three stages how the study of local settings can contribute to an investigation of phenomena and processes on the so-called macro-level of analysis. I first argue, from a (radical) situational perspective, that the *externality* of any interaction constraints is established through meaning contexts and that – secondly – micro-settings are centrally implicated in shaping *how* macro-level processes produce *specific* social outcomes. Thirdly, I introduce the different analytical purposes of a Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography (SKADE), whose theoretical framework makes it possible to conceive of discourses as both situational *and* external meaning contexts of local action.

**Keywords:** discourse analysis, discourse research, levels of analysis, situational analysis, ethnography, local context

### 1 Introduction

Qualitative social research, and particularly sociological ethnography, has traditionally focused on studying local settings: organizations, scenes, group cultures, interaction, networks, etc. – social domains that would conventionally be considered as belonging to a micro- or meso-level of analysis. Seeing and studying the world through a local lens (Fine 2010) does not mean, however, that a more general perspective is necessarily neglected: research in this tradition may aim at contributing to a more nuanced understanding of how interaction on the micro-level is structured (e.g. research in the tradition of ethnomethodology or conversation analysis). Other strands of research implicitly or explicitly claim that the object of study stands *pars pro toto* for a larger phenomenon, process, condition or structure (e.g. much of the research in the grounded theory tradition). However, the empirical sensibilities developed in the corresponding networks of qualitative



research practitioners tend to focus on the local, raising the question of to what extent larger social structures remain conceptually and theoretically present.

In what follows, I aim at further developing a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse ethnography (SKADE), drawing on earlier work that dealt with distinguishing discourses from local contexts (Elliker/Coetzee/Kotze 2013). I depart from the notion that the theoretical infrastructures of micro- and macro-sociological approaches mutually depend on each other (Fine 1991) and suggest that the sociology of knowledge in the tradition of Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and Alfred Schütz<sup>1</sup> provides an adequate epistemological framework to theoretically integrate a macro-sociological outlook with a qualitative research strategy focused on local settings. I draw in particular on the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD; Keller 1997, 2011b), developed with the aim of reintroducing and strengthening the analytical concern with macro-level structure in a research environment shaped by the interpretive paradigm that has increasingly focused on local settings. Yet, as I further argue, it is precisely through an ethnographic in-depth study of local settings through which we gain a differentiated insight into how discourses as macro-level structures operate in everyday life. Such a perspective takes into account the potential resilience of local environments and the differing degrees of agency and autonomy of actors (a concern in Foucault's later work, see Keller 2011b), avoiding the overly generalizing assumption that everything is (structured by) discourse. Actors and local settings alike are shaped by multiple meso- and macro-level forces. An ethnographic, close encounter with everyday realities allows us to study which discourses and other social forces lead – in cooperation and competition – to certain ›social outcomes‹.

The argument that follows is based on a narrow focus on and close engagement with two recent contributions to the discussion on how micro- and macro-level forces are linked (Clarke 2005; Jepperson and Meyer 2011). Both inform my perspective on a discourse ethnographic approach and the corresponding methodological questions. Firstly, in section 2, I highlight that from the perspective of an observer participating in the everyday life of the actors under study, the latter's life-worlds are shaped by the participation in manifold interaction rituals (Collins 2004), some of them highly routinized and standardized, some of them spontaneous and less structured. In such interaction situations, however, the question arises as to how elements in the situation can be considered ›external‹, as elements that are relevant for interaction become manifest to the participants and are hence no longer external. Based on a notion put forward by Clarke (2005), I present an argument (developed more extensively in Elliker 2016) aimed at differentiating and developing the idea of how conditions, constraints, or structures can be considered to be simultaneously an element of a given interaction situation and yet external to it.

If, secondly, discourses are conceived as macro-level structures (Keller 2011b), the question arises as to the extent to which an analysis of local settings is warranted or needed. In section 3, I present a relatively recent (re)conceptualization of the reciprocal

1 See Schütz (1967), Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989), and Berger and Luckmann (1966).



links between multiple levels of analysis. Jepperson and Meyer (2011) argue that while all macro- and meso-level structures must eventually be reproduced by and hence be founded on individual action, causality does not need to be conceived on the micro-level. They argue, rather, that macro-level structures are reproduced due to a higher degree of complexity of social organization. The ›causal pathway‹ by which macro-level processes lead to macro-level social outcomes is a ›direct‹ link on the macro-level. A study of such pathways does not likely need to consider an analysis of the micro-instantiations, implying that macro-level forces are ›somehow‹ reproduced ›through‹ micro-level action. Departing from their conceptualization of these levels, I argue that such macro-level structures must manifest themselves *as* macro-level structures on the micro-level, partially drawing on the notion of »introjected constraints« (Fine 1991). By differentiating the concept of the micro-level, I argue that micro-settings are potentially resilient everyday infrastructures that are shaped by manifold macro- and meso-level forces, their effectiveness and power being negotiated on the micro-level. Local settings, thus, are not simply ›empty‹ vessels through which macro-level forces are reproduced, but are centrally implied in how these social forces are maintained and transformed, and how they lead to social outcomes.

In the fourth section, I argue that a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse ethnography allows us to theoretically resolve the aforementioned theoretical ambiguities in terms of how the macro-level is to be considered from a situational perspective and vice versa. A sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (Keller 2011b) conceives discourses as macro-level structures, grounded, however, in what is broadly referred to as the interpretive paradigm (Keller 2012) and situated within the phenomenological tradition of social-constructivist theorizing.<sup>2</sup> The fourth section starts by introducing the main epistemological framework of a phenomenological sociology of knowledge; I then discuss the corresponding approach to discourses, considering both the concerns of the macro-level and situational perspective. I further aim to demonstrate that a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse provides the necessary conceptual apparatus to enable a differentiated study of how discourses relate to local settings. This section concludes with a demonstration of how an ethnographic research strategy is particularly well suited to considering and studying these differentiated relations between discourses and local settings. Finally, the fifth and concluding section provides a summary of the strengths of studying discourses ethnographically – based on a sociology of knowledge approach – as well as a tentative outlook on the theoretical and methodological work to be done.

## 2 On the external contexts of social situations

In the context of her continuous efforts to further develop grounded theory, Clarke (Clarke 2005) suggests not using the notion of a ›context‹ of social actions anymore, and speaks instead of conditions – those aspects »we can bet with relative assuredness will re-

2 See Schütz (1967), Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989), and Berger and Luckmann (1966).

main basically stable, ›in place‹ and predictable for some time« (ibid., S.65). Anselm Strauss initially distinguished between a »broader structural context and a narrower and more immediate negotiation context« (ibid., S.66); later on, Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin distinguished »among causal, intervening, and contextual conditions« (ibid.). In the corresponding conditional matrices, these conditions are ordered in concentric circles or a spiral form, where one moves from the inner micro-level of interaction across several layers or movements on the spiral towards the outer regional, national, or international macro-level. These conditions form a layered context of the local production of action.

Adele Clarke suggests, firstly, not distinguishing among different types of conditions a priori in a fixed manner but rather observing empirically what distinctions are relevant from the actors' perspectives. Secondly, she questions the helpfulness of the notion of ›context‹:

»*The conditions of the situation are **in** the situation.* There is no such thing as ›context‹. The conditional elements of the situation need to be specified in the analysis of the situation itself as *they are constitutive of it*, not merely surrounding it or framing it or contributing to it. *They are it.*« (Clarke 2005, S.71)

The fundamental question must hence be: »*How do these conditions appear – make themselves felt as consequential – inside the empirical situation under examination?*« [emphasis in the original] (ibid., S.72). Conditions that are manifest as elements in a given situation may not only influence and affect other elements present in that situation, i.e. be »mutually consequential«, but anything present may play a part in constituting everything else in that situation. Clarke (2005, S.73) suggests a range of elements that may be potentially relevant for action in a given situation, *inter alia* sociocultural and symbolic as well as organizational and institutional elements, but also discourses.

In principle, all of these elements may influence and be contingent upon each other – everything (perceived as) present may produce significant effects. The analytical focus thus shifts from distinguishing between the macro-, meso-, and micro-level of analysis to the question of presence or absence of conditional elements. However, some of the conditions suggested by Clarke refer to realms beyond the spatial and temporal immediacy of the situation. This raises the question of how an action element may be tied to a realm outside the interaction situation, as there is ›no external context‹ to such situation.

Although situated within the grounded theory tradition, the notion of what may become relevant in a situation as put forward by Clarke resembles the corresponding notions in the ethnomethodological and conversation-analytic approaches. Interested in interaction, these traditions define all those aspects as socially relevant that the actors make perceptible to each other. Implicit in such a definition is a restriction to particular senses – those senses that register impressions from outside any given actor's body, particularly (but not only) the visual, auditory, and tactile sense. Elements of the situation may thus consist of natural objects and phenomena, cultural artefacts, the built environment, animals, other human beings and their movements, utterances, actions, etc. A social situation in this sense refers to an interaction situation, a situation in which at least two actors

are co-present, their actions intertwined through the reciprocal perception of each other. With regard to the sensorial perceptions directed at the world outside one's body, situations may be extended through the mediated appresentation of elements that are not physically present, particularly through technological devices such as mobile phones. Such an appresentation may be based on any device that enables the mediated presence of actors as well as parallel social action through technologies such as voice calls, video calls, text messaging, communication in social networks, etc., but also life broadcasting in any type of mass media. These elements are relevant insofar as they are co-present and, through being directly perceptible, may co-structure the situation, for example by the local actors interacting with those actors technically appresented and, more generally, by constituting a potential point of reference for the present actors. This is the first type of ›external‹ elements that may potentially co-structure a local social situation. They are, however, not external in a strict sense of the above definition of a situation, as they are – through the devices and objects that are used for their appresentation – directly perceptible to the senses of the actors. They are, evidently, not fully present, as no technological device can appresent external objects and persons to the full material extent of their existence. To the extent, however, that they are perceptible, they are present, and as such may co-structure the situation in an ethnomethodological or conversation-analytic sense; recent re-conceptualizations of co-presence consider it as a variable instead of a binary that is given or not given through corporeal presence (see Campos-Castillo/Hitlin 2013).<sup>3</sup> In such a perspective, there is indeed nothing external to the situation that may structure it<sup>4</sup>; if external elements are considered to be relevant they must be manifest in the articulation of the actors and be linked to the formal structure of the situation. Internal corporeal processes of the actors (the diverse range of bodily feelings and sensations) are *socially* relevant *only* to the extent that they are externalized – that is to say, made perceptible to the other actors.

To account for external conditioning, constraining, or structuring effects, I propose to locate them on the meaning level (see for the extended argument Elliker 2016), analytically distinguishing between the level of *manifest action and interaction* that is formally structured by ›ethnomethods‹, and the level of meaningful-sensory ›inner‹ experience. However, from a social-constructivist view in the tradition of Berger, Luckmann, and Schütz<sup>5</sup>, this can only be an analytical distinction, as acting and interacting are always intertwined with processes of meaning constitution.

I conceive this meaning level based on a social-constructivist sociology of knowledge approach: experiences, actions, and interactions are intertwined with corporeal processes as well as with processes of meaning constitution in the subjective consciousness. These

3 In principle, all culturally shaped artefacts and objects refer to a realm outside the situation in at least one way: they have been produced in the past and have been carried into the situation (or are present where the situation is constituted). Here, I am concerned with what is physically not directly present. Conceived thus, social situations are situated within what Schütz and Luckmann (1974) have called the actors' world in actual reach and the zone of manipulation.

4 Emanuel Schegloff's (1991, 1992) so-called orthodox position.

5 See Schütz (1967), Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989), and Berger and Luckmann (1966)

experiences sediment over time into socially derived, subjective stocks of knowledge of the actors. These stocks of knowledge structure the actors' experiences in a comprehensive way, both those not externalized and those made perceptible to others. This conception has at least three implications, the first one being that the meaning level may become socially relevant without being externalized: it may directly motivate an actor's behaviour without the actor revealing the motive. While the motivation remains hidden to the other actors, the manifest action based on that motivation becomes relevant for interaction. Secondly, taking such experiences into account enables us to consider that actions may be motivated by the generation of particular ›inner‹ experiences – i.e. corporeal feelings and sensations embedded in specific meaning contexts. Thirdly and importantly, it is on the meaning level that ›external‹ conditions become relevant. ›External‹ refers to both all those material tangible objects, persons, and processes that lie beyond the world in actual reach, and those elements of knowledge that have been temporally generated before the given interaction situation in the ›here‹ and ›now‹. Concerning their externality, these elements are made relevant on the meaning level in at least two ways:

The first way concerns the establishment of a transsituational connection: processes and situations may be perceived as being typical for an external context based on the participants' knowledge thereof, without the necessity of this *attribution* manifesting itself in the formal structure of the situation or being made explicit. This knowledge constitutes a meaning context that frames local action as typical for something not present.

Secondly, the structuring effect of external constraints or conditions becomes relevant through knowledge elements that form the basis for organizing internal experiences as well as manifest action but whose typical way of structuring action and experience has been established outside, namely before the given interaction situation. This does not only concern *the level of manifest action and interaction: on the level of meaningful sensory experience*, external meaning contexts have an effect if they shape the inner experience of the actors who participate in a given interaction situation. There are at least two ways in which the relevance of external conditions is produced. It may, firstly, provide knowledge that *effectively* structures (parts of) the interaction of the participants, be that in routinized ways that do not warrant the explicit attention of the actors' consciousness anymore, or in a more reflexive manner where the participants evoke and use that knowledge to act and interact. Secondly, the participants may establish links to the external elements to frame and contextualize the current action, serving their situational purposes and needs in the interaction. While the ›same‹ practice may in one situation be regarded as independent of any given context, it may – in another situation – be conceived as belonging to this very context.

In other words, the external contexts of interaction situations operate through constraining the comprehension of actors, as ›introjected constraints‹. External realities must, however, »be mediated through perception of conduct options and external forces. This mediation occurs through the internalization of constraints and the exterior reality of institutions« (Fine 1991, S.172). This interpretive mediation is based on an »obdurate reality of images« (ibid.) – i.e. obdurate images of both the ›world‹ and the forces which operate in this world. We perceive external realities through these images, and the accept-

ance of these images shapes our action. Often, this is linked to a reification of macro-concepts in everyday thinking – thinking which is shaped by categories, but frequently not categories of processes and social interaction but rather actors, groups, and collective units. »Our reading of situations involves creating typifications of macro-structures that serve as the basis for addressing future interactions« (ibid., S.165). In this perspective, »macrosociology is a form of folk belief« (ibid.) which underpins how people organize their experiences.

The argument presented so far is concerned with the question of how conditions in the situation can be conceived of as *external* conditions. The relevance of *external conditions* in any given situation is primarily produced through *meaning contexts* (German »*Sinnzusammenhang*«). The term context does indeed seem adequate, as it may not only be understood as referring to the embeddedness of present experiences in an interlinked conglomerate of past experiences, but also to the notion that the meaning level does indeed provide a context for present interaction, a context that may or may not be perceptible through those senses directed at the realms outside of the body.

Thus, any condition considered to be structuring an interaction situation and considered to be external to the situation is – *viewed from the given interaction situation* – primarily to be conceived as a meaning context in terms of its externality (but not necessarily in terms of its physical manifestation). Discourses, idiocultures of groups, organizations, etc. are (again, viewed from any given social interaction) meaning contexts. This does not imply that these conditions consist only of ›meaning‹ or that they may not also be physically present; on the contrary, they may be manifest in actions and objects and may be reproduced through large-scale material infrastructures and institutions, and the link to other elements that are physically not present may be made in explicit ways. However, in addition to and in the absence of such explicit references to external conditions, the externality of conditions is established on the meaning level.

### 3 Multiple levels of analysis

If situated action is assumed to be constrained and shaped by various elements whose structuring effects have been established outside a given interaction situation, we can consider processes and phenomena as relevant that are conventionally situated on the so-called macro- and meso-levels of analysis. If, however, we approach the question from a macro-level perspective, the corollary question arises as to whether processes on the micro-level are relevant if one is interested in studying macro- and meso-level phenomena. To further inform the theoretical framework of a Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography that is concerned with an analysis and study of these levels, I draw on and critically engage with the conceptual reflections put forward by Jepperson and Meyer (2011) on how these multiple levels of analysis are interrelated.

### 3.1 Multiple levels of analysis – and how they are interrelated

Jepperson and Meyer (2011) depart from the question of through what type of pathways social facts manifest themselves in specific social outcomes. Expanding the Boudon–Coleman diagram (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S. 66), they distinguish three levels of causal explanation: an institutional level (macro-level), a social-organizational level (meso-level), and an individual level (micro-level). Following Herbert Simon (1962, in Jepperson/Meyer 2011), they assume that societies are shaped by an »architecture of complexity« consisting of a hierarchical continuum of levels of complexity. Each of the three levels consists of a set of causal processes that are characterized by a certain degree of organizational complexity, and each level of explanation is characterized by a specific way in which »causal pathways« operate. The levels may not necessarily be clearly distinguishable, and each level may constitute a context for another level – i.e. processes on the individual level may be reciprocally related to processes on the social-organizational and institutional level.

All collective processes on these higher levels »are produced and reproduced by persons' behaviours« (ibid., S.68) on the individual level. How this happens is an empirical question (e.g. through which socialization processes and other processes of knowledge inculcation). Conceiving macro- and meso-level phenomena as reproduced on the micro-level, however, must not be conflated with conceiving causality on the individual level:

»The »microfoundations« of social-organizational and institutional causal pathways are not equivalent to causal arguments at the level of individuals conceived as actors.« (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S.67)

Structural effects on these higher levels are linked to higher degrees of organizational complexity (e.g. on the social-organizational level) due to »relatively durably organized networks of social roles, or group cultural and religious commitments« (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S.68). It is in this sense that they argue for a direct macro-to-macro causal pathway.

Consequently, Ronald Jepperson and John Meyer suggest – if one is interested in phenomena on the meso- and macro-level – only using the micro-level if analytically meaningful. Evidently, reciprocal relationships between these levels of analysis need to be considered, as they often may (and effectively do) constitute contexts for each other. Which level of analysis to consider should not be an a-priori decision, but an empirical one: »[T]he causally operative levels must be decided via substantive and empirical adjudication, not dictated by theoretical precommitments« (ibid., S.61).

Similar to how a consistent situational perspective raises the question of how external constraints can be conceived as external, this distinction of levels of analysis as introduced above poses ambiguities with regard to how the micro-level of analysis is relevant to the study of macro-level processes. In the following, I consider four aspects of Meyer and Jepperson's framework and demonstrate in what regard they are in need of further differentiation if they are to be used to inform a discourse ethnographic approach.



(1) Organizational complexity: the basic difference between the different levels of analysis and the ways in which they ›cause‹ stability and change rests, according to Jepperson and Meyer, in the different degrees of complexity: they ›focus on levels of causal processes differentiated by complexity‹ (ibid., S.60). As the conventional terms macro-, meso-, and micro-level of analysis might lead to a conflation of scale or size with complexity, they talk of ›individual-level explanations‹, ›explanations in terms of social-organizational processes‹, and ›institutional processes‹ (ibid., S.61). Although Jepperson and Meyer also consider ›elementary social behaviour‹ or ›rudimentary exchange relations‹ as part of the individual level, the term ›individual-level‹ does not reflect the fact that many micro-sociological approaches do not primarily consider the individual as the most relevant unit (although some justifiably do so, such as biographical and narrative research approaches). Rather, it is ›interaction in social situations‹ that is regarded thus (Knorr-Cetina 1981, S. 8), a trend reflected in reconceptualizations of existing approaches such grounded theory with situated interaction in mind (e.g. Clarke 2005 on ›situational analysis‹ in the context of grounded theory).

Such approaches conceive of social action as arising from interacting, co-present individuals whose attention and systems of relevance are for any given moment of interaction to some extent mutually intertwined and entrained. Research traditions such as ethnomethodology and conversation analysis have shown that the social organization of interaction on the micro-level is of considerable complexity, a complexity that grows substantially with the increase in technologically mediated representations of social processes and actors that are not physically co-present.<sup>6</sup>

Complexity, thus, is not necessarily linked to what Jepperson and Meyer call the institutional or social-organizational level. Complexity depends on the ›analytical resolution‹: virtually any social phenomenon can be dissolved in ever smaller ›units‹ that are embedded in processes of generating, maintaining, and changing that very phenomenon. Thus, the terms ›institutional‹ and ›social-organizational‹ level – even if chosen not to be conflated with scale – do imply a difference concerning the number and size of organizational units, institutional processes, actors, etc. If a micro-perspective with a ›finer-grained‹ analytical level of resolution is applied to a larger number of units involved, then levels of complexity are indeed likely to rise, as more micro-settings – considered in their ›micro-complexity‹ – increase the manifold ways in which micro-settings are interlocked. This may not simply ›add‹ separate realms of complexity, but constitute a different ›type‹ of complexity.

(2) If institutional- and social-organizational-level processes are considered to be micro-founded (what Jepperson and Meyer call an ›ontological truism‹), then they are, by definition, not only ›present‹ in micro-level action, they (co-)structure this action at least in a minimal sense. Assuming otherwise, i.e. them to be manifest as phenomena without

6 While there has always been a concern with how circumstances that transcend the immediate situation or phenomenon and are not physically present become relevant nonetheless (Knorr-Cetina 1981, S.11), recent theorizations of ›co-presence‹ (Campos-Castillo/Hitlin 2013), as noted above, conceive it as a variable phenomenon and not as a binary state (that would imply either being *physically* co-present or not co-present).

consequences for action on the micro-level, would imply not only that a given micro-setting is without effect for the reproduction of the macro-level causality, but that *all* micro-settings that are considered to reproduce a specific macro-process are without effect for its causality. Macro-level causality depends, according to Jepperson and Meyer, on the higher complexity of social organization; this complexity, however, must manifest itself in the various linkages between micro-instantiations of these macro-level processes. These linkages must to some extent be relevant in these micro-settings for them to be considered to be part of this complex social organization that constitutes macro-level causality.

Thus, taking up the metaphor of the »film-strip« that Jepperson and Meyer borrow from Collins (1981, 1988) to express the notion of capturing micro-instantiations (»film-strips«) of large-scale processes (»films«), a film-strip would indeed not capture an *entire* institutional-level process, as Jepperson and Meyer point out (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S. 67), but importantly, a *small segment* of that process. If that were not the case, the talk of micro-foundations would be obsolete. To capture the entire process (or at least get an »impression« of the entire process) such film-strips would have to be taken from a broad range of settings that constitute in their connectedness and reciprocal relatedness the macro-level process of interest. As individual and social action in each micro-setting must to some extent be structured by the macro-level phenomena, the »causality« cannot *only* be attributed to higher levels of complexity, but to a structuring effect on the individual level. Evidently, some of these micro-settings are more centrally implied in the reproduction of the macro-level causality than others.

(3) If macro-level social facts are conceived to produce a specific social outcome, then their reproduction on the individual level must happen in such a way that individual-level action contributes (partially) to an outcome that can be linked to that very macro-level process. Otherwise, that macro-level phenomenon would not be *reproduced* (but something else, if anything), and that macro-level social fact could not be said to have a causal effect on the outcome (to use Jepperson and Meyer's example, the »outcome« (capitalism) could not be attributed to the purported »social fact« (Protestantism)).

Even if micro-processes are diverse and not direct reproductions of organizational and institutional arrangements, for causal pathways on the social-organizational and institutional level to be effective there must be some structuring effect on the micro-level. While not every macro-level process must be traceable in every micro-setting, it must be traceable in some, and it is the study of these settings that allows us to analyse how and why macro-level processes lead to specific outcomes on the micro-level. These outcomes are not evident, as micro-level settings in most cases are shaped by multiple macro- and meso-level processes. This further implies that macro- und meso-level processes are based on *some* uniformity of individual action and interaction concerning the typicality of form and »substance«. The degree of this uniformity is, to be sure, empirically variable and – with regard to a given macro- or meso-level process – likely to concern only one segment of local action and interaction.

(4) According to Jepperson and Meyer, each level of explanation is characterized by a specific way in which »causal pathways« operate; on the individual level, they mention,



among others, »personality formation« or »simple forms of strategic interaction (such as those captured by game theory)« (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S. 61). These analytical lenses refer to more abstract or formal ›rules‹, ›patterns‹, etc. – concepts whose structuring effect or ways in which they generate causal effects is conceived as ›generic‹ and applicable to other corresponding micro-settings. The individual-level analysis should, however, not be reduced to such an analytical focus. Conceived like this, micro-level settings appear as ›empirically non-autonomous‹, their structuring effect consisting of stabilizing and reproducing any particular empirical phenomena constituted through the linkage to meso- and macro-level processes. Rather, micro-level processes may additionally be empirically studied with regard to their historical formation and concrete manifestations that set them apart from other micro-settings, thus (partially) constituting particular ›realities sui generis‹. In other words, the ›source‹ or ›location‹ of specific empirical manifestations of experience and action is not only to be found on the meso- and macro-level; micro-settings may to some extent form ›idiosyncratic‹ domains that are at the same time shaped by macro- and meso-level forces yet partially resilient in the face of these forces.

### 3.2 Analytical and methodological implications: studying how the micro-level co-structures macro-level phenomena

Analytically and methodologically, the arguments put forward above imply to study macro-level processes through the lens of local action. However, seeing micro-level settings as constituted through the interlocking of micro-level structuring concepts and empirical ›content‹ – the latter derived from macro-, meso- and micro-level processes and phenomena – and as potentially resilient does not imply that processes on this level are only idiosyncratic, singular, unstructured phenomena (as already noted above). Instead, studying everyday phenomena would entail reconstructing and analysing the typical ways in which certain institutional-level and meso-level processes enfold structuring effects in situations on the individual level.

Such an analysis could firstly trace which of the potentially many macro- and meso-level processes come to be more salient and dominant in structuring action than others. Such an analysis would secondly also allow us to attribute specific outcomes to one or several macro- and meso-level processes. Evidently, social outcomes of macro-level processes must not necessarily manifest themselves only in a given micro-setting; rather, these outcomes are likely to be long-term processes whose effects are to be analysed in a historical perspective and which are, overall, generated through the continued or intermittent interlocking of micro-settings. However, as noted above, if micro-settings in general do not facilitate the empirical study of the links between processes and their outcome, outcomes cannot be attributed to a specific macro- or meso-level process. Thirdly, individual action (and thus the ensuing interaction) is always based on subjective stocks of knowledge that have been socially derived in a range of diverse social domains, generating creative individual action that is seemingly idiosyncratic, manifest in the complex ways in which individuals use and combine phenomena stemming from all levels of

causation. Considering the micro-level thus potentially enables the study of the transformation of macro-level phenomena, or how specific *combinations* of them result in specific outcomes.

To sum up, I argue that the micro-level of explanation may, on the one hand, serve to analyse relatively generic ›basic social behaviour‹ and contribute to a better understanding and theorizing of it, with the aim of reconstructing rules, patterns, etc. that are not just found in a particular context. On the other hand, however, I suggest understanding the micro-level of explanation as an analytical lens focused on social situations that create (through the interlocking of, analytically speaking, micro-level concepts and the typification of their repeated ›empirical content‹) micro-contexts on their own, partially unorganized and diverse *and* simultaneously *partially* organized and uniform. Furthermore, I submit that micro-level processes do not only refer to causal pathways that »capture effects produced by relatively unorganized people« (Jepperson/Meyer 2011, S. 68). To participants and observers alike, it might seem evident by which meso- and macro-level contexts certain interactions are shaped. However, as argued above, from a radical situational perspective, linkages to anything physically absent or temporally lying in the past must be treated cautiously. As Jepperson and Meyer also call for, the adequate level of analysis should not be a theoretical a-priori decision, but should consist of a »substantive and empirical adjudication [and] not [be] dictated by theoretical precommitments« (ibid., S.61).

Evidently, such a distinction between different levels of analysis does not consider any of these levels as analytically more significant than the others: analytically speaking, these levels rather constitute theoretical infrastructures that mutually depend on each other (Fine 1991). In the following section, I suggest that a sociology of knowledge approach provides an epistemological framework for adequately considering and also studying the macro- and meso-level of analysis in research that is empirically focused on micro-level settings.

#### 4 A sociology of knowledge approach to discourse ethnography

Particularly within the German interpretive tradition of sociology, empirical studies employing qualitative methodologies have predominantly focused on micro-settings, studying small life-worlds (e.g., Honer 1993), scenes (e.g., Hitzler/Pfadenhauer 1998), and biographies (e.g., Rosenthal 1995), among many other domains (for an overview, see Keller 1997). Situated within this interpretive-qualitative research tradition, the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD) (Keller 1997, 2011a, 2011b, 2013) has been developed to broaden the focus of qualitative research to include wider societal structures. Consistent with this perspective that conceives discourses as analytical units belonging to the macro-level of analysis, empirical research in this tradition has focused on realms that are conventionally considered to be influential in shaping processes of wider societal significance. It studies the development and formation of discourses based predominantly on ›naturally occurring‹ empirical data from social domains such as the political field, mass media, the legal system, large organizations, and state institutions. Research has

traced and reconstructed the development of discourses and the processes through which discourses construct social realities in specific ways and thus not only shape public and political debate, but intervene in everyday life through becoming embedded in institutional regulations and producing discourse-specific infrastructures that intervene on their behalf.

Given this analytical concern with the macro-level, the endeavour of a discourse ethnography constitutes to some extent a return to a focus on the ›local‹ – aimed at combining the detailed study of local settings with a macro- and meso-perspective in mind. As argued above, such a research strategy may help to better understand what kind of macro- and meso-level processes structure everyday interaction and how they do so. It allows us to trace and investigate the complex ways in which macro-level processes and phenomena become part of everyday interactions; how they are related to and interwoven with other micro-, meso-, and macro-level phenomena; how they are contested and negotiated; how they lead to specific ›social outcomes‹ in daily interaction; and how macro- and meso-level phenomena are stabilized and transformed in everyday life settings. Of particular analytical value is, furthermore, the potential to study how micro-level actions are reciprocally linked to and embedded in other meso- and macro-level contexts, enabling us to better understand how meso-level phenomena such as groups maintain their resilience or change in the face of macro-level forces and other meso-level forces ›entering‹ their domain.

#### 4.1 Phenomenological sociology of knowledge as an epistemological framework

A sociology of knowledge approach in the tradition of Berger and Luckmann (1966) as well as Schütz and Luckmann (1967, 1974, 1989) is particularly well suited to serving as an epistemological and theoretical framework not only for discourse analysis, but also for discourse ethnography, as it allows us to conceive social reality at the same time as processual and constructed, as obdurate and fixed, without this being an empirical or theoretical contradiction (Eberle 2000). In what follows, I briefly introduce this approach by focusing on some of the basic premises and analytical insights of Schütz (1967) as well as Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989) in order to better understand how it could be linked to both: the micro-macro model discussed above as well as the ethnographic extension of discourse analysis. In the tradition of Luckmann, I understand this analysis as a »proto-sociological«, philosophical framework (see Eberle 2000), developed to serve as a basis for sociological theorizing.

Meaning is constituted in the subjective consciousness of an individual, always situated in the spatial ›here‹ and temporal ›now‹: based on perceptual impressions, actors experience reality as a continuous flow in time. Some of these experiences (*Erlebnisse*) sediment into personal memory, constituting over time a subjective stock of knowledge. *Erlebnisse* are turned into *Erfahrungen* in a reflexive act, in which the individual relates a present experience to past experiences. This is how the meaning of present experiences is

*constituted*: through relating current to past experiences. This implies a process of typification, i.e. the creation and use of definitional relations that allow the recognition of particular reality elements as typical elements which are related to other elements in typical ways. The typification implied in meaning constitution is thus not bound to sign systems. However, sign systems and especially language are of particular relevance in the processes of creating intersubjectivity, a fleeting and fluid process of interpreting and understanding the meaning of the other actors' actions and experiences. This process is based on signs whose meanings have been typified and objectified in ways that enable mutual understanding.

Sociality, however, is generated not only through the fleeting process of establishing intersubjectivity, but through the social derivation of much of the knowledge that the actors *construct* by observing, interacting, enacting, and experiencing: while actors are conceived as corporeally individuated (their inner experiences constituting transcendental realms for others), they are simultaneously and fundamentally socialized through the social derivation of their subjective stocks of knowledge. Schütz and Luckmann (1974, 1989) further analyse how different systems of relevance shape what type of themes are constituted in perceiving and experiencing, how they are interpreted, and how action is motivated. In this perspective, perception, experience, interpretation, and (social) action are always inextricably intertwined with both processes of meaning constitution and corporeal flows of feelings and sensory impressions. Every life is an embodied and material experience invested with meaning.

Partially based on these analyses, Berger and Luckmann (1966) develop a sociological theory aimed at explaining how the fluid and processual character of everyday meaning constitution, intersubjectivity, and interaction creates forms of knowledge that are objectified and reified. In processes of habitualization, routinization, institutionalization, and legitimation, actors continuously stabilize and justify the corresponding arrangements of social organization. Through processes of learning and socialization, the corresponding objectified realities become part of the actors' subjective realities and their self-understandings, maintained continuously through interaction with relevant others. It is through these processes that large realms of social reality, although continuously produced through human action, come to be seen – by the very actors that (re)produce them – as an obdurate reality.

Thus, a major structuring component of everyday reality is those knowledge elements that underpin routinized, habitualized, and institutionalized processes. In other words: everyday perception, experience, action, and interpretation are partially shaped and structured by knowledge that may be routinized and objectified to such an extent that the actors do not (need to) reflectively thematize it – it remains ›hidden‹, yet it is part of what is conventionally called the emic perspective of the actors, and could at any stage be thematized again and brought into focus. Introjected constraints, then, conceived of as knowledge elements structuring social interaction, unfold their effect on a continuum of routine and reflexivity, being embedded in non-thematized routine processes as well as in processes of creative, innovative, and strategic use of knowledge in action and interaction. Any research strategy interested in how social realities are structured must thus con-

sider, on the one hand, knowledge that is at the centre of the actors' attention, and on the other hand knowledge that structures the routine part of perception, experience, action, and interpretation and to which the actors pay no or very little attention.

As outlined in the first section, I argued that from a radical situational perspective, elements whose structural or conditional qualities have been routinized, objectified, and institutionalized temporally and spatially outside any given interaction situation become relevant mainly on the meaning level, i.e. through the socially derived stocks of knowledge of the participants who remember and appresent – in the present – conditional elements that were generated in the past. Thus, in any given situation, a substantial part of what is external yet conditions the situation is located on the meaning level, for both meso- and macro-level phenomena alike. This is not to say that these meso- and macro-level phenomena consist only of meaning structures; on the contrary, they are based on manifold material manifestations and tangible practices. They are, in other words, always micro-founded through mundane action and interpretation and all the material objects that flow from or are embedded in them. This argument, however, refers only to the externality of structures in a given situation viewed from that very situation; in such instances, the externality of implicit or explicit elements conditioning and constraining the action is to be found on the meaning level. Through their enactment in the situation, the corresponding macro- and meso-level structures get (re)produced, lead to specific social outcomes, and are maintained as well as transformed.

## 4.2 Discourses: an interpretive conceptualization of macro-level phenomena

Macro- and meso-level concepts can be conceived of in a broad range of ways. I suggest that a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (Keller 2011b) seems particularly well suited to conceptualizing the macro-level of analysis with the aim of studying macro-phenomena through a local lens, since the concepts of meaning and typicality are central to many qualitative research approaches studying local settings. Discourses produce »statements in which claims and assertions about phenomena are perpetuated and accompanied by more or less strong claims about their validity« (ibid., S.235).<sup>7</sup> They are »complex[es] of statement events and the therein embedded practices, which are linked through a structural connection [...] and which process specific knowledge orders of reality« (ibid.). The structural connection »encompasses the rules and resources that are common to the events« (ibid.). This notion of discourse builds centrally on

»discourses as practices that constitute phenomena and objects, practices that are based on a common structure; on the reciprocal relation between discourse structure and any single discursive event; and the corresponding ›macro-perspective‹ and empirical orientation of discourse analysis.« (Keller 2011b, S.141)

7 All citations from Keller (2011b) are my translations.

Reiner Keller suggests two ways in which discourses can be identified and distinguished: (1) by the main »institutional-organizational setting(s)« in which they are reproduced, or (2) by their »thematic reference« (Keller 2011b, S.228). Both the typical ways in which a discourse constructs social reality in a given institutional-organizational setting and the thematic structure that informs reality construction in multiple settings manifest themselves in typical aspects of discourse-related statements. Typicality is, according to Schütz and Luckmann (Schütz/Luckmann 1974) as noted above, a definitional relation through which perceptual elements become recognizable. As such, the types and processes of typification are a central part of the process of meaning constitution and the associated processes of perceiving, experiencing, interpreting, and acting. In a very general way, the discourse-related character of these processes is based on the discourse-specific construction and ›derivation‹ of the subjective stock of knowledge of the involved actors. This discourse-specific character is manifest in the typicality of the systems of relevance as well as the knowledge elements, in the interlinkages between these knowledge elements as well as in the degree of ›boundedness‹ to which these knowledge elements appear as knowledge ›conglomerates‹. In other words, discourses become relevant by constituting the typicality of the »introjected constraints« (Fine 1991) used by the involved actors.<sup>8</sup> These constraints, as discourse-related knowledge elements, may have a structuring effect in two ways: (1) by underpinning and shaping processes of perception, experience, interpretation, and action; and (2) by constituting the relevant reference in the process of meaning-constitution. This may not necessarily be coherent, i.e. the meaning of discourse-shaped action may not necessarily be constituted in the context of that very same discourse, and the meaning of action that is otherwise non-related to a specific discourse may be constituted in the light of a specific discourse. In principle, the structuring effect of such constraints may differ with regard to the implicit and explicit character of the enactment as well as the degree of routine and reflexivity with which these constraints are enacted.

As I will further argue below, this ›minimal‹ definition of discourse is analytically fruitful in at least three ways. Firstly, it provides an epistemological framework to integrate discourse as a macro-level concept with other meso-level concepts – such as the notion of groups as bounded and spatially situated interaction scenes with their own idio-cultures (Fine 2010) – that are both a concern to discourse analysis and ›classic‹ ethnographic research. Secondly, it does not restrict discourse to a specific form of intervention and reality construction, but allows for this to be conceived of with a broad range of different analytical concepts as suggested by Keller (see Keller 2011b, S. 233 ff.), warranting a theoretical and empirical sensitivity with regard to which analytical concepts are *meaningfully adequate* when studying how specific settings are shaped by discourses (Eberle 1999a, 1999b). Thirdly, this conceptualization of discourse implies two analytical distinctions: between discursive- and non-discursive on the one hand, and between discourse-related and non-discourse-related on the other (Keller 2013, S.71). Concerning

8 As Wundrak (in this issue) demonstrates in studying the interaction in a refugee's shelter and the corresponding references to collective meaning contexts.



the former distinction, a social-constructivist epistemological and theoretical framework regards experience, social action, and interpretation not only as fundamentally invested with meaning, but always as corporeal and material sensory experience. While corporeality refers to the experiential dimension of sensing one's body *from within* that corporeal boundary that constitutes one's body, materiality refers to sensing anything – including one's body – through the senses directed at the environment, whereby materiality may be manifest in various forms of ›tangible‹ crystallizations. Conventionally, those objects are considered material objects that are more or less permanently tangible to the tactile and visual sense, while the materiality status of e.g. sound waves would be considered much more ambivalent – a discussion that is beyond the scope of this paper.

As noted above, typification – according to Schütz – is not limited to the domain of signs and symbols, but may be the result of ›basic‹ corporeal perceptions. However, in everyday life much of what socialized actors do is embedded in and shaped by sign systems. Based on the *analytical* distinction of corporeal experiences and sign-based processes of meaning constitution, there is a *continuum* of degrees to which corporeal experiences and materiality may be relevant. There are modes of action and experience which primarily centre around the body and material objects, and modes of action and experience at the centre of which are primarily sign-based processes (the latter mode does not imply, however, that these processes are disembodied or non-material). While the former is referred to as ›non-discursive‹, the latter is referred to as ›discursive‹. Discourses thus may be reproduced through practices that are primarily discursive (such as face-to-face verbal communication, email correspondence, posts on social media platforms, articles in the mass media and academic journals, etc.) or they may be reproduced through practices that are primarily non-discursive (such as sports practices, protest marches, the different handling of bodies in interactions (e.g. being seated or standing upright), etc.).

As noted above, the distinction between discursive and non-discursive does not correspond exactly to the distinction between discourse-related and non-discourse-related elements of social reality. The latter refers to the notion that not necessarily all aspects of everyday perception, experience, interpretation, and action are shaped by discourses. As the processes of meaning constitution and action always bear the index of the spatial ›here‹ and ›temporal‹ now, the relevance of discourses may analytically not be taken for granted: the use of discourses is context- and situation-specific and must be investigated empirically. This is based on the premise that any actor's socially derived stock of knowledge is not only shaped by discourse-specific typicalities but by typicalities originating from socialization and learning processes in other social realms, whereby ›other‹ refers to domains which are analytically and empirically conceived of in different ways than discourses. This distinction is a concern of Foucault's later work. Discussing this work, Keller highlights the separation of »discourses from discourse-external practices or fields of practice and the study of the relations between the two« (Keller 2011b, S.141). A study of discourses hence needs to be concerned with, or at least be aware of,

»practices established in institutional settings or social fields of practices that have a specific routinized meaning for the involved actors, a meaning that is often precisely not in line with expectations set by discourses.« (Keller 2011b, S.138)

This implies not only the study of statements and of »practices through which discourses form subjects«, but »the observation of practices as a relatively autonomous layer of reality with its own dynamics« (ibid., S.138). Indeed, if the notion of discourse implies the study of how – within any given discourse – subjects are positioned, how they are allocated differential rights to speak, and how some actors are effectively silenced and deprived of a sense of agency (see ibid.), then these latter subjectivities are likely articulated outside the given discourses, either in opposition to them or in a manner that is relatively independent from them. Such an articulation ›outside‹ of discourse is based on the premise that actors are socialized in various social domains that cannot be reduced to a single discourse or multiple discourses. Rather, any individual action is based on a socially derived subjective stock of knowledge in which various complementary and contradictory conglomerates of typical knowledge elements and systems of relevance are available to be drawn upon in the production of social reality.

It is through relating these diverse knowledge conglomerates to each other that actors become endowed with at least a minimal (sense of) agency and that a reflective, distancing, or creative use of discourses as well as resistance to discourses becomes possible. How plausible such a sense of agency is, how well it is maintained, and how effective it is in everyday life depends on the availability of reality maintenance processes and structures as described by Berger and Luckmann (1966) with regard to the maintenance of subjective realities. Not conceiving all social reality construction as ›discourse-related‹ provides the analytical opportunity to conceptualize such alternative reality maintenance structures and to study how discourses become entangled with them, but also to understand them as more or less resilient contexts in which »struggles, strategies, and tactics in and between discourses« (Keller 2011b, S.141) are played out. Importantly, this conceptual distinction allows us to empirically study the growing as well as diminishing influence of discourses in any given particular social setting.

Within a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse, as noted above, it is the ›structural connection‹ that constitutes the core of any discourse. While geared towards a macro-level of analysis, such a structural connection may principally also refer to meso-level structures. Taking up Jepperson and Meyer's argument that different levels of explanations – each consisting of a set of causal processes operating in specific ways – are distinguished by different degrees of organizational complexity, a conception of discourses as macro-level structures must distinguish them from micro-level and meso-level contexts in terms of complexity. As argued above, the complexity of social organization depends on the level of ›analytical resolution‹, and is thus to some extent a ›function‹ of the observer's perspective. It is also noted, however, that complexity levels do rise when additional micro- and meso-level settings are taken into consideration, as all of these settings are micro-founded and hence display – in their micro-instantiations – the very complexity of micro-level social situations. Thus, discourses are set apart from any given micro-level phenomenon by constituting structural connections that link several such micro-settings – i.e. they establish transsituational links through being enacted in these micro-settings. Moreover, they structure any given situation in *typical* ways in which they have shaped past situations, thus creating at least a minimal degree of uniformity of the



situations they condition throughout time. This structuring effect may pertain to anything within the situation: it may pertain only to specific aspects of the interaction situation, or may be constitutive of the entire situation.

The distinction of discourses from meso-level contexts is less obvious. Considering the criterion of organizational complexity, discourses are distinguished from meso-level contexts in the same way that they are distinguished from micro-level settings, reaching beyond any given meso-level setting to other micro- and meso-level settings and shaping the meso-level settings in specific ways. The distinction rests upon how the meso-level context of interest is conceptualized, which in turn depends on the empirical phenomena of interest as well as the theoretical framework. For example, if an empirical setting suggests that local practices are organized in a rather autonomous way and seem resilient in the face of ›external‹ influences, then a meso-level analysis seems adequate that implies a bounded realm, i.e. a socially shared domain that includes several types of units and actors and that is to some extent socially bounded by processes of social closure. The term Jepperson and Meyer use for this, the ›social-organizational level‹, implicates to some extent this notion of temporarily stabilized and bounded ›fields of practice‹. As with macro-level concepts, however, the conceptualization of meso-level contexts should not be an a-priori theoretical decision but should consist of an adjudication based on the empirical setting of interest.

The degree to which discourses shape and impact social reality is a continuum, ranging from relatively banal, everyday actualization of discourses, to contexts in which discourses are systematically produced. Meso- and micro-level contexts may predominantly serve to actualize, reproduce, or produce a given *single* discourse, or they may provide opportunities for a more or less diverse range of discourses to be enacted (for such an example, see Wundrak's analysis in this issue). Both meso- and micro-level contexts in which specific discourses are used become part of a discourse-specific dispositif, an institutional-organizational infrastructure of discourse production and reproduction. Discourses may produce an entire range of meso-level contexts geared towards reproducing them. Yet, in any type of meso-level context – be it centrally or marginally implied in the (re)production of discourses – the relevance of discourses may increase or decrease. New discourses may enter such contexts and not only challenge other discourse-related practices but appropriate local practices for their own way of intervening in the world and eventually constructing social reality in their own, discourse-specific way.

### 4.3 An ethnographic approach to analysing discourses

#### a. The ethnographic research endeavour

Ethnography has become a widespread and highly diversified research strategy, a field of methodologies and methods that in itself is hardly surveyable anymore.<sup>9</sup> There are two

9 For overviews and introductions, see e.g. van Maanen (1988), Adler and Adler (2008), Atkinson (2001), Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), and Gobo and Melie (2017).

characteristic features, however, that remain central to many ethnographic approaches and render an ethnography research strategy adequate for the analysis of discourses within a sociology of knowledge approach.

One of the major methods employed in many ethnographic research strategies remains participant observation in one form or another, »grounded in a commitment to [...] first-hand experience and exploration« (Atkinson et al. 2001, S.4). Such an experience is likely to be shaped by being present, observing, and (in varying degrees) participating in a more or less diverse range of social situations and interaction rituals, the researcher assuming different membership roles depending on the analytical purpose and the empirical field (Adler/Adler 1987). Some of these situations might, at times, just be constituted by the researcher and a research participant, e.g. when »going along« (Kusenbach 2003) or during ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979). Much ethnographic research, however, focuses on social situations and interactions which are typically »naturally occurring«. The status of the data constructed through ethnographic experiences and encounters, the range of possible analytical insights, the stories that can be told from the field, the range of purposes appropriate for an ethnographic research endeavour, and indeed what ethnographers actually do when they collect and analyse data, are questions continuously debated within the field (see for a recent overview Adler/Adler 2008). The choice of the epistemological framework is, however, not an a-priori theoretical decision, but one made with regard to the empirical field of interest (Hirschauer 2001).

Another key feature of many ethnographic approaches is the reconstruction and study of the explicit and implicit (cultural) knowledge that shapes and structures how participants generate action and interpret their experience.<sup>10</sup> While the analytical concepts which are used to study such knowledge as well as the analytical purposes differ considerably in kind and combination, many approaches share the sensibility of a phenomenologically founded sociology of knowledge that social reality is simultaneously produced by human action in social processes and situations that are fleeting and evanescent, yet that there are patterns, rules, or regularities with which such reality construction occurs. The degree to which social realities appear objectified to the actors and the degree to which they are institutionalized is an empirical matter. Notwithstanding whether such a reality appears to be obdurate to the actors – the institutional order granting them little creative space for action – or whether the actors move with a great sense of and effective agency in the respective situations, what they do is either mediated by or fundamentally intertwined with a world of images (Fine 1991), a symbolic realm in which actors are continuously engaged in processes of meaning constitution and construction. Thus, many ethnographic approaches share with a sociology of knowledge approach the notion that processes of interpretation and meaning constitution are central to the experience and creation of social reality, and that these processes are in manifold ways intertwined with embodied practices and material objects.

10 See e.g. Spradley (1979), Frake (1980), Quinn/Holland (1987), Geertz (1973).

An ethnographer is – depending on their rapport with the participants and their field role (Hirschauer 2001; Adler/Adler 1987) – well positioned to experience, i.e. to get an initial ›feeling‹ for and eventually to articulate those meaning contexts that remain largely implicit in certain interaction situations but nonetheless structure these situations. Ethnographers experience in relatively direct ways what kind of possibilities and restrictions these meaning contexts generate in the everyday life interactions of the setting they are studying. As Stefan Hirschauer points out, the main advantage (in light of the ever-increasing ease and ubiquitousness of technological means of recording) of an ethnographic research strategy lies not so much in simply recording local action, but in building a social rapport with the actors in the field over a longer period of time. It is through the ›inscription‹ (Hirschauer 2001) of the resilient meaning contexts into the experience of the ethnographer (an experience that is embodied and invested with meaning) that the ethnographer is able to not only reconstruct the emic perspectives of the actors but also those processes that remain unnoticed in terms of routine structuring. In other words, the ethnographer is positioned to not just duplicate articulations by local actors but to contribute an additional perspective that to some extent may appear as a distortion to some of the local actors (ibid.).

#### b. Analysing discourses ethnographically

Engaging in participant observation presents any ethnographer with the experiential limits of the social situation, and the way the ethnographer and the participants ›transcend‹ this situation is by establishing transsituational links to meso- and macro-level phenomena and by routinely or reflexively acting and interacting on the basis of knowledge that is structured by macro- and meso-level processes and phenomena. The ethnographer is thus well positioned to study not only situated interaction, but also the situational relevance of conditional elements whose structuring effects have been established ›outside‹, i.e. mostly temporally before that interaction situation. In conjunction with other analytical concepts, an ethnographer can thus infer to what contexts outside any given social situation knowledge elements structuring that very situation pertain to: e.g. to a specific discourse or to a specific meso-level context such as the idiocultures and interactional grammars of groups or organizations (Fine 2012). The settings on which a discourse ethnography is focused depends on the analytical and empirical aim of such a project, which may in principle take the following two forms.

(1) A discourse ethnography may be interested in understanding and analysing specific (types of) local settings in their complexity. Such an approach would view these settings as shaped by a more or less diverse range of discourses and thus engage, on the one hand, in reconstructing local cultural practices and, on the other hand, studying how discourses are used and intervene within that setting. In terms of theorizing, this warrants a more specific conceptualization of that local setting (e.g. as social world, group, or organization) based on an empirical adjudication, since, as noted above, from the perspective of any ethnographic experience of social situations, such local settings must be regarded as external contexts as well (see Rixta Wundrak in this issue on how the Foucauldian no-

tion of heterotopias (Foucault 1986) may serve as conceptual framework to identify such settings). For the reconstruction of discourses, such an approach cannot rely on only one (or one type of) setting and must thus use other than ethnographically constructed data: the sort of natural data that is conventionally used in discourse analyses such as legal texts, mass media reporting, or transcripts of political debates, representing the influence of discourses in other social domains than the one ethnographically under study.

(2) The second form of discourse ethnography is less focused on how a particular type of setting is structured by discourses and more on reconstructing a particular discourse. Such a research strategy warrants a methodological reflection on how to sample the ›film-strips‹ (to use Collins' metaphor) needed to reconstruct the discourse-specific structure by comparing a diverse range of situations. The analytical focus of each of these ethnographic ›miniature‹ studies is likely to be narrower, geared towards establishing the discourse-related typicalities in contrast to the specifics of each of the chosen settings. As an ethnographic research strategy is resource-intensive and thus limits the number of settings that can be analysed, it is, as with the first strategy, also in need of other data sources.

Both forms would allow us to reconstruct ›other‹ – i.e. local – knowledge systems and how they relate to any given discourse in everyday action. This permits, on the one hand, the study of how and to what extent such settings are resilient with regard to specific discourses. How do discourses ›enter‹ such a setting? How do they lead to specific outcomes? How do they transform the local setting and take on specific local meanings, and how are they themselves transformed through this setting? Through participant observation of situated interaction, ethnographers are well positioned to study these phenomena. On the other hand, they are able to study the discourse-related construction of subjectivities and the related ›allocation‹ and resulting ›distribution‹ (both ongoing processes) of speaking and interaction rights, studying how ›silenced‹ voices cope with being marginalized, e.g. by conceiving of themselves using other contextual references than the discourse-related ones. In short, an ethnographer is well positioned to study how and to what extent social action is structured by (specific) discourses – and to what extent it is *not* structured by discourses (conceived as macro-level phenomena) but by other knowledge elements bound up with other meso- or macro-level forces.

An ethnographic approach is furthermore able to distinguish between different modes of how spatially and temporally situated action is structured, i.e. to identify to what extent introjected constraints (discourse-related and non-discourse-related) operate in terms of reflexivity and routine, and of the tacit or explicit nature of the knowledge underpinning and shaping action, but also with regard to the degree to which these constraints appear as objectified to the actors in the given setting. Discourses are not only studied in their reproduction through discursive articulations, but also as being reproduced through non-discursive practices. These are all dimensions that are less well captured with the conventional data employed for discourse analyses. Such a strategy furthermore avoids subsuming all perception, experience, interpretation, and (social) action a priori as discourse-related. An ethnographer is well positioned to analyse in what situations discourses structure action and how they do so, being capable of demonstrating *to what extent* local action is discourse-related. Importantly, this allows us to consider (the-

oretically and empirically) that discourses may become more or less relevant in any given setting, and to study how an increase or decrease in relevance takes place. This is an analytical endeavour that seems particularly necessary in situations and settings in which both researcher and participants alike are likely to assume an ›omnipresent‹ relevance of particular discourses due their highly objectified and taken-for-granted presence. Finally, the ethnographer is positioned to study not only how local meso-level contexts are related to discourses, but also how actors are situated with regard to specific discourses: to what extent they remain resilient or adapt to discourses; to what extent they are endowed with a sense of (autonomous) agency with regard to both; discourse use and being subjected to discourses; and to what ends and purposes actors employ discourses in the local setting, as well as how they use the local settings as opportunity structures and resources to (re)produce or resist discourses.<sup>11</sup>

Participating in everyday interaction, particularly (but by no means only) in interaction situated within meso-level contexts with routine participants and shared cultural ways of doing things, brings along an additional strength with regard to analysing discourses. Discourses are studied as embodied perception, experience, interpretation, and (social) action, both in terms of being used in interaction among human actors and in how they shape the relations to all other material objects as well as the natural and built environment involved in these everyday life-worlds. Put more broadly, such a research strategy studies discourses as material, embodied reality, as discursive *and* non-discursive construction of social realities. Such realities are, as noted above, in one way or another ›resilient‹ to changes and simultaneously enable and constrain action. What the actors consider (more or less) feasible courses of action and what they implicitly or explicitly consider as constraints is, however, often not evident. Participating directly in the everyday discourse-related construction of reality enables the ethnographer to have these more or less implicit options and constraints ›written‹ into their stock of experiences, thus making them available for an in-depth study and analysis – an undertaking particularly well reflected in ethnographies that aim at a phenomenological analysis of life-worlds.<sup>12</sup>

## 5 Conclusion

Discourse analysts and ethnographers usually form relatively distinct research communities. In each of these communities, scholars who advocate the complementary use of approaches from the other community have been the exception. Recent attempts at combining both raise the question of how the macro-level focus of discourse analysis can be fruitfully combined with a focus on the micro- and meso-levels often found in ethnographic research. As I argued above and as Rixta Wundrak and Christoph Maeder also argue (in this issue), a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse is particularly well

11 See Akbaba in this issue on how teachers are entangled with and use discourses in an educational setting.

12 See e.g. Honer (1993) and Hitzler and Eberle (2004).

suited to being used as an epistemological framework to join the two, in particular for the following six reasons. It firstly provides a notion of discourse (at the core of which is a structural connection) that is compatible with those ethnographic traditions concerned with reconstructing and analysing the manifold ›webs of meaning‹ and cultural knowledge of the social settings they study. Ethnographic first-hand encounters allow a differentiated study of how the structuring effects of discourse-related knowledge play out in terms of routine and reflexive as well as tacit and explicit use. Secondly, it provides a basis for conceiving the externality of conditions that shape action in social situations, the latter constituting a major focus of ethnographic data collection: embedded in the actors' knowledge, conditions become relevant as *external* conditions on the meaning level. Thirdly, the phenomenological sociology of knowledge tradition has always treated social action as material, embodied action in which sensory experience is fundamentally intertwined with processes of meaning constitution. This provides an epistemological basis to ethnographically study discourse (re)production as situated, material, and embodied actions, of both a discursive and non-discursive nature. Fourthly, in addition to the distinction between discursive and non-discursive, this allows us to empirically distinguish between discourse-related and non-discourse-related action, experience, and interpretation. This distinction generates the possibility of studying how discourses are entangled with other structural elements (e.g. resilient local group cultures), to demonstrate how this entanglement leads to specific social outcomes locally, and to allow for the empirical expectation that the structuring effect of discourses may become stronger or weaker in a given setting of interest. Fifthly, conceiving actors as partially endowed with a sense of agency and resilience shaped through various other situations and contexts, a discourse ethnography can study on what resources actors draw other than those of the dominant discourses to pursue and articulate their interests and self-understandings. This is of particular interest with regard to those actors who are marginalized or silenced by discourses. And sixthly, the observation of the usage of discourses in social situations permits us not only to study and analyse *how* they shape actions, but also *how* actors establish transsituational links to other social situations and domains.

There are further theoretical and methodological challenges to be addressed in conceptualizing an ethnographic perspective on the local enactment and production of discourses. If discourses as macro-level structures are, as argued above, defined by a relatively higher degree of organizational complexity than meso- and micro-level structures, then a further discussion is warranted on both the empirical manifestations and the theoretical ›nature‹ of the complexity of discourses, taking the ›minimal‹ definition of a discourse as a typified structural connection further by elaborating the specific organizational complexity of discourses (in contrast to other macro-level structures). In advancing such a discussion, a discourse ethnographic approach is thus well suited to pursuing the two-fold analytical aim that Keller et al. (2005) suggest for an interpretive discourse analysis, based upon the conventional distinction between explanation (*erklären*) and understanding/interpreting (*verstehen*). While *understanding* aims at studying the typical introjected, discourse-specific constraints of social action, *explanation* involves developing hypotheses with regard to the social conditions that gave rise to any specific dis-



courses and the developments through which discourse-related reality construction processes became embedded in a more or less diverse range of contexts and situations. Based on the arguments in this article, this would entail studying the organizational complexity with which these situations and contexts are interlinked.

The methodological challenges to be addressed partially differ with regard to the two basic analytical purposes of a discourse ethnography: (1) reconstructing and analysing a specific discourse in various settings, or (2) examining a specific setting with regard to the various discourses that co-structure that setting. The basic challenge for both research purposes remains the same: the reconstruction of the macro-level ›structural connection‹ that is at the core of any discourse and that is linked to the local situated action. Such a reconstruction must be based on material that demonstrates the higher organizational complexity that in turn warrants a demonstration of how discourses structure other contexts than the local micro- or meso-level context the researcher is ethnographically studying. In principle, this can and should ideally be done by ethnographically examining additional local settings, reconstructing through comparison what typical elements structure *and* link all these local settings; but such a reconstruction will have to use, as noted above, additional naturally occurring data in which the use and structuring influence of discourses in other social domains are manifest. This warrants more methodological work to be done with regard to the various strategies that can be pursued to demonstrate this structural connection. Elsewhere, I tentatively suggest three strategies: (1) tracing discourse-related references of actors to other contexts, (2) identifying common knowledge sources, and (3) tracing the historical formation of the discourse-related references used by actors (Elliker forthcoming). While the decisions with regard to which fields additional data should be collected from are largely substantive and empirical adjudications based on the discourses and settings of interests, they are likely to be drawn from fields that are conventionally considered to be centrally implied in shaping macro-level forces, such as mass media or the political field. This, in turn, warrants further conceptualization of the different ways in which these fields operate and thus shape how discourses unfold their structuring influence in various settings in typical yet different ways.

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## »Welcome to paradise«

Methodological accentuations to the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography based on field notes from a refugees' shelter

**Zusammenfassung:** Aus einer teilnehmenden Beobachtung in einer Notunterkunft für asylsuchende Menschen in Berlin entstand ein Datenmaterial, das dazu dient, methodologische Überlegungen zu einer »Wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie« (WDE) weiter zu denken. Drei methodologische Akzente, die Montage, die Heterotopie und die Reflexivität, schlage ich vor, um eine Diskursanalyse voranzutreiben, die ethnographisch ansetzt. Mit diesen Konzepten möchte ich zeigen, wie »Willkommens«- und »Krisendeutungen« in diesem Kontext das Denken, Handeln und Fühlen der Menschen beeinflussen: Diskurse bestimmen Situationen in der Praxis aber auch umgekehrt: Wissensordnungen werden im Alltag interaktiv hergestellt.

**Schlagwörter:** Diskursforschung, Ethnographie, Europäische Migration, Flucht, Wissenssoziologie, Heterotopie, Triangulation

**Summary:** A shelter for refugees in Berlin, my experiences as a volunteer, and my participant observations as a researcher are the empirical setting I will refer to in outlining the »Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography« (SKADE). This case study shows how terms such as »welcoming« and »crisis« are becoming patterns of meaning in the shelter, and how these patterns affect thinking, acting, and feeling. On a methodological level, I will show that discourses not only influence interactions, but conversely are formed and constructed interactively in practice. I present in detail three methodological propositions for SKADE: the montage, the heterotopia, and reflexivity, arguing that they can improve SKADE as an ethnographically informed discourse analysis.

**Keywords:** Discourse research, Ethnography, European Migration, Refugees, Sociology of Knowledge, Heterotopia, Triangulation

## Introduction

In this article, I will outline »The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Ethnography« (SKADE). This approach integrates discourse theory and the sociology of knowledge in ethnographic methods. The abbreviation SKADE derives from SKAD (The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis, see (Keller 2011) with an ethnographic »extension«. SKADE looks at discourses as practices, which are creating, perpetuating and transforming knowledge in situ. It is a praxeologically informed discourse analysis, which aims to link discourse and practice methodologically. As a method, it means to analyse discourses ethnographically. The story behind this approach goes back to my past research projects (Wundrak 2007, 2009, 2016a) which have taken place in several research fields (Romania and Israel) mostly by focusing on topics such as migration, belonging and exclusion. During/within these projects, in which I combined plural data-

material as well as different analytical tools, I always came up with several methodological and methodical questions. I was concerned with the theoretical adequacy or possibility of combining different approaches and (sociological) schools. At the same time, I was concerned with the practical implementation of triangulation. Furthermore, in the process of methodological questioning I have included self-reflection in my doing and my role as a researcher. On the one hand side, the discursive triangle of »power-knowledge-language« has become relevant in different ways (Wundrak 2016b), on the other side, practices have become an object of research (interest). Consequently, including body, space, architecture and my involvement in the field analytically, have become fruitful tools for my analysis. But how could I bring together discourse theoretical questions with praxeological questions during my field work? Aiming to answer this question, I have not only experimented with methodical combinations, but also linked them to theoretical concepts. In this respect, SKADE shall be less about »big turns« or paradigms, rather about some »new accents« to »old concepts«.<sup>1</sup>

In this article, I am using my latest data in order to suggest such accents to set, when extending discourse analysis by an ethnographic approach. Those accents have not only emerged from my latest empirical fieldwork, they are rather a result of a longer process and the abovementioned methodological thoughts. A shelter for refugees in Berlin, my experiences there as a volunteer, and my participant observations as a researcher are the empirical setting I have chosen for the exemplification. Working at the shelter as a volunteer in October 2015, keeping by auto-ethnographic log-books with descriptions of experiences, feelings and visual associations related to discourses in the world of flight and asylum in European society today, led to a small discourse-ethnographic analysis.

In the following, three methodological concepts will be outlined, which shall accentuate SKADE: first, I suggest the metaphor of a »montage« for the process of triangulation as a follow-up concept to that of a »collage«, as it was outlined by Herbert Kalthoff (2010). Second, I suggest Foucault's concept of heterotopia as an analytical strategy for discourse-ethnographies (Foucault 2002). Third, I suggest, to import auto-ethnography into discourse research. By exemplifying these concepts (montage, heterotopia and auto-ethnography) with the field protocols made in the refugees' shelter and suggesting them as accents for SKADE, I illustrate my analysis of the relationship between everyday knowledge, meanings of solidarity and exclusion as well as discourses around institutional help and asylum in Europe.

The next chapter starts with the first concept of »montage«, chapter 3 is dedicated to the concept of »heterotopia« as an accentuation and chapter 4 leads to »auto-ethnography« in SKADE. Right at the beginning (of each chapter) I give a snapshot on my data material, outlining some readings and interpretations. I will then use the empirical material to illustrate my programmatic thoughts. With this three-step procedure, first, to quote part of my data, second, to describe some analytical aspects and third, to lead to one of the abovementioned methodological accentuations, I build up each of the next chapters.

1 SKADE is work in progress and I formulated first programmatic basics in Wundrak (2016b).

## Combining methods to a discourse-ethnographic »Montage«

I am starting with a passage out of my protocol describing my first work in a shelter for refugees in Berlin. The shelter I was visiting in 2015 was part of the Regional Office for Health and Social Affairs in Berlin and has been well known by its acronym LaGeSo, which was renamed to LAF in 2016<sup>2</sup> The organisation hit the headlines because of its scandalous situation during the summer of 2015 and corrupt practices at managerial level.<sup>3</sup> In Berlin, there were 99<sup>4</sup> shelters (»Flüchtlingsnotunterkünfte« in German) at that time, 44 were registered as to be open for volunteers in 2015.<sup>5</sup> I was in one of them (which is located in a suburban region), to work as a volunteer in October 2015, as many Germans did during that time. Right after my observation, I have written field notes and made up some protocols out of a collection of notes. During the writing process, I added pictures to my text. Contrary to the usual assumption of how to use visual material in ethnographic descriptions, whether to make photographs of the shelter, of artifacts or of the people illustrating these descriptions, I am using quite different visual material, as I will explain below, together with my analysis.

To focus on some selected aspects and to make it readable, the following quotations is shortened, but of course the original version is much longer, thus it is part of a longer passage. Here, the squared brackets mark these omissions and the passage starts at some point on my way to the shelter:

»I arrive at the building. Men sitting on the stairs at the entrance, some of them are smoking. I have to think about public agencies, poverty, and a male world. I feel being watched as a woman. I lock my bicycle a bit away from the building and enter it [...]. It was quite busy in the entrance area. To the left, there is a counter or a window going to another room. A young man is sitting on the sill [...]. A group of children around him. They speak Arabic. To the right, there are lots of people who all want to pass through a door. But the cluster of people halts and nobody moves on. As I am about to go there, the young man asks from behind: Can I help you? I turn around and he says: Are you a volunteer? I say »yes« and it makes the point quite clear to me that everybody can see who I am. The young man sitting down at his desk, asking for my name, which he writes down in a table together with the time of my arrival. After the formalities, he says »welcome to paradise« and I had to laugh. He guided me to the

- 2 LAF is the State Office of Asylum Affairs and stands for »Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten«. It was renamed from LaGeSo in August 2016.
- 3 »The chaotic and flawed commissioning for the opening of new shelters, accounted for by LaGeSo, created a damage of about 1,6 million Euro«, was reported by [www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-chaos-am-lageso-kostet-millionen/12959794.html](http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-chaos-am-lageso-kostet-millionen/12959794.html) (Access on 16/10/2017) and by [www.stilnberlin.de/2016/02/fugeela-refugees-in-berlin-13.html](http://www.stilnberlin.de/2016/02/fugeela-refugees-in-berlin-13.html) (Access on 16/10/2017).
- 4 [https://bbu.de/sites/default/files/articles/gefluechtete\\_in\\_deutschland\\_2016\\_daten-fakten-stand\\_dr\\_eckhoff.pdf](https://bbu.de/sites/default/files/articles/gefluechtete_in_deutschland_2016_daten-fakten-stand_dr_eckhoff.pdf) (Access on 17/10/2017).
- 5 According to the LaGeSo press office (based on their own statistics) there were living 13.580 refugees in 57 housings in January 2015, [www.berlin.de/sen/archiv/gessoz-2011-2016/2015/pressemitteilung.249458.php](http://www.berlin.de/sen/archiv/gessoz-2011-2016/2015/pressemitteilung.249458.php) (Access on 16/10/2017). According to Tagesspiegel (Schönball 2015), there were living 30.000 people in emergency shelters of the LaGeSo by the end of 2015.

door with the crowd. He said something in Arabic and all the people stepped back, moved their arms to open the way and made inviting gestures.«<sup>6</sup>

The search for the location, the entrance and the initiation rituals in this shelter have become the foundation of my sociological narration. Prominently one can see the performative speech act (Searle et al. 1980; Austin 1975) of opening the doors when saying »welcome to paradise« together with the adequate gestures of the inviting men. The quoted man refers to the well-known welcome-discourse or discourse of the welcome-culture in the context of the migration policy of Germany at that time, but by turning it around so that refugees welcome *me* to *their* world. Not only the slogan »refugees welcome«, created by a human rights initiative in the summer of 2015<sup>7</sup> is a reference here or the German »Willkommenskultur« (welcome-culture), which became a new entry in the Duden-dictionary in 2017<sup>8</sup> but the entanglement of different associations can be seen in this sentence. Especially the metaphor of the paradise makes use of more than one association: The symbolic word refers to the region of origin of the refugees, to the Middle East, in which the paradise, the »Garden of Eden«, has been located according to the Bible as well as according to the Koran. The paradise was located exactly there, where the war was going on, where the »hell on earth« (thus the semiotic opposite) was located in our time. It is a historical-religious reference to the Garden of Eden, but at the same time, a hedonistic reference to all what represents a paradise: the place where you can put all your imaginations about pleasure and enjoyment. Possibly, the irony was meant to describe also the inhuman social misery in the shelters, the hopelessness of being or waiting at this location and the great suffering of the people living there. I am staying with this short example or phrase cited in the passage, because it really has provoked a strong association in my mind also much later, long after I experienced it. When I was sitting at the desk before my field notes<sup>9</sup> I asked myself what kind of pictures I had in mind when hearing this sentence, and I have chosen a detail of a piece by Hieronymus Bosch to visualize them. Thus, the following picture serves as data material, in order to analyse the researcher's subjective imagination/s of a paradise.<sup>10</sup>

6 This is a translation of my own field notes, originally written in German.

7 Refugees Welcome is a project by the association »Mensch Mensch Mensch e.V.«. To the meaning and story of the so called welcome culture see Hamann/Karakayali (2016).

8 See [www.zeit.de/kultur/2017-08/neuaufgabe-duden-neue-woerter-postfaktisch-fluechtlingskrise](http://www.zeit.de/kultur/2017-08/neuaufgabe-duden-neue-woerter-postfaktisch-fluechtlingskrise) and [www.thelocal.de/20170807/selfie-fake-news-and-tablet-added-to-german-language-in-new-dictionary](http://www.thelocal.de/20170807/selfie-fake-news-and-tablet-added-to-german-language-in-new-dictionary) (Access on 16/10/2017).

9 The word paradise is unquestionably of deep symbolic meaning in a linguistic sense in terms of discourses as language, in CA, when acknowledging the structural power of such utterances in the situation and when identifying it as a marker of frame-shifting with Goffman's glasses.

10 Working with pictures in this manner has two main reasons. First, I do not want to show pictures of the people and of my observation on ethical grounds. Second, I consider it as a fruitful method to analyse imaginations we have in mind when thinking of a situation and remembering interaction in which we have been involved, because they can tell us something about dominant orders of knowledge. Thus, the use of pictures aims at reconstructing the emergence of patterns of interpretation and how discourses are framed within these patterns of interpretation. They are data and analysis





Fig. 1: pictorial quotation of the master piece of Hieronymus Bosch (Tolnay 1989, S. 225): Detail of The Garden of Earthly Delights (NL, between 1490 and 1510 n. Chr., Museo del Prado Madrid), which is part of a triptych.

Some of the readers might have very different pictures in mind when hearing the word »paradise«, some might think about a wellness vacation on tropical islands or be reminded of the television show »Survival Island«, just to mention a few possible associations. However, the arising imaginations, which come along when hearing a phrase or reading a text, are neither random, nor without references. Imaginations are rather a complex system of references both to the social and cultural background of the person who imagines and to the societal and cultural meanings inscribed into things and places.<sup>11</sup> As such, they are directly linked to collective orders of knowledge, thus constructed discursively. What does an imagination of the researcher tell us about discourses? There are two methodological implications for SKADE and this kind of procedure to be mentioned: that of common ethnographic principles and that of visual studies. First, (referring to ethnography), there are well known techniques in ethnographic research, which explain how to transform imaginations into descriptions, how to put pictures into words and how to visualize experiences. Stefan Hirschauer speaks about imaginations on the

at the same time. To follow such a procedure leads to the third accentuation of auto-ethnography, which will be outlined in the fourth chapter below.

- 11 For getting an overview in theories of imagination, see Herbrik (2013). See an empirical example in Wundrak (2014).



reader's side. He defines the ethnographic competence as »a two-fold ›translation‹« (Hirschauer 2007, S. 431): The ethnographers experience has to be transformed into text, the text has to be transformed into imaginations of readers. Here the researcher's imaginations serve as a visualization of her experiences. I consider the practice of using a picture in order to describe the meaning of the word »paradise« in the abovementioned example as one variation of an ethnographic technique. However, the ethnographers' experiences will not only be described, rather her/his imaginations are linked to collective meanings, in this case to a masterpiece. A visual artefact combined with the protocol (text) is used as both, as data material as well as a formulated hypothesis, thus as part of the analysis. Second (referring to the methodological implication of visual studies), the visualization and imagery of collective meanings and its use for interpretative analysis have been worked out (in the German-speaking sociology) by Jürgen Raab (2008), Roswitha Breckner (2010), Regine Herbrich (2013) or Stefan Müller-Dohm (2014). Discourses as a subject in visual studies as well as discourse research with pictures (as data material) have also become new areas of focus in qualitative research.<sup>12</sup> I too consider the abovementioned technique of using imagined discourses of the researcher as *one* variation of this methodological direction.

However, in the end, the technique I have chosen leads to the questions of triangulation, especially to the combination of plural data and methods: ethnographic, discourse and visual analysis has to be combined in a way, that it is fruitful for our SKADE. But how can I legitimate my triangulating procedure and what exactly do I believe to do methodologically?<sup>13</sup> This brings up the first accentuation of SKADE, I would like to suggest: the concept of a montage. The approach, which includes ethnographic, as well as discourse relevant data and methods, which is open for plural data material and methodological procedures, and which results in a discourse-ethnographic case study, could be defined as a montage. This concept is based on my thoughts about triangulation and its theoretical implications and it derives from Herbert Kalthoff's paper on triangulation (2010). For Herbert Kalthoff, triangulation is not a progressive validation of a pre-determined object assuming that more perspectives to one object would give a more realistic picture of the whole (object). This viewpoint creates the risk to fall back to a positivistic thinking, assuming that there is an object out there we can observe and understand (approximately in its entirety). He rather explains triangulation as a process, during which the researcher »mobilizes different relevancies« (Kalthoff 2010, S. 363). He introduced the term collage and has used it as a metaphor for that: the tensions between different data sets and methods as well as the constructivist view to research practice. While endorsing to Kalthoff's view, yet I remark one disadvantage, that of a collage as a static entity. Using the metaphor of a collage for triangulation is less reflecting the process which we always are confronted with, when working qualitatively. Therefore I suggest the term »montage« (Wundrak 2012) to name the specific (and constructivist) approach in dis-

12 See Kondor (2013), Lucht et al. (2013), Meier et al. (2014), Maasen (2015) and Traue (2013).

13 See also critical notes on the combination of methods and the uselessness (or even danger) to do so without reflection in Christoph Maeder's article in this issue.

course-ethnography. The metaphor (taken from cinematography) reflects the process of both, the practice of ethnographic research (the experiencing process) and the process and the shape of discourses (under study). I use montage as a concept dealing with ethnographic descriptions of discourses: In this sense it is nothing else than what Clifford Geertz (1973) called thick description, a finely spun web of meanings at which different data materials and different cultural modes of expression will be put together to a sociological story. However, the emphasis lies on the fact that such an ethnographic thick description includes the interaction in situ as well as the discursive (structural) framing of that situation (see Elliker in this issue). As Florian Elliker puts it, we aim at »an ethnographic in-depth study of local settings through which we gain a differentiated insight into how discourses as macro-level structures operate in everyday life« (Elliker, in this issue). This needs a methodological concept, which brings in the shared knowledge and shared practices, the researcher's experiences and her/his imaginations, a concept, which includes the relevance of discursive and the so called non-discursive practices. To see it as a montage when following SKADE means: a discourse-analysis is based on one case-reconstruction, thus one story of a situation a »tale of the field« (van Maanen 2011), in which the discursive framing is relevant as a structure as well as a product of that situation. Related to Kalthoff's idea, the concept of montage as a metaphor combines the constructivist with a process-based narrative perspective.<sup>14</sup>

Coming back to my example, we have to ask: What discursive relevance does the situation have according to the quoted protocol? What discursive relevance do I mobilize with my experienced participation in the field which led to that ethnographic story? In the first instance, I define the setting of entering the life- world of the shelter and the performance of welcoming as the starting point of my discourse-ethnographic story. To describe pointedly and including the researcher's associations, the interpretation of this entrance ritual can be condensed as an encounter of »strange men who promise the paradise to a white women«. Still, one can only understand the discursive meaning of this interaction with an ironic twist. It goes without saying that the message of irony lies in its opposite meaning. As the social context (on a macro-level), we can identify the official discourse of xenophobia in intersection with the gender-dispositive in society. The speech act, representing an ironic twist in that situation only gets its meaning within the ethno-sexist framing. In order to answer the question, how discourse relates to that local setting (see Elliker in this issue), it is helpful to look at the process (or time-line) and maps of migration discourses in a broader spatial and historical context. The connection between xenophobia and sexism in the context of asylum policy in Europe has become a new topic not only in the media but also scientifically, especially in the field of Migration Research and Gender Studies.<sup>15</sup> Anyway, the new topic represents a long-standing arche-

14 As I share the constructivist view to the practice of researching, I think that we actually produce objects during our research process by using methods. I call this conceptual view of »producing« a research-object »methodological constructivism« Wundrak (2012).

15 Dietze et al. (2009), Vollmer/Karakayali (2017), Funk (2016) and Espahangizi et al. (2016). The interaction between volunteers and refugees is the theme in the work of Isabella Enzler (2016). She analyses the processes of such relationships, newly called as befriending, when the supported social-

type, the racist metaphor that black men are over-sexualized or unrestrained and a threat to white, defenseless women (Redecker 2016; Davis 2011). Consequently, several articles have appeared since the »summer of migration« 2015 in Germany and more frequent after the New Year's Eve in Cologne and Hamburg in 2015. »After incidents of pickpocketing and sexual harassment were reported to have taken place [...] and been associated with perpetrators of North African descent, public discourse in Germany turned blatantly racist« writes Eva von Redecker (2016, S. 1) about these events, which happened three months after my field study. She also observes the »stark contrast to the relatively broad pro-immigration consensus of the previous autumn (author's note: autumn 2015) to the welcoming attitude of volunteer initiatives helping Syrian refugees« (ibid.). This contrast is exactly what is mirrored in my field protocol created a few months before that date. The irony in the situation gets its meaning especially within the discourse of a widespread racist and sexual panic and attitude against immigration in society. Newspapers came in for considerable criticism for their racist and sexist reaction to the sexual assaults in Cologne. Focus decided to run a picture of a naked white woman with black hand marks all over her body, as its front cover and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ), one of Germany's most respected liberal publications, apologized on Sunday for publishing a picture of a black arm reaching up between a pair of white female legs in its weekend edition.<sup>16</sup> The literature theorist Barbara Vinken (2016) explained the reaction to the event in Cologne by using the picture of the »rape of the Sabin women«, which metaphorically represents this archetypical panic against immigrants: in order to annex a nation, the invaders (strange men) steal and rape the women of that nation. Gabriele Dietze identifies this phenomenon concerning the here described events in 2015 as ethno-sexism, the »existing yet currently aggravated conceptualization of migration as a sexual problem« (Dietze 2016, S. 177). In the context of my studies, the racist belief that sexual violence was connected to skin color has been narrowed down to the »sexually dangerous Muslim refugee« as a figure of defense against migration« which according to Dietze has been instrumentalist in feminist and liberal attitudes for narratives of western superiority (ibid.).<sup>17</sup>

Again, we have to come back to the exemplary passage of my protocol and the question, how this discourse is linked to the local setting, I have experienced. It may be noted that this archetypical view is not the perspective of the (national=white) women nor of the (male) »strangers« in the quoted protocol. The rape of the Sabin women is a white men's perspective, expressing the fear to lose their women (their national property). In contrast to that, the auto-ethnographic passage mirrors the perspective of a women (researcher) and to some extent that of the black/strange men (refugees and volunteers who speak Arabic), especially the young man who utters the phrase »welcome to paradise« and the men who perform the welcoming gesture. The white women (the researcher), as she is represented in the text passage, does not see men who rape her but who »promise

ization is intended to become a friendly relationship or even friendship.

16 [www.thelocal.de/20160111/paper-apologizes-for-racist-cologne-attacks-covers](http://www.thelocal.de/20160111/paper-apologizes-for-racist-cologne-attacks-covers) (Access on 16/10/2017).

17 See also Dietzes references concerning racial ethnosexism to Mathieu (2014) and on new racisms against Muslim refugees to Augstein (2016).

her paradise«. The men she describes are not wild and strange (according to her descriptions), but welcoming. And still, it is the phenomenon of othering, which is going on in interaction, and the same order of knowledge behind the scene. Looking at the passage, one can see, that it is not only myself, the researcher's singular view towards the things that happen, it rather comes up in interaction by sharing a tacit knowledge of an ethno-sexist surrounding (or society), a knowledge, which needs to be »present« in order to understand the irony in the shelter's communication. Furthermore, the young Arab man may not have said the same words to a male volunteer and if, he would have known that he sends different messages depending on the gender of the addressed person. The male refugees may not have made the same welcoming gestures of gentlemen while seeing a male volunteer going to enter the shelter. By this means, the quoted passage mirrors both, the dominant white discourse of xenophobia and ethno-sexism as well as its counter-discourse, the opposite attitude of welcoming each other and turning ethno-sexism and racism ironically, towards openness and kindness. Although the people involved in the shelter (including the researcher) might have different views or might counter the dominant (racist) view on refugees, it is still (part of) the same discourse (the common dominant order of knowledge) the actors refer to.<sup>18</sup> What I mean to say is that the link between action and discourse is the link between two sides of the same coin.

I will not go further into the interrelation between racism, sexism and migration as it is not the purpose of this article to elaborate on this topic. It is rather to exemplify the methodological procedure on how to link the analysis of my own participant observation on a local, situational and interactional level with those discourses (on a macro-level), in which it is embedded. Furthermore, one should not stay too long at the first passage and become lost in theoretical thoughts, but follow the story by going on to the next passage of the field notes.

## HETEROTOPIA

Along with the continuation of my analysis, I will contrast and differentiate the proposed hypotheses. At the same time, I will discuss a second methodological accent to set for a discourse ethnography, that of heterotopia. To do this, I begin with quoting the next passage of my field notes:

»When entering a room, I only see a jumble of people: men, women and children, boxes and heaps of textiles, a jumble in which I am getting confused. [...] I am looking for people, that might be responsible [...] but nobody cares about me, all of them are busy, while smiling peacefully. At the end of the room, two doors lead to the left and to the right. To the left into a room with women's apparel, women and children,

18 The researcher belongs to a representative group of volunteers in Germany, namely those who are »overrepresented as compared to society at large: majorities of volunteers were female, well-educated and urban-dwelling. They also tended to be either younger than 30 or over 60 years old, and financially secure« (Gefäller 2017, S. 1). Luca Gefäller refers to the study on volunteers and asylum seekers in Germany by Karakayali and Kleist (2016).

who check out all the boxes, take clothes from the shelves and put some of them into their bags; to the right, a door leads to the ›man's room‹, which I don't enter. Subjecting myself under the bipolar gender-norms, I enter the room for women and children.«

The associations right at the beginning of my story, when I was confronted with men flanking my way and promising me the paradise, have changed now, but how? Again, I visualize my associations or illustrating the experienced new atmosphere by using a picture.



Fig. 2: The book people in Fahrenheit. Excerpt from the website:  
<https://coraliesays.wordpress.com/2015/04> (Access on 16/10/2017)

It is a snapshot of the movie ›Fahrenheit 451‹<sup>19</sup>, the location where the secret community of the book-people live. Their occupation is to learn by heart all the novels in order to memorize them for the next generations and protect the knowledge against the oppressive state. People in this science-fiction movie are completely submerged in their work, constructing a peaceful atmosphere by doing so. Thus, they look slightly introspective and do not see when somebody is coming to them or is new, as is the case in the movie-scene, when the fireman Guy Montag (Oskar Werner) enters the world of this community, the hidden sect of people who flout the law, each of whom have memorized a book to keep it alive. My own feelings entering the shelter and trying to understand the organ-

19 The movie was released in 1966, directed by Francois Truffaut and the main character Guy Montag is played by Oskar Werner. The movie is based on the dystopian novel Fahrenheit 451 by the American writer Ray Bradbury, first published in 1953 (Bradbury 2003).

isational actions reminded me of that scene, identifying with the protagonist as a newcomer to the book-people's world. I experienced a kind of peaceful occupation among the volunteers with a polite form of ignorance to each other with a ›civil inattention‹ (Goffman 1972). An evident but not (through speech) articulated sense of community, belonging and solidarity might be the communicative construction of »what is going on here«. As also explained in the passage above, I tried again to enter the place in the »right manner« and I tried to understand the rules of interaction within this place. I did this by observing their kind of movements, scanning their ›bodily navigation‹ (Hirschauer 2005). I was adapting to their behaviour and interaction, learning by doing and starting to do the same jobs, they did which I observed.

Methodologically, there are three elements to be mentioned in this passage: first, a rule of entering and becoming part of the field, second, a tacitly constructed atmosphere with a specific notion of time and third, the symbolic function of the interaction for the outside world (as e.g. the books people represent as a community of resistance inside a repressive regime).

Analysing the entanglement of these elements gave me the idea of a second accentuation to set in discourse-ethnography: the Foucauldian concept of heterotopias. In the following, I would like to introduce the concept of heterotopias and explain how it fits in with an ethnographic methodology.

According to Foucault, heterotopias are real (geographically, physically) places in contrast to the imaginative utopias (Foucault 2002). They probably exist in every culture and civilization. They are »something like counter-sites«, »Other places« of society, that »can be found within the culture« and that are »simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted with the space in which they are embedded« (ibid., S. 239). The abovementioned elements, which I found in my field notes, are also, according to Foucault, relevant markers for heterotopias. At the same time these criteria could serve as points of reference to ethnography:

(1) The first element (entering and becoming part of the field) is one key aspect of participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork. The ethnographic imperative ›Diving into the world‹ (Gobo/Molle 2017) always leads one to ask what kind of world do I enter, how do I get access, where does the life-world start I am interested in and where does it end? Live-world analysis means to learn to be a member and to fathom out the boundaries of a social phenomenon, field or organization. One of the principles of heterotopias is that it has always an opening and closing, respectively an including and excluding system.

»Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures.« (Foucault 2002, S. 243)



Foucault mentions various (historical) examples to describe this system in the same way as ethnographers prefer to do: he describes *practices* within the heterotopias. It is not (a specific) language that characterises a specific heterotopia, but action (interaction) of individuals.

(2) The second element (a tacitly constructed atmosphere) is as relevant as the first: The intrinsic logic of its self-organisation marks heterotopias as a concept and is also characteristic for scholars who are interested in practices. As one can see in my observation, the action of »helping« as a »doing« is the specific practice in the shelter, without instructions being articulated. We fulfil this action by following the instructions within this place. If the action needs to be instructed at all, it is mostly an embodied teaching (Schindler 2017). There is also a part of tacit knowledge, the volunteers may bring already with them when entering the shelter. That is why the organisational action works out without saying and runs together with the abovementioned peaceful atmosphere in its own temporal structure. Not least the room-organisation, divided into a men's and a women's department reflect the gender dispositive and with that the structural system and intrinsic logic of heterotopias.

(3) Third, a heterotopia is according to Foucault meaningful in its symbolic function for the outside world:

»Each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, in accordance with the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another.« (Foucault 2002, S. 241)

To connect this characteristic to ethnographic methodology is slightly more complicated as it is not shared by all ethnographers that an observed live-world is a kind of functional bubble within a society like Foucault's definition of heterotopia may possibly suggests. As Elliker elaborates (in this issue) by discussing the many variations of ethnographic approaches concerning the relationship between the micro and macro levels, this might be one of the sticking points for a discourse ethnography. As he points out that »local settings, thus, are not simply »empty« vessels through which macro-level forces are reproduced, but are centrally implied in how these social forces are maintained, transformed, and how they lead to social outcomes« (Elliker in this issue). He follows Adele Clarke's (2005) approach not to disaggregate an observation into a situation on the one hand and contextual conditions on the other. Clarke rather suggests to overcome the concept of context and to identify the conditions of the situation *within* a situation. Supporting these assumptions, I would suggest that a heterotopia could serve as *one possible* methodological tool for discourse theoretically informed ethnographers considering this dialectic relation. There is the (discourse-ethnographic compatible and simple) question of what kind of function a heterotopia unfolds within a society. That function differs depending on what is done and changed on a local, situational level, but also, how society defines or transforms its meaning. It is following Foucault's idea that heterotopias

»have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more il-



lusory [...]. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation.« (Foucault 2002, S. 243)

As my suggestion is to use the concept of heterotopia as a tool for discourse-ethnography in general (whenever appropriate to the research phenomenon), one can specifically ask for the function of refugees' shelters (as heterotopias) and how is society creating and transforming its function? This is not the place to go in detail to migration theory, still, the (social) »figure of a refugee« as well as the »camp« is an archetype described by many scholars in critical theory (Agamben 2010; Arendt 1959) and critical refugee studies (Malkki 1995). As a social figure, a refugee challenges the political model of territory, nation and state, it questions the difference or relationship between biological, human and political being. »Refugees reveal the limits of any assumed continuity between ›man‹ and ›citizen‹ in the system of nation-states and in the related concept of human rights« (Owens 2009, S. 578). Owens explains Agamben's view (in contrast to Arendt's view) on refugees. He sees refugees

»as the ultimate ›biopolitical‹ subjects: those who can be regulated and governed [...] in a permanent ›state of exception‹ outside the normal legal framework – the camp. In camps, he argues, refugees are reduced to ›bare life‹: humans as animals in nature without political freedom.« (Owens 2009, S. 568)

Camps and – as a variation with the same symbolic connotation – shelters, about which I am talking in this empirical example, are places with organised practices and techniques used to produce, care for and/or dominate individual subjects.<sup>20</sup>, or even dehumanize them. Scholars in migration studies currently discuss camps in relation to the concept of heterotopias. Serhat Karakayali and Vasilis Tsianos describe the (hundreds of) camps in Europe in the context of procedures and practices of the »fortress Europe« since the 1990s as »heterotopias of migration« (Karakayali/Tsianos 2008, S. 340). The authors belong to a group, which developed the autonomy of migration as a concept (AoM) pointing out the relation between the controlling mechanisms and regimes on the one hand and the migrants' practices of appropriation and subversion within border regimes on the other (Scheel 2013; Papadopoulos et al. 2010). Saskia Witteborn discusses the heterotopia referring to the digital practices of refugees (2014).

In the context of the current relevance of an increasing volunteer work in the field of asylum in Germany/Europe and its dominant media presence, the shelter is getting another heterotopistic function: The volunteers find deceleration, even (and I mean it as cynically as it is) recovery of the stressful daily live. They find a location, where values of solidarity and social connection are negotiated. It could even serve to some extent as a relaxation programme for those, who are fed up with the fast, meritocratic and money-hun-

20 This is in the protocol mirrored in the discriminating view that the volunteers are the ones who are acting whereas the refugees are objectified.

gry world. But also in the context of a very misanthropic and xenophobic policy of exclusion (in Germany, in Europe especially against migrants) and in a wider context in the fast moving, fluctuating capitalistic world, the refugees' shelter represents a space with slow motion, where acting is calmed down, silent and peaceful, where solidarity seems to rule.

4.) The fourth characteristic of a heterotopia to be mentioned here indicates the advantages of the concept for discourse-ethnography, not least because it is as important for an ethnographic approach as the spatial dimension: the time dimension. Foucault links the time structure – he calls it heterochrony – to the concept of heterotopia. »The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time« (Foucault 2002, S. 242). Related to time, he divides two forms of heterotopias: One heterochrony is a perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, a »quasi-eternity in which her permanent lot is dissolution and disappearance« (ibid.).

»Opposite these heterotopias that are linked to the accumulation of time, there are those linked, on the contrary, to time in its most fleeting, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival. These heterotopias are not oriented toward the eternal, they are rather absolutely temporal [chroniques].« (Foucault 2002, S. 242)

The examples he gives, the cemetery and the museum, are places in which humans become non-humans, only represented in coffins and corpses, artefacts or pictures. The shelter, I would suggest, is a highly heterotopic place in both senses of Foucault's definition. On the one hand, people are not able to act, being endless on hold, experiencing the pain of waiting, burdened with the past traumata while not being allowed to plan their future. They are in a »place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time« (Foucault 2002, S. 242). On the other hand, the place is meant to be provisional; everything of its architecture and organization is made to be temporarily, is made to become eventually superfluous and should sooner or later disappear. Not least the language is characterized through meanings of fluctuation and interim solution, which should ideally happen, in a fast manner, as the word »emergency« suggests. Emergency means that one can enter easily and quickly without bureaucratic efforts, the same process is envisaged in order to allow a speedier and smoother exit. Once you are in, you have to think about how to leave and you have to fear to be removed before you manage to find a long-term place to live. There is also a third form of heterotopia compatible with the function of a shelter in society, the heterotopia of crisis. Foucault thinks about such places, which »are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.« (ibid., S. 240).

Recapped, I consider the concept of heterotopia fruitful for an ethnographic (and discourse-theoretical) perspective, because of its reflexion of power structures in society, first in its relation to the »outside« world and second in its materiality and concretion.

In the next chapter, there will be a further thematic issue in the center but at the same time, I will lead to the next methodological accentuation, that of auto-ethnography.

### **Auto-Ethnography or: how I became a mother and then got ill**

»A woman, wearing a headscarf, looks thin, young, poor and ill. Next to her, two small boys around four or five are sitting on the floor together with a crying baby [...]. I think that's the perfect opportunity [...] and I take the baby in my arms, the mother turns around, smiles and addresses again the clothing. I am swaying the baby in my arms [...] It smells tartly of wet diapers, it smells of illness [...] and has a runny nose. I think about diseases like hepatitis or tuberculosis. [...] The smell is even in my nose while I am writing the protocol. [...]

With the baby in my arms, that has slowly calmed down has become heavier, I thought that's quite a good position for both: to be able to ›help‹ in this situation and to be able to observe the interaction without being recognized as a researcher. I also thought the baby must have gained confidence because it tugs at my sleeves and falls asleep which made my situation even more comfortable. I see two women [...] in their 50s and slightly overweight.

They both are involved in tidying clothes or hanging them up [...] I can hear her saying: pretty nice, isn't it? And I think, they might be overwhelmed by the help. [...] She approaches me with a [...] baby pillow and gestures something and then she says in English: for the baby. I reacted by shaking my head and saying, [...] I am not the mother, the mother is over there, I point to the woman. [...]... Her mistake in interpretation confirms me in my doing and my role and I am going to enjoy swaying the baby [...]with that I combined my egoistic desire, being a mother (with) helping refugees –what I came to the place for, and last but not least I combined it with my participant observation.«

At this moment, my own feelings, thoughts, affects as well as its consequences in the long run (that I had to stay three weeks in bed because of an influenza virus) become even more dominant than in my notes or the sequence before. The researcher's subjectivity and reflexivity is at the centre of the data. The dominance of subjectivity has two implications: First, in a feminist (postcolonial) methodological point of view, this tells a lot about the power structures of society in which the data emerged and where the researcher as the producer of this data is positioned. The abovementioned heterotopia gets the function of a camp/storage of not welcomed people who – significantly – have not been given much voice by the researcher (myself) in the protocol. According to this passage, the abovementioned heterotopia is strongly characterized by the perspective of the dominant, white culture of majority, represented as volunteers and as the one and only observer.

Second, the dominant subjectivity and reflexivity implies the method itself, namely the fact, that subjectivity *is* the epistemological source and reflection *is* the method to un-

fold subjectivity – again in both, the interaction in which the person was involved and the protocol the same person has written. To read it as such, the heterotopia even provides an »oasis of helping« for »clients« like the researcher as she is represented in the protocol, who wants to take a break from the neo-liberal pressure of success, individualisation and meritocracy, who enjoys the »experience of help«. What I describe as odd behaviour of the other women and what I found so embarrassing about *their* behaviour, namely that they were overwhelmed by their own helping activity, is precisely what mirrors my own thoughts and feelings, falls back to the subjectivity of the researcher and author of the protocol.

But how does a discourse analysis benefit from considering these implications? What is the methodological point of both implications, the reflexivity concerning the position of the researcher within power-relations and the subjectivity of experiencing this situation? At least it makes the fact quite clear, that this is othering in its most basic figuration; othering within the observed interaction and again in the data (the text protocol), othering which is deeply embedded in orders of knowledge in every-day life.

This leads to the last accent which I want to suggest for the programme of SKADE: Discourse ethnography should be practiced as discourse analysis based on auto-ethnography.

Reflection and self-analysis is the main source for new findings and grounding theories in auto-ethnography. According to Ellis (2010) it means to systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. This is not about anything new in qualitative methods from its basis but more an integral part of ethnography overall. Many scholars believe that ethnography per se is a method using the self as a resource (Collins/Gallinat 2010) and does not necessarily have to be differentiated from what is called auto-ethnography. Others currently discuss the way, how, when and why subjectivity, reflection and the researcher's self should be part of an ethnographic story (as author, as object, as phenomenon etc.) in their different methodological communities.<sup>21</sup> Auto-ethnography has been reformulated and made it a new approach in this context. In current research practice it might be common sense that the perspective of the researcher is everything but objective, but there are still no scientific standards concerning the role of the researcher. How to deal with subjectivity, involvement and positioning is not a criteria, which strictly influences research evaluation. Some ethnographers may demonstrate their auto-ethnographic practices in their works, others not. Often those who openly write about auto-ethnographic interpretation are confronted with evaluators who only then notice and therefore think about subjectivity as a criteria of scientific quality. However, in discourse analysis it is not yet state of the art to use subjectivity as a source. Thus, the first step is to transfer its techniques to the SKADES' programme. The definition of ethnography by Christoph Lüders is a good starting point for that: He says that ethnography is »a flexible, context-related strategy« (Lüders 2004, S. 224) and emphasises reflexion as the core competence of the ethnographer (Lüders 2004; Hammersley/Atkinson 2010). Discourse ethnography thus shall be understood as a discourse anal-

21 Ploder/Stadlbauer (2016), Müller (2016), Bonz et al. (2017), Breuer (2010) and Schindler (2017).

ysis in which reflection is in its centre. In my perspective, it is the task of a discourse-ethnographer to ask the following questions one after the other: How come that this utterance in interaction came up in communication? How come that this utterance came up again in my protocol in this way and not in any other way? What do the answers to the questions tell us about discourses and their effects in practice?

Jochen Bonz speaks of »irritation« as an umbrella term for all kinds of emotions (fear, hope, disgust) and its confusions as well as its arousals. Reflection of irritation during the research process is a tool for him to identify the entanglement of subjectivity and research field (Bonz et al. 2017).<sup>22</sup> He explains the process as to deal with an »interactive two-sidedness«, the psycho-analytical and the ethnographic relation. This two-sidedness is given first, because all participants involved react with their (own) counter transferences. Second and at the same time, they have the sensorium to recognise and observe their own transferences and to interpret them sociologically, thus in their situational, biographical and cultural contexts. (Bonz et al. 2017, S. 11). In this respect, I suggest the ethno-psychoanalysis (based on Alfred Lorenzer (1971), established as a school by George Devereux (1967)<sup>23</sup> and elaborated methodologically by Maja Nadig (Hegener 2004), when defining my own technique related to the empirical example in this protocol. Beyond that, auto-ethnography could serve as an important tool in discourse ethnography and should participate in or profit from the fact that it is currently (fortunately and necessarily) broadly discussed and reformulated by sociologists.

The aim is – according to a discourse analytical purpose – to find knowledge-power-language relation in the data, consequently, to find knowledge-power-language relation in the subjectivity of the researcher. What might look as self-centered analysis of a researcher and her feelings at first glance, has also a second consequence: not the refugees are the research object, the objectified element under study. Rather the analysis is turned back to the researcher and her position within power structures and orders of knowledge.

## Conclusion: programmatic thoughts of the SKADE

In this article, I aimed to show the relevance and benefiting of an ethnographic approach in discourse analysis. Theoretically, it is based on the sociology of knowledge approach (SKAD) in discourse analyses, like Reiner Keller has worked out (2011). Discourse eth-

22 Bonz differentiates between ethno-psycho-analysis and auto-ethnography – synonymous with the distinction between weak and strong reflexivity Ploder/Stadlbauer (2016). I understand this distinction as owed to the need of clarification, the authors rightly point out. Nevertheless, this distinction loses the clear line when it comes to practice, because, as mentioned at the beginning, some ethnographers claim to be the actual and first scientists who use reflection as a tool and who claim for a definition of ethnography in which reflection is – as I quoted – in its centre. Furthermore one can still be confused by all kinds of attempts to find the right words, what subjectivity actually is: a filter Emerson et al. (2011) an epistemological window (Breuer/Roth 2003; Breuer 2010), a tool, or – as I would also call it – a source (Kisfalvi 2006).

23 See also Kuehner (2016).

nography based on the sociology of knowledge approach, as Reiner Keller also already suggested as a fruitful relationship in 2003, stands for an approach, called SKADE, that suggests how to do discourse analysis ethnographically. My programmatic suggestion for a »Sociology of Knowledge Approach in Discourse Ethnography« has been developed in the frame of my last research projects (Wundrak 2016a; Wundrak/Ransiek 2016; Wundrak 2009). Furthermore, there are methodological concepts I outlined in this article in order to elaborate the SKADE for an empirical, analytical implementation. By doing so, I wanted to discuss similarities and differences between this and other discourse analytical approaches as well as to set some new accents for studies in which pluralism of data and triangulation has been chosen as methodological procedures. Given the fact that developing a programme of the »The Sociology of Knowledge Approach in Discourse Ethnography« is work in progress, I focussed on three (possible) accentuations in this article: First, to use the concept of a montage as the theoretical background for the specific triangulation of a discourse-ethnography, second, to use Foucault's concept of heterotopia and third, to integrate reflection and auto-ethnography in discourse research. By discussing these concepts, I exemplified my analysis using my latest data collected in a shelter for refugees, my experiences there as a volunteer, thus focusing on the phenomenon of migration and asylum policy in Germany. Such discourses as the so called »welcome culture«, »summer of migration« or that of closing the borders and »stopping« the flight by sea are the contexts in which the observation was embedded. In media and on a national level, meanings of solidarity and exclusion as well as discourses around institutional help and panic (Cologne-events 2015) happened alongside. The three accentuations, I am suggesting in this article, are connected to this thematic field, but should not be understood as limited to that field. Rather, they could help to develop discourse ethnographic studies, whenever appropriate to the research phenomenon.

The sociological montage could be established as the adequate »genre« for a discourse-ethnography. I use the concept of montage as a metaphor for combining methods with a constructivist and processual perspective, based on triangulation. According to that assumption, triangulation is not a progressive and self-triggering validation of a pre-determined object assuming that more perspectives to one object or one case gives a more realistic picture of the whole. It is not a deepening or consolidation of hypotheses about *an object*. What the researcher is actually doing is to *construct* (research) objects. I call this approach (which lies behind that assumption) »methodological constructivism« (Wundrak 2012).<sup>24</sup> Thus, to create a montage (based on triangulation and the methodological constructivism) means that the actions of people involved, their speeches, my observations, my own thoughts and associations together with the references to (official and collective) discourses, the imaginations and thoughts implicated, are all part of a sociological story to be produced. Furthermore, in SKADE, discourses are seen as structures of interdependences in which the researcher is involved and participates in the construction of a discursive reality. In addition to visualization of my own thoughts, I con-

24 According to the theoretical background of the sociology of knowledge, this should be understood as a social construction of research objects (Berger/Luckmann 1966).



sider the use of plural visual and other material as an effective way, including artefacts or pictures of artefacts in the surrounding.

To define a space or location in its function within a broader societal context, I propose to use the concept of heterotopia, which Foucault has introduced, as the second accentuation of SKADE. Heterotopias are counter-sites, »the Other place« of society, that can be found within the culture and that are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted with the space in which they are embedded. I consider the shelters in particular and the migrant's world in general as such heterotopias. When combining discourse analytical space (as a social knowledge system) with an ethnographic approach, the opening and closing mechanism of such spaces come into focus. The entering act of the researcher, for example, can take place symbolically, but also an embodied, special, temporal and material involvement is essential for a participant observation. Also in the Foucauldian heterotopology, the institutional intrinsic logic of a space is important. Related to that, heterotopias are specific patterns of action *and* interpretation – similar to the life-world concept of Alfred Schütz (1966) (and where hermeneutics and discourse theory fits together very well). To analyse the function of this small world for the society as a whole, the approach of SKADE should include the temporal, spatial and corporal effects of discourses in combination with text, symbols and imaginations (on the level of language). The idea of using the concept of heterotopias for discourse ethnographies is not motivated just because of its Foucauldian theoretical origin. It rather provides the main parameters for a discourse-analysis that comprises spatial, architectonical, physical, embodied and symbolic meanings at the same time. Furthermore, Foucault identifies these specific places in specific cultures and regions by describing them in terms of action of individuals or groups and in terms of social practices. According to a social constructivist view, his point is that one heterotopia can change its function over time and in the wake of social change. Thus, to analyse heterotopias means to analyse sociality in a discourse-ethnographical way.

The third accentuation is to see discourse ethnography as a reflective research practice. The approach needs to be extended with self-reflection, by using the researcher's experience as a way to the inner mechanisms of discourses in a life-world. Such a procedure includes the main assumptions of interpretative research, which are already basic tools in other qualitative methods like participant observation. Discourse ethnography that uses the technique of auto-ethnography thus shall be understood as a discourse analysis in which reflection is in its centre. Auto-ethnography and life-world ethnography will be combined in this approach as a link between discourse and experience. We could define discourse ethnography according to the first two accents I have introduced as first, the imagined, embodied, materialized and observed discourses in a situation (montage) and second, to give a discourse a place and acting network within society (heterotopia). Here, in the third accent, the focus lies on the reconstruction of a discourse by looking at the entanglement of the researcher and her/his field, thus by looking at subjectivity as a data source. A discourse ethnography which follows the sociology of knowledge approach implies not only that the every-day life (in which interaction happens), the life-worlds and assemblages become an important arena of discourses. Furthermore, subjectivity be-



comes under the terms of interpretative research a central epistemological source, a source of knowledge about discourses.

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## Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie (WDE)?

Die Kombination von Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie als Suchbewegung zwischen Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit

**Zusammenfassung:** In diesem Beitrag wird die Frage nach einer wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie in folgenden Schritten bearbeitet. Eingangs erfolgt eine kurze Darstellung unterschiedlicher Realisierungslinien diskursanalytischer Zugänge. Diese werden alle auf ihren Kern – die *Frage nach der machtmässigen Produktion und Verteilung von Wahrheit(en)* – zugespitzt. Der Befund wird dann im Hinblick auf den Ertrag für die wissenssoziologische Theorie im Anschluss an Berger und Luckmann (1969) verortet. Mit der Auslegeordnung von Diskurstheorien und deren punktuelle Anbindung an die Wissenssoziologie wird das Verhältnis von Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit in den bekannten ethnographischen Konzeptionen thematisiert, um dann abschliessend eine These zu einer wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie formulieren zu können.

**Schlagwörter:** Wissenssoziologie, Diskursanalyse, Ethnographie, Forschungsmethoden

**Summary:** This paper explores the questions around the combination of discourse analysis and ethnography step by step. First, we give a short overview on different lines of discourse analysis and find them culminate around the question of the production and distribution of truth by means of power. This finding are then questioned in terms of their yield for the sociology of knowledge, following Berger and Luckman (1969). With the interpretation of discourse theories and their selective connection to the sociology of knowledge, the relationship between truth and reality is addressed in the known ethnographic conceptions. Finally, a thesis on a sociological discourse ethnography can be formulated.

**Keywords:** Sociology of Knowledge, Discourse Analysis, Ethnography, Research Methods

### Vorbemerkung und Einleitung

In den 60er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts adaptierte der Erdölkonzern ESSO in Deutschland eine in den USA erfolgreiche Werbekampagne für Treibstoffe, die Schnelligkeit, Angriffslust und Kraft mittels eines Raubtiers symbolisierte: »Pack den Tiger in den Tank« hiess der verwendete Slogan von 1965 bis 1968. Und obwohl auch die anschliessend folgende Werbung »Es gibt viel zu tun. Packen wir's an« recht erfolgreich gewesen sein soll, so blieb doch eher der Tiger, und weniger die unbestimmte Aktivitätsaufforderung, im Gedächtnis der Verbraucher haften. In den 1990er Jahren wurde dann der Tiger als Werbefigur auch wiederbelebt und als grosse Figur auf Tankstellendächern aufgestellt. So konnte der Dichter Robert Gernhardt in seinem Gedichtband »Weiche Ziele« Christian Morgensterns Gedicht »Das Einhorn lebt von Ort zu Ort nur noch als Wirtshaus fort« mit der Zeile »Der Tiger lebt von Ort zu Ort nur noch als Werbung fort« ergänzen und parodieren.

Diese kleine Geschichte über eine gelungene Werbung kommt einem als eine Art Rahmenfigur für die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff der wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie (WDE) in den Sinn. Irgendwie wird mit dem gekoppelten Begriff von Diskurs und Ethnographie, ganz ähnlich wie mit der Verbindung von Tiger und Benzin, ein Versprechen formuliert und gesetzt, das zu vielem Tun im Hinblick auf Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie auffordert, aber gleichzeitig doch auch einen etwas plakativen und übertriebenen Charakter aufweist. Ob demnach schliesslich der dritte Reim dann lauten wird »Die Ethnographie lebt von Ort zu Ort im Diskurstext fort« oder ob es dann umgekehrt gar heissen wird »Der Diskurs lebt von Ort zu Ort im Ethnographietext fort«, das sei hier offengelassen. Doch vielleicht sind die Verhältnisse gar nicht so polar und wir haben es eher mit einer Art »Assemblage« aus *Diskurstheorie* und *Ethnographie* zu tun. Ganz so, wie wir das aus den neuesten »Science, Technology and Society«-Ansätzen her kennen. An dieser Stelle sollen die Spekulationen nun aber abgebrochen werden, um sich systematischer mit dem Verhältnis von Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie zu befassen.

## Diskursanalysen

Als Diskurse werden in den Sozial- und Sprachwissenschaften gemeinhin jene Anordnungen von Wissen und Praxis bezeichnet, bei denen es im Kern um die machtmäßige Durchsetzung von Wahrheit(en) geht. Was jeweils z.B. als vernünftig und wahnsinnig (Foucault 1986), gesund oder krank (Foucault 1988), beherrschbar oder verloren (Foucault 2000), utopisch oder real (Foucault 1990) gilt, das wird in Anordnungen von zu Wissenssystemen geronnener und angewendeter Expertise machtmäßig in der materiellen und in der praktischen Welt durchgesetzt. Diese Konstellation des Diskurses als Resultat, Effekt und Praxis von Wissen findet sich als ein Gerüst in den Werken von Michel Foucault, der den Begriff des »Diskurses« als eine eigene Konzeption jenseits der französischen Alltagssprache in die Sozialwissenschaften eingebracht hat.

Die bekannten Beispiele für die Foucault'schen diskursanalytischen Zugriffe beschäftigen sich im dreibändigen Werk unter dem Titel »Sexualität und Wahrheit« mit der *Genese des Subjekts* als einer sozialen Schöpfung, bestehend aus dem Willen zum Wissen (Foucault 1977a), dem Gebrauch der Lüste (Foucault 1989a) und der Sorge um sich (Foucault 1989b). Dieses mit den »Technologien des Selbst« (Foucault 1993) gerüstete Subjekt wird nun immer wieder und überall einer vielfältigen Mikrophysik der Macht (Foucault 1977c) exponiert, durch die es mittels institutionalisierter Formen der Organisation von Strafjustiz und Gefängnis (Foucault 1977b), Normalität und Wahn in der Psychiatrie (Foucault 1986) und klinischer Medizin (Foucault 1988) zu den entsprechenden Wahrheiten geführt wird. Mit anderen Worten wird das Subjekt durch vielfältige Techniken und Praktiken immer wieder im Sinn einer Normierung und Normalisierung diszipliniert. Dieser Perspektive der Disziplinierung verdanken wir die fundamentale Einsicht, dass die gesellschaftliche Formierung, Produktion und Verteilung von Subjekten mit ihrem Willen und ihren Fähigkeiten in einem an verschiedenen Stellen ablaufenden Pro-



zess der Formung oder Entfaltung von und durch *Macht* geschieht. Diese »produktive Macht« kann zwar ihrerseits von Subjekten ausgeübt werden, aber ihre nachhaltige Wirkung zur Aufrechterhaltung von Wahrheit liegt auch in den Strukturen der Anordnung der Dinge. Das ideale Merkbeispiel für eine solche sich entfaltende, das Subjekt umfassende und disziplinierende Macht finden wir im Panoptikum. Dort wird anhand einer in die Architektur übersetzten sozialen Kontrollanordnung vorgeführt, welche im wahrsten Wortsinn »Wahnsinns«-Mächte den einzelnen umgeben können, um ihn zur Besserung, d.h. zur sichtbaren Kooperation durch Unterwerfung zu bringen. Fast 200 Jahre nach Bentham und etwa 40 Jahre nach Foucault wissen wir natürlich auch um die Schwächen solcher Architekturen der Macht und können der Archäologie des Wissens (Foucault 1971, 2002) weitere und auch kritische Schichten der Erkenntnis über diskursive Strukturen hinzufügen. Denn die reale Macht des Panoptikums ist, wenn sie vollständig ausgeübt wird, wie z.B. in modernen Hochsicherheitsgefängnissen geschehen (Genders/Player 1995; Cohen/Taylor 1972) auch eine relativ sichere Methode zur Erzeugung von Wahnsinn und anderen psychischen Krankheiten bei den Unterworfenen.

In einem Foucault schon fast vergleichbaren Arbeitsfuror hat der deutsche Soziologe Reiner Keller die hier nur skizzierte, aber sehr umfang- und folgenreiche Konzeption zum Wesen des Diskurses mit der neuen deutschen Wissenssoziologie in der Folge von Berger und Luckmann (1969) verbunden. Er hat daraus das geschöpft, was heute unter dem Kürzel WDA als »Wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse« (Keller 2006) bekannt ist. Diese wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse stellt heute neben den als »kritisch« (Wodak/Meyer 2001) oder als »poststrukturalistisch« (Angermüller 2010) bezeichneten Varianten die vermutlich am weitesten verbreitete Form soziologischer Diskursanalyse dar. Dies gilt jedenfalls ziemlich sicher für den deutschsprachigen Raum. Die »kritische Diskursanalyse« könnte man in diesem Zusammenhang dann als eine Art »Echo aus Frankfurt« insofern bezeichnen, als dass sie sich moralisch, d.h. als kritische Sozialwissenschaft, positioniert und damit natürlich ihre wissenschaftliche Distanz zu ihren Gegenständen im Politischen oft einbüßt. Die »poststrukturalistische Diskursanalyse« schließlich ist nur vor dem Hintergrund französischer Theorieentwicklung verständlich. Auch dann, wenn sie sich insbesondere im Feld der Erziehungswissenschaften nun im deutschsprachigen Raum ausbreitet (vgl. dazu Fegter et al. 2015) und sich dabei leider eher durch einen hermetischen und schwer verständlichen Sprachduktus und weniger durch theoretische Schärfe oder eine gelungene Anwendung auszeichnet.

Die Eingebettetheit der WDA in die neue, d.h. die »Post-Mannheim'sche« Wissenssoziologie in der Folge von Berger und Luckmann (1969), unterscheidet sich von der kritischen und der poststrukturalistischen Variante insofern deutlich und klar, als sie direkt an die bedeutendste Strömung sozialkonstruktivistischer Soziologie des 20. Jahrhunderts mit ihrer starken Alltags- und Handlungsorientierung angebunden ist. Die WDA kann – dies in aller Kürze – als ein in der gesellschaftlichen Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit fehlendes Kapitel gelesen werden. Die vielschichtigen Zusammenhänge von Sozialstruktur und subjektivem Sinn, von institutionellem Kontext und Erleben, kurz von Objektivität und Subjekt, so wie sie Berger und Luckmann (1969) in ihrer Theorie formuliert haben, weisen nämlich in mindestens zwei Dimensionen Lücken auf: Umfassende *Macht* und



Prozesse der *Makrostrukturierung* von modernen Gesellschaften kommen bei ihnen nicht systematisch als ›propria sua‹ vor, sondern sind eher in das unscharfe Konzept der symbolischen Sinnwelten eingelagert. Sie stehen dann zwar durchaus als »Nomos« (Berger 1988, S. 20 ff.) für die institutionell darunterliegenden Ordnungen wie schützende Dächer zur Verfügung. Doch bleiben sie letztlich als Kräfte im Hintergrund einfach unterstellt und entziehen sich einer klaren Konturierung, Adressierung und Konzeptualisierung. Im Gegensatz dazu sind die viel kräftiger ausgearbeiteten Mikrostrukturen von Externalisierung, Routinisierung, Typisierung, Habitualisierung, Legitimierung und Tradierung umfassender in diese Wissenssoziologie eingeschrieben.

So gesehen eröffnete die WDA einen ganzen neuen Kosmos für wissenssoziologische Analysen in der Tradition des Sozialkonstruktivismus (Knoblauch 2015). Die WDA schärft nicht nur den Blick für die Entfaltung und die Praxis von Macht und Disziplin in Alltag und Wissenschaft, sondern sie erlaubt es überhaupt erst mittels ihrer Konzepten wie z.B. den Diskursfeldern, den diskursiven Formationen, den diskursiven Praktiken und Strategien, den diskursiven Ereignissen usw., einen erkennbar systematischen und theoriegeleiteten Zugriff auf wichtige gesellschaftliche Phänomene (vgl. dazu exemplarisch Schwab-Trapp 2006) der sogenannten Makroebene vorzunehmen. Genauer gesagt: die WDA erlaubt es situations- und handlungsübergreifende Aspekte von gesellschaftlicher Ordnung zu erkennen und zu benennen. D.h., das was bei Max Weber noch metaphorisch als Geist beschrieben werden musste, wird hier theoriegeleitet operationalisiert und für die soziologische Beschreibung und Analyse fassbarer gemacht.

Zusammenfassend können wir festhalten, dass die Frage nach den jeweils durch Organisation und Disziplin vermittelten und in einer Gesellschaft gültigen Wahrheit(en) die Möglichkeitsräume der ihnen exponierten Subjekte in der klassischen Diskursanalyse ausmachen. Doch die Möglichkeiten zur Produktion von Wahrheit(en) selber werden durch die wissenssoziologische Theorie begrenzt. Oder anders formuliert verweist die Keller'sche Erweiterung und Vertiefung der sozialen Konstruktion mittels WDE darauf, wenn es im Schlüsseltext der Wissenssoziologie heißt: »In nuce steckt es schon in Pascals berühmten Ausspruch, dass die Wahrheit auf der einen Seite der Pyrenäen der Irrtum auf der anderen sei« (Berger und Luckmann 1969, S. 5). Damit wird, nach meiner Lesart, die Diskursanalyse mit ihrer *Frage nach der Wahrheit* in die sie umfassendere Theorie der Wissenssoziologie mit der *Frage nach der Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit*, von der die Wahrheit(en) immer nur ein Teil sein können, eingebettet. Die Wahrheit aus der Diskursanalyse und die Wirklichkeit aus der Wissenssoziologie sind so gesehen nicht nur komplementäre, sondern gar kommensurable Begriffe, die sich – darin liegt durchaus auch eine gewisse Ironie und ein Reiz – oftmals gar nicht, oder jedenfalls nicht so einfach unterscheiden lassen.

## Ethnographie

Etwas anders präsentiert sich die Lage im weiten ethnographischen Feld. Die Ethnographie ist, wie wir wissen, nicht nur disziplinär aus zwei Traditionen, der Ethnologie und

der Soziologie, hervorgegangen, sondern sie hat auch nie wirklich einen klaren oder gar einheitlichen Methodenkanon hervorgebracht. Einziges Gemeinsames aller ethnographischen Forschung ist die Konstruktion eines Feldes, in dem mittels teilnehmender Beobachtung (auch mit Audio- und Videoaufzeichnungen) Daten generiert werden. Dabei spielen in der ethnographischen Forschung die Konzepte von Wahrheit(en) und gesellschaftlich konstruierter Wirklichkeit ebenfalls eine zentrale Rolle. Die Konzepte werden aber, je nach theoretischer Ausrichtung, mehr oder weniger deutlich erkennbar gebraucht. Und die Unterscheidung von Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit, die bisher in cartesianscher Schärfe und Foucault'scher Härte behauptet wurde, wird nicht nur wegen der als ›dirty fieldwork‹ bezeichneten Datenerhebung und der als ›tales from the trails‹ (van Maanen 1995) bezeichneten Berichtsform unscharf.

Wahrheit(en) werden in der klassischen ethnographischen Forschungstradition eher als Perspektiven (Malinowski 1922, S. 22), emische Sichtweisen (Pike 1967) oder kulturelle Themen (Spradley 1979), selbstgesponnene Bedeutungsgeflechte (Geertz 1987), als Mitgliedschaftskategorisierungen (»membership categorization devices« MCD) (Silverman 2011), als kulturelle Modelle (Quinn/Holland 1987) als ›categories in use‹ und Prototypen (Lakoff 1990) und als kulturelle Schemata (D'Andrade 1993) verhandelt. Mit allen diesen Konzepten geht immer eine erhebliche kulturelle Relativierung des Konzepts »Wahrheit« einher. Diese wird so in einer Kultur, an einem speziellen räumlichen und/oder sozialen Ort in der Gesellschaft lokalisiert und durch zu beschreibende und zu verstehende Kontexte gerahmt und abgegrenzt. Ohne einen solchen Kontextbezug bleiben die meisten Wahrheiten entweder trivial oder für Außenstehende unverständlich. Damit geraten die machtmäßigen Aspekte solcher Produktionen von Wahrheiten zwar nicht notwendigerweise völlig außerhalb des Aufmerksamkeitshorizonts der Forschung, aber Macht wird so gesehen dann eben nur eine soziologische Konzeption unter anderen für den Nachvollzug der sozialen Produktion von unterschiedlichen und in übergeordneten Wirklichkeiten eingelagerte Wahrheiten, wie z.B. zu Geschlecht (Holland/Skinner 1987) oder zum Heiraten (Quinn 1987) und andere mehr. Routinen, Habitualisierungen, Institutionalisierung und Organisation und auch Traditionen wären hier als die anderen mindestens ebenso relevanten Konzepte zu nennen. Im »symbolischen Interaktionismus« (SI) schließlich finden wir die drei berühmten Prämissen von Blumer (1986, S. 2), die sich eindeutig mit der *Wirklichkeits*-, und nur abgeleitet mit der *Wahrheitskonstruktion* befassen. Demzufolge bleibt Macht dann in dieser Theorie auch ein nachgelagertes aber durchaus wichtiges Konzept, das z.B. in der Form der Interaktionswirkung(en) an den Fällen von Sexualität, sozialer Schichtung und bei der Herstellung von ritualisierten sozialen Grenzziehungen eine zentrale Rolle spielt, wie Randall Collins in seiner Schrift »Interaction Ritual Chains« (2005) exemplarisch und überzeugend gezeigt hat. Auch in der Aushandlungsordnung von Strauss (1975) im Kontext der Arbeitssoziologie (1978) oder im Rahmen der Analyse von moralischen Kreuzzügen gegen den Alkohol von Gusfield (1996) wurde Macht in Studien mit Bezug zum symbolischen Interaktionismus immer wieder aufgegriffen und als analytische Kategorie hervorgehoben. Nicht zuletzt hat sich auch Howard Becker mit seiner »Labellingtheorie« (Becker 1973) der Frage von Definitionsmacht angenommen.

An welche ethnographische Tradition in Soziologie und Ethnologie wir auch immer anknüpfen, ich denke dabei an die Chicago School (Fine/Gusfield 1995), die Grounded Theory Linie (Strauss 1993), die dramaturgische Soziologie Goffmans (Hettlage/Lenz 1991), die Ethnomethodologie (Garfinkel 1967), die Ethnoscience (Frake 1980) und die daraus stammenden Ansätze der »Cognitive Anthropology« (Dougherty 1985; D'Andrade 1995) und auch an die neuesten Strömungen der sogenannten subjektivistischen hyperrealistischen Autoethnographien wie z.B. die Arbeit »Concrete and Dust: Mapping the Sexual Terrains of Los Angeles« (Minge/Zimmerman 2012) in der Reihe »Innovative Ethnographies« von Routledge. Immer ist Macht zwar eine wichtige, aber eben nur eine, und kaum je durchgängig die zentrale Option für die Analyse. Die einzige Ausnahme, auf die ich in dieser Suchbewegung im Feld von ethnographischen Ansätzen gestoßen bin, stellt der Ansatz des »Cultural Materialism« von Marvin Harris (1980) dar, eine eher seltene neomarxistische Herangehensweise, die sich in erster Linie gegen die linguistisch inspirierten ethnographischen Linien stellt, aber selber – jenseits der Feststellung der Bedeutung von Verteilungen von Gütern als Ergebnis von Machtausübung – auch keine eigene Machttheorie einführt.

Wie auch immer in das ethnographische Feld hineingeblickt wird, es geht jedenfalls darin durchwegs deutlicher um die Wirklichkeitskonstruktion in Interaktion und Organisation, und klar weniger um die Herstellung von machtmäßig verankerten Wahrheiten. Obwohl sich letztere natürlich durch die Sprachkategorien im Kontext ihrer Verwendung gewissermaßen unter der Hand immer wieder auch als eine zumindest gedanklich für die Forscherin und den Forscher mögliche Variation einspielt. Denn es gilt natürlich auch hier, dass soziale Definitionen durch Sprache und Sprechen, kurz durch Stimmen, in die Welt kommen, bevor daraus eine harte objektive Wirklichkeit wird (siehe dazu ausführlich Luckmann 1979, S. 61).

Aber es ist korrekt, wenn wir in idealtypischer Lesart festhalten, dass sich die Diskursanalyse mit der Wahrheitsfrage und sich die Ethnographie doch eher mit der Wirklichkeitsfrage beschäftigt. Da nun aber – wie bereits erwähnt – die Wahrheitsfrage immer auch in der Wirklichkeitsfrage miteingeschlossen ist, zumindest aus einer wissenssoziologischen Sicht, können wir mit diesem Befund das Verhältnis durchaus produktiv wenden: Im Fall der ethnographischen Beobachtung von Handlungen und Praktiken werden wir immer wieder auf Erzeugungen der »Wahrheitsvermittlung, -herstellung und -verteilung« stoßen. In diesem Sinn können wir auch durchaus solide begründet von einer wissenssoziologischen Diskursethnographie (WDE) sprechen. Allerdings macht m.E. nur in dieser spezifischen Präzisierung die Kombination von Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie zu einer WDE Sinn, nicht jedoch als generelle Einladung eines allgemeinen Programms zur Verbindung der Methoden. Denn wie bereits dargelegt, sind cartesianische Wahrheiten in ihrer geometrischen Klarheit im ethnographischen Kontext oftmals kaum mehr erkennbar. Dort finden wir doch eher »Bricolagen« und »Blurred Genres« (Geertz 1983), selber gesponnene Bedeutungsgeflechte (Geertz 1987) oder wie es James Clifford (1986) in seinem Text zur »Writing Culture – Debatte« treffend ausgedrückt hat: »Partial Truths«.

## Schlussfolgerungen zur Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie (WDE)

Nach all dem bisher Ausgeführten dürfte es einleuchten, dass das, was man sich unter einer wissenssoziologischen Diskursanalyse (WDE) vorstellen kann, eine besondere, auf Fragen von Macht fokussierte Fassung ethnographischer Forschung sein sollte, die im Hinblick auf die diskursive Verankerung von Wissenssystemen zur Wahrheitsgenese für die Erzeugung von sozialer Ordnung als Wirklichkeit bedeutsam ist. Dann, und meines Erachtens aber auch nur dann, wenn mittels ethnographischer Zugänge die Frage nach der Durchsetzung von Wahrheit(en) und Regeln innerhalb normativer Kontexte als situativ erkennbare Ordnungsschemata verfolgt wird, – wir also mit ethnographischen Methoden die Herstellung, Anwendung oder Umsetzung von diskursiven »Praktiken der Wahrheitsherstellung« verfolgen –, sollten wir von wissenssoziologischer Diskursethnographie (WDE) reden. Diese Einschränkung ist für eine wissenssoziologische Verankerung von ethnographischer Beobachtung im Kontext der Erschließung von Diskursen jedenfalls hilfreich. Dies deshalb, weil der Blick geklärt und die Fragestellungen präzisiert werden können. Allerdings mahnt die erhebliche Komplexität einer Matrix von Methoden aus Ethnographie und Diskursanalyse auch zur Vorsicht. Und in ihrer Vielstimmigkeit auf jeder Achse erinnert sie daran, dass beide schon für sich allein genommen als Methode ebenso produktive, wie aber auch anspruchsvolle Unterfangen sind.

Die Vorteile einer WDE könnten dann m.E. genau darin liegen, das damit erkannt wird, wie das Subjekt als Fügung des Diskurses in verschiedenen Varianten in seinen Kontexten gedacht, adressiert und realisiert wird. Beispiele dafür sind das unternehmerische Selbst in den Governmentality-Studies, die unterschiedlichen Formen von Geschlechteridentitäten in den Gender-Studies, die diskursiv geladenen Verkörperungen von Schülerinnen und Schülern (Langer 2008) u.a.m. Mit anderen Worten ermöglicht diese Perspektive einer WDE, dass eine mit Definitionsmacht gerüstete und »subjektbezogene« Handlungspraxis in einem Feld von Praktiken als Wahrheitsproduzentin für den Ethnographen erkennbar wird. Handelnden bleibt dabei aber in dieser Doppelperspektive der WDE eine, wenn auch begrenzte, Wahl des sich Einfügens in das diskursiv wirksam gemachte Wissen zur Wahrheit eines Kontextes. Oder anders herum: durch die Widerständigkeit des Alltags werden die diskursiv vermittelten Wahrheiten immer wieder auch herausgefordert und begrenzt.

Eine solche Einschränkung scheint insbesondere deshalb angebracht, weil die Offenheit von Diskursanalyse und Ethnographie als Methoden im Verbund mit der großen Reichweite des Anspruchs der wissenssoziologischen Wirklichkeitskonstruktion es jedenfalls kaum verhindern können, dass z.B. einfach ethnographisch beschreibbare Kontexte vorschnell als Diskursschemata erscheinen. Macht wird dann überbetont. Oder diskursive Formationen können sich auch in ethnographischen Detailbeschreibungen auflösen und für die Analyse verloren gehen. Macht wird dann nicht erkannt. Es ist klar, dass weder Überbetonung noch Ignoranz im Kontext des Machtkonzepts für eine solide und robuste soziologische Analyse nützlich sind. Hier die produktive Mitte zu finden ist keineswegs einfach.

Es ist denn auch so, dass wer den Begriff »Wissenssoziologische Diskursethnographie« bei Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung (FQS) eingibt, noch nicht fündig wird. Dieses Kompositum ist noch nicht in die Weiten (oder die Niederungen?) der qualitativen Sozialforschung vorgestoßen. Wenn man den Begriff aber bei Google Scholar einträgt, dann erhält man 32 Treffer (Stand am 21. Februar 2017). Die Durchsicht ergibt, dass der Begriff von Reiner Keller in einem sehr bestimmten Kontext geschöpft wurde und bisher von einigen wenigen wissenssoziologisch arbeitenden Kolleginnen und Kollegen (z.B. Hitzler 2016; Knoblauch 2015; Lippert 2014; Wundrak 2016) ebenso verwendet wird. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass sich diese Idee der Verbindung von zwei Methoden aus dem qualitativen Fundus weiterentwickelt und verbreitet, weil so doch ehemals disparate Bereiche in der soziologischen Analyse produktiv aufeinander bezogen und verbunden werden können.

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# Discourse Ethnography on Migrant Other Teachers: Turn the Stigma into Capital!

**Zusammenfassung:** Während der Migrationshintergrund im Kontext Schule in der Regel mit Problemen verbunden wird, wendet der Verwertungsdiskurs über migrationsandere *LehrerInnen* diesen in eine zu nutzende Ressource. Die widersprüchlichen Deutungen von Migration gehören zum selben Repräsentationsregime, das über Stereotypisierung die zu ›Anderen‹ gemachten ausschließt. Zwei ethnografische Fallbeispiele werden postkolonialen Perspektiven unterzogen und zeichnen den Ertrag der Diskursethnografie in Form der gewonnenen Theorie des *double-binding ethnicity* nach: LehrerInnen sollen sich aufgrund eines Merkmals als nützlich erweisen, dessen Sichtbarmachung für sie mit Risiken von Marginalisierung und Diskreditierung einhergeht.

**Schlagwörter:** Migrationsforschung; postkolonial; Migrationshintergrund; Reflexivität; Stigma; Lehrer

**Summary:** Countering the usual discourse that characterizes migrant other students as a social problem, migrant other *teachers* are imagined as very useful teachers. The discourses are identified as parts of the same symbolic order stereotypically representing those to be excluded. My discourse ethnographic approach combines field participation with discourse analysis. The postcolonial reading of ethnographic data digs deep to see how the discourses double bind the teachers *in situ*, generating the theory of *double-binding ethnicity*: while the teachers are implicitly requested to capitalize their ›foreignness‹, they are called upon to do so within reference frames that (threaten to) marginalize them.

**Keywords:** qualitative research; participant observation; integration; subjectivity; epistemic reflexivity

## 1 Introduction

Countering the usual discourse that characterizes migrant other students as a social problem, *teachers* with so-called migrant backgrounds are imagined as particularly useful teachers who could contribute to solving educational inequality. Assuming that discourses and local contexts are linked, it is reasonable to ask how the contradictory meanings of ›migration as a problem‹ and ›migration as enrichment‹ translate into practical situations in schools. The paper draws on empirical material from a recently published study (Akbaba 2017) that approached this question from a discourse ethnographical perspective. In this article I will focus on one of the major theoretical findings that I call *double-binding ethnicity*: while the teachers are implicitly requested to capitalize their ›foreignness‹, they are called on to do so within reference frames of denigration and marginalization.

Section two uncovers the seeming clash of discourses on migration ›as a problem‹ and ›as an enrichment‹ as parts of one and the same representation regime using postcolonial theories (Hall 2004). Section three sets forth Discourse Ethnography as the methodological approach of the study. Its epistemological premise is that discourses are symbolic or-

ders that reflect on practices. These orders can be reconstructed on the basis of participatory field data. In section four and five I offer a postcolonial reading of ethnographic data generated during my fieldwork. The analysis of the first protocol shows how the contradictory discourse double binds a teacher *in situ* on an implicit level: after talking to the pupils about a Muslim holiday the teacher gets attached to the strings of a discourse that threatens to control and marginalize her. The analysis of the second protocol fosters the postcolonial hypothesis of symbolic orders implicitly underpinning situations, as it reconstructs how talking about religious affiliation tips over to explicit marginalization. The second protocol displays the researcher herself as a research instrument conveying field experiences emotionally, evoking the methodological reflection of subjectivity and epistemic power in discourse ethnography. Hence section six reflects the analyses and their results methodologically, illustrating the benefit of combining ethnography and discourse analysis, in the sense that both approaches can draw on well-established instruments that help reflecting subjectivity and the epistemic power of the researcher. In the conclusion I suggest several possible meanings behind ›the stigma‹ that is (to be) turned into ›capital‹.

## 2 ›Migration as problem‹, ›migrant teachers as enrichment‹: Clashing Discourses?

Following postcolonial approaches within Critical Migration Pedagogy I use the term ›migrant others‹ as a term of second order reflecting that migrants and their descendants are discursively constructed as the ›other‹ (Mecheril 2010, S. 17). The term expresses the awareness of the binary between ›nationals‹ and ›foreigners‹ that underlies categories like ›migrants‹ or ›foreigner‹. This binary is prone to allocating unequal social positions disadvantaging so-called migrants. Migrant others are typically constructed within ›integration discourses‹ that seem to consist of the clash between two discourses about migration. From a postcolonial perspective the integration discourse's characteristic is to address migrant others with two opposing messages (Castro Varela 2008). One message is overt and demands assimilation: migrant others must adapt. The other message covertly demands migrant others to foreground their self-identity, which is regarded as incommensurably different. This demand is covert in the way that it comes with hegemonic instruments such as Othering (Thomas-Olalde/Velho 2011). Migrant others get questioned in detail about their religious practices, their eating habits or their clothing, i.e. issues that might be regarded as private affairs. Those questions constitute a subtle instrument of the integration discourse understood as a regime to discipline and normalize (Castro Varela 2008, S. 79 referring to Foucault). Rather than being matter-of-fact questions, they become embedded in a discourse that decides whether they belong or not. Rather than being questions of interest, they become instruments of observation and control of ›the Others‹ (Thomas-Olalde/Velho 2011, S. 42). The integration discourse passes the burden of proof for integration to the migrants while simultaneously fixing them as ›the others‹. In the case of Muslims the burden of proof of being integrated is everlasting. While some

migrants might pass their ›public integration test‹ by proving modernity in the end, Muslims will remain suspect and considered a social risk (Castro Varela 2008, S. 83).

There is a second line of contradictory messaging within the integration discourse. While migration is demographically and economically regarded as necessary and thus useful and appreciated, it is not pictured as affirmative but as threatening (ibid.). There is at least one exception to this picture, which I will outline now referring to it as the 'utility discourse' focused on migrant other teachers.

For around ten years in Germany teachers with a migrant background (which is the term for ascribed foreignness in Germany), are subject to an educational policy discourse, claiming these teachers to be useful for the integration processes of migrant pupils (Akbaba/Bräu/Zimmer 2013). The teachers are imagined to possess special intercultural skills as role models, translators, and bridge-builders, thus contributing to the intercultural reorientation of school as an institution. For the first time in 2003 and increasingly since 2007, federal state parliaments, as well as in some papers at the federal level have demanded an increase in the proportion of ›ethnic minority‹ teachers employed (e.g. Schleswig-Holsteiner Landtag 2003, S. 7094). We analyzed 25 documents from ten federal state parliaments (Akbaba/Bräu/Zimmer 2013, S. 41) and similar arguments were made during all the debates. Petitioners used the metaphor of the »bridge builder« or explicitly claimed that the intercultural skills of »migrant background teachers« will improve the quality of teaching. They are also considered to be role models, embodying successful integration and education, a fact that could influence positively student integration. They are perceived, because of their own ethnic backgrounds, to be seen as confidants for students and parents with an ethnic minority background, thus contributing to an improved appreciation of this group within society.

In this summary of politically stated representations it becomes very obvious why and how the political discourse on migrant other teachers gets criticized. It operates on the basis of a binary between teachers (and students) genuinely belonging to society and teachers (and students) who are foreign. The binary works in favor of those who remain unmarked (apparently non-ethnic teachers) and excludes those who get marked (teachers with an ethnicity). The usefulness of these teachers are ascriptions that build on static understandings of culture and essentialist understandings of foreignness.<sup>1</sup>

When contrasting these two discourses the different perception of those addressed as foreigners becomes apparent. While the integration discourse generates marginalizing effects, the utility discourse builds on appreciating foreignness, valuing it as a resource. What seems contradictory at first sight turns out to be consistent when we look at the opposites as parts of one and the same representation regime (Hall 2004, S. 115). A representation regime works with stereotypical representations of those who are to be excluded. The power relation favors those who represent the others and disadvantages those who get represented (Bhabha 1994). Foreigners or migrants are pictured as being needed and threatening at the same time. The utility discourse displays one side of this

1 For critical views on this discourse see Karakaşoğlu (2011, S. 126), Akbaba/Bräu/Zimmer (2013, S. 47), Rotter/Schlickum (2013), Akbaba (2014; 2015; 2017).

stereotype by valuing foreignness as needed in schools. It is interdependently linked with degradation as its counterpart. Hence, the utility discourse becomes a constituent of the integration discourse, entering school and pedagogical interaction. Before I illustrate how the contradictory discourses double bind the teachers *in situ*, I will underpin the methodological assumptions about the reconstruction of discourses on the level of practices.

### 3 Discourse Ethnography

Questions about combining ethnography and discourse analysis are touched on within the social sciences (Lima 2010; Keller 2008; Hammersley 2005), and elaborated on mainly by educational scientists (Ott/Langer/Rabenstein 2012; Reh/Breuer/Schütz 2011; Wrana 2012), who consider practices and discourses as intrinsically tied to each other. There are very few studies that actually apply the combination empirically.<sup>2</sup>

The methodological approach underpinning this article combines field observation with discourse analysis. Ethnography in its broader sense is used as a research strategy that locates its research close to those individuals and social arenas of the research, adapting its methods in accordance to the specifics of the data the field provides (e.g. Charmaz/Mitchell 2008, S. 160; Breidenstein et al. 2013, S. 124). For the study »Teachers and the Migrant Background. Resisting a Dispositif« (Akbaba 2017) I accompanied a dozen teachers in three different schools over a two-year-period with intermittent phases in the field and analysis at the desk (Breidenstein et al. 2013; Amann/Hirschauer 1997). The teachers were migrant other teachers, that means, they either considered themselves as a »migrant background« person or they were regarded as such by the schools which meant that I was referred to them. The accounts following the field visits resulted in a data corpus which included descriptions of class interaction, teacher talk in the faculty room, informal interviews of teachers, teaching material, informal situations among pupils and notes of random encounters. These accounts were analyzed from micro-analytical perspectives constantly contrasting them, as is the central intellectual activity of Grounded Theory (Strauss/Corbin 1990, 1996; Strübing 2008). Codes, concepts, and categories were built followed by working hypotheses that were tested and enhanced in several and coiled interpretation runs. Ethnography focuses on social practices as its research object, understood as materialized doings and sayings that implicitly follow a logic that can be reconstructed regarding its routine and unpredictability (Reckwitz 2003, S. 290).

- 2 Langer (2008), Ott (2011), Wundrak (2010; 2013), Elliker (2013), Elliker/Coetzee/Kotze (2013), Macgilchrist/Van Hout (2011), Macgilchrist/Ott/Langer (2014). While empirical studies under the name of discourse ethnography or ethnographical discourse analysis are a young phenomenon, one could argue for a longer tradition of research that approaches sociality under the primacy of practice logics (Hillebrandt 2013, S. 371). Here I would include research and discussions in Cultural Studies (Stuart Hall), Science Studies (Bruno Latour, Karin Knorr-Cetina) and Gender Studies (West/Zimmerman; West/Fenstermaker).

While at the beginning of the analysis I focused on obvious practices of ›doing ethnicity‹, in the course of the study the focus shifted to such processes that hinted at neutralizing the construction of ethnicity. The hypothesis grew stronger to show that the construction processes of ethnicity could underlie social interaction, even if they did not appear on the surface of social interaction (Mecheril 2014, S. 15). The material raised the question as to how we could reconstruct processes of social construction that affected the interaction without becoming explicit. By tying these empirical hints to the theoretical background of symbolic orders (Moebius 2013) and representation regimes (Hall 2004), ethnographic and discourse analytical approaches were combined to benefit from each other: through participant observation I collected data from where social practices were performed within social reality. The ethnographic approach and its close reading of field practices profited from discourse analysis and its sophisticated theories of symbolic orders. According to Sociology of knowledge-oriented concepts, discourses are institutionalized ways of talking; they stabilize symbolic orders and create a binding coherence of meaning (Keller 2011, 2008). Discourse analysis hence intends to reconstruct »processes of social construction, objectivation, communication and legitimization of sense making on institutional and organizational levels (...)« (Keller 2008, S. 319; translation Y.A.), and to analyze the social effects of those processes. Discourse Ethnography is understood in this research as considering neither practices nor discourses as the predominant level determining situations; rather they are on the same level of action only in different statuses of aggregation (Reckwitz 2008).

In combining ethnography and discourse analysis, the research traced the social effects migration discourses (might) have on teachers who are subjectivated as migrant other teachers, as well as how teachers relate to these orders, transforming them with defensive, creative, and resistance strategies. A major research goal of ethnography, which also could apply to Discourse Ethnography, is to generate theories enabling analytical insights. In the study at hand the practical consequences of stereotypical representation of migrant other teachers were theorized: teachers get caught in a double bind when they have to abide by two fundamentally contradicting demands. A demand that consists of two instructions undermining one another is called a double bind (Watzlawick/Beavin/Jackson 2007, S. 171). While teachers are implicitly requested to capitalize their ›foreignness‹, they are called on to do so in reference frames of denigration and marginalization. For the teachers, ethnicity becomes the reference to act powerfully while it impedes agency at the same time, hence *double-binding ethnicity*.

The theory of *double-binding ethnicity* was generated in the course of non-linear analyses going back and forth within the accounts. The following protocol exemplifies the analytical significance of this theory.



## 4 Double-Binding Ethnicity

The protocol stems from participant observation of Ms. Acivatan, a teacher from a secondary school. At the age of eleven, Ms. Acivatan had emigrated with her parents to Germany from Turkey. Most of the field notes that included practices appreciating ethnic and language diversity were generated in fieldnotes during classroom research. The following account is an example for such a practice:

»Ms. Acivatan and I enter the class. Her pupils know me by now, some of them look at me as though registering me, but most of them ignore me. I sit at the back, the teacher stands in front of the class and wishes her pupils a good morning in her usual way with the pupils replying in a rehearsed manner ›Good Morning Ms. Acivatan‹. She tells them in English that today was a special day and asks what makes this day so special. The pupils are silently looking at their teacher. Some pupils whisper ›Bayram‹, one pupil says ›D-Day‹ laughing, another takes a guess and says ›Your birthday!‹. The teacher solves the question: ›yes, it's bayram‹. She writes ›Happy Eid!‹ on the board and explains, that this was the way to wish a happy holiday in English. She adds that if pupils wanted to wish their Muslim friends from countries like the USA or Australia a happy holiday, that they could do it in this way. Next she gives the instruction to transfer the list of vocabulary from the current Macbeth-reading into the exercise book for new vocabulary. The pupils spend a few minutes on copying the vocabulary, before one of the pupils asks the teacher, why she didn't stay at home. In this moment confusion arises over the question, why some pupils stayed at home yesterday (which was Thursday) and some did today (it's Friday). The teacher explains that there are differences between moon and sun calendars, being used differently by Turks and Arabs. The school management had released the pupils from school for Friday, whereas for Arab countries the holiday had already started on Thursday, which is why some pupils stayed at home by parental excuse on Thursday, and by school release on Friday. More questions arise and the pupils want to know why the holiday takes place on different days and why some celebrate shorter and some longer. Ms. Acivatan replies that she wouldn't know exactly, hence ›it would be best if you asked your religious education teachers, they can surely explain it‹.«

### Diversity Practices: Happy Eid

In the first interpretation run within the study this scene was analyzed as diversity practice. The teacher informs the pupils about a Muslim holiday. She teaches them the right English vocabulary that will enable them to wish a happy Muslim holiday to English speaking Muslims. In Germany school practice is known as Christianity-centered while religions other than Christianity are marginally acknowledged by the system. Hence, bringing up a Muslim religion at the beginning of class can be interpreted as a practice of acknowledging difference. English is assigned a prominent educational value in Germany. It belongs to an unquestioned canon of foreign language skills (Gogolin 2001, S. 2). Therefore linking a Muslim holiday with English raises the value of the holiday, too. And with adding international perspectives to the holiday, it becomes a common and normal-

ized holiday: in Germany as elsewhere there are people worshipping this holiday that day (or the day before). Eid-Holiday is drawn from the margins into the center of awareness and acknowledgement.

From the perspective of the utility discourse on teachers, this scene could probably be regarded as evidence for the usefulness of ›ethnic minority‹ teachers contributing to the intercultural reorientation of school. Ms. Acivatan indeed seems to ›build a bridge‹ between a minority and school as an institution by integrating a Muslim holiday in her lesson, transforming intercultural knowledge into matter-of-fact knowledge. She enables the pupils to talk about the holiday in English. Her act is not only a frame of acknowledgement for Eid as an important part of Muslim religion, integrating it in school. The pupils also learn to address those engaged with the holiday in an appreciating way. However, it is exactly the matter-of-fact treatment of the Muslim holiday that leads to further interpretations of the social structures underlying the scene.

When the diversity practice in this scene was contrasted to the diversity practices in other scenes, the matter-of-fact treatment constituted an important difference. While Ms. Acivatan also expressed acknowledgement for marginalized difference in identifying with the pupils' difficulties learning German as a second language, or in chatting with the pupils in the hallway wishing happy holidays in Turkish, in the Happy-Eid scene at hand the marginalized religion becomes a matter-of-fact subject *only*. That means, the teacher mentions the holiday not in order to wish a happy holiday, but in order to teach how to do the wishing in English. She even holds up the matter-of-fact treatment of the subject when the pupils come up with direct questions about her personal relation to the holiday. Rather than answering why she wouldn't have stayed at home that day, she refers to moon and sun calendar systems, trying to make sense why some pupils stayed at home not only that day but also the day before. At the end Ms. Acivatan cuts the details of the questions short and refers the pupils to their religious education teachers for getting the detailed knowledge they wanted. By delegating the matter-of-fact questions to experts in the field, Ms. Acivatan takes on the role of a teacher, and not of someone with a personal relation to the Muslim holiday. Even though the pupils keep ascribing her to be the expert, she does not take over the position of a Muslim representative.

This objectifying way of dealing with the questions is remarkable, because the same teacher frequently and openly puts forward common religious and language backgrounds when she interacts with pupils in everyday school life. Hence, the scene was included in subsequent interpretation runs, when the hypothesis grew stronger that construction processes of ethnicity could underlie social interactions even if they did not appear on the surface of social interaction. After progressing interpretation loops including the accounts of other accompanied teachers, it was possible to return to the Happy-Eid scene adding the analytical perspective of double-binding ethnicity.

### *Happy – Yet Binding – Eid*

The subject had already moved from Eid-Holiday to the Macbeth-vocabulary, when one of the pupils in class asks about the reason why Ms. Acivatan herself did not stay at home that day. The question implies several things: before being taught that today was Eid, a

Muslim holiday, at least one of the pupils already knew about school management granting Muslims an official release that day. It also implies that at least one of the pupils knows that Ms. Acivatan is Muslim, as the question wouldn't make sense otherwise. Ms. Acivatan had chosen to talk about Eid in a matter-of-fact way. Now she is addressed by some of the pupils as a Muslim. An answer to the question demands some sort of insight into her decision over religious practices. By referring to questions about the religious practices of Ms. Acivatan, a subtle instrument of the integration discourse is activated. The instrument works by making »the other« visible in order to control and marginalize them. The question, even if one of sincere and mere interest, is interdependently linked with the meaning of the question as observing and controlling the other. In this way, instruments of the integration discourse enter the class and double bind the teacher: When Ms. Acivatan teaches pupils how to wish a happy Muslim holiday, she also paves the way for the integration discourse activating its imminent risks to control and marginalize her. The construction processes of ethnicity double bind Ms. Acivatan, because when she integrates her knowledge of foreignness, she will at the same time run the risk of becoming subject to the controlling and marginalizing instruments of the integration discourse. Engaging with knowledge over foreignness attaches her to the strings of discourses marginalizing that foreignness.

If Ms. Acivatan responds to the question that engages with marginalizing her as the other, she will turn herself in to the controlling instruments of the discourse. Her being a Muslim constitutes a stigma that becomes more and more uncovered: it was least visible before she mentioned Eid; it will become most visible when she answers the question on how religious she is or what her religious practices look like. Ms. Acivatan is discreditable, because her stigma is not completely visible, but once it is, she will be discredited. Persons who are discreditable have to control the information that, once it becomes public, turn them into discredited persons (Goffman 2014, S. 56). From this theoretical perspective we can understand why Ms. Acivatan does not answer personal questions. Instead she controls the information about her religious practices during the discussion with the pupils. Sticking to a matter-of-fact treatment of the subject becomes her defense against the mechanisms of the integration discourse. It might be part of Ms. Acivatan's implicit knowledge that the representation of migration as an enrichment is symbolically tied to its representation as a problem. The outcome of constructed foreignness is uncertain, because it is subject to elusive and paradox meanings of ethnicity and foreignness. Bringing up the Muslim holiday she already nourished construction processes that include opportunities to degrade and marginalize her. Getting entangled into the discussion with personal information will increase the risk of realizing the degradation.

This analysis remains highly hypothetical. There is no actual denigration in this scene following the question about Ms. Acivatan's religious practices. Sticking to the analysis that is presented, Ms. Acivatan succeeds in down-regulating the effect of the double bind, because she is not liable to respond to the pupils' questions. This time the school order – with teachers principally holding dominant positions – neutralizes the subjectivating effects of the integration discourse on her. But we might question Postcolonial Studies as a suitable perspective for the scene in the first place, because it makes us assume a symbolic

order that degrades Muslim affiliation, even though we don't recognize any palpable social effects. This criticism is important, because it reminds us that our concepts of the social world have consequences for this world. Hence, we could look at the scene as a successful diversity practice and a vivid exchange over religious knowledge between teacher and pupils. Or else, we might look for other situations supporting the postcolonial hypothesis of symbolic orders underlying social situation implicitly. The analysis of the following protocol illustrates how a matter-of-fact appearing interest in someone's religion overtly tips over to marginalization.

## 5 Discourse Ethnographic Encounters: Uncovering Symbolic Orders ›en passant‹

Written down at the beginning of the third phase of participant observation in a school different from that of Ms. Acivatan, the protocol describes the moment the researcher meets the head master and her assistant for the first time:

»The head master's office is on our way to the classroom we have to go to next, so Clara Epstein [the teacher I am accompanying] and I agree on stopping there shortly, as I had e-mailed the head master that I would drop by to introduce myself. As we enter the office, three people are in the room. Ms. Schüssler, the head master, Mr. Peters, head master assistant, and another woman. Ms. Epstein has entered ahead of myself and introduces me now to Ms. Schüssler by telling her my name. The head master remembers my e-mail and tells Mr. Peters that I was the woman who accompanied the project ›three times one‹. I immediately realize that there is a mix-up, but I cannot clarify it due to the quick pace of the continuing conversation. I also realize that it does not seem that important. Then Mr. Peters addresses me: ›Akbaba, that's Aramean, isn't it? Aramean or Syrian, right?‹ My reply is ›no‹ and that it was of Turkish origin. Him: ›Oh well, we had a lot of Akbabas here. It's the name of many Christians, are you Muslim?‹ I confirm. Him: ›Well, nothing to worry about.‹ His tone is very friendly and a little exuberant. I do not feel comfortable in the situation, as I am scarcely getting to say anything while our conversation is steered by topics that hit me unexpectedly. I see no other option than to regard my presentation as done with, so I say ›thank you‹ for being a guest in the school and in classes. Ms. Epstein mentions something about my research interest in ›ethnic minority‹ teachers, followed by Ms. Schüssler's comment: ›Yes, we do have quite a few of them here.‹ We have to go to reach English class in fifth grade, so we start heading towards the staircase.«

Methodologically the scene illustrates how in (discourse) ethnography the researcher can be or is even meant to be the research instrument herself. She does not collect data from the outside; instead social processes are verbalized after they are emotionally experienced through the researcher as a person. »The fieldworker's emotional responses to events in the field may mirror those that naturally occur in the setting« (Emerson/Fretz/Shaw 2008, S. 361). The event described is the encounter between the researcher and the

school's representatives. While the study is concerned with teachers and their interactions with others, it might make some wonder how the scene entered the sample of the data in the first place. The subsequent analysis reveals the (auto-) ethnographical protocol and the emotional responses it describes as highly relevant to what was theoretically worked out hitherto.

The encounter between the researcher and the head master starts with a misunderstanding when the researcher is taken to be there for a certain project currently running in the school. The researcher perceives the conversation as too fast as to be able to clear the misunderstanding. To be the project coordinator it turns out is irrelevant anyway. What seems more important is ascribing the guest to a role, which can do without thematic filling as shows the irrelevance of the misunderstanding for the continuing conversation. Meanwhile the ascriptions continue when Mr. Peters tries ›Aramean‹ and ›Syrian‹ as ethnic categories to fit the researcher's name. The researcher contributes to the theme that was set by replying that it was Turkish. Mr. Peters' next turn is not related to her answer as he reports that ›they‹ had had »a lot of Akbabas« here. Mr. Peters puts the researcher's name into plural, creating a homogeneous group the researcher is now a member of, however unclear it remains what it is that all of the »Akbabas« have in common other than their name. To speak of the researcher's name in plural has the effect that he keeps speaking about her, as she is named Akbaba, while at the same time the conversation is not about her at all, since she merely functions as a projection surface for Mr. Peters' own associations. This projection process is what Terkessidis coined »Spekularisation« (Terkessidis 2004, S. 198), describing interactions in which not the person is talked to but those who the speaker sees reflected in the person. Analyzing the conversation in this way, it comes unsurprising that Mr. Peters' survey-like questions do not follow logic; having just claimed that »it's the name of many Christians«, he asks next if the researcher was Muslim. He frames her confirmation with »nothing to worry about« as though taking the drama out of an issue that might as well be considered a problem.

In Ms. Acivatan's case I had analyzed the outcome of constructed foreignness as uncertain. The ambivalent way Mr. Peters frames ›being Muslim‹ reflects this uncertain outcome: If there is »nothing to worry about« being Muslim, why bother mentioning the worry at all? We can interpret this in different ways. Stressing the negation of the need to worry can imply an actual devaluation. Stressing the negation to worry can also imply that one is aware of one's Islam-hostile environment that one decidedly wants to distance himself from. The worry and degradation may be personal or social, both interpretations leading to the analysis that an attribute of the researcher is constructed and tied to its discredibility (Goffman 2014, S. 56).

The symbolic order the scene builds on becomes a relevant point of analysis in discourse ethnography. The opposing sides of the discourse that addresses migrant others as both threatening yet tolerated become manifested here. Mr. Peters' phrase reflects and denies the worry about Muslims in one and the same phrase, representing Muslims stereotypically: they are perfectly harmless and a serious problem. Stuart Hall (2004, S. 144) identifies stereotyping as a central mechanism of representation regimes (or symbolic orders) that create symbolic frontiers between those who belong and those who don't.

Those belonging remain unmarked, in the sense that Mr. Peters is not represented by any difference category. Those excluded get marked, and often in the way of stereotypical representations. Binary constructions serve to stabilize the hegemonic order, here identified as one of the integration discourse. In this order migrant others and even more so Muslim migrant others do not belong necessarily, instead they have to undergo a hearing procedure that examines their affiliations and practices uncovering their inherent properties. The dominating members of this symbolic order, religiously and ethnically unmarked, judge whether to worry or not to worry about those who remain suspect. The construction of difference becomes a symbolic means to mark one's authority within the symbolic order that wants to be maintained. Here the researcher is lucky, being accorded a favor in the sense that she passes as no one to worry about, for the time being.

The focus of the analysis will now shift from the representation regime addressing the researcher to how the researcher perceives the way she is represented. The (auto-) ethnographical protocol allows us to reconstruct the way the subjectivation processes affect the represented. The researcher perceives her participation to the conversation as being externally controlled. She »scarcely gets to say anything« while the topics hit her »unexpectedly«. The conversation »is steered« and she sees »no other option than to regard the presentation as done with«. Although being the focus of the conversation, the researcher rarely speaks. These parts describe her *formal* participation within the conversation, marking it as passive and with little agency. The main themes confronting the researcher are, regarding the *content* of the conversation, that she is taken to be someone else, that she is being fitted into ethnic categories, and that she is being stigmatized on the grounds of being Muslim. Her formal participation and the contents of the conversation lead to the researcher »not feeling comfortable in the situation.« Marking the researcher with ethnic and religious differences strengthens the hegemonic order at the cost of the researcher: she »pays« with unease, discomfort, and feeling deprived of her voice. The uneven power relation reaches its paradoxical height when at the end of the scene the researcher is thankful for what has ended in discrediting, dominating and marginalizing her.

The construction of the researcher as »a Muslim« activates a power relation disadvantaging her position. This power relation is displayed in the course of the conversation more explicitly than it had been in Ms. Acivatan's case. However, in both cases we can reconstruct the underlying symbolic order that is part of the integration discourse on migrant others in general and Muslim others specifically (Castro Varela 2008). In both scenes the orders at work decide over those who belong and those whose belonging is controlled and challenged along the symbols of ethnicity and religion. In the Happy-Eid-scene the subjectivating effects of the discourse are less palpable because the teacher is in a position to steer the dialogue herself. In the second scene they become manifest. While the researcher's role might as well be considered as privileged, in the sense that she represents the university for which she received unquestioned respect each time she introduced herself in the field, in the scene the dominating and dominated roles are switched: it is not the researcher who constructs knowledge from dominant perspectives imposing them on the field. Instead field members themselves make use of knowledge construc-



tions from hegemonic discourses, confronting the researcher with ascriptions that limit her agency.

There is a power relation hiding under Mr. Peters' friendly and matter-of-fact questions. The dialogue displays this power relation and how »the other« is dependent on hegemonic benevolence. In the same way constructing migrant other teachers as specifically useful teachers displays hegemonic benevolence that decides whether the others are a problem (e.g. migrant other pupils in political and pedagogical discourses) and a worry (e.g. Muslim others) or whether they may be tolerated (»nothing to worry about«) and even a resource (utility discourse on migrant other teachers). The special appreciation for migrant other teachers is interdependently linked with stereotypical representations. The analysis showed the practical consequences that this representation regime implies for the teachers and their job. Discrediting and marginalization of »the other« are built on symbolic orders that are at work in the classroom as well as on the way to what was thought to be the field, prompting the researcher's sensitivity to uncover orders *en passant*. A methodological reflection on the process and result of the analysis follows.

## 6 Reflexive Subjectivity and Epistemic Reflexivity in Discourse Ethnography

### Reflexive Subjectivity

Within constructivist approaches of ethnography and discourse analysis that this research follows, we assume that social reality is produced interactively (Berger/Luckmann 2009). This construction process also applies to research itself (Flick/von Kardoff/Steinke 2009). With the epistemological premise that knowledge can only be obtained from specific perspectives, the presented study took subjectivity to be a method (Hirschauer 2001; Hammersley/Atkinson 2009; Emerson/Fretz/Shaw 2008). If subjectivity is adopted in a disciplined manner, it becomes a strength because it enhances the researcher's receptivity of the research object (Hirschauer 2001, S. 439). In ethnography, the researcher becomes the main research instrument (Hammersley/Atkinson 2009, S. 18), allowing readers to experience the field through the researcher's senses. Fieldnote descriptions even turn out advantageous for the research of selection processes (Hammersley/Atkinson 2009), as we presume that descriptions will include imprints of social orders that are also part of the discourses in which we are interested. We cannot anticipate how and when exactly these imprints can be encountered. The (auto-) ethnographic protocol about the meeting between the researcher and the assistant head master is an example of how subjectivity was turned reflexively, uncovering symbolic orders »*en passant*«, when the researcher was on the way to what she would think to be the actual field.

Subjectivity can also be turned into methodical strength when it enables special access to the field. In the presented study the researcher had special access to the field in the sense that plenty of experiences with ascriptions and everyday-discriminations (for which the name »Yalız Akbaba« is a sufficient marker of difference; Terkessidis 2004) worked as an advantageous sensor for perceiving the construction of differences from the

perspective of those affected. In addition, attributions like ›foreigner‹ or ›Turk‹ facilitated my access to the field participants, when for instance pupils regarded the researcher to be ›one of them‹ or when teachers reported frankly from experiences they encounter with discrimination against their ethnic and religious backgrounds. These field privileges also turned out to be ambivalent, for they created opportunities for ascriptions to be projected on the researcher, as the (auto-) discourse ethnographic analysis illustrated.

Participant observation replaces objectivity with reflexivity and traceability of the results. To achieve *analytical* objectivity, the researcher must observe his or her own interference and reconstruct its observation so the reader can monitor it (Hünersdorf/Müller/Maeder 2008, S. 16). This principle would also apply to discourse ethnography.

### Epistemic Reflexivity

Reflecting the active role of the researcher in discourse ethnography is closely tied to the researcher as an active producer of knowledge. In discourse ethnography, as in research generally, the research object is not simply picked up from the field but co-constructed by the researcher. If we agree to science as a discursive activity, then we must also acknowledge that our research questions, our theoretical sensitivity, and even the reflection of our research (results) are bound to discourses. For discourse ethnography this means a constant alertness of oneself as a product of discourse.

Being a product of discourse and a producer of knowledge at the same time led ethnography into the »crisis of ethnographic representation« (Berg/Fuchs 1993). What makes most suspicious is that ethnography is often understood to represent members of social groups subject to inequality. But speaking for the voiceless, speechless or under-represented constructs knowledge from dominant perspectives of society, ironically undermining the authority of those the research is supporting and hence fortifying existing power relations (Steyerl 2008, S. 11).

Taking epistemic reflexivity seriously, the research results of this study must be positioned in the face of the paradox of trying to uncover under-representation and dominance while simultaneously fortifying their stabilization. The study intends to describe the perspectives of field participants considered to be the under or misrepresented. Which aspects need to be reflected on concerning the generated theory of *double-binding ethnicity* representing the teachers? A critical examination will point out that the research perspective might be assisting those perspectives on migrant others that stress structures of subjugation, thereby concealing subversive strategies. This way, reflexive critics may find, the analysis constructs teachers as victims of symbolic orders reigning over their agency, as was the case with both Ms. Acivatan whose agency was threatened and with the researcher meeting Mr. Peters. A practical examination will point out that the theory of *double-binding ethnicity* provides us with a deeper comprehension of what previous studies have shown. Interviews with migrant other teachers reveal these teachers to feel uncomfortable with the attributions of being a teacher with ›migrant background‹ (Georgi 2011, S. 270). Having identified the discourses and the way they unfold their impact explicitly as well as implicitly, we can frame this unease with structural knowledge about subjectivation processes and their consequences. However, subjects also actively

interrelate with the structures that bind them. Hence the study also reconstructed how teachers cope with symbolic orders in neutralizing (as does Ms. Acivatan when she protects herself from the subjectivation by talking it away), creative, resistive and transforming ways (Akbaba 2017). For the sake of a methodological focus of the paper these practices of resisting and transforming the orders that subjectivate the teachers were disregarded here.

## 7 Conclusion: Turning the Stigma into Theoretical and Methodological Capital

On reviewing the research process and its results, I can associate four different meanings with the title ›turn the stigma into capital‹. *Firstly*, the slogan captures in a nutshell what the stereotypical discourse requests from migrant other teachers, pointing at the paradox within the request that causes teachers a fundamental problem. Teachers are discursively called upon to make use of their foreignness. Doing so invites discourse mechanisms working against the teachers' agency by marginalizing and excluding them. Teachers are asked to capitalize on a stigma, while the capitalization threatens to turn the teachers in to subjectivating discourses with marginalizing effects upon them. *Secondly*, the teachers effectively do turn the stigma into capital, when they include knowledge about minority religions in class, or when they value minority languages in and outside of class (Akbaba 2017). The diversity practices that the study reconstructed valorize what is being generally marginalized in schools so far. These diversity practices challenge and extend legitimate spaces of belonging. *Thirdly*, a stigma is turned into capital with regard to methodological issues within qualitative research in general and discourse ethnography in specific. If we consider subjectivity as a scientific stigma, then the above analyses showed how that stigma was turned into methodological capital. The researcher being the one affected by the order, she (hopefully) turns the subjective descriptions reflexively and identifies those subjectivation structures *en passant* that strengthen the hypothesis of symbolic orders that underlie the teacher-pupil interaction even if they don't become manifest. *Fourthly*, the researcher gets stigmatized during her fieldwork, taking it as an (ambivalently worthy) opportunity to reflect on specific field experiences in terms of the theoretical perspectives of the study.

Overall the paper presented some of the results of the discourse ethnography on migrant other teachers. The utility discourse about migrant other teachers fosters the binary between belonging and not belonging teachers. The binary works in favor of those who remain unmarked and who are apparently ›non-ethnic‹ teachers. The research reconstructed the effects of this binary in two ethnographic protocols from my discourse ethnographic study. In the first protocol the analysis remained on a hypothetical level because talking about the Muslim holiday did not lead into the teacher's manifest denigration, while it was still possible to read the data through the postcolonial concept of Othering and its subtle instruments of controlling and marginalizing migrant others. The second protocol strengthens the theory of double-binding ethnicity, because the denigra-

tion of Muslim others occurs more directly. In both cases ›the others‹ become subject to representations that those who remain unmarked rule over. Again in both cases we can strongly assume that none of the actors intend to construct, control, marginalize, or discredit others. The discourse that stereotypically represents migrant other teachers has subjectivating effects that were reconstructed on a combined level of discourses and practices materializing implicit knowledge about symbolic orders that usually are outside of daily awareness. The discourse-ethnographic approach was theoretically and methodologically very productive in analyzing these subtle structures. It seems worthwhile to strengthen this methodological approach also within university teacher training, for the benefiting match between ethnographical observation and discourse analytic skills could enhance teacher reflexivity concerning their specific discursive entanglements within the field.

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## Diskursanalyse in der Kommunikationswissenschaft und Medienforschung – Theorie, Vorgehen, Befunde

**Bericht zur ersten Tagung des Netzwerks Qualitative Methoden im April 2017 in München**

Welche Rolle spielt die Diskursanalyse in der Kommunikationswissenschaft und Medienforschung? Wie lassen sich (mediale) Diskurse theoretisch verorten? Welche methodischen Herausforderungen bringt die Durchführung einer Diskursanalyse mit sich und welche diskursanalytischen Studien laufen derzeit im deutschsprachigen Raum? Diese Fragen standen im Mittelpunkt der ersten Tagung des Netzwerks Qualitative Methoden, die vom 27. bis zum 29. April 2017 mit rund 50 TeilnehmerInnen an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München stattfand. Das im Jahr 2016 gegründete Netzwerk Qualitative Methoden dient dem kollegialen Austausch und bietet qualitativ Forschenden die Möglichkeit, ihre methodische Herangehensweise zur Diskussion zu stellen. Das Netzwerk ist interdisziplinär angelegt und zählt gegenwärtig mehr als 150 Mitglieder, die aus der Kommunikationswissenschaft sowie aus den sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlich orientierten Nachbardisziplinen stammen.

Den Auftakt zur Münchner Tagung machte der Soziologe *Reiner Keller* (Universität Augsburg) mit einer Keynote zum Thema »Vielstimmigkeit, Visualität, Materialität. Aktuelle Herausforderungen an die (wissenssoziologische) Diskursforschung«, in der er den von ihm entwickelten Ansatz vorstellte und dessen Potenzial für die Sichtbarmachung diskursiver Kämpfe anhand einer Reihe von Beispielen (den Fall von Pierre Rivière, die Katastrophe am Vajont-Stausee und die Morddrohungen gegen Autor Salman Rushdie nach der Veröffentlichung der »Satanic Verses«) veranschaulichte. Keller legte dar, dass sich der Werkzeugkasten einer solchen, über Foucault hinausgehenden, wissenssoziologischen Diskursanalyse jederzeit auch in den anderen Fachdisziplinen der Sozial- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften, die sich mit Fragen der Öffentlichkeit und Medienkommunikation beschäftigen, zur Anwendung bringen lasse, und wies auf die Bedeutung guter wissenschaftlicher Arbeit für das Aufzeigen gesellschaftlicher Missstände hin, ohne dabei explizit ein politisches Ziel verfolgen zu müssen.

Im Anschluss widmete sich das erste Panel der Tagung erkenntnistheoretischen und methodologischen Grundlagen von Diskursanalysen. *Christian Pentzold* (Universität Bremen) erfasste mithilfe der Unterscheidung von Diskursmustern und Diskurspraktiken zwei grundlegende Modi des theoretischen Verständnisses von Diskursen und entwickelte darauf aufbauend komplementäre diskursanalytische Perspektiven für die Kom-

munikationsforschung und Medienanalyse. Pentzold betrachtete Diskurse dabei zugleich als regulierte und regulierende Praktiken des Zeichengebrauchs und relativ dauerhafte und regelhafte Wissensordnungen, die ihre symbolische Gestalt in Texten, Bildern, audiovisuellem Material und anderen multimodalen Äußerungen erhalten. Nach diesem konzeptionellen Beitrag stellte *Stefanie Awerbeck-Lietz* (Universität Bremen) methodische Herausforderungen in den Vordergrund und fragte nach Gemeinsamkeiten und möglichen Unvereinbarkeiten von Diskursanalyse und qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse. Awerbeck-Lietz arbeitete in ihrem Vortrag heraus, dass die beiden Methodeninstrumente weder in ihrer Intention noch in ihrer tatsächlichen Umsetzung identisch seien, aber voneinander lernen und sich ergänzen könnten. *Susanne Kirchhoff* (Universität Salzburg) wagte schließlich am Beispiel des Journalismus den Sprung von der Diskurs- zur Dispositivanalyse, indem sie das »Journalismus-Dispositiv« auf drei miteinander verbundenen Ebenen konzeptionalisierte: (1) der diskursiven Konstruktion der Bedeutungen von »Journalismus«, die anhand spezialisierter Diskurse analysiert werden können, (2) den nicht-diskursiven Praktiken der Herstellung journalistischer Beiträge auf der Basis von in das Selbstbild integrierten Normvorstellungen und (3) den Vergegenständlichungen, in denen sich diskursive und nicht-diskursive Praktiken ausdrücken (und die sie zugleich mitbestimmen).

Die Vorträge im zweiten Panel verband die Analyse von Online-Diskursen. *Saskia Sell* (Freie Universität Berlin) und *Christine Linke* (Universität Rostock) gingen der Frage nach, wie die Diskursanalyse für die theoretische Konzeption sowie für methodische Verfahren bei der Analyse von Online-Diskursen nutzbar gemacht werden kann. Dabei attestierten Sell und Linke eine Herausforderung für Forschende in der Beschaffenheit von Online-Diskursen: Diese seien in konkreten Situationen um Ereignisse verbunden und würden in Kommunikationsflüssen medienkonvergent erweitert. Gleichzeitig seien sie kaskadenartig mit vorangegangenen Diskursen verknüpft. Alte und neue Diskurse verbänden sich häufig zu einer nicht absehbaren neuen Gestalt. Die Forscherinnen zeigten in ihrem Beitrag schlussendlich, wie ein diskursanalytisches Vorgehen mit einer Inhaltsanalyse kombiniert werden kann. *Peter Gentzel* und *Jeffrey Wimmer* (beide Universität Augsburg) wiesen dann ebenso auf die Besonderheit von Online-Diskursen hin sowie auf die Vorteile der Diskursanalyse, welche sich für die Forschung mit unterschiedlichsten Samples und Gegenständen bewährt habe. In ihrem Beitrag »Typisch Twitter? Ein qualitatives Analyseraster für Online-Diskurse am Beispiel #verafake« untersuchten Gentzel und Wimmer die Anschlusskommunikation der Satire-Sendung »Neo Magazine Royal« und führten die Potenziale und Grenzen einer qualitativen Twitter-Analyse auf. Dass auch in der Ernährungswissenschaft diskursanalytisch gearbeitet werden kann, machte schließlich *Verena Fingerling* (Universität Gießen) deutlich. Ihr Forschungsgegenstand: die öffentlich-mediale Konstruktion von Ernährungsformen und im Speziellen die »fleischlose Ernährung« als Subjektivierungsdiskurs.

Die bereits angeklungene Anpassungsfähigkeit der Diskursanalyse, gerade hinsichtlich ihrer Anwendbarkeit auf sehr unterschiedliche Materialsammlungen, wurde auch im letzten Panel des Tages deutlich. *Iris Tonks* (Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung) stellte das Vorgehen des »Duisburger Ansatzes« am Beispiel des Einwande-

rungsdiskurses in einer äußerst interaktiven Präsentation vor. Dabei ging Tonks vor allem auf Kollektivsymbole ein. Sie vermittelten, so Tonks, in vereinfachter und komprimierter Form, wie in der Gesellschaft über Probleme nachgedacht werde und auf welche Lösung hin diese zu bearbeiten seien. Einwanderung war dann auch das Thema des Beitrags von *Jeannine Wintzer* (Universität Bern), der sozialräumliche Diskurse auf Wahlplakaten untersuchte. Der Fokus von Wintzers Vortrag lag auf der Darstellung einer Bilddiskursanalyse, die in vier Schritten die Praktiken der Sinnherstellung, der Thematisierung, der Kontextualisierung und der Überzeugung von »Masseneinwanderung« rekonstruierte und damit die diskursive Konstruktion eines solchen Phänomens offenbarte. Im Anschluss daran demonstrierte *Lisa Spanka* (Universität Bremen) in ihrem Vortrag »Diskursanalyse im Museum – zwischen Institutionenanalyse und Untersuchung der Multimodalität von Ausstellungen« einen weiteren Anwendungsbezug von Diskursanalysen: Ausgehend von diskurstheoretischen Perspektiven auf gesellschaftliches Wissen und soziale Wirklichkeiten verstand Spanka Museen als Orte öffentlicher Kommunikation, an denen sich Diskurse abzeichnen und (re-)produzieren sowie kulturelle Konstruktionsprozesse sichtbar würden. Durchaus provokativ angelegt war schließlich die Reflexion von *Reto Schölly* (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) über den ethisch-konstruktivistischen Diskurs zwischen ›Gut‹ und ›Böse‹ aus der Perspektive des klassischen medialen Antagonisten, veranschaulicht am Beispiel des Films *Minority Report*.

Der zweite Tag der Tagung begann mit einer Keynote, in der *Margarete Jäger* (Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung) das von ihr und Siegfried Jäger stammende Programm einer kritischen Diskursanalyse vorstellte. Wer mit Foucault gesellschaftliche Redeweisen und deren Machtwirkungen untersuche, komme gar nicht umhin, so Jäger, Herrschaft kritisch zu hinterfragen. Bereit stünden dafür fünf Analysekatoren (Diskursstrang, Diskursfragment, diskursives Ereignis, Diskursebene und Diskursposition), mit denen sich die Aussagen der diskursiven Praxis zu gesellschaftlich brisanten Themen ermitteln ließen. In der anschließenden Diskussion machte Jäger deutlich, dass ihr Programm zwar ebenso wie die wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse als kritischer Ansatz im Anschluss an Foucault zu verstehen ist, hier aber explizit auch politisch-aktivistische Positionen bezogen werden – und das Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung darauf aufbauend etwa auch Schulungen für Journalisten zum umsichtigen Sprachgebrauch anbietet.

Schnittstelle des darauffolgenden abschließenden Panels war die Präsentation empirischer Studien zu gesellschaftlichen bzw. medialen Diskursen in einer zunehmend globalen Welt. *Maria Karidi* (European University Florenz) und *Michael Meyen* (LMU München) fragten, wie die Berichterstattung globaler 24h-TV-Nachrichtensender (etwa CNN, France 24, Al Jazeera und Telesur) Welt konstruiert, und entwickelten dafür ein Kategoriensystem (basierend auf Foucaults diskursiven Formationsregeln), um die audiovisuelle Wirklichkeitskonstruktion in den Hauptnachrichten dieser Sender zu vergleichen. *Julia Lönnendonker* (Technische Universität Dortmund) untersuchte diskursive Konstruktionen europäischer Identität in der deutschen Medienberichterstattung über den möglichen Beitritt der Türkei zur Europäischen Union bzw. ihrer Vorgänger – mit

dem Schwerpunkt auf Bedeutungszuschreibungen der Gemeinschaft, der Definition von Grenzen sowie typischen Metaphern und Diskurskoalitionen, die sie mittels qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse, Metaphernanalyse und Korrespondenzanalyse herausarbeitete (und dann unter dem Dach der Diskursanalyse zusammenfasste). Gestützt vor allem auf Jürgen Link stellte *Holger Oppenhäuser* (Marburg) den TagungsteilnehmerInnen schließlich die Befunde einer (inter-)diskursanalytischen Untersuchung der Globalisierungsdebatte vor, argumentierte mit der Interaktion von Ökonomie, Diskurs und Alltagsverstand – und veranschaulichte mit mehreren Beispielen die Überschneidungen in der Aussagepraxis der »nationalistischen Rechten« und des »medialen Mainstreams«.

Diese vielfältigen Perspektiven der Münchner Tagung machten nicht bloß den interdisziplinären Charakter des Netzwerks Qualitative Methoden deutlich, sondern verwiesen einmal mehr auf die Heterogenität diskursanalytischer Forschungsrichtungen. Dementsprechend ging es in der Diskussion nach den Vorträgen immer auch um Unverbundenheiten und Leerstellen einzelner Ansätze gerade mit Blick auf Forschungsgegenstände aus dem Bereich Öffentlichkeit und Medien. Für die Kommunikationswissenschaft ließe sich daraus der Appell ableiten, die Diskursanalyse weiter ins Fach zu integrieren und stärker mit dem bestehenden Wissen über Zustandekommen, Inhalt und Wirkung öffentlicher Kommunikation anzureichern. Die erste Tagung des Netzwerks Qualitative Methoden könnte ein erster Schritt gewesen sein auf diesem Weg, der möglicherweise (und das wäre durchaus wünschenswert) zu einem spezifisch kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Konzept der Diskursanalyse führt.

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Zeitschrift für Diskursforschung

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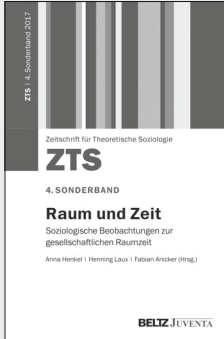
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Alfred Schäfer

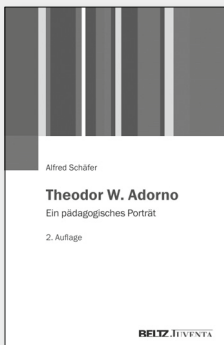
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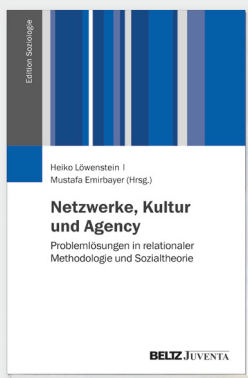
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Edition Soziologie, 2017, 382 Seiten, broschiert, € 39,95 (44-2729); Auch als **E-Book** erhältlich

Netzwerktheorie und -analyse wurden durch Mustafa Emirbayers kultursoziologische und agency-theoretische Impulse nachhaltig geprägt. Seine drei Schlüsselwerke aus dem American Journal of Sociology trugen zur Überwindung von grundlegenden Problemen früher Netzwerkkonzepte bei. In diesem Band liegen sie nun erstmals in deutscher Übersetzung vor.



Samuel Salzborn

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Der Angriff der Antidemokraten, den wir seit einigen Jahren erleben, erschüttert die Demokratie – oft, weil sie demokratische Mittel einsetzen, um die Demokratie von innen heraus zu zerstören. Was wollen die neurechten Feinde der Demokratie aber genau? Was sind ihre Ziele, ihre Methoden, ihre Verbündeten, ihre Kronzeugen bei ihrer völkischen Rebellion? Samuel Salzborn gibt Antworten auf diese Fragen.



Uwe Schimank / Ute Volkmann

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