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Content

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Reconstructive Research and the Documentary Method in Brazilian and German Educational Science – An Introduction

In the field of qualitative methods in social sciences, the last decades brought a number of new developments; the broad differentiation of new methods and techniques of investigation (i.e., Denzin/Lincoln, 2006; Flick/Kardorff/Steinke, 2004; Hitzler, 2005) as well as the elaboration of meta theories of qualitative research (cf. i.e., Reichertz, 2003; Strübing/Schnettler, 2004; Vogdt, 2005; Bohnsack, 2008a) and reflections about quality assurance of reconstructive work (cf. summarizing Bohnsack, 2005a; Bohnsack/Krüger, 2005; Flick, 2005; discussion in: EWE, 2007).

At the same time, in nearly all the disciplines of social sciences and humanities the interest in qualitative methods has grown rapidly (i.e. Denzin/Lincoln, 2006; Bohnsack, 2008a). This development is documented not only by an increase in the application of qualitative studies, but also by a rising number of scientific associations and working groups, journals and handbooks in the field of qualitative methods in social sciences and humanities all over the world. Therewith, the former bias on standardized methods in the production of scientific knowledge is coming to an end.

The broad spread and acceptance of qualitative research, however, has also led to the need to summarize and systematize the different developments included in the differentiation of non-standardized research methods (i.e. Bohnsack/Marotzki/Meuser, 2003; Patton, 2002; Flick et al., 2004; Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr, 2008). Usually, this attempt is primarily seen as a national process reflecting the development within the context of one nation or language community (i.e. Knoblauch/Flick/Maeder, 2005). Thus, this book and the conference it originates from, tried to get over this limitation. Scaled as a bilateral event, the Brazilian-German Symposium for qualitative research and methods of interpretation, which has been carried out in late March 2008 at the University of Brasília (Brazil)[1], sought to systematize the

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development of qualitative methods in the comparison of two very distinct social and scientific contexts and at the same time aimed at summarizing first existing research cooperations in the field of reconstructive research (cf. also Weller/Pfaff, 2009).

In three main chapters, this volume presents different perspectives on current developments in qualitative research on the claim of educational research. Firstly, the development of qualitative methods and studies in educational science in Brazil and Germany will be summarized in a general overview, including different fields of educational research and profession-building as well as referring to a broad range of existing approaches and methods. The second and third part of the publication then focus on the Documentary Method as methodology which has been developed for the last twenty years and recently broadly spread out in different fields of application. It will be demonstrated in this book in different topics of research and methodological reflections and in its two different types of textual and visual material.

This introduction follows the organization of the present volume. Starting with some general information about existing cooperations in the field of qualitative research, some reflections are made about the importance of qualitative methods in educational science as well as about current debates and challenges. Last but not least, a short introduction to the Documentary Method and its roots, developments, and current relevance in educational science is given.

1. Qualitative Research in Different Cultural Contexts and Cooperational Settings

The development of qualitative approaches in social science must be understood as an international process which is characterized by high grades of reference between different analytical frameworks, philosophical concepts and practical experiences in doing qualitative research (i.e. Alasuutari, 2004; Chenail et al., 2007). Even if during the 20th century based on nationally pronounced scientific systems with specific associations, journals and points of reference, developments mostly occurred within the framework of the nation state, singular epistemological debates, methodological reflections and concepts of study gained international recognition and have been referred to in the development of new scientific approaches all over the world (i.e. Bohnsack, 2008a; Knoblauch/Flick/Maeder, 2005). This holds especially true for some theoretical concepts, like Symbolic Interactionism, Social Phenomenology or the Sociology of Knowledge, as well as traditions of research, such as the Chicago School, Ethnomethodology, Cultural Studies or Oral

History (i.e. Jacob, 1987; cf. also Gatti and Andre, as well as Krüger in this volume).

As with other academic fields in general and social science in particular Alasuutari (2004) states an Anglo-American dominance in the globalization of qualitative research, which first of all is related to the higher number of publications caused by the size of the academic education market in the U.S. and other English speaking countries. Second the English language itself as "new lingua franca of science" (Alasuutari, 2004: 597) plays an important role in the international spread and availability of publications. Last but not least it must be assumed that besides early German classics (such as Schütz, Weber, or Mannheim) and newer French concepts (such as Foucault, Lyotard, or Bourdieu) the methodology of qualitative research has been dominated for a long time by Anglo-American research traditions (see i.e. Jacob, 1987; Denzin/Lincoln, 2000; Vidich/Lyman, 2000), some of which (as for instance Ethnomethodology) on their part, however, were also influenced by German classics.

The current processes of globalization, however, also include the rise of collaborative relations between researchers of different nationalities and of international discourses, such as the production of international journals of qualitative research methods (as the cross-disciplinary journals Qualitative Research, Qualitative Research Journal, International Journal of Qualitative Methods, Zeitschrift für Qualitative Forschung, or Qualitative Inquiry; as well as The Qualitative Report and the Forum: Qualitative Social Research as online journals); as well as the foundation of international associations (such as The International Association of Qualitative Inquiry (IAQI); The Oral History Society (OHS), or The Association for Qualitative Research (AQR), the European Science Foundation EUROQUAL (Qualitative Research in Europe) as well as the implementation of qualitative research projects on an international or at least cross-national scale in many disciplinary contexts (i.e. Gonzales/Lincoln, 2006; Denzin/Giardina, 2007).

Cooperations in the field of qualitative research between Brazil and Germany have a young but nevertheless rich tradition, which first of all includes joint research projects on social work issues (i.e Fichtner/Freitas/Monteiro, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Clareto, 2006), but also address other questions in the field of social research (i.e. Weller, 2003; Moura, 2006; cf. also Weller, Moura, and Pfaff in this volume). Secondly, scientific conferences, such as the Colloquium of Brazil in Berlin in 1995 (see Briesemeister/Rouanet, 1996), the Painel Brasileiro Alemão de Pesquisa, which has been carried out a third time in 2005 and focused on qualitative research (see Clareto, 2006), or the Brazilian-German Symposium on Qualitative Research in which this and other publications originated (see also Weller/Pfaff, 2009), initiated attempts to cooperate in the development of methods and discuss current developments in the field of qualitative approaches of investigation in

both parts of the world. Third, during the last decade various handbooks and articles of international (i.e. Denzin/Lincoln, 2006; Corbin/Strauss, 2008), and in particular German social scientists on qualitative research methods have been published in Brazil (see already Schrader, 1974; Flick, 2004b; Bohnsack/Weller, 2006; Bohnsack, 2007). Finally, the exchange of academic personnel initiates concrete projects of cooperation in the field of research, publications as well as academic events. This includes academic education at universities on one hand (see i.e. Cisneros Puebla et al., 2006), and research projects and teaching experiences at academic and research institutions on the other.

Why all this? Are there any effects on qualitative research on an epistemological or a methodical level? Beside all content related interests in cross-cultural research all these different types of cooperation also contribute to the advance and further development of qualitative methods.

This book tries to summarize and assess trends in the development of qualitative research in Germany and Brazil. Thereby, we try to understand and compare the particular developments of qualitative educational research in Brazil and Germany on the one hand. On the other hand different methodological reflections and research examples demonstrate, what new challenges qualitative research is facing at the moment and how cross-cultural investigations and cooperations can contribute to broadening our understanding and to advance methods in terms of cultural limitations and specifications. In particular, the contributions of Wivian Weller, Nicolle Pfaff, and Rogério A. Moura in this volume are reflecting the advantages of cross-cultural reconstructive studies; these papers show how intercultural comparisons can cast light on a more structural level not only on individuals and groups in their particular milieu, but on the social production of meaning and power in general. Furthermore, the findings of Karin Schittenhelm in part II of this book suggest that this can also be achieved by doing research on people with migratory backgrounds within our own society. Nevertheless, the following observations on the history and importance of reconstructive approaches indicate that these achievements are still pretty rare in educational science, even if the basic approach of the observation of the other seems to be a rather historic approach than a new one.

2. Qualitative Research in Educational Science

History of qualitative research in educational science leads back to early 19th century studies of educational processes in European schools, but at the same time shows that significant developments of qualitative methods, carried out in sociological research, in most countries have been taken into account in

the field of education only in the second half of the 20th century. In this section, we want to outline the development of qualitative approaches in general and in education in particular to come to some conclusions about current developments and problems of reconstructive research in education.

2.1 The Importance of Qualitative Research in Education

First attempts of ethnographic work have been done by educational scientists in the comparison of school organization and school life in different regions of Europe (see i.e. Depaepe/Simon, 1995: 10). Other educational perspectives can be found in early anthropology as far as family life and formation practices of hitherto unknown peoples and tribes is observed (i.e. Vidich/Lyman, 2000; Depaepe/Simon, 1995). The universality of educational practices and institutions very early on led to scientific interest in the organization of educational processes in a comparative perspective.

In the 18th century, the developing field of pedagogy in German speaking countries brought some new approaches and studies which were more explicitly connected to an educational perspective (see i.e. Krüger in this volume). Trapp and Niemeyer tried to found a modern scientific pedagogy based on biographic and ethnographic methods, and authors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Sophie von La Roche or Friederike Helene Unger participated in the 18th century establishment of biographies as a source of understanding educational and formational processes of a certain time and society (cf. i.e., von Felden, 1999).

Not only in Europe but also in the U.S. in the late 19th and early 20th century in philosophy and sociology, in pedagogy and in developmental psychology as well as in social psychology, qualitative methodologies and investigations gained importance. Thereby the development of philosophic basics and principles of social sciences which adhere to the differences of scientific research into natural and social phenomena occurred more or less at the same time in different cultural and academic settings. The establishment of a new, more socially oriented approach contrary to the quantitative orientated investigations of phenomena in the natural world at this time has been pushed forward by the traditions of hermeneutics, phenomenology, and sociology of knowledge in the German speaking philosophy and sociology, as well as through pragmatism, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology in U.S. sociology (see Strübing/Schnettler, 2004).

In the growing field of education in the first decades of the 20th century, first of all the German tradition of Wilhelm Dilthey and his students, like Georg Misch, have to be mentioned as early representatives of autobiographic research (cf. i.e. Krüger/Marotzki, 2006). In the U.S., where educational science had not been established as an independent social science yet, famous sociologists, such as William I. Thomas, William F. Whyte, Frederic M.

Thrasher, Paul G. Cressey (cf. Bohnsack, 2005b) and Franklin Frazier carried out mainly ethnographic studies about the life and learning of Afro-American and the second generation of European and other migrants (see Coulon, 1995). Further research has been carried out on school and university life (i.e. Veblen, 1965; for a summary, cf. Vidich/Lyman, 2000). Also studies in the field of psychology contributed to later research in educational science. This includes i.e. the life world studies on children in big cities, as the married-couple Muchow carried out in Germany, analyses of diaries by the Austrian psychoanalyst Siegfried Bernfeld or studies on the development of gender roles in adolescence in Asian native cultures by the U.S. researcher Margret Mead.

However, the most important impact on the more extensive spread of qualitative methods in educational science around the world, must be attributed to the methodical advancement in the field of qualitative research in sociology that has taken place in the UK, France, and the U.S. between the 1950s and 1970s, and in Germany since the mid-1960s. During this period many different methods have been newly developed, others have been redesigned and given a broader and more profound theoretical basis (i.e. Denzin/Lincoln, 2000; Alasuutari, 2004). At the same time, the dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative approaches has been pushed back by a stronger differentiation and diversification within both paradigms, which also led to extensive debates about ethics (i.e. Soltis, 1989; Christians, 2000; Mauthner, 2002) and quality of scientific research (cf. i.e., Lincoln, 1995; Seale, 1999; Bohnsack, 2005a; Flick, 2006).

In educational science, the (re)introduction of qualitative methods in different countries, which occurred in the 1970s, was mostly driven by the massive expansion of educational and teaching processes, and institutions. Therefore, the need arose for evaluation and measurement of educational and training results (cf. i.e., Sherman/Webb, 1988). The spread of certain methods and the main research areas then again depend of the regional importance of topics and fields of research, as well as of specific research traditions in social sciences and humanities in general, such as sociology, psychology, or anthropology in particular. On an international level, this process of the establishment of qualitative research in educational science is documented by the foundation of specific associations and the edition of corresponding journals (i.e. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education) and publications (i.e. Sherman/Webb, 1988; Schratz, 1993; Friebertshäuser/ Prengel, 1997) in the field.

The main approaches used in educational science today can be differentiated into three main methodical directions, which Krüger, Gatti and André address in their contributions to this volume: ethnography, oral history and biography analysis on the one hand, and interaction and discourse analysis on the other.

In the field of education, ethnographic research has the longest tradition to show, which addresses hitherto unknown life worlds in their own sense. Developed as basic method of anthropological research in times of colonialization, ethnography has been theoretically reflected and founded as late as the beginning of the 20th century. Meanwhile, ethnographic fieldwork is known as an established method in most disciplines of the social sciences. In educational research the application of ethnography very much depends on traditions of research related to cultural trends. One field that can be found in nearly every national educational research is the ethnography of school, which dates back to early comparative descriptions of school life and organization in the 17th century (Depaepe/Simon, 1995), and has been established in school research by famous studies, such as Stubbs and Delamonts's (1976) class room observations. In German educational science, ethnography has a strong tradition in school and adolescent research (see i.e. Breidenstein, 2004), but is also used extensively in childhood (i.e. Krappmann/Oswald, 1995; Breidenstein/Prengel, 2005) and youth research (i.e. Bohnsack et al., 1995; Hitzler, 2005). Also in Brazil, a more recent tradition of school ethnography can be found (i.e. Guimarães, 1996; Cavalleiro, 2000; Auad, 2006), but also in youth research (i.e. Carrano, 2002; Dayrell, 2005; Weller, 2003, 2007a) ethnographic methods have been applied.

Another area of study of certain importance in educational science are investigations in the field of oral history and biographical research. While biographical research focuses on the stages and processes of development in individual lives (cf. i.e., Marotzki, 1990; Krüger/Marotzki, 2006), in the case of educational research mostly on learning processes and educational qualifications, oral history in its basic form addresses the social or individual processing of lived history in form of collective fate or biographical decisions and developments (see i.e. von Plato, 2000). However, both approaches contain diverse methods and techniques of how to collect and to analyze biographical data. One important method developed by Schütze (i.e. 1983, 1995, 2003), is the biographical-narrative interview and the narration-structural method, focusing on the collection of partial or complete life histories in the form of narrations and their analyses concerning courses of processes in life history (cf., Schütze, 2003; Appel, 2005). Throughout the last 20 years in German educational science, this method as well as some simpler variations and further developments (cf. i.e., Rosenthal, 1995) established in nearly all thematical traditions (cf. Bohnsack, 2008a: 91; Marotzki, 1996: 62), such as research on professions, childhood and youth, as well as adult education. Contrary to other academic cultures in Germany, biographical research and oral history, nowadays are often found being applied in combination (i.e. von Plato, 2003). In Brazil the application of biographical methods in education is closely linked to the Foundation of the Brazilian Association of Oral History in 1994 (i.e. von Simson, 1997), whereas bio-

graphical research has been used primarily in research on profession, professionalization and teacher identity (see Bueno et al., 2006) and less in research on biographical implications in the socialization processes of childhood and youth.

Furthermore, interaction and discourse analyses during the last years in various places gained some relevance in the field of educational science. These approaches, mainly used in research on class-rooms, families and peer groups, include such diverse methodical treatments, as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, or discourse analysis. While in the U.S., as well as in Germany, studies in conversation analysis specifically dominate the field of family and peer-group research, in France, but also in the UK, as well as in Brazil, discourse analytic research procedures of different philosophical background have been applied in these areas. Conversation analysis is mainly based on ethnomethodological strategies of research and seeks to expose the methods that are used by actors to produce social order in interaction. Founded by Harvey Sacks (cf. i.e., 1992) the analytical procedure of conversation analysis, has been developed further only by a few researchers and up to date presents a relatively coherent research strategy. Contrary to this, discourse analytic procedures, which mainly date back to the research program founded by Foucault (i.e., 1990), do not consist of a coherent methodical procedure, but include various analytical techniques, which have been developed related to established sociological and linguistic methods (i.e., Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Keller, 2005). Discourse analytic research strategies are mainly applied to the analysis of political and public discourse, but in educational science as well in class-room interactions and media cultural debates.

Additionally, newer methods, such as the documentary method is presented in this book (cf. also Bohnsack, 1989, 2003b, 2008b; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007), or the Objective Hermeneutics (see i.e. Oevermann, 1979, 1989, 1993) can be mentioned, as they gained high importance in certain scientific cultures.

Finally, we have to mention that in educational science, qualitative methods are not only relevant in the processes of research, theory development and evaluation of educational programs and policies, but also in teaching process and formation of professionals. As Gerhard Riemann shows in his contribution to the first section of this volume, ethnographic work can lead students to a reflection of their own pedagogic practice and can contribute at the same time to an advancement of cooperative and helpful discourse about paradoxes and problems related to different fields of pedagogic and educational work.

2.2 History of Qualitative Methods in Brazilian and German Educational Science –Ways of Development Specific to Various Cultures

As stated above already, and besides all cross-cultural references and relations, the rise and spread of qualitative research methods in general and in educational science in particular can be understood as processes embedded in national and culturally defined scientific landscapes, consisting of certain relations among different social science and humanities disciplines, certain research emphases, as well as theoretical and methodological references.

However, these particularities also include some basic similarities, as shown by the contributions of Gatti and André as well as Krüger in this volume, who describe the development and current importance of qualitative approaches in Brazil and Germany respectively. We want to summarize some general differences and similarities stated by these two papers here, to enable us to draw some general conclusions about the implementation of qualitative methods in educational science.

As Krüger describes the history of reconstructive methods in German educational science, its historic roots reach back into 18th century philosophy of education. Autobiographic and ethnographic approaches have been used extensively at the turn and beginning of the 20th century for the first time (cf. also von Felden, 1999). Like most trends in social sciences, however, this development was interrupted by the repressive regime of the national socialists in the German speaking countries, World War II, as well as the emigration of a vast majority of social scientists from Germany to other countries. And as in many cultures during the 1950s and 1960s, quantitative approaches dominated the scientific work in most disciplines of social sciences and humanities. This was also the case in Brazil, as Gatti and André state in their paper. In both countries qualitative approaches have been (re)imported into educational research during the 1970s. And besides all differences in the socio-historic situation of the two countries, and the setting of their academic landscape, some basic similarities leap to attention when comparing the processes of development of qualitative methods at the this time.

First of all, in both countries qualitative approaches have been adopted as an alternative to the dominant quantitative approach, which has been questioned during the 1970s as to their explicatory power to social processes in general and educational phenomena in particular, and which has been doubted in relation to its lack of social critique by ascending social movements of liberalization and democratization.

The relation of qualitative attempts to these movements and underlying social theories, such as Marxism, critical theory, or conflict theory can be stated as a second similarity of the implementation of qualitative methods in

educational research in Brazil and Germany, even though the social order and situation citizised by these movements was completely different.

As recorded by Gatti and André, the social context of the import of qualitative methods, such as ethnography and biographic analysis, in Brazil during the 1970s was one of a repressive dictatorship, which had been fought against by various social movements diverse traditions in educational research were part of (cf. also Anastácio, 2006; Clareto, 2006). A different situation Krüger describes for Germany, where the late 1960s and early 1970s were characterized by strong trends towards democratization and liberalization on one hand, and a encompassing process of educational expansion on the other (cf. also von Felden, 1999). Both processes in Germany were accompanied by a strong student movement and ascending left-wing political organizations.

In the third place, certain similarities can be made out concerning the fields of research qualitative methods have been applied to. This is true first of all for the approach of action research, which had a short boom cycle during the 1970s in Germany, but up to now is much more important in the U.S. as well as in Brazil and other Latin American countries (for an overview on global strategies of action research in education see Hollingsworth, 1997; McTaggart, 1997). Qualitative research in the context of evaluation belongs to the main fields of application of qualitative methods in education in many cultures (see i.e. Kardof, 2000; Madaus/Kellaghan, 2000; Hornbostel, 2005), where new institutional developments and educational practices need to be investigated in relation to their outcomes.

Differences between qualitative research in Brazil und Germany have to be stated firstly in the application of qualitative methods in basic research, where reconstructive studies have been carried out mainly in the field of school research in Brazil, while in Germany the focus concentrated primarily on studies in the area of socialization processes of young people. Secondly, the applied methods in both countries vary as well. While in Brazil ethnographic approaches have been introduced by British and North American publications and researchers (see Gatti and André in this volume), in Germany the development drew back to the North American theoretical traditions of symbolic interactionism (resp. Chicago School) and ethnomethodology, but soon led to new methodical developments in German sociology to which educational science referred in its early 1970s studies (cf. also von Felden, 1999).

The stage of implementation of qualitative methods in educational science in both countries was followed by a phase of differentiation in the use of reconstructive approaches in education during the 1980s concerning the applied methods as well as the fields of research. Thereby, cultural differences concerning methods and fields of research intensified at first, whereas, later on they lost significance in the process of globalization of research

in social sciences (see Knoblauch/Flick/Maeder, 2005; Cisneros Puebla et al., 2006). Meanwhile, in most national systems of educational science the analysis of biographic and interactional processes as well as ethnographic studies are established and used in a variety of research fields. Nevertheless, they are characterized by certain developments and properties.

Reading the papers of Gatti and André as well as Krüger in a comparative perspective, suggests differences between Brazilian and German educational research concerning methodological developments. In Germany new methodological developments, such as the documentary method (see i.e. Bohnsack, 1989, 2003a; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007; Bohnsack, 2008a) or objective hermeneutics (see i.e. Oevermann, 1979, 1989, 1993), which both have been carried out in the context of socialization research, contributed to the advancement of the application of reconstructive methods in educational science. Today, they belong to the most frequently applied approaches in the field of education (cf. the contributions on the documentary method in this volume). Krüger describes the development in the 1980s as a period of methodological development in Germany and of a stronger polarization of research in either quantitative or qualitative approaches, while during the 1990s the use of reconstructive approaches were considered as quite an ordinary way of investigating social realities.

According to Gamboa (1996, 2007), educational research in Brazil focused on three main epistemological approaches. One tradition is represented by empirical-analytical studies linked to quantitative methods. The other two traditions are more strongly connected to qualitative approaches and are divided into phenomenological-hermeneutic studies and critical (Marxist) studies[2]. Concerning qualitative approaches, Gamboa put more emphasis on the dominating epistemological orientations and the type of data collection, than on the methodological approaches of data analysis. For instance, he identified that the use of participant observation techniques, biographic methods, and the analysis of documents are more common in the phenomenological-hermeneutic studies. Action research and document analysis constitute an important source for Marxist-oriented research that became a strong field after the beginning of the 1980s[3].

A second important difference between Brazil and Germany can be seen in the relations between theory and empiricism, and in the political use and

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2 According to Gamboa (1996) quantitative methods can also be found in Marxist-oriented studies but they are not predominant in this field.

3 Marxist-oriented studies still form a strong tradition in educational research in Brazil. However, different approaches linked to the tradition of oral history, cultural and feminist studies, and post-modernist studies are also represented by some research groups at different universities. These groups frequently implement discourse analysis for the interpretation of qualitative data. Studies in the tradition of ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and grounded theory which are characterized by the use of reconstructive methods, represent new fields of Brazilian educational research.

application of results. In Germany, the vast majority of educational studies belongs to the area of basic research, and the application of qualitative methods (for instance in evaluation research) is just being developed (see i.e. Flick, 2006; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann, 2008). In Brazil, a large segment of studies carried out on the level of PhD projects and theses can be characterized as investigations which either aim at controlling the impact of certain social or educational projects or which at initiating changes in educational politics (see i.e. INEP 2002; Gatti/André in this volume).

2.3 State of the Art and Current Problems of Reconstructive Research

Summarizing historic and recent developments of qualitative methodology and its application in educational science, it has to be stated that qualitative research in the last decades has been established as an ordinary and fully accepted segment of research tradition in the field within most cultural contexts. Even if differences in the spread and use of individual methods and techniques, as well as disparities in the application to various objects of educational research are still significant, qualitative approaches have by now reached a broad acceptance in educational science all over the world. In this context, some problems and trends in reconstructive educational research need be understood as global challenges and tendencies, which shall be summarized in the following.

One important challenge, sufficiently obvious in the foregoing assumptions, is the need for international cooperation in the area of reconstructive approaches, not only on the level of the systematization and integration of existing methods and techniques (see i.e. Alasuutari, 2004; Schütze, 2005), but also related to the implementation of cross-cultural research projects and exchange of results (see i.e. Cisneros Puebla et al., 2006). As indicated above, in particular the latest efforts could help to advance specific approaches and methods to overcome existing borders of cultural understanding. This book can be read as a first attempt to do this on a bilateral base.

A second requirement in the development of reconstructive methods that has become evident in the debate between representatives of quantitative and qualitative approaches, is the need to develop common standards and quality indicators for reconstructive methods (see i.e. Howe/Eisenhard, 1990; Steinke, 1999; Morse et al., 2002; Bohnsack, 2005a; Flick, 2005). One reason for this debate about the quality of qualitative research are complaints about an alleged lack of theoretical background and reflection as well as of methodical treatment in the process of data analysis (see i.e. Krüger, 2000 for Germany; Gatti/André in this volume for Brazil).

Summarizing a number of attempts of formulating and explaining quality standards and factors in the context of reconstructive research, three endeavors of quality management can be distinguished. The first group of metho-

dologists up to the present has tried to adapt the traditional quality factors of quantitative research to reconstructive approaches (i.e. Kirk/Miller, 1985; Morse et al., 2002; Golafshani, 2003). At the same time, this attempt gained much criticism (cf. i.e. Denzin/Lincoln, 1998), because the classic understanding of criteria, such as validity, reliability and objectivity, do not fit the practices of reconstructive research and needs to be reformulated for the application to qualitative work (see i.e. Seal, 1999; Flick, 2005). A second very present attempt is to develop general and unspecific standards valid for all kinds of research methods, qualitative as well as quantitative. Criteria, such as the fit between research questions, data collection and techniques of analysis, or coherence of background assumption (see Howe/Eisenhard, 1990), are important to improve the quality of empirical research in general, but are not apt for the evaluation and review of qualitative studies in particular. Finally, a third, and in our perspective the most promising attempt, lies in the formulation of standards of quality specific for qualitative research and its practice (i.e. Peshkin, 1993; Lincoln, 1995; Bohnsack, 2005a). Thereby it has been pointed out that, contrary to criteria of quality for standardized methods, standards for reconstructive approaches can be developed only out of the practice of research, such as terms and theories are produced from among the experience of reality, and are not conducted deductively from epistemological principles (see Bohnsack, 2005a). These criteria comprehend the reconstruction of the basic principles of social interaction, the production and orientation on elaborated methods of interpretation, the methodically controlled access to strange life worlds and interaction systems, as well as the disclosure of the difference between subjective sense and the structure of practice (Bohnsack, 2005a).

A third important challenge for qualitative research, that is often seen in relation to the debate about the quality of qualitative research, can be found in the need for triangulational research design. On the one hand this is discussed within the context of qualitative approaches (see i.e. Denzin, 1978; Flick, 2004a) and either seen as strategy of validation of research results (such as Denzin, 1978; Fielding/Fielding, 1986; Lamnek, 1995) or as a way to improve the coverage and complexity of a certain investigation (see i.e. Seale, 1999; Flick, 2004a). On the other hand the discussion about triangulation, in particular in the sense of gaining a more complete picture of the investigated object, is also addressed to the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches (see i.e. Erzberger, 1998; Newman/Benz, 1998; Bryman, 1992, 2006). Even if the traditional contrast and rivalry between quantitative and qualitative methods in social and educational science is still evident in many methodological publications (i.e. Denzin/Lincoln, 2000; Flick/Kardorf/Steinke, 2003), various attempts have been made to combine both approaches in educational research on national and currently also on international level (see i.e. Krüger/Pfaff, 2004 for a summary for Germany;

CERI, 2007; Steiner-Khamsi, 2002 and for practical research: Pfaff, 2006). Whereas the differentiation between reconstructive methods on one hand and standardized or theory-driven methods on the other has its epistemological relevance (see: Bohnsack, 2008a), this is not true for the differentiation between qualitative and quantitative methods.

Finally, more recent systematizations of qualitative research and methods state the limitation of existing reconstructive traditions on textual material (see the articles of Bohnsack and Krüger in this volume), even if in early educational studies especially in German, but also in U.S. social research images played an important role (see i.e. summarizing Keck, 1991; Mollenhauer, 1997; Kaplan/ Hine, 1988; Hine, 1999). Nowadays, more and more attempts are made to overcome the restriction of social and educational research to textual material, and new approaches and procedures of interpretations of pictures, videos and films have been developed (see i.e. Dance et al., 1995; Marotzki/Niesyto, 2006; Friebertshäuser/von Felden/ Schäffer, 2006; Bohnsack, 2003b, 2007c, 2008b).

While the challenge of improving quality and the explication of standards in qualitative research, as well as the call for triangulation, can be seen as a need which is addressed to the paradigm of reconstructive research as a whole and should include all methods and techniques of interpretation in the same way, the requests to systematize international research and to carry out cross-cultural studies, as well as to overcome the limitation of work on textual materials have to be valued as problems that need solving in the first step within single reconstructive methods.

3. Documentary Method – Development and Application

Both challenges already have been addressed for several years by the means of the documentary method. The present volume as a whole, the following section of our introduction in particular, focus on this method and we will summarize existing attempts in both fields – improving quality and overcoming the limitation of work on textual materials – within the area of educational documentary research. The documentary method aims at reconstructing the implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice and gives an orientation to habitualized actions independent of individual intentions and motives (cf. i.e. Bohnsack, 2008a). By reconstructing social structure and the patterns of orientation in everyday practice from data material, such as interviews, group discussions, pictures or films, this method contributes to overcoming a classical dilemma of qualitative research, which either remains on the level of common sense knowledge or claims to offer a privileged access to information on social structure beyond the knowledge of the actors themselves (see Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl 2007 and Bohnsack, 2005b).

3.1 Historic Roots and Basic Principles

The 'documentary method' originates in Karl Mannheim's (i.e. 1964) sociology of knowledge and the ethnomethodological tradition of research (cf. i.e. Garfinkel, 1961, 1967), which itself is to some extent rooted in Mannheim's sociology. Based on those two traditions, it has been developed in its current form during the 1980s in the context of the analysis of group discussions by young people (cf. i.e. Bohnsack, 1983, 1989).

Originally, Mannheim coined the term "documentary method of interpretation" as a central perspective of his sociology of knowledge in 1922 trying to combine hermeneutic approaches and those trying to catch meaning, within a more objective perspective of socio-structural analysis (cf. Bohnsack, 2003a). Mannheim differentiated between two forms of understanding: the immanent interpretation which works on an explicit and matter-of-fact level, on the one hand, and the non-immanent or so-called 'genetic' interpretation which is based on (implicit) shared experience and the weltanschauung of social actors. Associating the genetic perspective of understanding with the documentary method and with sociological analysis in general, Mannheim (1980) defines weltanschauung as an objective of sociological and documentary research, as well as the implicit or "atheoretical" knowledge underlying and orientating habitualized social action (cf. i.e. Bohnsack, 2003a, 2007; Weller 2005). Therefore, Mannheim suggests a change in analytical stance from the question of truth and normativity in the construction of social reality to the question concerning its development and social production: from what to how (cf. also Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007). Based on this analytic stance it is possible to reach the level of the so-called 'atheoretical' knowledge, that is seen as an not directly explicable knowledge of actors, and as underlying every social (inter)action. This analytical stance Mannheim's sense can be understood as an early change to a constructivist attitude of investigation, or, with the words of the sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1990), as an "observation of second order".

However, first empirical implementations of the documentary method according to Mannheim have been carried out by ethnomethodology, which took up the term and analytical stance (Garfinkel, 1961, 1967). Garfinkel first used the term documentary method to clarify a principle discovered by the experiments of crisis, which demonstrated the weakness of daily interaction (cf. Bohnsack, 2008a: 57 for details). The documentary interpretation was thus understood as a circular relation called 'reflexivity', in which every expression has the character of an index or a document of something representing a presumed or underlying pattern of meaning, where both sides, the document as well as the pattern, are used to explain and express the other side. Ethnomethodology demonstrated the high relevance of this principle for everyday life in many different empirical settings by critical reconstructions

of bureaucratic organizations, of social work practice or of social science research itself (summarized in Bohnsack, 2008a). Among other things, these investigations showed that communication and interaction are always based on the need to produce inter-subjectivity in the concrete situation of interaction and that current methods of scientific investigation do not meet this complexity of social reality. Ethnomethodology, however, did not answer the question of how social interaction can be investigated and how social science can gain access to the milieu specific life worlds and the weltanschauung of specific social groups.

One aspect of Mannheim's methodology which has been neglected by ethnomethodology as well as by conversational analysis is the double structure of daily interaction which consists of a public and social meaning of a name or expression on the one hand and a non-public milieu specific on the other. Mannheim differentiated in this context between communicative or generalized knowledge and conjunctive knowledge or experience (see Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007: 14). This important angle of the documentary method which in particular aims at reconstructing this conjunctive or milieu specific level of experience has been re-implemented in the advancements of the documentary method primarily in the context of group discussion analyses in the 1980s (cf. i.e. Bohnsack. 1983, 1989; Bohnsack et al., 1995).

Subsequently, the method was extended to the interpretation of texts and its linguistic instruments (cf. i.e. Bohnsack, 2001; Bohnsack/Schäffer, 2007; Przyborsky, 2004; Bohnsack/Przyborsky, 2006). The paper of Ralf Bohnsack in part II of this volume on group discussions and the documentary method introduces and summarizes these developments. Further advancements of the method have led to its application to interviews (cf. i.e. Bohnsack et al., 1995; Nohl, 2006), pictures (Bohnsack, 2007a, 2003a; Michel, 2001), as well as videos (see i.e. Wagner-Willi, 2006, 2007; Bohnsack, 2008b; Baltruschat in this volume)[4]. In particular, in these last fields, methodological and epistemological work has been carried out recently. These concepts are presented by Ralf Bohnsack and Andrea Sabisch's contributions on pictures, and Astrid Baltruschat on videos in part III of this volume[5].

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[4] For recent developments in the field of the documentary interpretation of videos see http://doingculture.com/moviscript/, a regularly updated bibliography of methodical advancements and studies carried out based on the documentary method can be found http://www.ewi-psy.fu-berlin.de/einrichtungen/arbeitsbereiche/qualitativ/dok_meth/.

[5] Fort he basic rules of transcription of text see the paper of Ralf Bohnsack in section II and for the transcription of video see the paper of Astrid Baltruschat in section IV of this book.

3.2 Current Fields of Application in Educational Science

During the last 20 years following its advancement and redesign, the documentary method in Germany has been applied in various disciplinary fields in social and educational science (cf. Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007; Bohnsack, 2008a). By now, the areas of application cover objects as diverse as childhood and youth, religion, school, media, police, medicine, rituals and scientific work itself. As in the organization of this book, we need to distinguish between the application of the method to textual and visual material.

First of all, we have to look at the field of youth research which marks the beginning of the implementation of the method, as we see it today (see Bohnsack, 1989; Bohnsack et al., 1995), and where various studies have been carried out in the meantime (i.e. Nohl, 1996, 2001; Schäffer, 1996, 2003; Breitenbach, 2000; Weller, 2003; Schittenhelm, 2005; Pfaff, 2006). This research tradition includes studies on a broad diversity of social groups and has been carried out on deviant as well as on musical or political, on gender specific and migrant youth groups. One significant theoretical result can be seen in the concept of 'actionism', which represents spontaneous and enhancing practices of action, that are of certain importance for the production of habitual understanding and accordance needed for the constitution of communities and social milieus (see i.e. Bohnsack, 1997, 2004f; Bohnsack/Nohl, 2001, 2003; Gaffer/Liell, 2001). This rich tradition of documentary studies is represented in this volume by Wivian Weller's paper on the presence of girls and female members in local hip hop communities.

Other fields of documentary research, mainly based on group discussions with young people, have been established in the last decade. First, there have been plenty of projects on youths with migration background in Germany focusing particularly on the experience during a certain stage in adolescence in the context of a migratory background and ethnical marginalization (cf. Nohl, 1996, 2001; Bohnsack/Nohl, 1998, 2000; Weller, 2003, 2005; Schittenhelm, 2005). Contributions related to migrants in Germany are presented by Arnd-Michael Nohl and Ulrike Selma Ofner in this volume, who investigate the job carriers of highly qualified migrants based on the documentary analysis of biographic interviews. In addition, Karin Schittenhelm's paper to some extent deals with migrants in Germany, whose transitions to work after graduating from school are compared with those of young Germans.

In parts connected with the research on migrants, some early projects on gendered orientations were carried out looking into the male habitus of young migrant men (see Bohnsack, 2001b; Bohnsack/Loos/Przyborsky, 2001). Meanwhile, more work has been completed in the context of documentary gender research (see i.e. Behnke/Meuser, 1999; Breitenbach, 2000, 2001; Schittenhelm, 2005, 2007).

At the same time, broad documentary research on educational processes and institutions has been established in the context of various areas of educational science. First of all, there is a broad tradition of documentary research on school related topics, such as studies on religious pedagogics (i.e. Schmid, 1989), nursery schools (Nentwig-Gesemann, 1999), on civic education (i.e. Krüger et al., 2002; Helsper et al., 2006), on students' school careers (see Helsper et al., 2008; Krüger et al., 2008), on teachers' profession development (i.e. Hansmann, 2002; Storr 2006; Lamprecht, 2008), on didactics (see Bonnet, 2004) and on classroom interaction (Lähnemann, 2008; von Rosenberg, 2008). Additionally, video analysis has been carried out on school related phenomena, such as the transition between classroom and school yard (see Wagner-Willi, 2001, 2004, 2005). In this volume, Astrid Baldruschat presents an exemplary documentary analysis of two movies made by students and teachers in the context of a school-related art competition. Then there is research in the field of social pedagogics and social work (Streblow, 2005; Kutscher, 2006; Kubisch, 2008; Bohnsack, 2008c). Rogério A. Moura in his paper presents a study on vocational training programs for disadvantaged young people in São Paulo (Brazil) and Berlin (Germany).

A more recent area of application of the documentary method within educational science is the context of childhood research, where the discursive and game-related actions and practices are investigated (i.e. Nentwig-Gesemann, 2002, 2006). The contribution by Nicolle Pfaff represents this area of documentary research in relation to distinctive actions of children concerning social categories, such as class, race and ethnicity or gender.

Furthermore, the documentary method has also been applied to the field of evaluation research (see Bohnsack, 2006; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann, 2006, 2008), for example in the context of social work (i.e. Streblow, 2005), school-related development processes (see i.e. Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann, 2006) or in the field of civic education (see i.e. Brademann et al., 2009).

3.3 International Spread of the Documentary Method and Cross-Cultural Documentary Research

Although the documentary method may have been developed in Germany based on the philosophic and methodological work of Karl Mannheim, the redesign of the method in the 1980s firstly has been applied in the development and application of ethnomethodology in the 1960s and 70s in the U.S. Based on ethnomethodological application of Mannheim's methodological assumptions the documentary method in its current conception has been developed (see Bohnsack, 1989, 2008a).

Nevertheless, the application of the redesigned method, as well as of other German developments of reconstructive methods, such as the narration structural analysis (see Schütze, 1983, 1995, 2003) or objective hermeneutics (1979, 1989, 1993), enter English speaking academic fields but slowly. This publication is meant to contribute to this process (cf. also Bohnsack, 1997a, 1997b; Bohnsack/Loos/Przyborsky, 2001; Nohl, 2000; Bohnsack/Nohl, 2003; Fritzsche, 2004; Helsper et al., 2008; Krüger et al., 2008).

As shown above, the documentary method is mostly found in German educational and social science. Notwithstanding, the relatively young methodological concept reached further academic cultures and found intensive implementation in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland (see i.e. Bohnsack, 2001c, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Krzychala, 2004; Nentwig-Gesemann, 2004), but also in Russia (see Bohnsack, 2004d, 2004e). Furthermore, some research has been carried out in Turkey (see i.e. Nohl, 1999, 2002) and, as focused on in this volume, in Brazil (see i.e. Weller ,2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Bohnsack/Weller, 2006; Bohnsack, 2007).

In connection with the spread of the documentary method to other cultural contexts, a variety of cross-cultural projects have been developed. Especially in the field of youth research studies investigating young people's experience and orientations guiding action in different cultural and socioeconomical settings have been carried out (see i.e. Nohl, 1999, 2000, 2003; Weller, 2003, 2005a, 2006). Wivian Weller's contribution on girls in the hip hop culture in this volume, represents this type of cross-cultural youth research based on the documentary method.

Another field where cross-cultural studies have been carried out, are investigations on educational institutions and school careers. In this volume, Rogério A. Moura presents his study on vocational training programs for underprivileged young people in Germany and São Paulo, and Arnd-Michael Nohl and Ulrike Selma Ofner present first results from the German part of a cross-cultural comparison on the cultural capital of highly qualified migrants in four countries: Germany, Canada, UK and Turkey.

Last but not least, as a rather young field of documentary research, in the area of childhood research some early cross-cultural projects exist, from which Nicolle Pfaff in her contribution describes some preliminary assumptions from her study of social distinction in different cultural and socioeconomical settings.

4. Perspectives of Reconstructive and Documentary Research in Germany and Brazil

In the last decades, when qualitative research faced tendencies of normalization, institutionalization and diversification, new methods, such as the documentary method, have been developed and applied in diverse disciplines of social sciences and humanities. In educational science reconstructive approaches have been used since the 1970s on the investigation of various topics and partly in relation to the evaluation of educational processes. Even if the further dissemination of qualitative methods happened in similar ways in diverse cultural and national academic settings, the disciplinary application of research methods up to the present continues to be a national or cultural practice. As the use of certain methodical procedures depends on culture specific theoretical, topical and methodological preferences, cross-cultural studies based on reconstructive methods are still rare.

To solve some general problems in the development of reconstructive approaches, such as the need for cross-cultural systematization, for standards and criteria of quality, or the demand for triangulation, requires that we put behind national borders as well as the Anglo-American dominance in methodological developments. Based on shared theoretical and methodological roots, these common challenges could be met in terms of international cooperation and cross-cultural research. It is our concern to make some contributions to these developments with the present volume and to inspire further cooperations.

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I   Qualitative Methods in Educational Science

Bernardete A. Gatti/Marli André

The Relevance of Qualitative Research Methods in Education in Brazil

1 Introduction

Which path did qualitative research methods in education in Brazil take? When and how did they emerge? How did they expand? What are their main contributions and challenges? These are some of the issues we intend to discuss in this text.

The origins of qualitative methods go back to the 18th and 19th century when various sociologists, historians and social scientists were dissatisfied with the results of the physical and natural science methods, which at that time were the model of studying social science phenomena. They started to look for new forms of scientific investigation. Among them, Dilthey argued that historical investigation is mainly interested in understanding historical phenomena, which should be seen in the context where they occurred and not in the light of causal explanation. Thus, he developed a hermeneutic, which, broadly speaking, aimed at the significance of the texts. Weber, also, made important contributions to the qualitative perspective: he thought the focus of scientific investigation should be to gain an understanding of the meaning the subjects attributed to their actions. Both resorted to social analysis to understand the meaning of interactions, seen in their socio-historical contexts.

It was these ideas which initiated a critical debate about the concept of positivist science and the idea of a perspective of knowledge, known today as the idealist-subjectivist approach. Contrary to the idea of separating subject and object, this perspective values the subjective understanding of social reality. At the same time, the practice of interpretation instead of measurement, the discovery that facts and values are deeply related, raise significant doubts about the neutrality of the researcher.

Based on these assumptions, a new scientific approach developed: it was called 'qualitative', because it does not divide social reality into measurable and isolated facts. To the contrary, the qualitative approach propagates a holistic view on social phenomena, including the diversity of dimensions of a given situation, as well as their interaction and reciprocal construction.

Another base of the qualitative approach can be found in the principles of phenomenology, which are still used in various qualitative studies, such as those employing symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, cultural studies and ethnography. All these methodological perspectives draw attention

to the world of the individual and to how he attributes meaning to his daily experience and social interactions. Based on this, he is able to understand and interpret social reality, knowledge and daily social practices.

While these basic principles were already part of the 19th century debates about the methodology of social science, it was only in the 1960's, in Brazil and other American countries that they were finally recognized in the field of educational research. This was most probably due to the strong influence of experimental psychology on educational research.

The more liberal climate of the 1960s was a result of the social movements, whose fight against racial discrimination and equality of rights led to alternative scientific approaches. Qualitative methods permitted the observation and description of the voices and the actions of the participants in these social movements, while describing the interests and the ideas of this period, especially through a modality of research called "action research".

The 1960s was also the decade of student protests in France, where they attracted the attention of educational scientists, who wanted to know what was going on inside the schools and especially in the classrooms. It was in this context that ethnographic studies were first applied to the field of school research.

Another important fact for the implementation of the qualitative perspective to the area of educational studies was the paradigm change in North American sociology, which had been dominated by the concepts of functionalism for more than 20 years. In fact, it was in Sociology that the principles of symbolic interactionism were first applied during the 1960s (see i.e. Becker, 1961). Therefore, it can be said that educational science adopted the new influences of this discipline at the time.

If this type of studies started to emerge at the end of the 1960s, it was during the following decade that it spread to many places and nations. In Brazil, in particular, studies published in North America and England had a big influence (among others i.e. Bogdan/Taylor, 1975; Hamilton et. al. 1997).

2   Origins of Qualitative Methods in Brazil

The introduction of qualitative methods in education in Brazil in the mid-1970s had a lot of influence from the studies developed in the areas of program and curriculum evaluation, promoting also the emergence of new perspectives for school and classroom research.

In the areas of program and curriculum evaluation it is important to mention a notable publication: *Beyond the Numbers Game* (1977), edited by David Hamilton, David Jenckins, Cristine King, Barry Malcolm MacDonald

and Parlett, which resulted from a seminar in Cambridge (United Kingdom), in 1972. In it, non-conventional methods of evaluation were discussed and proposals for further studies in the area were made. One of the texts, presented by Parlett and Hamilton, had a major impact on this event: the authors criticized the quantitative paradigm, prevalent in evaluative research, and proposed the illuminative approach, based on socio-anthropological grounds. The text defended the need to take into account the social, cultural and institutional dimensions that surround each program or situation investigated, arguing that it is necessary to consider the particular context in which educational practices are developed. It also stressed that the different points of view of the various groups participating in the program, or the situation, should be taken into consideration. At the end of the seminar, a document was written, in which the participants summarized their recommendations in three points:

– Observation data, carefully collected, should be used more often than usual test data;
– Flexibility must be a tonic in research design in order to include unforeseen events. Progressive focusing should be used instead of a fixed design;
– The researcher's values and perspectives should be clearly described in the research report.

Although these ideas were directly addressed to specialists in program and curriculum evaluation, they had great impact on educational research in Australia, Sweden, the United States, and Scotland, where participants of the event had come from. Their impact was also felt in other countries where the seminar's results were accessible, one of which was Brazil. This can be seen in the Brazilian publication of the article *'The ethnographic approach: a new perspective in educational evaluation'* (André, 1978) which discusses two new approaches in educational evaluation: the illuminative and the responsive, and proposes the use of qualitative methods in education.

Another important source in the introduction of qualitative educational methods in Brazil was the book '*Explorations in Classroom Observation*', organized by Michel Stubbs and Sara Delamont (1976). The book makes a sharp critique of classroom research based on interaction analysis. In the first chapter, Delamont and Hamilton (1976) criticize the observation systems which, similar to Flanders, ignore the spatial and temporal context in which classroom behaviors take place, focusing strictly on what can be measured, making use of observation units that, derived from pre-established categories, guide the analysis and create a kind of circularity in the interpretation. To avoid and to overcome the problems encountered in classroom studies, the authors suggested the anthropological approach. According to them, classroom events can only be understood in the context in which they occur,

since they are permeated by a multiplicity of meanings that, in turn, are part of the cultural universe which must be studied by the researcher. Therefore, they propose the "participant observation", which involves field records, interviews, documental analysis, photographs and recordings. In this approach, the observer does not want to prove theories or make "broad" generalizations: his aim is to understand the situation, describing it in details to enable the reader to grasp the participants' multiple meanings, allowing him to decide whether the interpretations, based on theoretical plausibility, may be generalized or not.

The contribution of Sara Delamont to Brazilian educational research must be acknowledged. At the end of the 70s, in a series of seminars in the Carlos Chagas Foundation in São Paulo, she defended the use of the anthropological approach in the investigation of school problems, making this approach more renowned. Another important event that helped to spread the qualitative perspective in research was the Southeastern Research Seminar, held in Belo Horizonte, State of Minas Gerais (Br), in 1980. On that occasion, the theme "Qualitative Research and School Study" was discussed and several researchers had the opportunity to analyze the possibilities and limits of these new methods for the study of schools. This discussion, through texts written by André (1984), Campos (1984), Gonçalves (1984), Thiollent (1984) and commented by Joly Gouveia (1984) were subsequently published by Research Books, divulging these ideas to a wider audience.

At this stage of approximation between the qualitative methods and educational research, the visit of Robert Stake, Director of the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation, from the University of Illinois, in 1983, was important to several Brazilian institutions (e. g., the Faculty of Education of the University of São Paulo, the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, the Federal University of Espírito Santo, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul and the Carlos Chagas Foundation, in São Paulo), since it gave rise to a very productive discussion about the potential of qualitative approaches in education.

But it wasn't just British, Scottish, Australian and North American influences that marked the first steps of qualitative research in Brazil. In 1983, a Mexican researcher, Justa Ezpeleta, attended a seminar in INEP (National Institute of Educational Studies and Research) on participant research. A few years later, she and Elsie Rockwell published a book, entitled 'Participant Research', which gave a strong boost to ethnography in education. It was also at this time that the works of the French authors Bourdieu, Passeron, Lapassade, Lourau, Baudelot and Establet arrived in Brazil, gaining wide acceptance within academic circles. This also helped to spread the qualitative methods in education.

2.1 The Expansion of Qualitative Methods in Education in Brazil

In the year 1980, groups of researchers were already working with these methods in various institutions across the country. Many studies were produced to understand intra-school relationships and their contexts, presenting different views on institutional issues, classroom situations, and representations of school actors. Most of them emerged in graduate education centers in the form of theses and dissertations. The tonic presented in these studies was critical of quantitative and economic approaches when employed in a simplistic way.

Educational research was enriched by different criticisms: a) the limitations of numeric or experimental nature of the studies; b) the wide-spread use of research-action methodologies and theories of conflict in the 80s; c) the idea that technical solutions could solve most of the basic problems in Brazilian education. The educational research profile was enriched with new perspectives, opening up space to alternative approaches which became identified with qualitative methods.

It should be remembered here, that this entire process from the 1970s to the 1980s occurred in a specific social and political context. The freedom of expression was restrained by censorship; an economic policy of capital accumulation was imposed on society; technologies of different natures became valued as a priority. Also, various social movements started to emerge, in a crescendo, creating more occasions for socio-cultural demonstrations and social criticism, leading to a transition period of social and political struggles, which helped to build the slow return to democracy. Educational research was to be largely affected by the social criticism of the traditional methods of research in education in Brazil. The 80s ushered a major source of educational research: post-graduate dissertations and theses at academic institutions, characterized by the hegemonic treatment of educational issues based on Marxist theories and/or studies generally of a qualitative nature.

The dichotomy deepened between "quantitative X qualitative" methods among Brazilians. The expansion of qualitative research in the field of education came in the midst of a search for alternatives to the experimental method, to measurements, and to numerical empiricist studies, whose explicatory power of the educational phenomena was questioned. In the same manner, the concepts of objectivity and neutrality - embedded in those models – were questioned. The almost universal option of qualitative approaches in educational researches was identified as revolutionary, as the only modality of research able to modify reality, condemning the quantitative treatments to exile.

Although we are living a moment in which there is a superation of this dichotomy in terms of "good" and "evil" paradigms, the research production in education has ignored important analyses about educational demographics

and their implications, depriving educator training of the ability to deal with issues that require a quantitative treatment and qualified criticism. However, in spite of this, the contribution of qualitative methods in education was, and still is, of the greatest relevance.

2.2 Contributions to Educational Research

The use of qualitative methods brought large and diverse contributions to the advancement of educational knowledge, allowing for better understanding of school, learning processes, social relationships, institutional and cultural processes of socialization and sociability. In the same manner, daily school-life and its many implications, ways of change and resilience present in educational actions were better understood.

All these combined possibilities for studies of educational problems expanded the epistemological universe for the discussion of educational facts, allowing for new theoretical and methodological positions and for a stronger commitment to the issues under investigation. All of this led to the recognition of close relationships between researchers and their subjects of research, creating a greater involvement with the needs and possibilities of socio-educational improvement. Direct interventions in the field, involvement in discussions and formulation of education policies were some of the available tools for social and educational change. Four important points must be mentioned:

(1) The incorporation, among education researchers, of flexible investigative attitudes and more suitable micro socio-psychological and cultural study processes brought to light concealed aspects, not worked by quantitative studies;

(2) The realization of the importance of multi/inter/transdisciplinary and multi-dimensional treatments;

(3) The focus on the actors in education once again, leading the researchers to portray both the subject's point of view and the characters involved in the educational process;

(4) The awareness that subjectivity intervenes in the research process and that we must take measures to control it.

In addition, other specific aspects gained new connotation with the qualitative approach:

A   a deeper understanding of the aspects that produce school failure - one of the major problems in Brazilian education - studied from different angles and multiple approaches;

B   an understanding of educational issues linked to social and socio-cognitive prejudices of various types;

C   a deeper awareness of the implications of diversity and equity;
D   an emphasis on the importance of school and community environments.

2.3 Different Types of Qualitative Research

Although the application of qualitative methods in the field of education in Brazil had, at first, been characterized by the dichotomy qualitative-quantitative and by a strong influence of phenomenology and critical theories, its development in the following decades was significantly diversified, in terms of theoretical basis and methods of research.

In Brazil, different groups of researchers located in various regions developed studies in diverse directions and settings. For example, one of them, created by Joel Martins of the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo during the 1980s, was identified by a strong phenomenological approach. Later, this group constituted the Society of Studies and Qualitative Research (Sociedade de Estudos e Pesquisa Qualitativa - SE&PQ), which organized periodic seminars in the national context, attracting a great number of participants. From 2005 on, SE&PQ edited the Journal of Qualitative Research (Revista Pesquisa Qualitativa), which describes itself as "a space in which research and studies based on qualitative investigation are supported", […] following the diverse perspectives of this approach, including the various facets of phenomenology and dialectics, such as hermeneutics, structural analysis, ethnography, historical research, symbolic and critical studies" (Editorial Observation, 2005: 5).

Another constantly growing and developing group in the national scientific scene of Brazil is one that employs studies in historical perspective. Within this group, though, various traditions and subgroups can be identified, as, for example, autobiographic, self-studies and oral history studies. This group is progressively getting stronger and is already holding scientific events in those fields. Furthermore, there is another tendency, within this group, which aims at using qualitative research to study school-related topics, combining a historical perspective with cultural and curriculum-related approaches.

Studies whose main focus is the daily life of schools or classrooms have grown extensively along the 1990s and the beginning of the 21th century, and became the most popular type of qualitative research in education. Some of those studies followed an ethnographically oriented research tradition, influenced by anthropology and sociology, others were centered in a micro social perspective and examined interpersonal relations as well as teaching and learning strategies. Those studies can be characterized as ethnographic-like since they are based in the use of field work and ethnographic research techniques. In recent years a new tendency linked to this group has been developed: it is called 'critical ethnography' (Mattos, 1995) or critical ethnomethodology (see Macedo, 2006).

A fourth group of studies in the large field of qualitative research is one that is centered in the subject, in order to grasp the way he sees the world and the meanings he attributes to reality. Those studies try to investigate the opinions, perceptions, representations, emotions and expressions of teachers, students, parents and other actors involved in school or other social experiences. They are mainly socio-historical studies, working with categories of attribution of personal and socially negotiated meanings, activity and conscience, necessities and motives; studies in the theory of social representations; investigations about processes of identity building and development based on social psychology, on the sociology of professions or on psychoanalysis.

A fifth important field of qualitative research in Brazil, with a high number of studies, is related to the area of Action Research, where different theoretical as well as methodical approaches are used. These studies involve some type of intervention in social and educational situations and might imply different levels of participation as far as the investigated subjects are concerned. They might also entail a strong political direction in the attempt to emancipate the subjects from an unjust or oppressive situation, most of the time connected to social practices, including the pedagogical activity. Action Research is also characterized by cooperative and collaborative work (Fiorentini, 2004).

It is worth to mention that among the broad field of qualitative studies in Brazil can be included those written by scholars called "post-modern".

Finally, an emerging field of research is the implementation of new technologies in school and class-room settings. Up to now, since technological devices are still rare in Brazilian schools, these studies are more of an experimental character. In fact, most of these studies are included in the disciplines of social psychology, philosophy or linguistics.

3 Problems in Qualitative Research Development

Studies of several authors (Warde, 1990; Alves-Mazzotti, 2001; Andre, 2001; Gatti, 2007) show that the methodological approach of qualitative studies continue to face basic problems in constructing procedures for data gathering. The main problem is the lack of an in-depth analysis of the implication of using certain forms of data collection, such as narratives, written and videotaped records, discussion groups and focus groups. All of these procedures require appropriate evaluation of their adequacy, appropriateness, and consistency in light of the theoretical framework of the qualitative approach.

It is necessary to consider the high degree of subjectivity presented in qualitative studies, which demands maturity and refinement on the part of researcher employing qualitative methodologies (Ludke/André, 1986). Since this is not usually the case, the lack of fundamental understanding is quite evident, especially in relation to the theoretical and methodological requirements for conducting studies of this nature. This is not only due to the adverse conditions in which researches are carried out in Brazil, as is generally believed, but mainly to the inadequate and insufficient training given to researchers in the country.

The qualitative approaches demand dealing with reality and its reconstruction, mainly assuming the involvement of the researchers (Brito/Leonardos, 2001). What we find in many cases are casuistic observations without due theoretical parameters for consistent inferences: the obvious description, the poor elaboration of field observation conducted precariously; content analyses performed without clear methodological procedures; incapacity of data reconstruction and of critical perception of atypical situations; ignorance in dealing with history and stories; precariousness in researching and analyzing important documents. All these problems point out to the lack of good training the researchers should have had in order to use qualitative methods appropriately.

Authors, such as Morse et al (2002) argue that, without rigor, research processes have no value, since they do not effectively translate into reality and thus are of no use. Moreover, the lack of the researcher's sensitivity to the importance of knowing how to record good field work, how to gather meaningful data and, above all, how to analyze data endangers the reliability of the study, affecting the relevance and weight of qualitative research. Awareness and sensitivity involve the domain of the field of study as much as knowledge and the ability to interpret well-founded and constructed arguments that are supported by the observed or obtained data. In other words, they involve a capacity to "read" the findings in a more accurate way and to elaborate on their meaning by inductive/deductive thinking processes.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) warn that even if one considers studies of qualitative nature as belonging to another epistemic framework, radically different from the traditional quantitative approaches, they can not be exempt from conscientious and adequate criteria to ensure a scientific standard. There are, in effect, a good number of works that really are not based on strong theoretical or methodological concerns. As a consequence, such studies do not provide the conditions for drawing generalizations nor for understanding the problem from a scientific point of view. They also lack criticism and adequate discussion of their findings, transcending common sense and going beyond elementary rationalizations.

4 Conclusion

Stressing the important contribution of qualitative approaches to research and knowledge in education in Brazil, it is important to consider that we have to face the question of the significance and the consistency of this investigative modality. We advocate that it is necessary to strengthen the explanatory capacity of the researchers, because identification of patterns, dimensions, and relationships, as well as the construction of explanatory models are not incompatible with the study of micro social phenomena. Indeed, it is a crucial step towards construction/reconstruction of theories and towards their application to other contexts, as mentioned by André (2001). The major challenge, according to this author, is combining the richness afforded by the in-depth study of contextualized facts and processes in education with the possibility of transferring knowledge and/or creating new hypotheses for studying the same problem in similar contexts.

The applicability of knowledge in the area of education depends on the development of an appropriate understanding, based on stringency in the conditions of a conscientious research. This does not mean following strict protocols, but to make flexible use of methods and instruments necessary to gain significant approximation to reality. We must commit ourselves to the production of reliable knowledge, if we want to have an impact on the educational situation in Brazil: this is the only way we can contribute to more effective decision-making, replacing the improvisations and empirical trends that have hitherto guided the policies and actions in the educational area. Therefore, the search for relevance and rigor in qualitative research is also a political goal.

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Heinz-Hermann Krüger

The Importance of Qualitative Methods in the German Educational Science

This paper outlines the importance of qualitative methods in German Educational Science. Therefore it begins with a subject definition and description of basic principles of qualitative research, and outlines the historic lines of development of the qualitative approach in Germany starting from the 18th century. In the following steps four different theoretical positions of qualitative research and the central methods of data collection and analyses will be described. Finally an exemplary insight is given in the topics and themes of qualitative research in Germany, some problems in the current research landscape are outlined and perspectives for the further development of qualitative research in educational science are established.

1 The Term and the Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Since we can observe a renaissance of qualitative approaches in social science in Germany over more or less three decades, qualitative methods lost their alternative and exotic character and became an important and 'normal' segment in the field research methods in educational science and beyond (see Flick et. al., 1991). For German educational science this process included the possibility to refer to its own hermeneutic traditions, as well as to prepare modernity and internationality with the application of such theories and approaches.

However, the term 'qualitative research' is a generic term for very different theoretical and methodical approaches to social reality. If one leaves these different scientific-theoretical or disciplinary perspectives out of consideration, the following common characteristics can be found: First, the description "qualitative" does not have anything in common with the quality of research projects or the qualification of the personnel. The characteristic of the qualitative-empirical research is rather the aim to grasp objectively the integral features (qualia) of a social field (see Terhart, 1997: 27). Second, because qualitative research aims at a complex analysis of the respective field, the openness of the field approach is an important condition. Qualitative research strategies do not want to put pre-formulated theory concepts on the respective field or, like quantitative research, to check pre-formulated hypotheses in real life. They want to gain generalizations and models out of

the researcher's own genuine experience in the research field. The research process is structured through questions and theoretical reflections, but these are to be permanently modified and extended during the survey (see Lamnek, 1988: 22; Strauss/Corbin, 1998: 8).

The third common feature of all approaches is the conscious perception and the integration of the researcher and the communication with the research issue as a constitutive element of the cognition process. The interaction of the researcher with his research objects is systematically reflected as a momentum of the establishment of the research issue itself. The decision of which channels are essential for this construction is dependent upon the theoretical position surveying the construction process (see Flick, 1995: 41). The orientation towards understanding as a principle of gaining knowledge is a fourth common feature of qualitative research approaches. One should understand the view of a subject or of several subjects, the course of social situations and the cultural and social regulations matching a specific situation. Some forms of qualitative research are confined to the reconstruction of the social world from the perspective of the acting person. However, other approaches investigate the way people produce social reality with interactive processes or they try to analyze major structures of action of which the subjects are unaware, but which have momentous importance for their action (see Krüger, 1999: 204).

Among the various theoretical traditions of qualitative research there are not only different positions concerning the cognition principle of understanding. Regarding the question of the practical importance of qualitative research, there is also a wide variety of opinions. There are, on the one hand, approaches of deliberate ethnographic "indifference", which only want to understand and describe the world outside, or reconstructive procedures trying to decode latent structures of the senses. On the other, there are communicative-dialogue methods – referring to the activating social research - trying to produce learning processes aimed at researchers and the interviewees (see Altrichter/Lobenwein/Welte, 1997: 655). Moreover, in view of a communicative validation, the surveyed subjects are to be integrated in the interpretation of the data (see Heinze, 1995).

Therefore, a final common feature of qualitative research has already been indicated. Over the last decades this feature has dealt intensively with the justification of the validity of the findings and the definition of its own quality criteria. One of the approaches has been the reformulation of the classic quality criteria of the empirical quantitative research in the context of qualitative research (especially the criteria validity and reliability). In order to replace the classic quality criteria, appropriate quality criteria for qualitative research have been developed in some approaches over the last years. One of the best-known concepts is the concept of analytical induction. Here, after the development of a temporary theory based on case studies, research-

ers will keep on searching for exceptions to the proposition in question until a universal rule can be established (see Bühler-Niederberger, 1994). Another approach is the method of triangulation. This keyword comprises the combination of different data, different researchers or different research teams, the combination of different theoretical approaches or different analyzing methods of the same phenomenon (see Denzin, 1989: 237). In the current methodological discussion it is still in dispute whether triangulation is a strategy of validity or not; a strategy of validity, as Denzin argues, amplifies the "epistemic power" of qualitative research. On the other hand, there are constructivist approaches emphasizing the idea of the constructivism of methods – they refer to the point that through the use of different methods there cannot be a more valid or real picture, but only a more diversified picture of the complex research subjects (see Kelle, 1997: 197; Marotzki, 1999: 126).

2 The History of Qualitative Research in Germany

Although the recent history of qualitative research in West Germany and other European countries started in the 1970's, qualitative research approaches like biography research and ethnography have a past history going back to the 18th century. Trapp and Niemeyer tried to establish a modern scientific pedagogy taking into account the importance of biographic and ethnographic approaches for a theory and practice of education. Lives and autobiographies as well as the observation of children were the empirical basis of pedagogical thinking formulated in the 18th century (see Krüger, 1995: 32). In the 18th century there can also be stated the beginning of a scientific preoccupation with the subject of biography in the following sciences: historiography, literary studies, philosophy and psychology. The philosopher and theologian, Herder, referred in his analysis of contemporary ability psychology to documents of written biographies, notes of doctors and friends and prophecies of poets. K. P. Moritz collected in a "Magazine for Experience Psychology" documents on extraordinary experiences in the lives of people - they can be considered as an early contribution to the development of psychopathology (see Thomae, 1991: 249).

This development of qualitative research was continued in pedagogy and in some parts of psychology, but not until the first decades of the 20th century. However, in pedagogy the representatives of pedagogy as a cultural science did not contribute to the renaissance of qualitative research (it could have been in the form of biographical research). This is rather astonishing because, as far as Wilhelm Dilthey (1910) is concerned, experience and self-biography are the center of the "construction of a historical world in the arts". One of his students, Georg Misch (1900) published the first compre-

hensive depiction of a "History of Autobiography". Finally, representatives of pedagogical psychology and developmental psychology, like Clara and William Stern, or Charlotte and Karl Bühler, succeeded in using ethnographical and biographical methods to benefit psychology and pedagogy. In the context of the Hamburg Institute of Youth-Studies led by William Stern, Martha Muchow carried out a survey on "The Lebenswelt of a City Child." After her suicide, her brother, Hans Heinrich Muchow, went over her manuscripts and published a book (see Muchow/Muchow, 1935, 1978). This book can be regarded as one of the first contributions to an ecologically oriented lebenswelt research on street socialization of children and adolescents. The Austrian educationalist and psychoanalyst, Siegfried Bernfeld, gave qualitatively oriented youth research a new impetus as well, by interpreting diaries as a source of adolescents' cultural self-portrayal. Starting in the twenties, Peter and Else Petersen developed first approaches for a pedagogical ethnography in the field of school and curriculum research based on the observations of pedagogical situations in the Jena-Plan-School. They emphasized a phenomenologically inspired concept of pedagogical fact research (see Friebertshäuser, 1997: 523)

While qualitative material and research approaches in pedagogy and in some fields of psychology reached their first peak in the twenties, they did not play a part in German sociology – apart from a few important surveys like Jahoda's, Lazarsfeld's and Zeisel's study on the "Unemployed of Marienthal" (1971), which was impressive because of its successful combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. At that time, the situation in American sociology was totally different. In the twenties and thirties the Chicago-School of sociology carried out a great deal of case studies on the lifestyle of deviant groups, on the cultural problems of immigrants, or on the biographies of juvenile delinquents. Important works out of this context were the survey on the lebenswelt of Polish farmers in Europe and the USA by Thomas and Znaniecki, or Trasher's and Whyte's studies on youth gangs and street corner society, which were inspired by the field research works of Park. However, by the end of the thirties, the research work of the Chicago School had lost its importance in the overall picture of American sociology, and was later replaced by the statistically operating social research.

In post-war West Germany, sociology and psychology also followed the quantitatively oriented American model with a few exceptions. In sociology a few studies coming from the field of family and youth sociology (Thurnwald, 1948; Jaide, 1969) integrated detailed abstracts from qualitative interviews in their depiction. In psychology there were works from the field of gestalt psychology and, above all, Hans Thomae's works on the psychological biography, based on the collection and interpretation of biographical data (see Thomae, 1991: 250). In the first and second post-war decades, the educational sciences were dominated by cultural scientific theoretical ap-

proaches, and therefore qualitative research work was rather rare. There were the surveys of Bertlein (1960) and Roeßler (1957), which took the tradition of qualitative research from the twenties up by bringing out the mentality of West Germany's post-war youth on the basis of school-essays. Stückrath's and Wetzel's study "About the Expression of the Child" (1962) can also be added, with a rare example of ethnography, documented with photos showing children in the classroom (see Zinnecker, 1995: 4).

After the "realistic change" proclaimed by Roth (1962) in the course of the sixties, there was a stronger turning to quantitative empirical methods including the respective scientific-theoretical thought in the educational sciences. In the era of educational reform (1965-1975) political authorities asked for empirical findings on education and socialization in school, vocational training and further education (see Terhart, 1997: 31). The concept of action research experienced its brief peak because it promised the investigation and improvement of pedagogical practice at the same time (see Krüger, 1999: 191). The end of educational optimism meant a turning to a skeptical attitude concerning the efficiency of empirical quantitative research and the unrealistic hopes of action research to change pedagogical practice fundamentally through research.

In the late seventies, there was a renaissance of qualitative research in the educational sciences and the neighboring disciplines in many European countries at the same time. The new interest in the traditions of phenomenology (Husserl) and understanding sociology (Weber, Schütz) gave the revival of qualitative research a new impetus. Especially the broad reception of the American theoretical traditions of symbolic interactionism (Mead, Goffmann, Blumer), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, Cicourel) and the naturalistic social sciences (Schatzmann, Strauss), first in West German sociology (see Habermas, 1990; Arbeitsgruppe Bielefelder Soziologen, 1972), then in the educational sciences (see Mollenhauer, 1972; Brumlik, 1973; Parmentier, 1993), and with some delay in psychology (see Jüttemann, 1985), influenced methodological attempts to develop a concept of a qualitative research approach. Whereas the first phase of the reception of qualitative research approaches in the educational sciences and in the other social sciences was determined by programmatic grounds and methodological attempts of delimitation against quantitative research, a common research practice began in the course of the eighties. This period finally showed that the differences within the qualitative research approach were greater than had been expected. Those differences had been obscured by the general opposing standpoint towards quantitative research. After the first phase of reception of qualitative concepts and the second phase of empirical practice and methodological differentiation, the third phase in the nineties can be described as a process of normalization (see Terhart, 1997: 33). Qualitative research was nationally and internationally accepted both in the educational sciences, and in the other

social sciences. This research trend is now established and confirmed in textbooks and handbooks (see Friebertshäuser/Prengel, 1997; Krüger/Marotzki, 2006; Flick/Kardorff/Keupp et al., 1991), specialist journals, respective sections in expert societies, institutionalized research teams etc., although the financial research support so far has not reached the amount that can be found in the quantitative research.

If one compares the development of qualitative research in the German-speaking area as shown above with the course of the Anglo-American counterpart described by Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 7), it seems that the processes of consolidation and differentiation of qualitative research in Germany are parallel to similar developments in the USA during the seventies and eighties. However, according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 10) more recent discussions in the USA are characterized by debates concerning a crisis of representation. This means there is a loss of confidence in the known forms of presenting ethnographic experience and writing of ethnographic reports and a revival of action-oriented methods in social research. At the moment, it is not so much about the proper use of interview and interpretation methods, but about the art and policy of interpretation (see Denzin, 1994: 501). In the German discussion on the further development of qualitative research there are constructivists and representation-critical reservations – mentioned in the context of ethnological, sociological and educational ethnography and gender research - about the possibility of showing self-experience and explaining it to others (see Berg/Fuchs, 1993; Hirschauer/Amann, 1997; Kelle, 1997). Also the approaches of an activating social research have experienced only a certain renaissance in the attempts to develop concepts of practice research. In the last years this renaissance has become more important in the field of evaluation research and organizational development (see i.e. Flick, 2006).

3 Theoretical Positions in the German Qualitative Research

The term "qualitative research" comprises several approaches which differ sharply in their theoretical assumptions, their object perception and their methodological focus. In recent years, several attempts have been made to classify those different theoretical and research approaches. Whereas most authors agree on the issue that from the historical point of view, qualitative research goes back to the traditions of cultural science hermeneutics (Dilthey-line) and phenomenology (Husserl-line; see Lamnek, 1988: 49; Marotzki, 1999: 325), there are big differences concerning the attempts of classifying the recent qualitative research scene. In the American handbook, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, Guba and Lincoln (1998: 203) distinguish between four scientific-theoretical concepts: positivism, post-

positivism (critical rationalism), critical theory and constructivism. With the help of this system, they want to classify the different approaches of qualitative social research in the English language area. However, those classifications are hardly suitable for German qualitative research, because there are few correlations between the scientific-theoretical program of critical rationalism and qualitative research (as an exception, see Merkens, 1997), and only the concept of objective hermeneutics developed by Oevermann can be regarded as an elaborated methodological concept in the field of critical theory. Lüders/Reichertz (1986), and later Flick (1995) and Marotzki (1999) offered more plausible suggestions for the classification of qualitative research approaches. On the basis of these ideas a system that distinguishes between descriptive, ethno-methodological, structuralist and post-modern approaches is explained below. Each approach is characterized by the respective interests, theoretical assumptions and research methods.

3.1 Descriptive Concepts

The aim of qualitative research approaches belonging to this group is to understand the social reality and the views of people acting in it as they are. Within this qualitative research trend there are different variants. First there are approaches and studies that continue the traditions of cultural anthropology and ethnography, diving into an unknown lebenswelt, culture or subculture and on the basis of the results of observations and questionnaires they can make statements on the structure and interaction dynamics of a social field. The researcher - coming from outside – reports on a different culture with the intention to portray the observed social world as faithfully as possible (see Gubrium/Holstein, 1997: 28). Referring to the classic ethnographic field studies of the Chicago school from the twenties and thirties on the lebenswelt of migrants or juvenile delinquents, field research in sociology and educational sciences has reached a new peak since the seventies (see Hitzler/Honer, 1991; Friebertshäuser, 1997). In the educational scientific context there were surveys on the everyday life of elementary pupils (Krappmann/Oswald, 1995), the lebenswelt of junior high pupils (Projektgruppe Jugendbüro, 1975), or on the images of a young world delivered by the media (Vogelsang, 1994).

A second line of qualitative research, which also follows a rather descriptive approach, is represented by those approaches and studies following a specific interpretation of the theory of symbolic interactionism. The aim is to work out the subjective sense that the individuals see in their action and in their environment. Researchers analyze the way subjects label objects, events and experiences according to their importance. The reconstruction of such perspectives becomes the instrument in the analysis of social worlds (see Flick, 1995: 30). This research concept was empirically put in concrete terms

in some studies in educational scientific biography research. On the basis of the evaluation concept of social scientific paraphrasing, the subjective views of female students from a correspondence degree course (see Heinze/Klusemann, 1979) or of female adolescents brought up in a home (see Kieper, 1980) could be shown. Also the research program on the analysis of subjective theories coming from psychology and formulated in the last decade aims at the bringing out of subjective views e.g. of pupils (Fromm, 1987) or advisers (Flick, 1989). Therefore, it can be assigned to the rather descriptively oriented line of qualitative research.

3.2 Ethnomethodological Concepts

The qualitative research concept of ethnomethodology developed by Garfinkel (1967) and Cicourel (1974) surveys the way people make, maintain and change sense in social situations. From the historical and theoretical point of view, ethnomethodology refers to Schütz's tradition of social constructivism, which perceives the cognition process as a constructive, sensible action. The ethnomethodological researcher is especially interested in methods used by members of the society to construct reality. For him, it is not primarily about describing but about reconstructing the regulations of social action. The ethnomethodological research program has been methodologically applied mostly in conversation analysis, concentrating on the reconstruction of the rules of communication. However, more recent studies, so-called "studies of work," do not only survey the formal rules of communication, but also the interactive methods within the scope of working processes and the knowledge forming the basis of those methods (see Bergmann, 1991).

Schütze (1983) added the narrative structural approach to conversation analysis. In contrast to the socio-constructivist assumptions, this approach aims at the deduction of process structures in biography on the basis of a reconstruction of narrative structures in autobiographic interviews. Following the research program of ethnomethodology, a broad research practice developed in sociology during the last decades – especially in the field of family, industrial, and academic sociology (see Amann/Knorr-Cetina, 1991; Eberle, 1997). In the educational sciences, however, the ethnomethodological approach has been used only in the context of a few selected fields, such as school research, youth welfare research, or adult education research (see Parmentier 1989, p. 559; Nolda 1997, p. 704).

3.3 Structuralist Concepts

The common characteristic of the third type of theoretical approaches is that there are cultural systems of the senses, framing perception and creation of subjective and objective reality equally (see Flick 2009, p. 62). Here it is important to distinguish between the surface of experience and action, which is accessible to the subjects, and the deep structures that cannot be reached directly by individual reflection, and which are understood as an action generating force. Though, these deep structures can be seen differently by the several qualitative research approaches belonging to this position.

The aim of the concept of psychoanalytic depth hermeneutics is to work out the latent subconscious in social forms of interaction and life stories. It was theoretically established by Lorenzer (1972) and put into concrete methodological forms by Leithäuser/Volmberg (1988) in various social and industrial psychological project connections. Since then, educational scientific childhood and school research has tested it as well (see Leuzinger-Bohleber/Garlichs, 1997). The concept is not only about individual unconscious contents, but also about the unconsciously used style of language. Coming from the same theoretical tradition, the ethno-psychoanalytical approach, established by Devereux (1967) and developed further by Erdheim, Nadig et al., examines the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee from a psychoanalytical perspective, and consequently can focus on a culture's unconscious.

Another concept that aims at the reconstruction of deep structures is Oevermann's concept of objective hermeneutics. Structuralist models developed by Chomski and Piaget provide the theoretical background of this concept. In contrast to psychoanalytical depth hermeneutics, the central idea is not the reconstruction of psychological unconscious structures of a case. The central goal is rather to work out the objective social structures that gain acceptance, which does not depend on the subjective intentions of the participants. Taking up that research program, a broad research practice has developed in the last decade in sociology and educational sciences, spreading from cultural sociology to school and youth research (see Garz, 1994).

Other qualitative research approaches aiming at the reconstruction of social and cultural depth structures of social action have been developed in the structuralist-oriented ethnology (Levi-Strauss/Barthes), or in recent approaches concerning a discourse analysis in text linguistics, in the sociology of knowledge or in the socio-historically oriented educational sciences (see Keller, 1997: 319). Decisive ideas for those developments came from the studies of Foucault (1974), who, within the frame of his discourse analysis, reconstructed the scientific development against the background of the genesis of power techniques.

3.4 Postmodern Concepts

Qualitative research emphasizing aspects of the construction, perspective, ambiguity and complexity of social reality, can be assigned to the postmodern position. That includes on the one hand new approaches of a reflexive ethnography, first developed in the American discussion and then published in the German speaking area in Berg/Fuchs's (1993) volume. These new approaches do not want to present a true and a uniform copy of a strange lebenswelt. Instead they emphasize the social production of ethnographic texts and they refer to the point that the research process is a permanent process of negotiation for the perception of the lebenswelt. According to that the dialogue between the researcher and the interviewee should also be documented in ethnographic reports. The aim of a complex decentralization of the ethnography is to overcome the monologist and authoritarian description of the researcher (see Berg/Fuchs, 1993: 87). In this new variant of a reflexive ethnography the traditional term of representation is replaced by a strict perspective (see Marotzki, 1999a: 335). In the German ethnographic discussion Knorr-Cetina (1989) represents a position analogue to this argumentation. She developed the research concept of an empirical constructivism. She demands a reflection regarding the constructive character of ethnographic research methods and a consideration of the fact that in a research process social realities are produced interactively (see Kelle, 1997: 197).

Koller (1999) formulated a different methodological position in the educational scientific context, taking up the philosophical argumentation of the postmodern era discussion explicitly. Following Lyotard's philosophy of conflict, he pleads for an acceptance of divergent versions out of the interpretation of intercultural research in order to do justice to the conflict found in the empirical material.

4 Steps and Methods of Qualitative Research

How do the detailed research steps and the central surveying and analyzing methods of qualitative research appear below that level of different theoretical approaches and methodological positions? Of course, the choice of research designs and methods is strongly connected with the theoretical and methodological ideas. Nevertheless, there are some common characteristics regarding the conception and structure of the research process as well as the survey methods, whereas especially the analyzing methods vary considerably, depending on the chosen respective methodological positions.

In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research is not oriented towards a linear research model that scrutinizes the real life validity of opera-

tionalized hypotheses coming from theoretical model assumptions. Qualitative research, as a discovering form of theory formation, rather follows the model of a research process in which data collection, interpretation and the resulting knowledge finding are closely linked. The search for further data is finished at the moment when a theoretical saturation of the findings in the respective research field has been reached (see Strauss/Corbin, 1998: 159). Although qualitative research does without prior thesis formulations, this does not mean at all that there are no clear formulations of questions at the beginning of the research process. A less clearly formulated question holds the danger that there remains a helpless researcher facing mountains of scripts afterwards. Furthermore, in qualitative research projects the selection and combination of the empirical material as well as the decision of what instruments should be used for data survey and evaluation depends on a detailed and clear catalogue of questions.

Compared with the majority of quantitative surveys, the criterion of statistical representativeness does not often play a significant role in the selection of cases or case groups in the qualitative field (see Merkens, 1997: 100). It cannot be the aim of qualitative research to give statements on quantitative relations, because normally there are only a small number of cases (see Fuchs-Heinritz/Krüger, 1991: 23). In the context of qualitative research there is a widely used selection strategy called "theoretical sampling," developed by Glaser/Strauss (1967). Here, decisions about the selection and combination of empirical material (cases, case groups, institutions) are only made during the survey and evaluation process. The selection of specific persons, groups or fields is oriented towards the central criterion of the theory that has to be developed out of the empirical analysis. For a further theory development, more interesting hypothetical contrast cases must be sought after the interpretation of the first cases. The evaluation and use of further material is finished when a survey group has reached the "theoretical saturation," i.e. there is nothing new to be found anymore (see Krüger/Wensierski, 1995: 196). Whereas theoretical sampling focuses especially on the developing theory, the concept of "analytical induction" tries to cover a prior developed theory by using and analyzing divergent cases (see Bühler-Niederberger, 1991).

It has become increasingly difficult to overview the wide method spectrum of data collection and survey. According to the respective activities, one can distinguish between three methodological forms. The first group comprises the so-called non-reactive methods, in which the researcher is neither participant nor protagonist in social situations in order to gain material; he works only with the material that he can find. In the educational sciences, for example, the collection and evaluation of diaries, autobiographies and students' essays has a long tradition going back to the 18th century. The second group is made up by the different observing methods in which the researcher

demands a material generating activity. The researcher has to work out his access to the field, has to play a certain role, has to make notes and has to evaluate them continuously during the course of the project (see Terhart, 1997: 14). The different observing methods can be distinguished according to the degree of proximity and distance to the field of observation, but also the degree of the prior structuring of the observation process - in which rather open and flexible methods of observation are preferred.

The third group contains different interviewing techniques wherein the researcher has to rely on intensive cooperation with one or several persons being surveyed. This is on the one hand, a group discussion method where collective fields of experience in groups can be disclosed (see Bohnsack, 2006). On the other hand, there are different qualitative interview methods, which can be classified according to the degree of prior structuring on the part of the researcher. Currently, the most commonly used form of the open interview in qualitative educational research is the narrative interview developed by Schütze (1976). It aims at the luring out of the entire biography or a thematic or temporal part of it. The problem focused interview is an example for half-structured forms of oral interviewing where, after an open narrative request, the interviewer – with the help of a "main connecting theme" - can bring in his problem focused interest in the form of specific questions. Strongly structured main connecting theme interviews are relatively closed interviewing variants. They are used in expert interviews in order to work out the contents of expert knowledge (see Krüger, 1999: 209).

In the face of the enormous expansion and differentiation of evaluation strategies in the qualitative educational and social scientific research, it is not easy to cluster and classify the different types of interpretative data evaluation. However, with reference to the previously introduced different theoretical and methodological positions within qualitative research, three lines of qualitative data analysis can be roughly differentiated. A first group of interpretation methods focuses its interest in data evaluation on the describing disclosure of the lebenswelt and the comprehension of the subjective sense. The concept of qualitative contents analysis developed by Mayring (1991) belongs to such descriptive variants of data evaluation, which is especially suited to evaluate large quantities of text (see also Kuckartz, 1992). In the first explorative phase of the contents analyzing evaluation, the available material is examined and a system of central categories is established; then further material will be examined according to these categories. The disadvantage of this method is the turning away from the level of individual case interpretation towards a category-oriented, cross-sectional analysis. Heinze's (1995) rather descriptive concept of social scientific paraphrasing is more committed to a detailed evaluation of the individual case. It tries to grasp the action-oriented everyday life theories of the interviewees in a multistage interpretation course on the basis of narrative interview records.

A second group of evaluation strategies aims at formal rules or process structures of social action. In the center of this conversational analysis, which is regarded as the main current of ethnomethodological research, is the analysis of formal mechanisms and principles where conversations on everyday life are structured and specific situations will be created. The material basis are transcriptions from tape or video recordings of everyday life conversations, but also of consultations or trials (see Bergmann, 1991: 218). The narrative structural method developed by Schütze (1983) is actually based on the method of a formal text analysis in the evaluation of autobiographical ad-lib narrations; but in further evaluation steps the separate narrative segments will be structurally described and combined in a biographical general abstract. It is not primarily the aim to reconstruct the subjective interpretations of the narrator, but the connection of biographical process structures.

As a third method within this type of interpretation techniques the documentary method can be called, which has been developed by Ralf Bohnsack (2006; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2001) and others for the analyses of group discussions. Aiming at the reconstruction of collective orientations and milieu-related experiences the method nowadays is also applied to biographic interviews, photographies or videos.

A fourth group of evaluation methods tries to decode those structures which are successful as a generative model and do not depend on the knowledge and will of the agent. Apart from the concept of psychoanalytical text interpretation focusing on the discovery of the latent unconscious in biographies and social interactions, the concept of objective hermeneutics (Oevermann, 1988) must be mentioned here in this context. It is to work out the objective relevance and the latent structure of the senses of remarks or social actions. Oevermann put this concept to a first empirical test in the context of a family sociological study. Now all sorts of other materials, such as interviews, photos, or even works of art are analyzed with this method (see Garz, 1994). At the center of this methodological process of objective hermeneutics is the sequence analysis. Here, at the beginning, the first sequence of a text is to be interpreted in the context of an interpretation group as extensively as possible. Then the interpretations coming from the first sequence are transferred to the second sequence and examined for their compatibility. In this way, the interpretations are increasingly reduced and differentiated by each sequence, new interpretations are added until a case structure can be seen. The reconstructed latent structure of the senses of the case is to be tested in additional sequences and finally the researcher tries to falsify it. Starting from the individual case reconstruction - the objective hermeneutics reaches the structural generalization with the help of the falsification principle (see Reichertz, 1991: 226).

5 Topics and Types of Qualitative Research

What are the fields that can be surveyed in the context of qualitative research with the help of the portrayed research methodological instruments? Just a quick glance at the current research reports, relevant handbooks and standard literature makes clear that almost all aspects of everyday life have become subjects of qualitative research projects. The spectrum of topics extends from new youth biographies, interactions in court, communication in fire brigade emergency calls or the lebenswelt of bodybuilders or handymen, up to the analysis of scene magazines or talk shows. Because of this wide variety, it is not possible to give a complete overview on all topics of qualitative research. In what follows, I confine myself to emphasizing primarily on the fields of qualitative research in the educational sciences. For a thematic classification, an orientation towards central types of qualitative research is helpful. There is a differentiation between biography research, interaction studies, lebenswelt analyses and qualitative content analyses of cultural documents – which deal with different dimensions and aspects of social reality.

The field of biography research is the qualitative research type, which currently has a central position in the educational sciences. Biography research concentrates on the survey and evaluation of told or reported accounts of life-style. The source materials are either biographical texts produced by the research instruments of the expert (e.g. narrative interviews) or sources (diaries, autobiographies), which are already to be found in social reality. Important research fields of the educational sciences are general status passages in the biography, but also educational biographies of pupils, students or adults in different pedagogical institutions. Even the biographies of professional educationalists and honorary working people are now examined in the different educational scientific disciplines (see Krüger/Marotzki, 2006). Another field in the educational biography research are the historical analyses concerning former socialization conditions, educational practices, educational institutions or processes of growing up. Here are many points of contact with the socio-historical and oral history research (see Krüger, 1997: 43).

The second main focus of qualitative research comprises microscopically oriented interaction studies - although, they are more prominent in sociology than in the educational sciences. Nevertheless, during the last two decades educational qualitative research has carried out conversation analysis, the labeling approach concept and recently surveys on evaluation strategies of objective hermeneutics. They deal with stigmatization processes in schools or educational institutions, tactics of pupils in the class, interaction conflicts between younger and older children in the class and schoolyard; with conversations in ecological teams of adult education or with consultations in different areas of social work (see Combe/Helsper, 1994; Lüders, 1997).

A third major qualitative research type in the educational sciences is lebenswelt studies. Following socio-phenomenological and interactionistic theory traditions, as well as ethnographic field research approaches, this research trend has shown strong development in the last decades. Here, everyday life in elementary school, internet, home or juvenile court, the extra-curricular lebenswelt of junior high pupils, students, people living in homes, Star Trek fans, or the milieu of hooligans or music bands are the subject of research (see Bohnsack/Marotzki, 1998; Bohnsack et al., 1995; Jakob/Von Wensierski, 1997).

A fourth center of educational scientific research refers to the qualitative content analysis of meaningful documents. The focus is on material, e.g. essays by pupils or students, which have been collected and evaluated for decades in qualitative educational scientific research. Other cultural documents, like the picture or the photo, have been a subject of scientific analyses in art historical and ethnographical research for a long time. In the context of educational scientific research, both were rediscovered as sources only recently (see Lenzen, 1993; Mollenhauer, 1997; Fuhs, 1997). The analysis of movies and television programs has likewise become more important in educational scientific research only in the last decade. The impulses came here mainly from researchers surveying those visual documents with reference to the interpretation method of objective hermeneutics (see Garz/Kraimer, 1991; Kade, 1997).

6 Current Problem Areas of Qualitative Research

The overview on the subjects and research fields of qualitative educational scientific research given in a broad outline shows that meanwhile, in the educational sciences and in the neighboring social scientific disciplines alike, a wide research practice has established itself. A wealth of qualitatively oriented projects has been carried out over the last decades; they have sought mostly to fulfill the criteria and standards of qualitative research logic. Despite of this apparent record of success, there are at least three problem areas, which are presumably characteristic of the current qualitative research scene.

First, there are not enough continuous research lines regarding content and time in the field of qualitative educational scientific research. The permanent conceptual reworking of approaches and research programs rather foils a cumulation of experiences and results (see Helsper/Herwartz-Emden/Terhart, 1998: 6). Although there are occasional attempts at systematically matching research lines, as seen in the field of student's biography research (see Helsper/Bertram, 1999: 267), they have hitherto remained exceptions. In the field of qualitative educational scientific research there is

also a lack of secondary analyses of material previously surveyed by researchers. Normally, in many qualitative projects with narrow topics, new material is surveyed at a great expense and later not available for other researchers. One major reason for this is that so far there are no comprehensive archives and documentation systems for qualitative educational scientific research. Then the technical and structural preconditions for continuous research could be given.

A second and rather methodological problem that still characterizes several studies can be described with the keyword: "confusion of qualitative and quantitative research logics." Many studies try to answer two questions at the same time by sampling, which is oriented toward external socio-structural characteristics. On the one hand, they stick to the methodological option for a qualitative action, but on the other hand, they want to portray typical experiences, and make quantitative distribution statements according to the selection of the surveyed group. However, representative results according to distribution statements cannot be the outcome of qualitative studies, which do not follow the rule of the big number.

A third central problem of current qualitative research is what Terhart (1997: 38) characterized as the question of portrayability of results. The criticism concerning the reflective-theoretical statements of the truth, and the comments regarding the constructive character of research methods and the dialogue character of ethnographic reality perception that proceeds out of the context of the new reflexive ethnography or empirical constructivism might be justified. Maintaining such an absolute position most likely leads to problems. Finally, because of representative-critical reservations, the researcher's own problems in dealing with representative questions could become the actual subject of the research report (see Terhart, 1997: 39).

7 Prospects of Qualitative Research

What are the challenges resulting from the current research situation for the further development and improvement of quality standards in qualitative educational scientific research? First of all, it is necessary to establish a comprehensive documentation system for the securing and exchange of qualitative data in the educational sciences. Through the establishment of those technical and structural requirements, better conditions for the continuous development of research programs and for two types of subsequent research can be achieved: first, for the implementation of qualitative replication studies, which take up again the questions and survey instruments of older studies under different social conditions; second, for the realization of secondary analyses where formerly surveyed qualitative data are evaluated anew with different formulations of questions.

Further empirical research tasks facing future qualitative educational scientific research are first of all a stronger combination of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. Consequently, on the basis of detailed individual case interpretations and with the help of a qualitative classification on biographies and interaction constellations gained through case comparing contrasts, a quantitative study can examine in a second step the distribution according to frequencies. Second, it is necessary to combine the so far dominating biography analytical methods with other qualitative research methods, like the interaction analytical and ethnographic methods, in order to examine the more complex connections between biography development and the interactive and institutional conditions of the pedagogical fields of action (see i.e. Bohnsack/Marotzki, 1998; Helsper/ Böhme/Kramer et al., 1998). Third, it seems to be useful and desirable to continue the attempts to conceive a picture-hermeneutics. Those attempts have become common in qualitative educational scientific research in recent years, and they are especially eager to develop those evaluation methods further which do not treat visual documents as texts, but which emphasize the specific character that is inherent in pictures. In the face of the rapid transformation process towards an information society, educational research approaches a new field – the digital socialization space, it can be regarded as the new learning environment alongside the traditional institutions.

Finally in the context of internationalisation of processes of life and learning a stronger international networking of qualitative educational research and a development of cross-cultural research is badly needed. Financial, language and cultural communication problems seem to be the major barriers in this field. Additionally most qualitative research methods so far are not fully established, so that every cross-cultural qualitative project has to break new ground. Nevertheless there are first attempts in biographic, youth or childhood research (Renner, 1999; du Bois-Reymond et.al., 1994; Weller, 2003) and volumes like this give reason for hope that in other fields of educational research similar projects soon will be established.

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Gerhard Riemann

The Significance of Procedures of Ethnography and Narrative Analysis for the (Self-)Reflection of Professional Work[1]

1. Introduction

Social scientists working in the fields of biographical research, interaction analysis and other interpretative approaches are expected – and often expect it of themselves – to contribute to the reflection and self-reflection of professional work and to the development of forms of professional intervention.[2] There is hope, (a) to develop more refined instruments of analysis in order to learn about the meaning and consequences of professional work for the life histories and life circumstances of patients and clients, and (b) to use such procedures as resources in the professional work as such. Doing a survey on "the discourse of biographical research" should also include thinking aloud about practical contexts of applying and acquiring such procedures.

There has been a large number of German and international publications about the uses of the contemporary biographical research in the social sciences and other interpretative approaches for educational settings in the professions, for reflecting about one's own professional practice and the practice of others, and for the further development of forms of intervention.[3] The affinities between case analyses in the social sciences and in professional practice have been spelled out. Approaches of interpretative social research have become more and more important in social work, but also in teacher

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1   This article is a translation of a German piece ("Zur Bedeutung ethnographischer und erzählanalytischer Arbeitsweisen für die (Selbst-)Reflexion professioneller Arbeit. Ein Erfahrungsbericht") which was published in Bettina Völter, Bettina Dausien, Helma Lutz and Gabriele Rosenthal (eds.) (2005): Biographieforschung im Diskurs. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 248-270. I have included a few new references. – I wish to thank Bettina Dausien and Bettina Völter for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

2   This is reflected in the great interest in the annual conference of the section on Biographical Research of the German Sociological Association in 2002, which was held at the Department of Social Work of the University of Bamberg (entitled: "The analysis, (self-)reflection and composition of professional work. The contribution of biographical research and other interpretative approaches"). See also Dausien/Hanses/Inowlocki/Rie-mann (2008).

3   Cf., e.g., Chamberlayne/Bornat/Apitzsch, 2004; Fischer, 2004; Hanses, 2004; Riemann 2002, 2003a, 2003c, 2005, 2006; Schütze 1994; Jakob/von Wensierski, 1997; and Völter, 2008.

training, research on classroom interaction and school development (Breidenstein et al., 2002), and in the self-reflection of psychotherapists (Frommer/Rennie, 2001).

I will not present a review of this development, but would like to use my own experience of working with students of social work[4] to ponder over the creation of conditions under which future professionals could turn into interpretative social researchers of their own affairs (Riemann 2006) and acquire analytical competencies which are basic to practical case analyses in working with clients – analyses, which always have to take into account the strong pressure to act and take quick decisions. I will turn to modes of practice which have proved useful in my own teaching of research skills. By slightly modifying the title of a book edited by Stefan Hirschauer and Klaus Amman (1997), I have started to call this endeavor "making one's own practice strange" (Riemann, 2004).

2. An Episode[5]

While I was still working at the department of social work of the University of Kassel, a student of social work looked me up, since she needed an advisor for one of her two obligatory research papers (in her undergraduate course of social work). She told me that she had already asked quite a few staff members to consider supervising her project, but all of them had declared themselves "not in charge" of the topic which she had contemplated: "causes of alcoholism". I told her that I did not exactly consider at myself an expert in this domain, but asked her how she had developed an interest in this topic. She told me that she had lived on a Native American reservation in the Southwest of the U.S. before she started studying social work and that some of her Native American friends had suffered from major drinking problems. This had made her feel helpless. I still remember that I was quite surprised but also curious, and asked her whether she would like to turn her memories of the reservation into a topic for her research paper: the way she had approached a culture and way of life entirely unfamiliar and strange to her, and how she had encountered obstacles in trying to understand all of this. I mentioned that this could provide a background for focusing on the issue of how she had tried to understand the problematic history and situation of her friends. I told her that I could supervise such a project even though I was not

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4   I worked at the department of social work of the University of Kassel from 1983 until 1997 and at the department of social work of the University of Bamberg from 1997 until 2007 (before starting to work at the Georg-Simon-Ohm University of Applied Sciences in Nuremberg). – This article was still written in Bamberg.

5   I already dealt with this episode in an earlier publication (Riemann 1999).

an expert in the field of "Native American Studies". I could offer to support her in reconstructing her memories and observations, and in developing research questions (similar to the way in which I dealt with students in general, who had undergone experience "strange" to me and of which I had no understanding, yet).

The student was surprised that someone whom she had met at university was interested in her experience on the reservation, but she was also irritated; since she could not imagine that spontaneously documenting and reflecting about personal experience could have a legitimate place in a research paper which had to meet "scientific" requirements after all. We agreed that she should think about it, and that she could contact me any time. Afterwards we ran into each other once in a while and exchanged a few friendly words. The research paper I had suggested was never written – at least not under my guidance.

That was fine with me – it would have been wrong to push the student in this regard. However, this episode demonstrates something problematic if you look at the student's quest, and the topic which she had formulated in the beginning. The social work course at the University of Kassel includes elements of reflecting personal experience in different phases: (self-awareness groups at the beginning of the course, seminars during and after work placements, and even regular meetings with a "supervisor", i.e. a counselor helping professionals to understand their practice problems and experience and their personal involvement in their work. But I am also under the impression that educational milieus in social work (irrespective of their placement in a traditional university or a university of applied sciences) are marked by a tendency to disregard and discount students' biographical experience as resources for social research into their own affairs. There are not enough social arrangements of teaching and learning in which students are encouraged and accompanied to discover puzzles that originate in their own earlier experience and in non-academic contexts, to reflect about them, to find research objectives in these processes and to learn about themselves. Of course, I do not want to make a case for blurring the borders of research and (therapeutically etc. informed) processes of creating self-awareness; that would be a misunderstanding.

A reader might object, "So what? Isn't the student's query about the 'causes of alcoholism' such a question which had originated during her time on the Native American reservation? Everything would have been okay if she had met a professor who had claimed alcoholism or drug addiction as her or his expert domain." But this is exactly the problem: The student had formulated her interest in a "de-indexicalized" (cf. Garfinkel 1967 on the concept of indexicality) and abstract way, and thereby demonstrated her notion of "being scientific". She apparently assumed that such a reformulation was necessary in order to awaken the interest of a staff member, while the rele-

vant context of experience was opaque in the eyes of her interaction part-
ners. Of course, it makes sense for students of social work to study theories
of addiction. But if a member of the teaching staff had merely given her or
his blessing to the topic the student had presented, it would have meant that
she had just deductively applied theories to the social and cultural contexts,
in which her puzzle – "what's the matter with my friends?" – had emerged.
Such a top-down logic of subsumption would have meant to understand less
(and not more) about her friends in difficult life situations: members of an
indigenous minority in the U.S., whose history is marked by a collective
experience of marginalization and demoralization. Their primary and decon-
textualized identification and isolation as members of the worldwide catego-
ry of "alcoholics" would have been misleading.

I have frequently observed that students of social work cloak the things
which occupy their minds – things which are valuable to them, but maybe
also especially burdensome and depressing – by allegedly scientific sounding
formulations. Such a tendency has problematic consequences for all parties
involved: not just for the students who learn that "this" is no place where
they may present and ponder over "their own" questions, but also for the
departments and schools in general which forgo the discovery of new re-
search problems. I have the impression that such tendencies are facilitated by
the current macro conditions of academic education in Germany with the
implementation of the so-called Bologna process: the introduction of "stacca-
tos" of exams in the context of modularized courses which are meant to
guarantee a greater effectiveness and a speedy training.

It seems to me that there are special opportunities for social work re-
search processes if students are encouraged to articulate their own experience
- biographical experience from times prior to their enrolment into university
(as in the example mentioned above) as well as during the time of their work
placements. Students can become active as researchers of their own affairs
and can discover that acquiring skills of reconstructive social research is in
their own best interest in order to work in a way which is in accordance with
their own professional aspirations. Thereby it is possible for them to learn at
first hand that personal experience is accessible to social scientific analysis.
But such opportunities are not systematically used in traditional academic
training. E.g., in educational science "a majority (of those students who are
enrolled into a course or have finished it, G.R.) look at the work placement
as an isolated element of their training." (Schulze-Krüdener/Homfeldt, 2002:
135).[6]

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[6] It should be kept in mind that recent developments in biographical research and studies of
professional work have also been stimulated by the research contributions of students, e.g.,
Schütze's work on paradoxes of professional work (Schütze, 1992; 1996; 2000).

3. Forms of Approaching One's Practice and of Making it Strange

Some settings have proved useful in my own teaching of research skills – settings in which students are drawn into qualitative research processes by creating a link to their own experience of professional practice. I have in mind supervising research papers in the early phase of their course (Riemann, 1999)[7]; ethnographic analyses of practice in the context of their work placements, i.e., seminars for "making one's own practice strange" and for discovering work processes and central problems of professional work in certain fields of practice (Riemann, 2004); and research workshops in which students are accompanied whilst working on their own empirical theses for qualifying exams (Riemann/Schütze, 1987; Reim/Riemann, 1997; Riemann 2003b).

I would like to focus on two types of work which have proved useful in the context of self-reflexive ethnographic seminars of practice analysis and which complement each other: the production of ethnographic field notes during work placements and their analysis and the social scientific analysis of narratives as developed on the basis of narrative interviews (Schütze, 1987; 2007 a, b). The development of the working style which will be outlined in this paper has especially been influenced by my collaboration with Fritz Schütze at the department of social work of the University of Kassel[8], and by the investigations of work which were carried out by Anselm Strauss and his co-workers; studies which are also marked by a reflection of the authors' own experience of work and illness (cf. Strauss et al. 1998, 294-295p.; Corbin/Strauss 1988) – something which Strauss calls "experiential data" (Strauss 1987, p.10-13). When looking at the history and the features of his monographs on medical work, and the interaction with dying people and chronically ill patients, it is noticeable that the authors' and research workers' style of generating new insights was facilitated by a continuous dialogue: an interplay between the articulation of experience of practice and fieldwork on the one hand and procedures of abstraction and gaining distance

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7   It is important to create conditions under which students can talk about experience from times before entering university, in order to develop potential research problems in this way. Such studies are produced in small groups, i.e., students have to discover among themselves and in cooperation with the instructor which research problems are intriguing for them, but can also be investigated in the light of their competencies and the time which they can afford. The research problems belong to the spectrum of qualitative studies in which different kinds of social processes are analyzed - as distinguished from quantitative studies about research problems which are shaped by theorizing about distributions.

8   Schütze's (1994) reflections on the importance of an ethnographic orientation for social work practice and education were informed by his work as mentor of social work students during their work placements.

(generating questions, open coding, contrastive comparisons) on the other (Strauss, 1987: 130-142). This is especially impressive in the case history on the work with a dying patient - "Anguish" (Strauss/Glaser, 1970) – which is mainly based on an extensive interview with two students of nursing during their work placements, one of them Shizuko Fagerhaugh, Strauss's later co-author. It is significant that Strauss's most important research collaborators during the last decades of his life were professionally experienced and sociologically trained nurses[9].

3.1 Working with Ethnographic Field Notes

I have supervised the work of students with ethnographic field notes, (a) in seminars in which they present and share their work experience during their fourth and fifth semester of undergraduate training which they spend on work placements, and (b) in the context of a major field of study ("social work with mentally ill persons and drug addicts") which I have coordinated with a colleague who is a medical doctor[10], and which students can choose after their return from their two semesters of continuous work placements. A feature of this field of study is that students spend some time on a shorter work placement again, either a few weeks during the semester break or for a few hours per week during a longer time span.

In order to illustrate the ethnographic work with these students, I will use an example from a seminar for students during their fourth and fifth semester which they spend on work placements. This type of work is very similar to

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9   There are also points of contact with the "studies of work" which were initiated by Harold Garfinkel (Sharrock/Anderson, 1986: 80-98; Pollner/Emerson, 2001), even though I do not agree with Garfinkel's demand that the researcher is supposed to master fully the work practices which are being investigated by her or him (something which he refers to as the "unique adequacy requirement"). As can be noted below, I regard the liminal situation of the novice or trainee, who is very serious in acquiring skills in a certain field of practice but is not fully competent yet and not blinded by routine, as a very good precondition for discovering something new. Pollner and Emerson (2001: 123) write about the context of the "unique adequacy requirement" within ethnomethodology (EM): "From early on in its development one current within EM has emphasized active participation and the acquisition of indigenous skills and knowledge as means of capturing the lived order (…). Such practices have taken on even more prominence as EM has refocused from studying the diffuse competencies and practices implicated in 'everyday' interaction to examining technical or otherwise esoteric settings. Instead of 'making the familiar strange' by developing 'amnesia for common sense' (Garfinkel 1967), then, the ethnomethodologist is exhorted to acquire familiarity with opaque background knowledge and practices. For EM views these specialized settings as self-organizing ensembles of local practices whose ways and workings are only accessible through a competent practitioner's in-depth experience and familiarity. Thus, identification of the distinctive features of shamanism or mathematics requires the capacity for competent performance and actual participation in the form of life under consideration."

10   I refer to Professor Dr. Jörg Wolstein.

the work in the major field of study – except for the fact of the heterogeneous composition of the seminar: Students work in very different fields of practice, not just in the field of mental health and drug addiction.

I will use excerpts from the field protocol of a trainee in which he wrote down memories of a so called "first session" which he had observed in a family counseling centre of a large church-affiliated German welfare association.[11] The student spent two semesters (or 40 weeks) in this counseling centre. The student participants of the seminar and I could discover on the basis of the rather detailed sequential protocol, which took into account the stages and the central activities of this action scheme of counseling, how the professional in charge of this "first session", a psychologist, failed to establish a relationship of trust with the clients, a married couple from Poland whose right to custody of their daughter Agnieszka had been revoked. Even though the student was not aware of this feature of the interaction while writing down his field notes, it was possible to discover it in retrospect. The psychologist's failure in this regard is particularly noticeable in the way in which he adopts the viewpoint of the youth welfare office and the court and in which he doubts the version of Agnieszka's father, i.e., he accepts the established "hierarchy of credibility" (as Howard Becker (1967) calls it) as given and reaffirms it.

At some point the student had written down: *"Mr. Olschewski wants to have his 'stolen' daughter back and asks who is Mrs. Seifert anyway (the family judge responsible for this case) who does not know Agnieszka at all but may take his daughter away from him."* The student had added a retrospective commentary in which he had referred to the court proceedings led by a female judge; he and the psychologist had received an impression of these proceedings because Mr. Olschewski had shown them the court order. He comments in retrospect: *"I think that the constellation with exclusively female office-holders is difficult for an eastern European male with regard to the acceptance of authority. The behavior of Mr. Olschewski before the court (uncooperative and aggressive) becomes more understandable if you take this into account."*

I still have vivid memories of the seminar discussion in which we consensually focused on the stereotypical quality of his comment on an "eastern European male" as a stranger (at this point a totally different category of a stranger could have appeared) – to say nothing of the fact that the student writer had not been present at the court proceedings and could therefore only state how the father's behavior had been evaluated by others: as *"uncooperative and aggressive"*. The student took an active part in the discussion without having to wear sackcloth and ashes. This shows that such a protocol can also be helpful for reflecting and questioning one's own routine typifications and ethnic categorizations. At the same time, the text turned out to be rich in

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11   Readers will find an extensive discussion of this field protocol in Riemann (2006).

gaining general insights into the order of an action scheme of counseling and the conditions under which it failed and in initiating a discourse about mistakes in professional work. The style of such a joint production of new insights in the seminar discussion is marked by research communication in the style of research workshops and a discourse on professional mistakes. Carefully criticizing the practice, and searching for possible alternatives of action become constitutive parts of the analysis. The student trainees/field researchers are not expected to deliver elaborate and sophisticated protocols or to endure a tribunal if they fail to meet such standards.

When students of social work are expected to write down their personal experience of practice, they are often skeptical and irritated and express their reservations about the supposedly "unscientific" quality of personal field notes. Sometimes they feel that social science is something abstract, formidable and totally divorced from their own experience – something which does not have anything to do with them as future down-to-earth practitioners. They think what counts is the "fragmentary" reception and storage of research results for all practical purposes – in contrast with a deeper socialization into research procedures which might enable (future) practitioners to take part in an egalitarian discourse of social scientists and to make their own contributions to research. Oftentimes, they are convinced that using the first person of the personal pronoun (which is a necessary part of personal field notes) has no legitimate place in social science writings. Overcoming such doubts and reservations – "that's just subjective" – can be cumbersome and may require a lot of time. The instructor's request to make a field of practice strange might also be experienced as an excessive and irritating demand, since it is a field of practice in which students want to acquire the necessary practical competencies and appropriate language skills and want to be accepted as trustworthy members. It is not easy to register the things which are regarded as a "matter of course", the typifications and practical theories of a field of practice, in which students want to prove themselves as future professional practitioners, as remarkable and noteworthy phenomena, to describe them and to bracket their "natural" validity.

The student ethnographers only lose their insecurity when they start to make observations and write down their field notes ("learning by doing"), when they make their texts accessible to others (including the instructor) and when they receive personal feedback on their notes (on what strikes readers as especially interesting or what appears opaque). But it also makes sense to inform them about some elements of writing which have proved useful in writing ethnographic field notes in this context[12]. Students are advised:

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12 The details, conventions and traditions which are important for the production of ethnographic fieldnotes have only become a topic in cultural anthropology in the last two decades (Sanjek, 1990). In the sociological literature on field research especially the work by Emerson et al. (1995) contains useful suggestions for writing fieldnotes.

- to write for an audience whom they assume not familiar with the proce-dures and social contexts of the relevant field of practice, and to present their observations in such a way that it is possible for outside readers to analyze the text by themselves;
- to acquire systematically an attitude of wondering and of not taking anything for granted;
- to focus on sequences for the sake of discovering the order, but also the disorder of social processes. The disorder could consist in the violation of interactional reciprocity and in breaches and irritations of sequences of action and communication;
- to take into account and to differentiate between their own inner states and perspectives at different times (as actors in the former situation and later on when writing down and reflecting on their observations);
- to differentiate among the perspectives of different actors and to forgo the tendency to privilege certain, e.g., official and prestigious, perspec-tives;
- to differentiate the language of the field from their own observational language.

A few words about the style of communication which has developed in our seminars of practice analysis (cf. Riemann, 2005: 95-97). Participants take turns in presenting their field notes which are then discussed and analyzed – field notes which clearly focus on certain events: e.g., the first encounter with the field of practice; professional schemes of action like counseling sessions, therapies, intake interviews, clinical rounds and team meetings; the history of the relationship with a client; recurring everyday routines in an institution etc. The participants in the seminar take time to work on the (anonymized) field notes at home (having received an electronic version in time) and in the seminar, i.e., they segment them and comment on them. Discussing the whole text and partial sequences involves focusing on stylistic and linguistic particularities, social processes, contexts, conditions, central professional problems and paradoxes (Schütze, 1992; 1996) and problematic tendencies of coping with them, which have become visible in the data.

The joint microscopic work on certain sequences can primarily be un-derstood as "open coding" as described by Anselm Strauss (1987: 28). Par-ticipants focus on

(1) discovering the structure of social processes, the perspectives of different interaction partners, the central problems of professional work and the ways of coping with them;
(2) identifying the experience and interpretations of the fellow student who had distributed her data (experience and interpretations during the de-picted events and at the time of the writing); and

(3) formulating elements of a non-normative criticism of the observed prac-
tice (Riemann, 2002), be it the practice of the student writer or the prac-
tice of other interaction partners who appear in the field notes, and on
suggesting possible alternatives of action.

As mentioned above, in this case, engaging in criticism is a constitutive part
of the analysis – in contrast to a traditional ethnographic attitude and also in
contrast to the concept of "ethnomethodological indifference" (Garfinkel,
1970)[13]. It is always important to present a critique in a case specific way and
by taking into account the relevant problems of action. This also means that
generalizing depreciations and premature ascriptions of general levels of
competence, "deficits of professionalism" and other "essential" negative
properties should be avoided. Starting points of criticism develop in the con-
text of an empirical discovery of breaches in the base of reciprocity and co-
operation and of irritations of the sequential order of the observed processes
of interaction, communication, action, and work[14]. The critique should be
formulated in such a way that the addressee could regard it as a respectful
offer for a dialogue – regardless of whether he or she is exposed to it or not.

The student who has shared her or his material makes a written summary
on the basis of the (primarily oral) feedback of the other participants in the
seminar. This summary serves as the basis for her/his further work on the
field notes. The participants of the seminar support each other during the
process of the gradual production of their ethnographic final reports, i.e.,
they discuss outlines and excerpts of their reports and examine whether the
composition of the work in progress does justice to the specifics of the expe-
rience of the respective student ethnographers, and whether or not the things
which are especially interesting in the data are sufficiently explored.

Types of ethnographic work have spread widely in the last two decades
and have become more differentiated (Atkinson et al. (eds.), 2001). Writing
ethnographic field notes still plays an important role although many ethno-
graphic studies are characterized by quite diverse data and utilize new proce-
dures of recording (video and film). At the same time some social scientists

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13 Pollner and Emerson explain the concept of „ethnomethodological indifference" as follows:
"In general, EM indifference bids the researcher to refrain from assessing correctness, ap-
propriateness or adequacy in articulating the practices and organization of the endogenous
order. Whatever faults (or virtues) they may display when assessed by extrinsic criteria,
these practices and their products constitute the social reality of everyday activities – in the
home, office, clinic and scientific laboratory (......). Thus, ethnomethodological indifferen-
ce precludes characterizations of members as deficient, pathological or irrational (or supe-
rior, normal or rational). Of course, such characterizations are of interest as phenomena
when they occur in the setting under consideration: critique and fault-finding are ubiquitous
features of social life and thus comprise activities whose organization, use and consequen-
ces are to be explicated."

14 I wish to thank Fritz Schütze for drawing my attention to the implicit criteria underlying my
critical analysis of professional work.

criticize the use of field notes as outdated and refer to unavoidable problems of analysis. Ulrich Oevermann, e.g., criticizes "the circular convolution of collecting and analyzing data" (2001: 85).

Of course, such selective and retrospectively produced field notes cannot be equated with transcriptions of audio recordings which lend themselves to exact and intersubjectively controllable analyses of texts (analyses of interactions, narrative analyses), but other insights are possible which cannot be gained on the basis of transcriptions, e.g., insights into former and later inner states of the student writer/trainee and the changes of his or her identity and world view (if a series of field notes is arranged and read sequentially according to the days on which they were written). It is important that different schemes of communication (Kallmeyer/Schütze, 1977) – narration, description, and argumentation – can be distinguished when single oral or written texts are analyzed and that no impenetrable mixture develops which complicates an analysis or makes it impossible. Fritz Schütze (1987: 256) has coined the term "schema salad" in this regard.

In our seminars of practice analysis, written field notes are never taken at face value in a naïve way, but they are critically scrutinized: Is there a certain lack of plausibility in the reconstruction of events and experience? What about the observational foci, the categories, interpretations, evaluations and blind spots of the student writer? It is important that this happens in a style which is not debunking and malicious. Because these texts disclose so much about the student writer as a future professional, they are an important basis for understanding and reflecting processes of professional socialization in general.

3.2 Looking Back – Narrating One's Own Practice

I just dealt with a way of approaching a field of practice and one's own practice in a disciplined but also personal way. This approach implies writing field notes *shortly after* the events which one has witnessed and in which one participated and making part of this material accessible to other student ethnographers with whom one tries to accomplish some analytical distance in order to learn even more about the observed reality and about oneself. If everything goes well, the student writers / trainees are still under the impression of what they experienced a short time ago. Maybe they had the chance to scribble down keywords or quotes in between – terms and utterances which might help them to bring back the memory of scenes and situations when they write down their protocol in the evening. Emerson et al. (1995: 31-35) refer to "jottings" as "mnemonic devices" (cf. Clifford, 1990: 51). Thereby it becomes possible to create dense descriptive texts which include many details on recurring and nonrecurring sequences of conversation, scenes and situations including paralinguistic and nonverbal components. It

is important to stay sensitive to sequences: how did one event lead to the next? Sometimes it is surprising to see that the development of events can be reconstructed in a very detailed manner if one assumes such an attitude of staying sensitive to sequence. The process of writing leads to new insights and ideas, too.

There is quite another way of visualizing one's practice and of "making it strange" in retrospect: One can tell an off-the-cuff narrative about it – especially after the completion of the work placement. I have started to recommend to students at the beginning of our seminar on practice analysis that they tell each other about the history of their work placement: how it came about, how they experienced it, how it ended and how they look back at it. At the beginning of the seminar most of them have finished their work placement.

In other words, I suggest that the students conduct narrative interviews in their group – narrative interviews on the history of interactions and work relationships as they were applied in studies of professional work in the last years (Riemann, 2000:40-43; Reim, 1995), but this time not primarily on the history which one shares with a client or a client family[15], but on the personal history of the entire work placement. Of course, the relationship with individual clients can become very important in this context. If it turns out that there are certain parts of the experience of a work placement which students want to get off their chests - this might be the history which one shares with a client (see below) –, this should be at the centre of the narrative.

In the past, I have supervised a number of empirical studies, e.g., in my student research workshop, in which students collected narrative interviews on interaction histories of professionals and clients. This material was very rich in shedding light on sequences of work, the central problems of professional work and the sometimes problematic ways in which they were handled. This is different from what I am focusing on here: students are encouraged to *tell their own stories* und to develop some analytical distance (together with their listeners) from their experience which is expressed in their narratives. It is possible that many new insights emerge in off-the-cuff story telling (Schütze, 1987; 2007 a, b), think of the diverse argumentative (reflective and evaluative) commentaries which are embedded in narratives.

Attentive listeners might touch upon an experience difficult for the narrator – an experience which he or she might just have alluded to or which might have left their imprint in symptomatic textual indicators – and to un-

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15 This question is different from asking for a „case" as I explained in my study on the practice of social workers in a family counselling centre (Riemann, 2000: 41-42): "When I asked, 'Just tell me about your history with Mrs. X. How did everything come about?', I tried to initiate a very personal narrative in which the former and present inner states of the narrator and the ups and downs of her case work would become visible and would not be polished up. That means: I discouraged a smoothened and impersonal expert presentation of a 'case' and of herself. I would have probably invited such a presentation if I had asked, 'Tell me the case of Mrs. X.'"

tangle things together with her or him. (This happens in the questioning part of the interview which follows the introductory narrative.) If the interview is transcribed, the discursive analysis can be pushed even further into the setting of a research workshop in which the narrator participates. However, this requires a special interest on behalf of the narrator (and former trainee) and a milieu in which the participants are already familiar with the procedures and possibilities of narrative analyses. I do not have in mind such an advanced and methodically controlled narrative analysis in the case of a seminar in which students come together, who share their experience of work placements. I just think it is worthwhile that students gain a special access to their practice – the phases and gestalt of their experience in general – and hit upon problems which they formerly found too difficult to articulate (orally and in their field notes). Analyzing field notes and "listening to oneself" can complement each other in order to explore what was especially interesting during the work placement and in this specific site of the social world.

I would like to convey the impression of the off-the-cuff narrative of a student of social work at the centre of which is a difficult experience during his past work placement (lasting two semesters) – an experience the student still found difficult to articulate at the time of the interview. The context of this narrative is somewhat different from the seminars of practice analysis which I have dealt with in my article, but this does not matter so much since I want to focus on particularities of the data.

This student approached me because he wanted to write his diploma thesis (final undergraduate thesis) under my supervision. When we talked about what might be an interesting topic for him, he referred to his work placement (during his fourth and fifth semester) in a small residential home for youths who did not live with their families anymore. I had not been his mentor during his work placement, so I did not know anything about it. One of the youths, an adolescent named Vincent, was regarded as "manic depressive" (the other youths had not been psychiatrically classified) and the student mentioned that he still thought a lot about his difficult relationship with Vincent. Therefore, he had developed an interest in writing a thesis about "social work with manic depressive youths".

I suggested he should tell the story of his relationship with this youth in a narrative interview and that a friend of his, a female student of social work who did not know much about his work placement, could be the interviewer. Both students agreed. The interview was audio recorded and transcribed and we spent a few hours in our student research workshop to look at the story and to learn about interesting phenomena in the events and experience which were recollected in the narrative. (The interviewee and the interviewer were present.) This data became a central resource in the student's diploma thesis about social work with youths who had been diagnosed as "manic-depressive". Formal textual phenomena became very important in the analy-

sis, since they ensured access to deeper and painful experience of the narrator/author on the one hand, and central problems of professional work in this field of practice on the other. By taking into account and stressing such general features, it became also possible to create an atmosphere in which the student did not slide into a kind of chaotic self-absorption or self-accusation. It was important to keep in mind that the student's entanglements also revealed central problems or paradoxes of professional work in general which are difficult to cope with.

A few remarks on the context of the excerpt which will be presented below: After the interviewer had asked the interviewee, *"Yeah, just tell me the story with Vincent"*, a very lively, detailed and often humorous narrative develops. It becomes obvious that the student got to know the youth very well, that they were on friendly terms and that he felt close to him. While working with him he was also critical of a co-worker whom he regarded as not sufficiently sensitive. He felt that his colleague had contributed to the youth's destabilization by reifying ascriptions and unfounded prognoses, i.e., that he had initiated a process of self-fulfilling prophecies.

At one point, the narrator reaches a decisive turn of events: the circumstances of Vincent's psychiatric hospitalization and his own involvement in these events. He tells about events during one night, when he was on duty and tried in vain to send Vincent to bed. (At that point the team was already convinced that the youth was sliding into a *"manic phase"*.) The student narrator remembers that the youth stayed awake and *"was pottering around in the kitchen"*. He wants to start narrating how he had informed his team colleagues about these events during the next morning and how the team had decided to arrange Vincent's mental hospitalization, but he interrupts himself at this point when he notices that he has to add some background information in order to make plausible how the story unfolded. That means, he corrects himself and inserts a lengthy and complex background construction in which another background construction (a background construction of the second degree) is embedded.[16]

The background construction reveals a central moral dilemma of the team and especially of the sensitive actor/narrator: they are helpless with regard to the continuous ups and downs of the youth's "manic" and "depres-

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16 Cf. Schütze 1987, pp. 207-235; Schütze 2007a, b; Riemann 2000: 57-58 and 230-231, footnote 5, on the analytical relevance of background constructions in off-hand-narratives of self-lived experience. The detailed and comparative analysis of spontaneous narratives of self-lived experience has shown again and again that background constructions often refer to very difficult experiences, which might be chaotic, incomprehensible, traumatic or associated with feelings of guilt and shame. It is difficult to narrate about such experiences, since the narrator tends to fade them out of awareness, but then (time-displaced) background constructions about these experiences are still inserted into the main story line because of the constraints of story-telling. Background constructions are self-corrective devices in off-the-cuff story telling about personal experiences.

sive" phases and they do not know what to do without becoming guilty in their own eyes. In between the student/narrator suggested to stay with the youth during a "manic" phase and to *"sit it out"* with him in order to avoid a psychiatric hospitalization, but the others rejected this suggestion because this would be too risky for the youth who is very much overweight: *"No, we can't do that. This would go too far. He will break down and die."* At the same time the members of the team know that Vincent is very fearful of a psychiatric hospitalization (because of prior experience) and they have a lot of doubts if the high dosage of his medicine, and an increase of this dosage are not extremely risky, too. The narrator had witnessed how a doctor had formulated the prognosis that the youth would not grow older than forty years due to this kind of medication. .

After finishing the background construction the narrator returns to his main story line and starts the following sequence which marks the preliminary end of his narrative[17]:

N: Yeah, in any case, as I had told before there was this action of rattling pots in the kitchen.
Well, and then it was obvious, then / what happened: We had a team meeting the next day in which I told everything. And then it was decided, "Yeah, it cannot continue like this." There was the team leader, and in any case it resulted in, "Vincent has to be sent to the mental hospital." And he was taken to the mental hospital at noon. Somehow it was a very strange situation. The guy had / so he came home, he learned that he somehow had to go to the mental hospital, he started to cry very hard, he was totally devastated, he said good-bye to everybody, he wanted / he said good-bye to everybody, he hugged everybody, he approached everybody and hugged them. And with me / I went to him, he didn't approach me, I went to him, it was shaking hands cold as ice somehow.
I: Uhm
N: And then he was gone. But he had made me responsible somehow for the fact that he had to go to the mental hospital.
I: Uhm
N: It was difficult, it was difficult to deal with.
I: Uhm
N: It also had an effect on me for a long time. All right, I mean, I know for sure that I wasn't the cause. And, my God, if another worker had been on duty during that night the same thing would have happened. And then this worker would have been the fool. Or something like that.
I: Uhm
N: But, well, it fell on nobody else, it was me. And this was really hard to chew. It must have been on my mind for a week all the time. I was always thinking, "Vincent somehow, what is he thinking about me?" No idea. I really didn't manage / he was in psychiatry for a month / and I really didn't manage to visit him once, not even one time, really.
I: Uhm
N: It was really crazy. I even drove to C-town together with my girlfriend to go shopping.

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17   "N" refers to the narrator, "I" to the interviewer.

And it wouldn't have been difficult at all to get away for an hour, and to visit him there. Or something like that. But then, I noticed in myself again / so when I now / when I think about it in retrospect somehow – the excuse: "I cannot leave her alone for an hour." I was looking for stupid excuses so that I didn't have to go to the mental hospital.

I: Uhm

N: And I also really don't know the reason. Maybe partially because of the conflict. On the other hand, I was just afraid to go to the mental hospital. I had heard stories / the others had visited him and / some of them, not everybody, and my practice teacher / for the five thousandth time: his care worker /

((The interviewer and the interviewee laugh.))

I had a very good relationship with him. And he told me a lot of things. And he also told me, "So Vincent, really heavy stuff, he was sent to the critical care unit, he was tied to his bed and so on," and many things like that. I don't know I was scared stiff to see him.

I: Uhm

N: Scared stiff. And I really think that this was the reason why I did not go there. I was scared stiff. It's crazy, it's really crazy because Vincent / he would have / I really think, my God, I think he really would have enjoyed my visit. A hundred percent. He would have enjoyed every visit. And I really didn't manage (to visit him), but as I said, I was scared stiff. ((a pause of five seconds)) It was difficult, really heavy. ((a pause of five seconds)) When I still think about it, it's still on my mind (and has an effect on me). Aehm, what else can I tell?

I: How did it go on?

(The interviewee picks up the story line again.)

A few final remarks on this sequence: The preliminary end of the student's narrative is characterized by a painful discussion of – what he defines as - his own moral failure. He has the impression that the youth had accused him nonverbally of being disloyal or that he has even betrayed him. This is still difficult to swallow. He still reproaches himself for not having been able to visit the youth when he was in the mental hospital. He still senses some perplexity about himself *("And I also really don't know the reason.")* and is hard on himself because of his former evasions.

The autobiographical relevance of this self-critical and unfinished assessment is also visible in the fact that it appears in the pre-coda phase of the narrative (Schütze, 1987: 183). A comparative analysis of many autobiographical off-the-cuff narratives has led to the discovery that such pre-coda commentaries, which are marked by conflicting propositions, often reveal the special problems of a narrator with regard to an overall moral consideration and evaluation of her/his own actions and what they convey about her- or himself.

These difficulties are also underlined by the preliminary ending of the narrative *("Aehm, what else can I tell?")*, the "story with Vincent" is not finished yet. The rest of the narrative, which is initiated by the interviewer's question *("How did it go on?"),* is not marked by a tendency to self-accusation anymore.

The narrator's self-accusatory attitude was not reinforced in the discourse of our research workshop. It was possible to elucidate the general character of professional problems and paradoxes in this field of work (cf. the "moral dilemma" mentioned above) and to think about alternative options which the members of the team had not taken into consideration. It was also possible to show respect for the special sensitivity of the narrator and his suffering from – what he considered as – "dirty work" (Hughes, 1984).

4. Concluding Remarks

I have tried to show how future professionals can be encouraged to turn the acquisition of competencies of reconstructive social research into "their own affair" and how such processes can be supervised. It is crucial that students learn to articulate *their own* work experience freely and gain some analytical distance from it. If future professionals get involved with such processes in the context of seminars of practice analysis and research workshops, the following developments can be facilitated:

(1) In learning to listen, to analyze and develop certain writing skills, students may acquire *competencies of a social scientific case analysis* which are fundamental for their future professional work with clients and for a self-conscious and differentiated *written presentation* of their practice and its complexity. I think that the autonomous development of such forms of presentation is of crucial importance in the face of (a) the prevailing forms of "quality assurance" and its rhetoric, which practitioners of social work often accept in a defeatist manner, and (b) their incisive consequences for the adjudication or dispossession of professional esteem. It is important that they find "their own voice".

(2) Students contribute to empirical investigations of professional fields of action in the style of a *"grounded theory"* (Glaser/Strauss 1967). What I have in mind is a kind of research of students "from below" and "in their own affairs" as can be practiced in different fields of professional education and practice – not just in social work but also in teacher trainings etc.

(3) Familiarizing students with such kinds of self-reflection about their own practice might have consequences for developing forms of a *self-critical discourse on professional mistakes* which are characterized by interplay of a certain type of writing and an oral discussion based on it. This would be different from group or team supervisions without competing with such procedures. Speaking of professional practitioners becoming ethnographers of their own affairs (Riemann, 2006) means that something new emerges which is between professional self-critique on the one hand and research on the other hand. But this needs to be supervised if it is to be

preserved. In this regard, forms of further education are interesting (cf. Nittel, 1997) which have developed out of student research workshops in qualitative research.

I have primarily focused on experience in social work education, but I do not have in mind an exclusive social work project. Gaining a new understanding of professional work is facilitated when students do not stew in their own juice, but communicate about qualitative data in research workshops and seminars of practice analysis together with students from other disciplines and professions, and in cooperation with experienced practitioners. This article has shown that qualitative data might be crucial in this context in which parts of the students' own professional practice and their own biographical experience become visible.

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II The Documentary Method and the Interpretation of Group Discussions

Ralf Bohnsack

Documentary Method and Group Discussions

In the first part of this contribution I will outline some central methodological or epistemological questions which we have to deal with in qualitative research. It will be shown that the documentary method may give some essential answers to these questions by its special stance of observation and analysis which then will be exemplified by research on base of group discussions.

In the second part, I will demonstrate the practice of interpretation with the documentary method in detail using the example of a transcript from a group discussion among young men with a migration background.

1. Methodology, Analytic Stance and Theoretical Framework

Considering the actual state of art in the area of qualitative methods in Germany and beyond in international discourse, one general problem has to be faced in methodology and practice of qualitative research: in correspondence with the discourse in the epistemology of social sciences, qualitative research is forced to overcome objectivism with its claims of a privileged access to reality, but at the same time has to prove its validity and its scientific quality.

1.1 Objectivism versus Subjectivism in Qualitative Research

The tendency towards an objectivistic stance in empirical research has its origin partly in criticizing the subjectivism in quantitative research. As pointed out, among others by Theodor W. Adorno (1976), even highly aggregated data, which lay claim to representativity, mostly only permit an access to the subjective perspective of those under research. The differentiation between the subjective meaning and the objective structure, however, was often gained at the expense of taking the perspective of the observer as more or less absolute.[1] The social as well as the scientific standpoint of the observer thus was not reflected.

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1 In the area of qualitative methods in Germany, this holds especially true for example for objective hermeneutics in the tradition of Frankfurt School (see also: Bohnsack 2003).

By criticizing this objectivism, qualitative researchers in the tradition of social phenomenology, turned back to the subjective meaning („subjektiv gemeinter Sinn") in the Max Weber's sense (1978) and took it as the basic element of methodology and theory of action in social sciences – following Alfred Schütz (1962) in his way of continuing and specifying Weber's position. This, however, has left us with an unmastered problem. By following the subjective meaning we can learn a lot about the perspective, i.e.: the theories and the intentions, of those under research. But there is no way to differentiate methodologically between the perspective of those under research and the perspective of the observer. As a consequence there is no real methodological difference between common sense and scientific interpretation.

The problematic relation between objectivism and subjectivism outlined here is obviously not restricted to the area of qualitative methods. It seems to be a rather central problem in nearly all methodologies and theories of action in social sciences. The discussion of these epistemological problems, however, has been carried out with a certain intensity in the area of qualitative research. Both antagonistic positions – subjectivist as well as objectivistic – have in common that they stick to the aporie, the incompatibility, of objectivism and subjectivism.

To overcome the dilemma between the way of empirical research which reconstructs the subjective meaning by systematizing it, but remains within the borders of what is taken for granted by common sense, on the one hand, and the objectivistic claim for a privileged access to reality, on the other, it was Karl Mannheim (1952 and 1982) who made an essential contribution as early as in the 1920th. Mannheim's sociology of knowledge offers a perspective for observation and interpretation, in which – although there is a clear-cut difference between the observer's perspective and the subjective meaning attributed by the actors – the actors' (those under research) knowledge is still the basis of analysis.

Essential to this specific stance of observation is the distinction between two different sorts or levels of knowledge: the reflexive or theoretical knowledge on the one hand, and the practical or incorporated knowledge on the other. It is the latter kind of knowledge which gives orientation to action. This is implicit knowledge. Mannheim also called it „atheoretical knowledge". In English it is Michael Polanyi (1985) who has coined the term „tacit knowledge".

This implicit or tacit knowledge forms a sort of structure, by which action is orientated mostly independent from the subjective meaning, and has insofar a certain objectivity opposed to it. At the same time, however, this structure of implicit knowledge is a mental product. Mannheim (1984: 94) therefore has called it an „objective mental structure formation" („objektiv-geistiger Strukturzusammenhang"). This sort of structure, thus, – to emphas-

ize yet again – belongs to the knowledge of the actors themselves. It is knowledge at the actor's disposal, and not knowledge which the observers have a privileged access to, as is typical for the objectivistic approaches. The social scientific interpreters thus do not presume or presuppose that they know more than the actors in the field, but that those actors themselves do not really know what exactly they know. Thus, the task of the scientific observer is the explanation of this implicit or tacit knowledge. This epistemological starting position is fundamentally different form objectivistic approaches. [2]

Thus, the documentary method is apt to overcome the aporie between subjectivism and objectivism: Although the empirical base of research lies in the knowledge of those under research and in their relevance, the observer is not committed to their subjective intentions and common sense theories. Much more she or he is able to find an access to the structure of action and orientation, which exceeds the perspective of those under research.

1.2 Theory of Practice and Practical Hermeneutics

The structure which is meant here is the "structure of practice" in Bourdieu's sense (1972), the modus operandi of everyday practice, the "habitus" of the actors (Bourdieu 1974). In a certain analogy to Bourdieu's "theory of practice" (and partly influenced by it) it has been Thomas A. Schwandt (2002, 2003 and 2005) in the U.S., one of the most famous younger researchers in the field of qualitative evaluation, who has drawn attention to the problem that the current understanding of research in social sciences is committed to a concept of knowledge (and intelligence) which is not able to meet the requirements of practice of our everyday life and our practical relation to the world.

Asking for the structure of practice, for the practical accomplishment and construction of reality means asking for he habitualized practices, based on the incorporated experiential knowledge of the actors which guides their activities. The way of social research opening up such an access to reality has been called "practical hermeneutics" by Thomas Schwandt (2002: 47).

The consequences for the practice of empirical research, however, have not been worked out by Schwandt himself. Nevertheless, here we can directly connect between "practical hermeneutics" in Schwandt's sense and the documentary method (resp. its theoretical background: the praxeological

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2 According to the documentary method it is not the scientific observer's task to apply to the cases under research any knowledge about rules, which is only known to him- or herself. Moreover, it is his or her task to explain that knowledge and the rules, which are implied in this knowledge, which is kept to themselves by those under research without explanation. This way of analysis by explanation is the way of "inducive analysis" in the sense of Glaser/Strauss (1967; see also Strauss 1987) or more precisely the way of "abduction" in the sense of Charles S. Peirce (1932) (see also Bohnsack 2008: chapter 11).

sociology of knowledge), which has a tradition in the practice of empirical research for more than twenty years now.

Thomas Schwandt's position is rather different to the mainstream of qualitative research in the U.S., where we can identify a restriction to the dimension of theoretical knowledge. This mainstream adheres to the interpretive paradigm, as can be seen when reading for example the Handbook of Qualitative Research edited by Norma K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (1994). "Interpretivism" is connected with a reduced understanding of „constructivism".[3] In this understanding constructivism is restricted to the *interpretive* und *definitoric* construction or production of reality (see more detailed: Bohnsack 2009a). Thus, the subject of research is essentially restricted to „theoretical world-cognition", as we can call it using a term from Martin Heidegger (1986: 67). In contrast to that understanding of constructivism, a broader understanding of it also comprises the production and construction of the world in everyday practice (see also Bohnsack 2001 and 2005).

The restriction to the „theoretical world-cognition", to the theoretical knowledge of the actors in social research, is mainly supported by the fact that the methodical access to this dimension of action is uncomplicated, empirical research is protected from complications and bigger efforts, because in this dimension, social science research can confine itself to the reconstruction of the common sense *theories* of the actors. And that means it can stick to that level of knowledge which already has been *explicated* by the actors themselves. Their expressions can be taken literally.

1.3 The Change in Analytic Stance from Asking 'What' to Asking 'How': from Immanent to Documentary Meaning

Going beyond the literal meaning or – in terms of Karl Mannheim (1952) – the "immanent" meaning, requires a change in analytic stance. The documentary interpretation presupposes a change in analytic stance which is different from common sense. It is the change from the question *what* social reality is in the perspective of the actors, to the question *how* this reality is produced or accomplished in these actors' everyday practice. By practice, I mean the practice of action as well as of talk, of presentation and of argumentation.

The change from asking what to asking how, is also constitutive for the constructivist stance of analysis. In the sense of the system theory of Niklas Luhmann (1990: 95), this is the transition between observations of *first* to observations of *second* order, the transition from observation to "observing the observations".

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3 The terms „interpretivism" and „constructivism"are mostly used synonymously in qualitative research in the U.S. – see among others Guba/Lincoln (1989) und Greene (1994).

Thus Karl Mannheim has outlined the first explanation of the stance of the observer in the social sciences, which still meets the requirements of epistemology today. The constructivist stance of analysis – especially where it has become relevant for empirical research – has been influenced by ethnomethodology. Here – for the first time – social reality is considered in a radical way from the point of view of its „ongoing accomplishment", as Garfinkel (167: vii) puts it. The documentary method is one of the crucial terms of ethnomethodology, taken over from Mannheim (1952) by Harold Garfinkel (1961 and 1967).[4]

The documentary method offers – on the level of an observation of the second order – an access to the pre-reflexive or tacit knowledge, which is implied in the practice of action. Asking for the documentary meaning can – as I already mentioned – be understood as asking for *how*: how is practice produced or accomplished. That means, asking for the modus operandi of practical action. This question has to be distinguished from asking *what* (on the level of the observer of first order), for the immanent or literal meaning.

Concerning group discussions, the immanent meaning comprises that stock of knowledge which can be made explicit by the participants themselves. This has to be distinguished from knowledge of experience, which is so much taken for granted by the participants that it must not and often cannot be made explicit by themselves. The participants understand each other because they hold common knowledge without any need to explicate it for each other.

If we look at group discussions or at everyday talk in general, only on the level of the literal or explicit meaning, discussions often seem to be without real connection between topics and without any general structure. It seems to the observer as if new meanings emerge constantly. I would like to illustrate this problem with an example from a research project about young migrant people of Turkish origin (cf. Bohnsack et al. 2002 and Bohnsack/Nohl 1998). The discourse was initiated by the interviewers asking if the young people actually live with their parents. First, the male youths in turn give narrations. They express that it would be impossible to smoke in the presence of the father because of their respect for him. Then they delineate how they behave in their peer group. At last, one of them depicts the situation of a visit in a restaurant with his German girlfriend. There was a dispute with her about who is allowed to pay the bill.

Although the topics change permanently, the young people understand (in German: "verstehen") each other obviously without being able to interpret (in German: "interpretieren") each other's utterances (cf. also below: 1.6),

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4 The understanding of the documentary method in ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel is (in comparison to the understanding of Karl Mannheim: 1952) however connected with some limitations in theoretical perspective, which cannot be considered here; see: Bohnsack 2001 and 2006).

that means: without being able to explicate the message connected with their depictions – to explicate the framework or structure of orientations, which underlies their depictions. This framework of orientations, as we call it, can only be unfolded by depictions and narrations, that means: it can only be depicted metaphorically. It is the researcher who on behalf of the participants explicates their frame of orientation, who brings it to terms. The task of the researchers as documentary interpreters, thus, is the theoretical explication of the mutual implicit or intuitive understanding of the participants.

Only when researchers succeed in such explications, will they be able to identify the pattern of meaning resp. the problem which underlies the whole discourse and which is worked out through different topics. Thus, it becomes possible to look beneath the surface of continuously emerging new opinions of the participants and to identify those general patterns or frames of orientations which are represented in the discourse.

In our example that pattern of meaning or orientation which could be identified throughout the whole discourse, has been called the pattern of the "separation of spheres". It is a separation between the *inner* sphere, the sphere of life inside the family, the networks of relatives and ethnic community, and the sphere outside of it in the public: the *outer* sphere. This distinction is constitutive for the youths entire everyday practice. So we can see that the traditional habitus of respect towards father and family requires to keep central elements of the outer sphere (that means: the activities of the young people within the peer group, at school and at the work place) out of the inner sphere (for example, even the activity of smoking a cigarette).

Thus, we have a separation or severance of spheres which makes it hardly possible to have an open negotiation between children and parents about problems relevant for the young people's identity. Both spheres with their different morales stand apart from each other. This separation of spheres concerns different areas of the everyday life, which become topics of discourse – among others i.e., the relationship with the German girlfriend. In case of a conflict between these different morales there is no (meta-)communicative negotiation with the girlfriend, but a strategic circumvention.

Also in other passages of the same group discussion (for example when the young people talk about their experience with ethnic discrimination), we find that frame or pattern of orientation we have called the separation of spheres. On a certain level of abstraction, we can recover a homologous pattern throughout the entire discourse once we have succeeded to identify it in one of the passages or topics.

Those passages are much better qualified than others to identify the general pattern of orientation in the sense of the habitus of a group or a person we call focusing passages or *focusing metaphors*. These passages are characterized by detailed or dense depictions (what we call *metaphorical density*)

and by a high commitment (what we call *interactive density*). The identification of these passages makes it possible to get a quick and valid access to the central patterns of orientation.

By this example central components of the documentary method, especially the documentary interpretation of group discussions, can be demonstrated:[5]

- ▫ The documentary meaning can be distinguished from the immanent or literal meaning.
- ▫ The documentary meaning reveals itself, if the process of discourse is taken into account.
- ▫ On the one hand, such a process analysis requires a detailed reconstruction of the reference of the utterances to each other. We call this „organization of discourse".
- ▫ On the other hand, such a process analysis means to take into account the „dramaturgy of the discourse", to identify its culminating points, its „focusing metaphors"

1.4 Focusing Metaphors and Conjunctive Spaces of Experience

Culminating points in the dramaturgy of the discourse, as they are represented by focusing metaphors, refer to the centers of common experience of the members of the group, to the centers of a common space of experience. Following Karl Mannheim (1982), we call this a "conjunctive space of experience" (in German: "konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum").[6] Those, who have biographic experience in common, have commonalities in their history of socialization and, thus, have a common or conjunctive experiential space, understand each other immediately insofar as these biographical commonalities become relevant in interaction and discourse.

These commonalities can be found in different dimensions. They may concern the dimension of generation, of gender, of milieu or class, the dimension of the life course or – as in our example – the dimension of migration, because the young people have a common history of migration. Accordingly, we distinguish between those spaces of experience which are generation, education, gender, and migration specific and/or specific for a phase in the life course (for instance adolescence). To take this into account, empirical analysis must always be *multidimensional*.

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5 For further examples of research with group discussions and the documentary method see the contributions in: Bohnsack/Przyborski/Schäffer 2006, and for further information on the methodological background and the history of the method of group discussion see: Bohnsack 2004 as well as 2008: chapter 7.

6 Differing from the English translation in Mannheim 1982 (p. 204), where we can find the term: "conjunctive experiential space", I prefer to translate the German "konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum" (Mannheim 1980: 227) with "conjunctive space of experience".

Which one of these experiential spaces becomes dominant, depends on the composition of the participants in the discussion (see also Przyborski 2004), on biographical elements shared by the participants. The reconstruction of the dramaturgy of the discourse and, thus, the identification of focusing metaphors enables us to identify the space of experience and, thus, the background of socialization which is dominant within the group (in our example this is the space of experience of migration in the history of the family).

The group then gradually adjusts itself to those topics, which are in the centre of the common experience, if the researchers are successful in initiating a discourse, which may gain a self-dynamic and, thus, becomes independent from researcher's interventions. This means that researchers – at least in the first phase of a group discussion – should interfere with the discussion only insofar as this contributes to getting the discourse going, to enable, to initiate or to keep the self-dynamics of the discourse (see also Bohnsack 2008: chapter 12.1).

The self-dynamics are important for another reason: it is only in the interplay of the mutual reactions of the participants that the collective meaning (in difference from the individual meaning) of the utterances is constituted and by this is available to the researcher's interpretations. It is solely in the mutual references to each other that the collective pattern of meaning, the tacit knowledge as a collective knowledge, documents itself.

Besides initiating the self-dynamics of the discussion, it is a central principle of leading a group discussion to initiate or generate descriptions or narrations of everyday practice. The implicit knowledge of those under research can be found mostly in concrete and detailed depictions of practical action. By this the *structure or patterns of orientations* underlying the practical action, the „modus operandi" or the „*habitus*" in the terms of Pierre Bourdieu, can be identified.[7]

Let me give you another example; it originates in earlier research on young people from a small town in Northern Bavaria (Bohnsack 1989). Here, we have a passage taken from a discourse of young female workers. In the young women's discourse – in contrast to young men – gender relations became the central topic, a topic that demonstrated all the features of a focusing metaphor and, thus, were in the focus of the discourse. The following passage which I will explain to you, is about the gendered division of labor – more specifically, it is about their respective father's participation in housework.

In the following, we will look at part of a longer depiction given by one of he girls, a depiction of how the father potters about in the kitchen (Haus: Geschlechtsrolle, 5.07-42 u. 6.20-27). (In the original version the transcript is in the Bavarian, or more precisely, in the Franconian dialect, which, of course, cannot be transmitted here):

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7 For further information concerning the terms „habitus" and „patterns of orientation" see: Bohnsack 1998 and 2008: chapter 8)

Text: Discussion group: House. Excerpt: gender role

Df: When my mother is cooking, he says: what have you been cooking again, what does it taste like, let me have a look. Then she says: go away, I am doing the cooking, o.k.. Or when he has his fit sometimes, he goes away and buys meat and stuff, and then she says: what have you bought again? Hmm, I'll cook something in advance and we'll put it in the freezer it then. Then he goes there (in the kitchen) and cooks from nine in the morning till ten in the evening if it's possible. And then we always have to, we are not allowed to stand around in his way, but we are also supposed
⌊
several: @1@
Df: to tidy up. He takes everything out, he needs all the cooking pots, for everything he cooks he needs a separate pot (.) he always says we have four hotplates he always says: there are not enough │
⌊
several: @1@

Df: hotplates for me, we need more hotplates, he cooks like a maniac, I'm serious, and he always │
⌊
several: @ 3 @

    says. Now I haven't got a pot left, (.) clean the pots, then we are standing there cleaning the pots. Then he says , now you are standing in my way again and then (.) then

                        ……..

Df: But when the, when the (my) mother is sweeps the kitchen or so (.) then he runs through the kitchen so that you can see every (single) step. My mother says: Couldn't you have waited until (.) until this is dry, it only takes five min-utes? No I've had to go in there right now. And (.) (   ) (.) (   ) (.) he is allowed to do everything. But we are always playing the twits, when he is doing the cooking, that really annoys me.

The young women deal with a problem which is obviously central for them by in turn contributing descriptions and narrations of their everyday family life. For us, who were leading the discussion, it was – at least at the beginning – not at all clear, what was going on here (in terms of ethnomethodology: the utterances were highly "indexical"; see: Garfinkel 1961).

1.5 Habitus or Framework of Orientation as Central Subjects of the Documentary Method

After a procedure of interpretation (which is exemplified in its steps below in chapter 2: „Exemplary Interpretation of a Text") we can at least work out the following pattern of meaning, that is: the documentary pattern of meaning as the the young women's framework of orientation:

- Pretending to be helpful to the women with his cooking or maybe also believing he is being helpful, the father is allowed to penetrate into the women's sphere, into the kitchen and to have his 'go' there. In this way, the father does not take any responsibility neither in respect of economy nor tidiness. The responsibility remains with the women.
- Modes of men's participation which are not really organized according to partnership in the sense that men take over any responsibility, are only apt to restrict the women's scope of action. At the same time, they increase the burden of their work, because men – having dealt more playfully with female work – can retire and leave the main work, the „dirt" and „muck" to the women, as the girl puts it, so that women at last are the 'twits' or 'dupes' or losers.
- Although it does not correspond with the desires or intentions of the girls, who would prefer living together in a mode of partnership, the more conventional organization of the roles has the advantage that it opens up a sphere of autonomy to the women within these limitations. It becomes evident that this is the central framework of orientation or habitus of the young women.

The other girls participating in the discussion then referred to each other by bringing other depictions of social scenes into the discussions, which in parts had different topics: for example, the relation to the boyfriend and his sexual obtrusiveness or the relation to the father, who uses physical violence trying to discipline his daughter.

Looking carefully at the depictions in this passage as well as in other passages and also in discussion with other young female workers, the same pattern, a homologous pattern of meaning is always documented. Searching for this homologous pattern of meaning is the general task of the documentary method: obviously, we have homologous problems in different groups. This is the problem of defending the women's sphere against men, and their practice of intervention.

At the same time, these metaphorical depictions of the young women may give us an explanation for this gender specific orientation. Our interpretations in the framework of the sociology of knowledge are about to reconstruct or redesign those social processes or processes of interaction, of which this gender orientation of the division of spheres, may be seen as a result. These gender relations may be seen as the result of a background or space of experience, which can be reconstructed or redesigned. We call this reconstruction the *sociogenetic interpretation*.

By these interpretations of the scenic or metaphorical depictions we also get an access to those activities and consequences of action which are not identical with the theories, intentions or normative expectations of the actors. We can get some insight into the non-intentional consequences of the activities apart from normative demands and apart from the common sense-theories.

Thus, the intention or the normative demand of the father in our example is "to be helpful in the kitchen". The consequences or entanglements of action, however, look quite different. On the other side, the normative or theoretical orientations of the young women concerning partnership sharply contrast what is documented in their depictions. In the process of family interaction they are always entangled again into a structure which let them refrain from the orientation to partnership in favor of the outlined habitus of the division of spheres. The documentary method as a process analysis, thus, also allows us to differentiate between theories, norms and intentions on one and the non-intentional or habitualized activities or practices on the other hand.

1.6 Understanding (Verstehen) versus Interpretation (Interpretieren)

Taking a closer look at the young women's depictions, we can see that the documentary or metaphorical meaning cannot be brought to an explication by the young women themselves – neither the pattern of orientation concerning the division of spheres nor the process of the genesis of this pattern of orientation. The depictions of their experience much rather belong to the preflexive or implicit knowledge. The theoretical explication is, as mentioned above, the task of the scientific observer. Such an explication of the implicit patterns of meaning is what we call *interpretation*.

Those patterns of meaning, however, can also be comprehended, as already mentioned, without an explication, that means: without an interpretation. This is what Karl Mannheim (1982: 242pp.) called „*understanding*" (in German: „Verstehen"; Mannheim 1980: 271pp.). The young women understand each other by referring in turn to the tacit knowledge or tacit meanings which are implied in their depictions without any necessity to interpret each other. In contrast to understanding it is interpretation that means the (theoretical) explication of the process of practical action by which the pattern of orientation is constituted and reproduced, which requires a specific line or *stance of analysis*, namely a „genetic stance", which I characterized by asking *how*.

This analytic stance is connected with „bracketing the validity aspect" (Mannheim 1982: 80) of social facts (in German: "Einklammerung des Geltungscharakters"; Mannheim 1980: 88), i.e., it is connected with a suspension of the character of validity of social facts. The claims for truth and normative rightfulness, as they are connected with the social facts by those under research, are put in brackets, are suspended. Thus, the interpreter has no interest in the question, if the depiction (i.e., the description how the father potters about in the kitchen) is right, if it corresponds to the fact or to the truth. Moreover, the interpreter asks for what is *documented* in the young women's experiential depictions about their attitude, their habitus, their frame of orientation.

Because that pattern of orientation or meaning, which is constitutive for their everyday practice (the pattern of the division of spheres), is not explicated by the young women themselves, it is not completely *conscious* to them. However, as it comes to an expression in their descriptions and narrations, it is also not totally *unconscious* or latent. Concerning the question which sort of consciousness we have about our own habitus, Bourdieu has commented that we cannot oppose a „completely transparent consciousness" to a „totally opaque consciousness". According to Bourdieu (1972: 200) it is self-evident „que l'on ne peut répondre en opposant, selon l'alternative du tout ou rien, la conscience parfaitement transparente à l'inconscient totalement opaque".

Those patterns of meaning and orientation which are subject to interpretation in the documentary method, belong to the young women's collective stock of knowledge in such a way that they actually do not know what they know. And the explication of this implicit or tacit knowledge is (as mentioned repeatedly) the task of the documentary method. To the main difference between the immanent or literal meaning on the one hand and the implicit or documentary meaning on the other, I will now come back to a rough sketch of the working steps of the documentary method (which are exemplified in chapter 2: „Exemplary Interpretation of a Text").

1.7 Formulating and Reflecting Interpretation

The transition from the immanent to the documentary meaning is, as explained above, the transition from asking *what* to asking *how*. In accordance to this, what has been said, depicted, or discussed, what has become the topic of discourse is to be separated from *how* – that means: in which framework – the topic is dealt with. This framework of orientation (which we also call habitus) is the central subject of documentary interpretation. The comparative analysis from the outset is of central importance for this interpretation because the framework of orientation takes shape and can be empirically examined only in comparison to those of other groups or other cases. We have to ask: how is the same topic dealt with by other groups or by other individuals?[8]

Concerning the practice of research, this methodological difference between the immanent and the documentary meaning, resp. the difference between the observations of the first and the second order, results in a clear-cut separation of two working steps: following this two step interpretation, it can

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8 Comparative analysis is not only for the generation of types but also from the outset of the reflecting interpretation of central importance for the documentary method. And here we also owe much to grounded theory in its original version (Glaser/Strauss 1967; Glaser 1965). The concept of generating theory in the grounded theory, however, does not achieve the level of multidimensionality in generating types (see 1.8).

be made clear where and how far that, which has been interpreted (i.e., explicated by those under research), is only *formulated* by the researchers – this is what we call *formulating interpretation* – and when, at which point, the researchers bring up their own interpretations in reflection upon the implicit self-evident knowledge of those under research; this is what we call *reflecting interpretation*.

The basic structure of formulating interpretation is the decoding and formulation of the topical structure of a text. Formulating interpretation in itself is separated into different steps (which are explained in chapter 2). The task of the reflecting interpretation is, as mentioned above, the reconstruction of the framework of orientation, of the habitus. To be successful, we have to get access to the inner logic of the utterances and their references, of the text produced, and thus, have to reconstruct the formal structure of the text (apart from its topical structure which is the subject of formulating interpretation), as we also do with the formal structure of the picture (see the other contribution of Ralf Bohnsack in this volume).

In the case of group discussions it is above all the (formal) *organization of discourse* which has to be reconstructed. This means we have to characterize the way of how participants refer to each other formally in their utterances (see also chapter 2 and Bohnsack/Przyborski 2006, as well as Przyborski 2004).

1.8 Typification and the Multidimensionality of Analysis

The next step of analysis, the step of typification, of constructing types (cf., i.e. Bohnsack 2007 and 2009a), builds on the components of the framework of orientation common to all the cases (groups): For example, in our research about young people of Turkish origin, we were able to identify more or less in all cases, in all groups, one common problem of orientation, which I characterized above as the problem of the separation of spheres, the separation of the outer from the inner sphere. When we classify this as typical for migration and, thus, build – as we call it – a migrational type, we practice comparative analysis insofar as we are looking for things in common to all groups of people of Turkish origin. Furthermore, we also use comparative analysis insofar as we look for differences, for contrasts to non-migrant groups.

Going further, the reconstruction of a migrational typification is only valid if the migrational (conjunctive) space of experience can be worked out in its relation to other spaces of experience, resp. to other typifications. We also refer to an overlap of different spaces of experience or different typifications. For instance, when comparing young people of Turkish origin of different sexes, from different milieus or classes, and from different generations, we find different ways of dealing with the same migrational problem; the problem of the separation of spheres.

On the one hand, comparative analysis is required to reconstruct, i.e, gender and generational typifications as variations or differentiations of the migrational typification. On the other hand, the validity and the generalizability of the migrational typification is only proved, if it can be identified throughout these overlaps or differentiations. The degree of validity and generalizability of a single typification – for instance the migrational typification – depends on how manifold, i.e., how multidimensional the single case may be located within an entire typology, how often it can be related to other typifications like gender, generation or life cycle (cf. in more detail: Bohnsack 2007 and 2009a). This is what is meant when we say that – in the perspective of the documentary method – typifications are always multidimensional.

2. Exemplary Interpretation of a Text

2.1 Transcript

The guidelines for transcription according to the documentary method are given in annex I of this publication.

The German original of the transcription contains words spoken in Turkish accent or Berlin dialect as well as mistakes in word order or choice of words. In the English translation, we tried to give an account of the speaker's original expressions which explains unusual phrases and sentence structure in the English transcript.

Text: Discussion group: "Sand" Side B 3/6

Excerpt: "Marriage" (duration: ca. 5 minutes)

```
1    Ym: Do you want to have a family some day? (1)
2    Bm:                                          ⌊yes, when (1) when our time has
3          come for that, don't know (.) I can't tell; (2)
4    Am:                                    ⌊ yes having a family is nice
5          but it is not easy you know, (2)
6    Y1:                              ⌊mhm
7    Bm:                                  ⌊I am unemployed anyway and so on
8          (2) I think I won't get married so soon.
9    Am:                     ⌊ a family what does it mean a family °you know?°(1)°(no)(3)
10   Bm:            I would have had some opportunities to marry, but I did not do it in
11         the end.
12   Am:       ⌊you have to find the right one you know, that's what I think. (.) Of
13              course (.) I want to marry            |
14   Y1:                                               ⌊mhm
15   Am: or uhm I want to live together with a woman; (3) but at the
16         moment, (4) °ehh° (.) it's not @so easy you understand?@
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17:   Y1:                                                       ⌊ @yes@
18    Bm:                                                          ⌊ If
19        I (          was given the opportunity          ) some day
20    Am:  ⌊ well you cannot find the right one you know, for example (.) I have uhm
21        have at the moment, I say (.) many women you know? ((clearing throat)) but (.)
22        I don't like any of them; I can't take one of them you know? (.) I cannot say
23        okay you are my wife °can I° (3)                     ⌉
24    Y1:                                                     ⌊mhm
25    Am: because for me a woman (.) has to be perfect you know, (2) I mean she has to
26        be (.) there for me all the time you understand, and I for
27    Y1:                                                 ⌊mhm
28    Am: her too; (1) that's the way I think but eh many people do not think so. (2) °yes.°
29        (7)
30    Am: and when I get married I get married in my way °you know,° (3)
31    Bm:                                                         ⌊In
32        your way?
33    Am:          ⌊ yes. I mean it  cannot tell me anything
34    Bm:                       ⌊ how do you mean?
35    Am: I mean (.) my mother for example says to me (1) yes I live how I:
36        think it to be right; you  understand,
37    Bm:                                      ⌊ yes; (2) yes I don't know either (.) but I
38        believe sometimes you just have to adjust to your family you know,
39    Am:                                                      ⌊ I mean know she
40        wants to (.) tell me                                             ⌉
41    Bm:                                                           ⌊ to
42        adjust to the culture and so on.
43    Am:                         ⌊ yes what culture yes, °I°
44    Bm:                                          ⌊ yes but actually you  cannot
45        forget your culture; you have your own culture too; you cannot suddenly
46        say yes no (.) if you if (.) if you don't know who you are you cannot
47        (2) you are
48    Am:          ⌊ °yes::°
49    Bm: nothing (.) °somehow like that.° you must know what you are and
50    Y1:                                         ⌊ mhm
51    Bm: who you are
52    Am:  ⌊now at ours  two are engaged; yes now says to me, (.) my
53        mother says to me now, (.) better take one from (.) uhm (2) from our
54        region you know, I mean from
55    Y1:                        ⌊mhm.
56    Am: our family's surrounding. (1) she says to me; °(I mean)°. (1) and there where I
57        was last year, (2) an acquaintance has a daughter you know, (1) and he says to
58        me,(.)do you want to have a look at her, won't you (.) how do you like her, I
59        sai-no I don't want anything @you know what am I supposed to do with her yes (.)
60    Am:                                   ⌊@(.)@
61    Bm:                                       ⌊@Yes@ they do match-
62        making; it's matchmaking
63    Y1:   ⌊Yes          ⌉
64    Am:                  ⌊ matchmaking you know, then I was in Istan-
65        bul, my (.) uncle said to me, I go to Kocaeli; this is the next (.) town
66        yes; (1) it is (.) pretty close two hours. (.) you can come with me yes when
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67        he says, he said, if you like (.) yes ehh (3) Baldiz ((Turkish word)) what does it
68        mean? Baldiz, (1)
69   Bm:              ⌊Brother-in-law?
70   Am:                              ⌊I mean (a  is) the sister of his wife (.) is supposed to
71        live there you know, (2) he said if you                    │        │
72   Bm:                                                   │       ⌊ yes I see.
73   Y1:                                        ⌊(sister-in-law
74        you say)
75   Am: like my sister-in-law will be there too, you may become acquainted with her
76        you know, (2) I said I will only come to ehh see the town you know,
77   Y2: @(.)@
78   Bm:    ⌊@yes. (2)
79   Am:      ⌊@(2) no I do really mean that (2)@
80   Bm:                              ⌊of course that's the reason why you
81        went there you now,@
82   Am:  no because for me this was @(2)@
83   Bm:                  ⌊@yes tell us that you went there! (.) it
84        somehow                              │        │
85   Am:                              ⌊@(2)@  ⌊sen
86        (erdo) anlat- ((Turkish))
87   Bm:  doesn't matter;@
88   Am:  sana ((Turkish)) ⌊For me it was, Kocaeli (.) I wanted to see it anyway,
89        you know, and I said to me it doesn't matter
90   Y1:   ⌊mhm
91   Am: I go there and eat uhm eh something together with them and then we come
92        back again it is quite nearby anyway, (2) then I was there, (.) it's a small
93        town, (.) we ate something together, (1) and then he
94        asked me, and °eh° how do you like her? I said what kind of question @is that,
95        you know, (4)@
96   Y2: ⌊@(.)@
97   Bm:    ⌊@yes what's happening here; you get paranoia at first@
98   Am:                                      ⌊I sai- that's all right
99        you know I don't want to hear anything about it; now if I say I don't like her
100       or then (.) he will be
101  Y1        ⌊mhm
102  Am: offended (.) at once yes (2) then he always turns to me
103  Y1:                    ⌊mhm
104  Am: I said no I don't want you know; I don't like her I said
105       she doesn't look good @(3)@ then he said (2)
106  ?:                      ⌊@(.)@
107  Am: then we are again he they want to find someone for me you know
108       I mean (.) if he did not succeed then comes the
109  Y1:  ⌊mhm
110  Am: next you know; ey Am, @I have a (1)@ (1) I say
111  Y2:                  ⌊@(3)@
112  Am: stop it I don't want to. and when I was back in the village, (3) appar-
113  Y1:                    ⌊mhm
114  Am: ently my mother had called said ((clearing throat)) Am comes, (.) and (.)
115       he is looking for a girl or he wants to have a girl you know, (.)  had said so
116       (once); and at once when I come out of the house in the village, in our village
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114

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117        there is a waterfall you know where the people (.)
118   Bm:                                          └ scoop water.
119   Am:                                                     └scoop water you know, (.)
120        I came out (1) it was really in the morning, and all women were standing there
121        at the water you know, (2) @(7)@
122   Y1:                         └ mhm
123   Bm:                              └@suddenly you were standing there they are watching
124        or what (.) according to old tradition they are watching (2)
125   Y2:            └@(.)@
126   Bm: that's what it was like? @(1)@ how nice you know you should have made a film
127   Am:                            └@(        ) were standing a lot yes@
128   Bm: ey. @(2)@
129   Am:    └@there were many yes@
130:  Bm:                       └@Turkish films are like this ah (.)@
131   Am:                                             └really.@ (2) th=th=th=th
132        (8)
133   Y1: phhhhh! (1)
134   Am:          └@(.)@ t'was funny yes.
135   Bm:            └@(.)@
```

Formulating interpretation

The first step of interpretation on the level of the immanent meaning can be subdivided into the "topical structuring" (thematische Gliederung) and the "detailed formulating interpretation". Structuring of the subject matters means differentiation of paramount topics (PT), subordinated topics (ST), subsubordinated topics (SST) and may be subsubsubordinated topics (SSST). The following example shows the topical structuring of the whole excerpt, because this step does not take up too much room. The „detailed formulating interpretation" is only presented exemplarily for the first subordinated topic.

2.2.1 Topical Structuring

PT 02-131: Marriage in ones „own way" and „matchmaking" (making marriage arrangements)

ST 02-28: Difficulties in founding a family
    SST 02-11: Founding a family is nice but not easy and the time for it "must have come"
    SST 12-27: One must find "the right one"

ST 30-131: Marriage in one's "own way" versus "matchmaking"
    SST 30-51: Marriage in his "own way" versus "adjustment to the culture" (41-42)
    SST 52-112: Marriage by matchmaking through the family, the relatives

and acquaintances in Turkey

2.2.2 Detailed Formulating Interpretation

ST 02-28: Difficulties in founding a family

Founding a family is approved of, because it is something "nice". Although the young men would have had several opportunities to marry, it is not "easy". The opportunities of founding a family depend on the young men's further development, which is not easily predictable. In this context the problem of unemployment is important. However, it is also difficult to define the sense or meaning of what determines a family. It is difficult to find "the right" person. In this context Am's expectations are higher than other people's.

2.3. Reflecting Interpretation

▫ 01 Question by Y1
This question is an "exmanent" question, i.e., a question unconnected to any topic discussed so far. The preceding passage was about Turkish young women and the problem of virginity, but this topic had also been initiated through an exmanent question (a question by the interviewers) and was hardly discussed by the young men. According to our rules or principles of leading a discussion the question also should include attempts to initiate narrations or descriptions (see also: „Reflexive Prinzipien der Initiierung und Leitung von Gruppendiskussionen" – „Reflective principles of initiating and leading group discussions" in Bohnsack 2008: chapter 11.1).

ST 02-28: Difficulties in founding a family
   SST 02-11: Founding a family is nice, but not easy and the time for that "must have come"

▫ 02-11 Proposition by Bm and elaboration of his proposition in interaction with Am
2-05: This utterance implies a development model, a model of collective ("our time"; 02) development. Therefore, Bm has some expectations about his further development. These expectations are still very vague and cannot (only) be influenced by his own plans, but they are inevitable, dependent on fate. Therefore, he cannot be more precise. Am explains that their uncertainty

has nothing to do with a lack of corresponding wishes or sketches but with problems in realizing these plans ("problems in enacting"). It is beyond their own power; it is not easy to realize their own (existing) wishes and biographical sketches.

07-08: Elaboration of the difficulty of realizing ("enacting") by Bm: "I am unemployed anyway" means: I am unemployed and therefore it is not easy (for me) anyway. Bm gives one of the reasons which prevents the realization/ "enacting". However, this reason touches the prevailing conditions, preconditions for the foundation of a family, and not family or the social relationships itself.

09: The difficulties are increased or escalated by Am: It is not only because of the prevailing conditions that they are uncertain when the time for a marriage has come. Another reason for their uncertainty is that for the young men it is not clear what exactly is the meaning of "family".

10-11: Bm would "have had some opportunities". According to what has been explained before, this means that the young women would have been willing to marry. It has nothing to do with Am's attractiveness that he has not yet got married or started a family, the reasons are obviously those already mentioned. – Altogether it is documented by Bm's comments that he has thought about his biographical options in a responsible manner.

SST 12-27: One must find "the right one"

▫ 12-28: Elaboration of the proposition by Am
12-16: Am now elaborates the proposition's component mentioned in 04-05 and 09: It is not so easy to have a family or to live together with a woman because the "right" woman has to be found (this especially means a woman who agrees with him on what "family" means, what a family is supposed to be). Hereby Am elaborates the background of his proposition in 09.

Equating "having a family", "getting married" and "living together", or rather the indifference towards these alternatives, implies, that there is no link with tradition. Therefore a certain frankness towards the kind of relationship or rather the kind of family is implied. (Hence Am goes beyond the frame set by Y1's question.)

20-27: Increasing (of the) difficulty of one's own situation (in contrast to 12): at present they cannot find the "right one".– Like Bm in 10-11 Am now emphasizes that this is not caused by a lack of attractiveness.
- Demanding to be there for each other mutually (25-26) and also looking for a perfect relationship does not imply (with the background of frankness towards the kind of relationship) an orientation towards traditional role models, but the orientation towards an open relationship which can be negotiated.

- What is made explicit in 02-03, 05 and 15-16 also finds its expression on a performative level in the long breaks (15, 16, 23, 29) (which are not interrupted and thus supported by Bm): they do not know exactly, they cannot say exactly, they are at a loss and it is not that easy.
- At the same time it is documented in 28 (and also in the questions asking for confirmation, the "question tags": 05, 09, 16, 22-23, 26), that Am anticipates that his attitude is difficult to understand. As Y1 reacts to the questions (except for 09), it seems to be addressed to him (it becomes obvious, that the discourse between the researchers and the persons under research is still relatively dominant in this stage of discussing of this topic; this will change later on). Am anticipates or guesses a strangeness not only towards the German interviewers, which becomes obvious in line 28, but also towards his peers. This refers to differentiation typical for the social environment (which can be verified by comparative analysis with other groups).

> _ST 30-131_: Marriage in one's "own way" versus "matchmaking"
>> _SST 30-51_: Marriage in his "own way" versus "adjustment to the culture" (41-42)

▫ 30-51: Thesis-antithesis ("antithetical") discourse between Am and Bm: proposition by Am, antithesis by Bm

30 and 33: Proposition by Am; 35-36: elaboration of the proposition by Am in the modus of a theory of orientation; 39-40: elaboration of the proposition by Am in the modus of an abstract description.

Am gets married "in his way and his mother cannot influence him": His mother cannot say anything to him or rather what his mother says cannot say anything to him.

31-32 and 34: Antithesis by Bm in the modus of a question; 37-38 and 41-42: elaboration of the antithesis by Bm in the modus of a theory of orientation.

43: Antithesis to the antithesis (of Bm) by Am in the modus of a question

44-51: Continuation of the antithesis by Bm in the modus of a "theory of orientation" or rather a theory about the own self. "In my way" (30) as well as "I live how I think it to be right" (35-36) are addressed antithetically to "adjusting to the own culture" by Bm. Only "adjusting to the own culture", which means the culture of origin, makes it possible to answer the question "what you are and who you are" (49 and 51 as well as 46), which means answering the question concerning their own identity. In sociological vocabulary (in the words of Erving Goffman) Bm shows the tendency to answer the question "who he is" in the modus of his _social_ identity, an identity which is ascribed to him, whereas Am rather adapts to his _personal_ (individ-

ual) identity. This means that two ways or modes of developing an identity or two ways of "sociality" (Sozialität) are antithetically compared.

SST 52-112: Marriage by matchmaking through the family, the relatives and acquaintances in Turkey

▫ 52-62: Follow-up proposition in the modus of exemplifications by Am and wording/formulation of the proposition by Bm (61-62)

Am illustrates on the basis of *two examples* what it leads to, according to his opinion, if someone "adjusts" to the culture, or rather he explains to Am the kind of adjustment he objects to. He disapproves of the kind of adjustment which leads to a marriage based on "matchmaking".

SSST 56-62: Matchmaking in the region of origin of the family

Exemplification I:

The mother refers to two different engagements in the family or ethnic community ("at ours" relates to a "we"-community not being questioned) and thereupon drafts a negative image, a so called negative "counter-horizon". These engagements did obviously not develop out of matchmaking, which is the way she prefers. Later on, it becomes evident that she prefers that modus of matchmaking in which the wife comes from the husband's home region. (As the others do not keep to the traditional modus, the comment implies that the modus becomes precarious.)

Exemplification II:

An acquaintance (who obviously comes from Am's Turkish region of origin) tried to make Am get to know (or even marry) his only daughter (but without directly making his intentions clear).

In both exemplifications a framework of orientation is implied from which Am distances himself. This orientation says that it is regarded as an adequate basis for matchmaking or rather marriage, that the female partner's origin is in the home region of the husband's family.

This origin seems to be a guarantee for habitual concordance (a concordance concerning the habitus), which is a necessary condition for the marriage. (Another reason for matchmaking might be that an effective social control of the marital relationship can be guaranteed if the people involved know each other. In this sense, relatives, acquaintances or friends from the region are not only predestined for a marriage as husband or wife, but also as 'people intervening', people who help to find a partner for someone else from their home region.)

In sociological vocabulary: Am distances himself from a modus of constructing habitual concordance on the basis of social identity.

61-62 In his formulation (explication) of the proposition by Am, Bm expresses that he exactly understands Am, that he approves ('validates') Am's presentation by not opposing to it and therefore, takes the first step towards a *synthesis*.

SSST 64-112: Attempt of matchmaking by the uncle

▫ 64-112: Further exemplification in a narrative modus by Am, approval (validation) and thereby synthesis by Bm (97)

Am presents in his narration further components of the "framework of orientation" concerning the matchmaking:

- The aim of matchmaking or the true intentions are not directly but merely indirectly discussed between the intervening person and the person a partner shall be found for: "you can meet her" (75).
- Am refuses the attempt of matchmaking also indirectly, but thus creates or produces ambiguity.
- Caused by ambiguity, i.e., by the uncertain (definition of the) situation, the uncle insists on his attempt to matchmaking (93-94). Here it is documented that the way in which Am expresses his objection indirectly cannot be understood. This and also the distance towards the interventions shows the great distance between Am and his parent's culture of origin.

In 97 Bm helps to find the right phrases. He formulates a component of Am's proposition (helps with formulating a component of Am's framework of orientation). From his own experience, Bm knows the situation in which one suddenly realizes that one is in the middle of a situation where someone else (against Bm's intentions) attempts to do matchmaking. Consequently, there is the danger to develop "paranoia". By this, Bm also expresses his objection towards matchmaking or rather towards certain forms of matchmaking.

Bm therefore opens up a *synthesis*: The bond or the adjustment to the culture of origin, which he had first demanded from Am, need not go so far.

77-88: Inserted meta-communicative dispute (dispute on a metacommunicative level): The others (or at least Bm) do not think Am's indifference towards the young woman to be credible. (The utterance of Y2 and Bm, i.e., their laughing, get their significance for the interpreter concerning the verbatim sense only through Am's reaction in line 79).

98-107 Am finds himself in a dilemma. (This is expressed in a "performatory" way in the breaking off in 105 and 107 and in the disorder of the sentence in 107. The experience of being entangled/caught up is so lasting that it is still obvious in the present situation). He did not succeed in objecting to the attempt at matchmaking. Am is obviously not able to express this in a manner according to his culture of origin. Now he can only get out of this situation by disapproving of his potential bride. This may risk insulting his uncle.

107-112: Formulation of his own proposition by Am

<u>*SST 112-131*</u>: Matchmaking is like a "Turkish film" (130)

▫ 112-126: Further exemplification in the modus of continuating the narration by Am in interaction with Bm:

As Am cannot express his objection towards the whole procedure of matchmaking in an adequate way, the people from the village and/or his mother go on matchmaking. In the end, Am is not only pursued or hunted by the people intervening but also by his potential wives ("paranoia" 97). Although the situation has the character of a pursuit, it is attractive in a way: the situation is as antiquated ("according to old tradition", 124) but at the same time also as romantic as scooping water in the morning. The fact that the young women are interested in Am confirms as well the attractiveness of his family as his own (see: 10-11 and 21-22: the problem is not a lack of attractiveness)

▫ 126-131 Conclusion by Bm in interaction with Am

Matchmaking, i.e., making arrangements to find a partner for a young person and the modus of social relationships connected with it is a traditional pattern of orientation. This pattern was of great significance to the parental generation, but for the young people themselves it is hardly realistic, but at the same time as attractive, as a romantic film.

The kind of male existence in which the foundation of marriage and family is carried out on the basis of common grounds of the regional origin, appears to be like a film or a cliché, and as antiquated, but at the same time it is highly attractive because of its romantic character.

Especially in this conclusion, the collective character of the orientations and experience of the two persons involved becomes obvious. Bm and Am both share extensively common experience or – more precisely – experience identical in structure, i.e., they share a conjunctive space of experience. This enables them to arrange the narration and its performance in a highly cooperative manner (although Bm has not experienced that concrete situation told by Am).

Their common experience and their common frame of orientation is worked out by Am and Bm in a special mode of the *organization of discourse*: the antithetical mode of discourse.

Analysis of talk, which is able to reconstruct the process of discourse in its specific dramaturgy and its mode of discourse organization – in our example it is the antithetical mode of discourse – may succeed in working out complex patterns of orientation in their ambivalence which is typical for our everyday life. By reconstructing the process of discourse, it can be shown that the ambivalence which documents itself in the antithetical counterpositions is collectively shared, is common to both of the speakers (so we have a

"congruency of the frames of orientations", as we call it; see Bohnsack 2008: chapter 8.1). Although at face value, it seems they express quite different ("incongruent") frames of orientations.

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Karin Schittenhelm

School-to-Work Transitions of Young Women. A Cross-Cultural Approach Based on Group Discussions

1. A Cross-Cultural Approach to the School-to-Work Transition of Young Women

Since the 1980s in Germany as well as other European countries transitions between school and vocational training have become increasingly deregulated and prolonged (Jobert/Marry/Tanguy, 1995). In many cases vocational training does not follow directly from secondary school. Instead, young school leavers carry out numerous internships or take unskilled jobs or otherwise face unemployment. Hence, along with the orientations and trajectories of adolescents, their increasing risks of social exclusion have become a subject of scholarly debate (Battagliola/Brown/Jaspard, 1995; Heinz/Nagel, 1995; Walther/Stauber et al., 2002; Seibert, 2005). Furthermore, this general change in life courses and transition patterns is structured by effects of gender (Solga/Konietzka, 2000; Krüger, 2001) and of immigrant background (Kalter, 2006; Seibert/Solga, 2005). In fact, for female school leavers in Germany the transition between school and vocational training offers restricted and insecure careers (Seus, 1993; Schittenhelm, 2005a). Young women, particularly those with immigrant backgrounds have fewer chances of entering vocational training compared to men with similar backgrounds; and if they succeed in entering this field, women are still concentrated in disadvantaged areas (Granato/Meissner, 1994; Granato/Schittenhelm, 2004; Faist, 1995; Wilpert, 1993).

Scholarly debates have focused on some main gender issues such as the pathways that lead young women to less paid, less stable and less recognized employment (Apitzsch, 1990; Wilpert, 1993; Schittenhelm, 2005a) as well as their orientations between work and family life (Geissler/Oechsle, 1996). In addition, some studies highlight the interrelations between labor market opportunities and young women's career expectations. Do they prefer family activities because ongoing changes in the labor market place job opportunities beyond their reach? Are young women professionals concentrated in only a few areas of employment with high numbers of female members[1] as a result of independent choice based on former socialization, or simply be-

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1 According to the German government's annual report more than 50 % of young women are concentrated in only ten kinds of vocational training, and for young immigrant women the main spectrum contains even fewer options (BMBF 2007).

cause they do not have any other opportunities? Empirical studies that rely on young women's orientation proved that even though they were unemployed and had unstable educational biographies, they nevertheless had stable work motivation and did not withdraw voluntarily from a professional career in order to devote themselves to private family life (Nicole-Drancourt, 1994; Schittenhelm, 2005a). Hence, the exclusion of young women from labor market opportunities does not necessarily produce a reorientation towards traditional values. The question is whether gendered school-to-work transitions are the result of women's aspirations or are instead strategies of adaptation to the restricted conditions of vocational training and the labor market (Krüger, 2001). To understand young women's access to vocational training as well as the effects of immigrant backgrounds, we require information about how school leavers interpret their living conditions during this status passage and how they develop strategies to cope. Thus, the issue is the relationship between educational achievement and social chances for young women to evaluate their educational degrees during entry to the labor market. At the same time, the interrelation between social structures and the individual as a social actor is not only determined by institutionalized contexts but also transmitted by heterogeneous social and cultural conditions. In addition to investigations about the labor market and the resources transmitted by educational institutions, it is necessary to understand how young women develop strategies and options for their pathways. The way in which young women interpret their transitory stages is influenced by social micro-units such as family, school friends or peers in the neighborhood.

Hence, apart from educational degrees a kind of social knowledge is relevant that is not only transmitted in the schools. With regard to the entire set of knowledge, skills, and abilities that constitute a person's cultural capital in the sense of Bourdieu (1986), not only educational institutions prior to or along the status passage, but all kinds of networks a person belongs to become objects of investigation. Along with the school leaver's family the juvenile networks with their lifestyles and symbolic systems are of particular importance in this regard (Schittenhelm, 2005a, 2006). If we want to understand the shaping of the school-to-work transitions of young women we need concepts to analyze these influences with appropriate methods and methodologies.

This article will assess group discussions as a means of understanding the making of young women's transition from school to work. In particular, two main issues will be emphasized:

− First, how orientations and strategies are gradually developed and are still emerging in the course of the status passage
− Second, how these orientations and strategies are consequences of the way young women negotiate their living conditions in the context of their entire social networks.

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The investigation[2] presented in this article is based on an ethnographic study of female school leavers in Berlin at the end of the 1990s. In terms of methods, in addition to the group discussions emphasized in this article, both participant observation and narrative interviews have been applied. The young women left school with intermediate levels of education (in Germany we call it *Realschule*)[3] while also having East or West German and immigrant backgrounds. The opportunities offered by the educational system were, firstly, vocational training, which in Germany is often provided by companies in combination with vocational schools, or secondly, continuation in school in order to achieve higher educational qualifications. Although there is a spectrum of potential pathways, young women who have this intermediate level of school education must face considerable social risks. Even those who obtain vocational education will join a sector of the labor market with a high rate of unemployment. However, besides the opportunities to acquire skills, numerous jobs and training programs were provided especially for the high number of unemployed young people in the city of Berlin. Thus, the issue is not simply the transition into apprenticeship and regular work. Instead, all kinds of work-related experiences have to be considered, including the periods of job-seeking and unemployment.

Within the cross-cultural approach of my study, the impact of family backgrounds and juvenile networks upon young women's trajectories were investigated with regard to potentially varying social and cultural contexts. Thus the study takes into account how, given that Germany is an immigrant society, adolescents' lifestyles and living conditions show a broad heterogeneity. Furthermore, the comparative approach aimed to study the trajectories of women with immigrant backgrounds in relation to principal aspects of youth transition and gender relations in the immigrant society.

2. The Comparative Perspective and its Units of Analysis

If we examine young women with either East or West German or immigrant backgrounds in terms of a comparative approach, the focus of interest is on

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3   Graduates from the "*Realschule*" have better chances of finding an apprenticeship than school leavers from the lower track "*Hauptschule*"; nevertheless, they still face social risks during their school-to-work transition.

how we conceptualize our units of analysis. In contemporary societies, limitations of gender, regional or ethnically defined categories are not determined entirely for collectives as a whole. Indeed, even when they are shaped by such categories, it is the case that pathways, lifestyles and self-concepts show immense variety. Hence, within a comparative perspective we cannot consider native born or immigrant women as homogenous groups. In examining common terms of reference or collective experiences, we have to take account of their in-group variety as well (Schittenhelm, 2005a).

If Bourdieu's concepts are adopted (Bourdieu, 1986), then formal education is not the only important factor. Indeed, social knowledge and cultural heritage transmitted by the family and by the entire social networks also represent essential elements influencing the achievement of educational degrees. The intergenerational transmission within families can contain resources and orientations, as well as values and codes linked with social status (Elias/Scotson, 1965; Bertaux/Thompson, 1997). In the cross-cultural approach that is the focus of this discussion, this type of social knowledge can be shaped by the family's migration, by the experience of transformation of a former communist society as well as by ongoing changes in today's modern societies. For example, the family background can transmit the social experience of the West German working class or lower-middle class who have to face a new insecurity of their social and economic status.

Nevertheless, a permanent revision of cultural heritage takes place in the intergenerational discourse. Hence, new values and orientations can be developed in the young women's peer-group networks. Mannheim's concept of "generation" (Mannheim, 1952 [1928]) presupposes a common situation and shared experiences at a certain age, as a source for shaping the values and lifestyles of youth. On the one hand, their development of collective orientations creates its own cultural contexts. On the other hand, this generational approach enables us to consider young people's perception of ongoing social changes. In my study these are represented as the changing socioeconomic conditions in the labor market as well as German reunification with its different consequences for East German, West German and immigrant youth.

In comparison to research on networks of young men, especially those with a working class or migration background, we do not know so much about the juvenile milieus that enable young women to find their place in society. Today, we have to see these roles and perceptions of young women in terms of a new situation in the labor market for young generations in contemporary industrial societies. Young women with East German backgrounds had to face a transition into adulthood with high risks and destabilization, whereas their parents had none of these experiences because of the more regulated life courses in a centrally planned economy (Koklyagina, 1995). Furthermore, the second generation of the immigrant population in Germany and also some elements among West Germans do not have the

same social opportunities as their parents. The ongoing changes with their related impact of destabilization of these milieus exert a double meaning: on the one hand they entail high risks of exclusion or unstable jobs, and on the other hand they involve social chances to achieve a position in newly developing sectors or in highly qualified fields.

Gender connotations are transported within these social and cultural contexts given by family and peer groups. Thus, they are part of intergenerational transmissions or a result of newly emerged youth sub-cultures. Another consideration is how they result from actual living conditions that are still undergoing the transition process. The way in which young women develop interpretations of and strategies for their occupational choice and final transitions is also shaped by the spectrum of labor market opportunities within their grasp (Chisholm, 1995; Schittenhelm, 2005a, b).

The cross-cultural approach enables us to take into account the multiple influences that shape school-to-work transitions. Based on comparative case studies that are a central step in the data evaluation of the documentary method (Bohnsack, 2007), this approach includes case-groups for the units of analysis that are systematically compared (Schittenhelm, 2005b). To analyze young women's perception of socioeconomic changes in different social and cultural contexts, consideration is given to the cultural heritage of family backgrounds and to how this aspect is transmitted or revisited between generations. Furthermore, a crucial aspect is the interpretation of common experiences in the peer groups that simultaneously face the transition processes. Their reception of dominant values and gender images transmitted by the media or by relevant institutions is of crucial importance in this regard.

Young female school leavers may face similar restrictions based on the current lack of apprenticeships in Germany or on prevailing gender inequalities in the labor market. The extent to which they also perceive specific transition processes as genuinely based on their immigrant, East or West German backgrounds is the result of empirical investigation, rather than presumed differences in the comparative design of the analysis.[4] Within this theoretical framework, therefore, the focus is on young women's collective patterns of perception and on whether their living conditions provide similar resources to cope with the school-to-work transition. These aspects may vary according to multiple dimensions that may not only contrast between the compared groups.[5]

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4   See the numerous critiques on pre-supposed gender or ethnically defined differences underlying the concepts and designs of investigations (Stolcke, 1995; Gümen, 1996; Nohl, 2001; Schittenhelm, 2005a).

5   Having grown up in German society in the same period and having similar educational titles they also have a common basis.

3. Using Group Discussions to Investigate Status Passages in Educational Pathways

Scholarly debate on young women's transition into vocational training and labor is shaped by the frequently discussed ambiguities in modern biographies. On the one hand scholars examine how young women's transitions are the consequences of high institutional restrictions (Seus, 1993; Krüger, 2001). On the other hand studies focus on female school graduates as agents of their transitions with more or less limited opportunities for decision making (Geissler/Oechsle, 1996; Stauber, 2004).

Nevertheless, beyond existing controversies, in Germany an emphasis on the individual's transition patterns dominates current research on the status passage as well as the small number of studies on female immigrants' transition (Apitzsch, 1990; Wilpert, 1993; Granato/Meissner, 1994; Gültekin, 2003). In terms of method, single interviews are applied as a matter of course. Furthermore, in interviewing school graduates repeatedly during the course of their transition, panel inquiries observe how orientations and strategies are developed gradually, thus respecting dynamics of the transition as a process over time (Raab, 1996; Kuhnke/Müller/Skrobanek, 2007).

To discuss an alternative approach based on group discussions in order to investigate status passages between school and vocational training does not mean to reject the biographical one. Both approaches can be combined. Yet what is the aim and what are the theoretical concepts underlying the use of group discussions to examine school-to-work transitions?

In early applications of group discussions, the method was used at the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research to analyze the political climate in postwar Germany (Pollock, 1955). Thus, political discourses and attitudes have been the focus. A subsequent step was Mangold's concept (1960) that aimed to understand informal group attitudes (*informelle Gruppenmeinungen*). In the context of the *documentary method* (Bohnsack, 2007) the method serves to examine collective orientations including the terms and structures of social worlds. In this contemporary use of the method, the analysis includes the interactive process of how individuals express their social knowledge in mutual exchange (Loos/Schäffer, 2001; Przyborski, 2004). For these purposes the group discussions are conducted in a non-directive manner, thus enabling the group to develop its own reference terms (Loos/Schäffer, 2001).

Using group discussion to investigate status passages implies a specific approach to the subject of transition between education and the labor market. Instead of emphasizing the biography of a single person as the main unit of analysis (Schütze, 1983), the object of the examination is the process of negotiation between young women or young men who are facing and interpreting this status passage. However, there are coincidences with the biographical approach. The group discussion approach refers to deregulations of the

status passages as well. The more loosely regulated transitions are, the more it becomes necessary for school leavers to prescribe transitional stages and to develop common ideas concerning how to cope with the challenges of the life span in their mutual exchanges.

In this regard the group discussion approach takes into account that transitions into vocational training are cohort transitions and thus socially embedded. The changes of status between school, vocational training, and the labor market are not only individual but – in the sense of Glaser and Strauss (1971) – collective status passages.[6] In this case, transition experiences are part of a collective destiny. Members of the same cohort of school leavers perceive the status passage simultaneously, since they are more or less of the same age.[7] The use of group discussions is intended to shed light on how coping strategies, interpretations of transitional stages, and ideas about dealing with the status passage are generated in interactive processes among school leavers who are similarly involved in the transition processes.

If the members of the group under investigation share common risks of social exclusion – caused for example by gender or by immigrant backgrounds – they face parallel contingencies during the transition. The more they share a similar set of social knowledge, the more likely they develop common definitions about these contingencies and similar ideas about how to cope with them. However, to take into account diverse sub-collectives among cohorts or populations under investigation, the whole sample consists of a variation of groups. In my study the young women with German-born or immigrant backgrounds have been recruited by referring to current living conditions and transitional stages, thus achieving equivalent sub-samples for the cross-cultural comparison.

The subjects for data analysis are sequences in which the participants explicitly or implicitly describe topics that are of major interest for the investigation, for example when the young women talk about their experiences in seeking an apprenticeship or about their fears of being unemployed. Furthermore, all sequences in which the interaction is busy and the group's conversation lively and animated should be taken into account. According to the methodological assumptions of the documentary method (Bohnsack, 2007; Bohnsack/Weller, 2006) the latter sequences are – regardless of their thematic relevance at first glance – highly relevant in terms of the groups' orientations and social strategies. Thus, in addition to the young women's accounts on thematic topics, their manner of conversation is a subject of the investigation as well.

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6   Glaser & Strauss (1971) for example distinguish between "individual" and "collective" status passages, taking into account that some transitions can be a group phenomenon.

7   Not every change of status during educational and professional trajectories is necessarily of collective character. Transition between unemployment and occupation in the later life course for example are rather individual transitions that are not in the same way collective experiences in a peer environment.

Using group discussions, the examination is directed to the ongoing processes of transition and their current environment. However, considering current debates on transitions we may ask whether we can also use this instrument to understand dynamics in the course of the status passages and how transitional statuses refer to one another. In biographical analysis (Brose, 1983) work-related experiences and the way these are accumulated and represented in the individual's construction of social reality have been examined with regard to theoretical concepts of Alfred Schuetz (1973). Thus, it is possible to observe how orientations and coping strategies result from the incorporation of work-related experiences along with the biography.

Within the approach based on group discussions to analyze status passages, these aspects of temporality and process structures will not be neglected. Using this instrument, we can show how the group structures its discourse (Bohnsack/Przyborski, 2006) and thus how work-related experiences are represented and negotiated in the group's interaction. The theoretical assumptions of the analysis based on the documentary method are drawn from Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge (Mannheim, 1982) according to which a collective social knowledge with shared structures of thinking about social reality is based on similar living conditions. According to this concept there are spaces of experience that provide a conjunctive knowledge shaped by common social arrangements, nonverbal agreements as well as shared dispositions and structures of thinking. Thus, collective status passages are characterized by shared – present or past – living conditions and by collective frames of thinking about how to interpret this challenge in a life course and how to develop ideas about possible solutions (Schittenhelm, 2006).

In addition to the collective character of the transition, in my discussion of case studies which follows I will emphasize the structuring of the account in the group discussion and consequently show aspects of temporality and the dynamics of the transition processes. Thus, there are two main topics for the empirical analysis: firstly, how transitions between school, vocational traineeships, and labor are passed simultaneously, and are commonly negotiated in juvenile networks and, secondly, how they can be observed with regard to their social dynamics and process structures over time.

4. A Change of Status is Tried out and Negotiated

According to the methodological assumptions discussed so far, the following comparative case study examines not only the topics of the participants' account: the interactive process is also a subject of investigation. In the documentary method the analysis of the discourse organization (Bohn-

sack/Przyborski, 2003: 138-139) is part of the reflective interpretation.[8] The aim is to explore the sense of the participants' narration by the text's formal structure.

The first case to be examined is a discussion group comprising two young women with immigrant backgrounds (in my sample referred to as the group *Money*[9]). The participants share a common distinction regarding their engagement with education and work. They withdraw from work-related activities after the first transitional stages and then carry out temporary jobs which are mentioned in a distant and derogatory manner during their conversation. The participants were then 19 and 20 years old. Nilüfer[10] had to leave school without a certificate, while Fatma started training as a shop assistant after leaving school with an intermediate school certificate (*Realschulabschluss*) but eventually dropped out without a vocational training degree. Neither of them planned any further education. Not only the content but also the formal structure of their discourse was significant for the way they coped with the status passage.

The following sections examine how the experiences of labor are represented in the group's narrative. Fatma began her apprenticeship as a shop assistant shortly after finishing school. She describes the start of her vocational training in the following way:

Fatma: I didn't really want to do that (.) um (.) but I couldn't get anything else (.) so I started an apprenticeship as a shop assistant (.) at 'department store X' (.) which lasted two years (.) and (.) and I completed it (.) and then I was in my third year (.) and that's when I called the apprenticeship off (.) because I no longer enjoyed it   (*introductory passage*)

Her entry into vocational training was perceived as something over which she had no chance of control. In her view it was a *fait accompli* that she had no other opportunity. However, it is unclear whether Fatma's perspective is a result of unsuccessful applications or whether she anticipated no other alternative from the very beginning and thus did not try anything else. She describes her drop out from vocational training in the way that she broke up the third year after having "completed" the second one. As a reason for her drop out, she mentions her negative work-related experiences.

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8   In the documentary method, data analysis consists of several steps: the formulating interpretation, the reflecting interpretation, the comparative case analysis, and – as a potential last step – a typology (Bohnsack, 2007).
9   The term "group" in the sense of the group discussion approach does not imply that the participants consider themselves as a group. Furthermore, the group discussion can comprise the interaction of two members only.
10   This name, as well as all other names of persons or institutions, has been changed to preserve anonymity.

Even during their school days both participants gained work-related experiences with internships, in Germany often imposed by school schedules. After the interviewer had repeatedly asked about practical training, Fatma described her internship in a department store:

Fatma: Geez, did I hate my (.) where did I do my internship (.) um::: (1) that was (2) in district X with department store Y, that (.) exactly (.) that's where I was an intern (.) a downright catastrophe (.) my God (.) I didn't like that one bit (.) where did I (.) in which department (2) (and) ladies' underwear I think (.) yes

I1: Uh-huh

Fatma: And I just stood there all the time (.) and my God (.) and all that sorting (.) and that sorting (.) and then some bras arrived (.) and those (.) oh no (2) I didn't like that at all (.)   *(work passage)*

Fatma even did her initial training in the field of her later apprenticeship. However, this early experience appears in her retrospective account as something she could not engage with. Instead, for her it was monotonous and difficult to tolerate. Like other sequences about work-related experiences this one also did not lead to discussions between the participants. Nilüfer in her turn, after being asked about practical training, expresses similar attitudes towards early experiences with internships during her school days:

Nilüfer: Well (.) I did two internships myself (.) one as a shop assistant in some boutique (.) and one (.) as a hair stylist (.) I didn't (.) I didn't like either one of those at all   (*work passage*)

After having negotiated the prices of the boutique's goods with Fatma she continues:

Nilüfer: This big (.) there is this big X (*name of a high street shop*) right there (.) right next to it (.) a real small boutique (.) and hair stylist, I thought ah:: no (.) at first it was real dire (.) cleaning (.) sweeping (.) tidying (.) brushing away hair and (.) making tea in the kitchen (.) making coffee (.) and (.) oh my God (.) it's like (.) as though I'm their servant (.) really this and that and that (.) I wasn't allowed to do anything myself (.) only in the very last week (.) okay that's when they let me wash some hair.   (*work passage*)

Nilüfer expresses her disapproval for the traineeship with reference to social relationships at the workplace and to the kind of work she had to do. In this case she describes her training during her school-days as a list of degrading activities that did not correspond very well with the sort of professional work she might have been introduced to. Everything was imposed upon her and she complains of not being able to do anything by herself. Thus, like Fatma, Nilüfer had already gained experiences in work-life during her school-days. Furthermore, besides an internship she worked as a temporary helper in her parents' snack-bar:

Nilüfer:	(*exhales*) (.) Hmm (.) one year (.) one:: (.) two years (.) always went there after school (.) or (.) right, weekends (.) and all (.) and then (.) I have been out of work for a month
Fatma:	Uh-huh
Nilüfer:	I just didn't go back (1) I can't be bothered (.) I mean (.) okay it also means I haven't been paid for a month either
I1:	Uh-huh
Nilüfer:	But I mean (.) I can't be bothered to go there (1) ah it's only when I think (.) okay you're really out of money (.) you desperately need some dough (.) that's when I go there
I1:	Uh-huh
Nilüfer:	After all it's only two hours a day (.) only from Monday to Friday (.) two hours (.) but that's enough already (.) I mean (.) that's too much for me (.)
Fatma:	(*laughs*)
Nilüfer:	I would really (.) like I said to my mum so many times (.) I would (.) (*exhales*) rather <u>work as a cleaner</u> <u>eight hours</u> (.) <u>a day</u> (.) than (.) work in this snack bar (.) because I just don't like it much (.) maybe because I'm working with my father

(work passage)

In this representation of her work-related experiences, monotony and her negative attitude towards her work again are main topics. Her increasing disapproval finally has practical consequences: she stopped working regularly in her parents' snack bar and continued only in a very sporadic manner. It is worth noting that she introduces an alternative to the job in her parents' business: she would prefer to work eight hours a day as a cleaner. With this idea she continues to remain in the sector of unskilled and insecure jobs.

Fatma and Nilüfer currently agree in their attitude of distancing themselves from involvement in education and work. This distance is expressed not only by the content of their accounts, but also by the manner of their discourse. During the group's entire conversation the topics 'education' and 'work' were rarely mentioned. They spoke about their work-related experiences only when they were asked. Furthermore, these contributions did not lead to any processes of mutual exchange. Yet, in this manner the women talked about similar experiences in working life. There was no mention of realizing their own interests or of having the chance to make decisions during the transition.

However, meanwhile they have a common frame of reference for the interpretation of their work-related experiences. Already in the manner of their discourse it is obvious that the attitudes toward their current lifestyles are relevant and have been developed together. The frames of orientation that give sense to their separation from work are now produced in an interactive manner. It is documented in the way the young women negotiate the work of a hair stylist:

Fatma: Or (.) I've been thinking about starting another apprenticeship (.) but (.) I wouldn't know what (1) no idea

I1:   Uh-huh (1)

Fatma: I don't know (1) I was thinking hair stylist

I1:   Uh-huh

Fatma: But the pay is lousy (laughs)

Nilüfer: (laughs)

Fatma: That's why (.) well (.) I'm thinking (.) they get four hundred (.) four hundred something or so, that makes

Nilüfer: Two marks and fifty an hour

Fatma: That's right

Nilüfer: I mean that's next to nothing (.) well (.) I might as well go begging on the street (.) I'd be getting more

Fatma: (laughs)

Nilüfer: No (.) honestly

Fatma: No (.) but they (.) they get paid (.) about four hundred and sixty marks a month (1) after tax (.) I'd be getting that much in benefits   *(introductory passage)*

The participants negotiate the expected salary for their work while they are still in an apprenticeship; it is worth noting here that in Germany traineeships are paid if provided by an enterprise. They both agree in a distinction by referring to functional arguments. However, the horizons of their common frame of reference are beyond any skilled work but result from their sporadic jobs and from their experiences with the social welfare system. Nevertheless, these horizons provide shared normative criteria for the negotiation. Thus, they already judge their job opportunities in a frame of reference that is a consequence of their current situation and of the course of their transition so far. Based on the transitional stage they have reached now they cannot anticipate any alternative option in the sector of skilled work that is both attractive and within their reach.

A similar discouragement during the course of work-related experiences examined in the first case results in a downward mobility during this status passage. Yet, as far as this course is a shared destiny, the attitude developed can be a collective one. It is worth noting that this attitude is not specific to young women with immigrant backgrounds. It was observed, too, in German-born school leavers when they perceived a parallel process of being discouraged during their status passage (Schittenhelm, 2005 a, b). The strategy of gradually giving up aspirations as an adaptation to failures was discussed principally in the term of "cooling out" by Goffman (1962). A comparative analysis with a cross-cultural perspective is a means to avoid stereotypes about the compared groups. In their manner of coping with the transition the young women with immigrant backgrounds were, like those who were German-born, heterogeneous.

The members of the group *Brücke*, discussed here as the second case, also have an immigrant background. They too experienced obstacles during their transition into vocational training. But in contrast to the above-mentioned case these are met in a completely different way. However, work and training-related orientations have also developed during the course of the status passage. These are evident both in their content-related contributions as well as in the development of the discourse. In other words, in contrast to the above-mentioned case, experiences made in the working world became the subject of discussion. Conversations about "apprenticeship" and "profession" take on their own dynamic and are characterized by a high level of interaction, involving frequent turn-taking, interruptions of the speaker, and rapid, detailed, and lively utterances. Thus, in the case of the *Brücke* group coping mechanisms can be found which, on the one hand, orient themselves along the encountered opportunities in work life, and, on the other hand, result in expanding these opportunities by increased engagement with work and training. In this group, the transition periods during which the young women become familiar with the demands and restrictions of employment do not go along with the dissociation from work and training-related efforts, as was the case with the above-mentioned *Money* group. Aside from the actual status passage, the negotiation of the transition experiences within the groups' frames of orientation also differ.

In their discussions the education-oriented group *Brücke* rates 'education' and 'employment' very highly. The group *Money*, however, talks about subjects such as 'vocational training' and 'profession' only when asked by the interviewer and communicate a strong dissociation from these subjects in the manner in which they talk about them. Another difference is the range of options these young women discuss. While the *Money* group, as presented above, refers to only very few, for the most part traditionally female apprenticeship trades (e.g. hair stylist, shop assistant) and occupations located in the precarious employment sector, the *Brücke* group discusses a much broader range of options of professional as well as academic fields of activity. The implicit alternative horizons mutually assumed by the speakers of the groups differ significantly, and they are to be assessed as a result of these women's contrasting experiences of transition and employment. Thus, the actual paths these young ladies pursue also depend on the opportunities they experience during their status passage.

On the one hand the findings of my study highlight cases in which the exchange among peers required their simultaneous *participation* in vocational training or employment. On the other hand there are groups in which peers get together during the course of their status passage on the basis of a shared experience of *disintegration*. Based on comparative case studies finally four typical ways in which to cope with the transition have been elaborated upon (Schittenhelm, 2005a, b):

- Strategies of dissociation from work-related involvement (as discussed in the group *Money*)
- Strategies of anticipatory seeking higher qualification (as discussed in the group *Brücke*)
- Strategies of status-diminished integration in work-life
- Strategies of re-orientation and course correction

The typologies were characterized by a grade of transitional stages and distinct coping strategies with appropriate attitudes towards education and work. The group's differences did not only concern topics and contents of their accounts, but also their manner of negotiating their educational trajectories and work-related experiences. It could be shown that their attitudes were the result of a transition process and of a collective shared social knowledge with which the young women interpreted their experiences and developed their strategies to cope with their living conditions.

5. Conclusion

The scrutiny of group discussions (Bohnsack, 2007; Loos/Schäffer, 2001) showed with regard to the analysis of the status passage between school, vocational training, and employment the gradual development of a collective frame of orientation, within which these young women interpreted the demands of their status passage and negotiated their aims. In this way, it not only facilitates the reconstruction of the collective character of the status passage, but also the analysis of the course of a process. The subject of this analysis is not so much the chronological sequence of events, but the process structure upon which this sequence is based.

The collective mode of experiencing and coping which shapes the career choices of these young women rests upon a shared social knowledge. For one thing it is the result of the options encountered in the employment world so far. But it is at the same time a prerequisite for the ongoing progression of their status passage, by structuring the perception of future prospects and by its action-guiding consequences. Thus, social circumstances in the world of employment can be constituted through everyday perceptions and the collective practice of individuals – without the consequences of these actions actually being intended.

The group discussion approach is thus also suitable to conduct a habitus analysis in the sense of Bourdieu (1982). However, what is of interest is not

the group as an ensemble of individuals and their personal habitus.[11] Rather, the study endeavors to reconstruct the collective frame of orientation or rather various overlapping frames of orientation within which these young women lend meaning and significance to their experiences in training and employment. Collective orientations, as documented in the group discussions, involve *similarly structured* perceptions and mechanisms of coping with the expectations associated with the entry into the working world and the changing of a social status. In this regard distinct types of coping with the status passages have been observed. These strategies are based on shared transitory patterns and common ways of perceiving the implied transitory conditions. However, even though the school leavers perceive similar transnational mobility or societal transformations and changes due to immigrant or native – East and West German – backgrounds their way of coping with this crucial threshold in educational pathways also varies in-between the compared groups.

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11 On this topic see also Laks (1983) who analyses the symbolic negotiations that take place within groups by studying a group of young males; he distinguishes various positions each member takes on within the group, for instance, by looking at the interactions, the manner of speech, and the linguistic style.

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Wivian Weller

The Feminine Presence in Youth (Sub)Cultures: the Art of Becoming Visible[1]

Are girls, in fact, for reasons which we could discover, really not active or present in youth sub-cultures? Or has something in the way this kind of research is done rendered them invisible? (Mc Robbie/Garber, 1975: 209)

1 Feminine 'Invisibility' in Youth (Sub)Cultures

Both in studies on hip hop as well as on youth in general, there is a great gap with regard to the feminine presence in political-cultural manifestations. Do young female adolescents make up a minority in the hip hop movement, in other aesthetic-music movements and other associative forms, such as crews and gangs? If our criterion is the existing bibliography, then we should affirm they do. Since the first studies carried out by sociologists at The Chicago School (among others Trasher, 1963; Whyte, 1996; Cohen, 1955) and by members of the Center of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham (among others Hebdige, 1979; Willis, 1997; Clarke, 1975; Cohen, 1979) to more recent studies, among others, in Germany (i.e. Baacke, 1987; Schäffer, 1996; Hill, 1996; Tertilt, 1996; Nohl, 2001), in Portugal (see Pais, 1993, 1999) and in Brazil (among others Caiafa, 1985; Vianna, 1985, 1997; Costa, 1993; Kemp, 1993; Abramo, 1994; Abreu, 1995; Xavier, 1999), there have been few references to be found or none at all with regard to female participation in these movements (among the studies of both gender, especially the work of McRobbie/Garber, 1975; Willis, 1990 are significant). Papers on youths and on youth culture that encompass the category youth as a whole, a category that does not distinguish between young female and young male teens, are widespread. Considering the importance of these authors' works, fundamental for consolidating the field of youth studies, there is yet one more problem in addition to representing the category youth as a whole: analyses on corporeal aesthetics, style of attire, music preferences and the teens' overall outlook on life, among other aspects, have been mainly carried out on the basis of participant observation and interviews with male

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youths. Indeed, ever since the studies aimed at understanding the styles Ted Boy, Skinhead, Rock-n'-Roll or other more recent styles such as Funk and Hip Hop, these cultural practices and their forms of representation were analyzed from the standpoint of the male members of these groups[2]. The few references to young female teens in these papers have to do with affectivity and sexuality in the crews and gangs (Trasher, 1963; Xavier, 1999) or with teenage maternity (Vilar/Gaspar, 1999; Willis, 1990).

Concerning the teenage girls' invisibility or the one-sided focus on issues related to sexuality[3], to gender relations and to maternity, in the few studies on the female presence in youth culture, McRobbie and Garber write:

"With the possible exception of sexual deviance, women constituted an uncelebrated social category, for radical and critical theorists. This general invisibility was of course cemented by the social reaction to the more extreme manifestations of youth sub-cultures. The popular press and media concentrated on the sensational incidents associated with each culture (...) One direct consequence of the fact that it is always the violent aspects of a phenomenon which qualify as newsworthy is that these are precisely the areas of subcultural activity from which women have tended to be excluded." (McRobbie/Garber, 1975: 212).

Viviane Magro's doctoral thesis entitled "Girls of Graffiti: Education, Adolescence, Identity and Gender in Contemporary Youth Cultures" constitutes one of the few studies regarding the female presence in youth cultures in Brazil[4]. Based on the analysis of data collected for her field study in Campinas (State of São Paulo), the author highlights a set of elements that emerge from experiencing a juvenile culture environment and from the processes that construct what she calls "identity instances," given that identity – according to Stuart Hall – can only be seen as a "moveable feast," (HALL, 1996: 598) always "becoming, constantly in authorization" (Magro, 2003: 188). In addition to the identification with the hip hop movement, Magro points out the social commitment, the feeling of belonging to a family, of being oneself, of having friends, of being black or white and of being female and enjoying hip hop as central elements experienced collectively as adolescents and spray painters. To the author,

"The girls' graffiti seems to be an expression of the complex experience of being a woman, black, white, poor and socially excluded in contemporary society. Produced and inscribed in downtown Campinas, this graffiti marks the feelings of girls who experience the condition of generational and gender exclusion. Graffiti art and the social proposal of the hip hop movement provide them with self narratives that are more affirmative than themselves." (Magro, 2003: 175).

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2   And often from the standpoint of the male researchers.
3   This focus on issues regarding sexuality is often driven by the names given to the female groups, such as, for example, the punk style group in the Mexican capital which is represented by the name "Shaken Virginity" (Urteaga, 1996).
4   This is a doctoral thesis defended at the Faculty of Education at UNICAMP in December, 2003, in which I participated as a panel member.

Before examining the experience of other female groups in the hip hop movement, we will briefly discuss some concepts that aim towards the understanding and the analysis of the distinct juvenile manifestations.

2 Cultures, Subcultures, and Juvenile Styles

According to Bernhard Schäffers (1998: 161), the notion of "youth culture" as a part of the culture of a society developed as youth came to be seen as a specific social and generative category, as well as in the autonomy acquired by this age group. Although there is no specific definition for the concept of subculture (see also Cuche, 1999: 99-105), it can be understood as referring to an alternative culture, but also as an expansion of the very concept of culture, which is not associated only with a set of predominant values, norms, and traditions in a given society, but which involves every aspect of a determined group's quotidian life (Schäffers, 1998: 163; Baacke, 1987: 99). Resorting to this broader view of the concept, Sarah Thorton (1996) introduces – alluding to Bordieu's concept of "cultural capital" –, the term "subcultural capital" in an attempt to deconstruct social hierarchies: in much the same way as "cultural capital" is cultivated by means of the acquisition of works of art and of books that load the shelves, "subcultural capital" will be boasted through CD collections or a specific hair style (see Fritzsche, 2003). However, some authors have criticized the concept of subculture diffused by the Chicago School and by CCCS in Birmingham, mainly with regard to juvenile groups. To Dieter Baacke (1987) as well as to Wilfried Ferchhoff and Georg Neubauer (1996) the term subculture suggests the existence of a superior culture, which ceases to be meaningful today, given the plurality of modes and styles, which are no longer specific for a certain culture, considering that they will be manifested in distinct locations and in distinct continents. At the same time the term triggers depreciatory associations and prompts the belief that we are dealing with specific social crusts that must be singled out or differentiated in order to be better controlled. According to these authors, "juvenile culture" or "juvenile cultures" would be the most adequate concept because it broadens the possibility for understanding the range of juvenile manifestations, their styles or ways of life that have been created and re-created in different locations and social contexts.

Such an appropriation of cultural styles in adolescence and youth is seen in the 1970's and 1980's bibliography as a "magical solution" (Clarke, 1975) for problems that arise in other sectors (family, school, work) and as a form of resistance for youths of social classes that do not have great perspectives for the future (Baacke, 1987: 104). More recent studies associate the importance of cultural styles in adolescence to the tendencies of the individual to

de-institutionalize, of social classes or crusts to individualize, and of the juvenile condition to undergo structural change (Schäffer, 1996: 30). The cultural styles are thus interpreted as a reaction to the changes that are taking place globally in complex societies.

However, the juvenile condition as space-time, in which lifestyles are discovered and experimented, generational experiences are constituted, identities are constructed and/or reconstructed, has been scarcely explored by these authors who interpret juvenile cultures mainly as responses or solutions to quotidian problems, such as ethnic or class inequalities. Hans Joas signals to the risks or consequences of this type of interpretation, which entails the notion that all social actions are necessarily rational:

"There are at least three aspects imputed to all the action theories that are based on a specific type of rational action – regardless of whether they conceive rationality in a restricted or broad sense, in a utilitarian or normative manner: a) the conception that the actors are able to act with precision (zielgerichtetes Handeln); b) that they have control over their bodies; c) that they are autonomous in relation to people and their social environment. From this perspective, the actors' reduced concentration in a certain action, the loss of or the decrease in the ability to control the body, and also the loss or abdication of the individual's autonomy, prompt the impression that the actors are scarcely or not at all rational, consequently reducing the likelihood that theirs actions should be classified as rational. Defenders of this conception are well aware, however, that the aspects imputed to this model of rational action hardly exist in concrete actions. The limited validity for such preconditions is eventually understood not as their own theoretical flaw but as that of the actors." (Joas, 1996: 216-217, our translation).

The analysis of juvenile cultures within different contexts thus requires theoretical alternatives to such a utilitarian model of action, often distant from the empirical reality of the youths in the study. According to Karl Mannheim (1964a) the experiences that have not yet been conceptualized and/or theorized ought to be seen as atheoretical and not as slightly rational or even irrational:

"Aesthetic or religious "experiences" are not shapeless or amorphous; rather, they are sui generis and radically different from theoretical ones. It is up to the researcher to reflect upon the real content of these forms, upon what they inform, without violating their individual character, but rather to translate them into the theory, or yet to encompass them by means of logical forms. This is the purpose of theoretical research, a reality-seizing process that signals back towards the initial pre-theoretical stages, towards the level of quotidian experience." (Weller et al., 2002).

According to Mannheim's proposal, there is a need for research that aims not only at the analysis of atheoretical experiences which lack theoretical reflection, but mainly at understanding the modus operandi and the practical meaning of these actions within their specific contexts, for teens, both female and

male (see Bourdieu, 1999; Bohnsack/Nohl, 2003)[5]. José Pais underscores the importance of a more dynamic reflection on the juvenile cultures, one "that targets specific ways of life and quotidian practices whereby certain meanings and values are expressed not only at the institutional level but also at the level of everyday quotidian life" (1993: 55).

Finalizing this topic, we might ask ourselves if female 'invisibility' or the absence of studies on female participation in juvenile cultures within the field of juvenile studies would not be associated with such a notion of juvenile culture as a form of protest and resistance, that is, with such a utilitarian conception of action. From a superficial and stereotypical viewpoint, some female juvenile cultures do not seem to demonstrate an attitude of protest or resistance against ethnic or class inequalities. To some authors, these styles and forms of expression are also seen as scarcely rational and as actions that aim solely at the consumption of group-specific products (for example: the activities of Backstreet Boys' or Spice Girls' fan groups). This may have been one of the reasons for the sparse attention and reflection on girls' participation, not only from juvenile culture specialists, but also from feminist theoreticians.

3 The Invisibility of Youth Cultures in Feminist Studies

Some authors have criticized the lack of research concerning the female presence in juvenile cultures or subcultures, the role these groups play in the transition from adolescence to adulthood and in the building of ethnic and gender identity (see McRobbie/Garber, 1975; Fritzsche, 2003a). However, it seems evident that the cultural practices for the adolescent and youth age group also continue to be overlooked in feminist studies in Brazil and in other countries.

According to Kathleen Karlyn (2003), feminists concerned with the future generation of youths/teens are not to be obliged to defend juvenile cultures unconditionally, but ought to turn their attention and interest to the universe of production, consumption and incorporation of cultural manifestations, concentrating efforts, for example, on analyzing magazines, films, TV shows, music groups and other products that specifically target the juvenile public. There is a need for more studies that endeavor to comprehend appropriation and re-elaboration of the cultural products in the teens' distinct social contexts. Contentions in the aesthetic-musical field aiming to challenge the traditional roles attributed to the male and female genders in our societies that is, the contributions that these manifestations have been making in the

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5   For theoretical-methodological alternatives to the utilitarian action model see Bohnsack/Nohl 2003; and Fritzsche 2003b.

process of negotiating the existing contradictions in patriarchal cultures (Karlyn, 2003), also require further analysis and research. To Anne O'Connell a deeper discussion regarding the future of the feminist movement will necessitate a better view of the field of juvenile popular cultures, which have represented a space not only for building and re-building new styles and fads, but also for remodeling and appropriating a feminism buttressed by the teens' experience and outlook on the world. In addition, Catherine Lumby underscores the need to deconstruct the elitist attitude and even to reject altogether the principal means of communication and their productions:

"If feminism is to remain engaged with and relevant to the everyday lives of women, then feminists desperately need the tools to understand everyday culture. We need to engage with the debates in popular culture rather than taking an elitist and dismissive attitude toward the prime medium of communication today." (Lumby cited by Karlyn, 2003).

The importance of greater contiguity among feminists in different generations and of feminist studies being more receptive towards contemporary juvenile cultures would not only be seminal for a discussion on the directions feminism will take at the outset of this century, but would also foster new perspectives in the analysis and the understanding of what entails the juvenile condition. As Anja Achtenberg well puts it (cited by Fritzsche, 2003), youth studies continues operating on definitions long criticized in gender and race studies, that is, on a conception of youth as a pre-social category, characterized by the biological and emotional crisis experienced in the transition into adulthood. However, if we want to understand youth and how youth is actually experienced by adolescents and both male and female teens, it will be necessary to allot greater importance to the descriptions and narratives of the actors involved, associating this information to the theoretical-methodological reflection and to the rigorous analysis of empirical data:

"Like gender, and solely in relation to it, youth must be accurately and comprehensively defined. This construction of youth has not yet been empirically developed according to the same thoroughness, nor has it reflected theoretically as [the concept of] gender has." (Breitenbach, 2001: 169).

The theoretical perspectives and the results presented in studies on gender relations have contributed to the understanding that gender is not something we acquire naturally, but rather it is produced day by day. In other words, gender is constituted in an interactive and situational manner; it is (or is not) discussed within a specific context and interaction whereby those involved take on distinct gender representations (ibid: 168). According to Eva Breitenbach a similar conception can be developed in relation to youth or youths, which should not be seen only as a group of people of both sexes, as a phase of life or yet as a social institution. In this aspect feminist theories present an

important contribution to the deconstruction of the mainstream conceptions on youth as well as to a greater understanding of juvenile specificity[6]:

"Adolescence is no longer to be understood in terms of an evolutionary, linear and teleological form of subjectivity, but rather as a phase of experiences marked by bodies and genders, as a set of multiple references located socioculturally." (Magro, 2003: 178).

Such a theoretical perspective promotes the researcher's greater sensibility and receptivity toward the distinct juvenile manifestations and their ways of contending with the current norms that regulate the societies in which they live, without falling prey to the risk of subsuming their practices into progressive or regressive categories (see Schwendter, 1971), as irrational or of a solely consumer nature. The distinct conceptions of youth and of experiencing youth will be clearly grasped when they have been analyzed from the perspective of gender and when they have been carried out on the basis of empirical reality, which implies the entire effort of reconstructing and interpreting the youths' concrete actions within the social contexts in which they lie.

4 The Art of Asserting Oneself in a 'Typically' Male Setting: The Female Presence in the Hip Hop Movement

I am a conscious woman, my value is not in my color, but in my mind[7].

An argumentation similar to that found in the Birmingham studies in the 1960's and 1970's regarding the meanings of the cultural styles for working class youths (Hall/Jefferson, 1975), is observed in studies related to the hip hop movement in the 1990's. The definition of cultural style as an expression of resistance remains, but this time it is dissociated from class condition[8]: hip hop is interpreted as a "cultural expression of the African diaspora" and as an articulation of afrodescendant youths against racism and discrimination:

Hip hop is a cultural form that attempts to negotiate the experiences of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the cultural imperatives of African-American and Caribbean history, identity, and community. It is the tension between the cultural fractures produced by postindustrial oppression and the binding ties of black cultural expressivity that sets the critical frame for the development of hiphop (Rose, 1994: 21).

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6   In particular the contribution given by queer theory, with Judith Butler is one of its main representatives (cf. Guacira Louro, 1995, 2001; Fritzsche, 2003b).

7   Dina Dee, "Grupo Visão de Rua" ("Street View Group") – cited in Magro, 2003: 105

8   Today this aspect, that is, the separation of hip hop from the issue of class, has been criticized by some authors. See interview with Bakari Kitwana in Caderno Mais, Folha de São Paulo, Aug. 18, 2002, p. 6-9.

Rose (1994) defines hip hop as a postmodern praxis associated with social unrest due to the increase in unemployment, and to the loss of social cohesion due to relocations that took place in New York City's re-urbanizing projects. Other authors see mainly in rap[9] a continuity of pre-modern forms linked to history and oral memory (story telling), stemming from Griot culture in the western region of the African continent (Toop, 1992: 42-43). Regardless of the different claims to the origin of hip hop, what is evident is that this poetical-musical movement has spread worldwide and has prompted, mainly with rap, the emergence of a space for struggle and recognition: in these spaces youths express their creativity and organization as subjects in discourse, denouncing discrimination and deprivations experienced as Negros and/or immigrants, transforming art and dialog into a potential element of inclusion. In Brazil, hip hop began to intensify in the 1980's, the São Paulo metropolitan region being its birthplace, and thereafter it expanded to other Brazilian capitals and cities. The similarities between New York and São Paulo as to the re-urbanizing process in the downtown area and the building of housing projects in the outskirts of the cities may hold clues to understanding the emergence of this aesthetic-musical movement and the São Paulo youths' strong identification with it. However, it is not within our scope of interest here to focus on the origin and development of the hip hop movement in São Paulo or elsewhere in Brazil, a topic that has been broadly studied (see among others Andrade, 1996; Silva, 1998; Tella, 2000; Felix, 2000). What this paper aims to examine is the meaning of cultural styles such as hip hop to female adolescents and youths.

If we take the female rap bands in the USA (Rose, 1994) and in Brazil (Silva, 1998) as a reference, we might state that, despite the changes achieved by the feminist movements and the social, economic and cultural transformations that triggered an increase in female participation in the public sphere (mainly in the work market), adolescent girls still add up to a minority in political-cultural movements. In a field survey that took place in the cities of Berlin and São Paulo (Weller, 2003, 2006) we find very few female bands. Among the interviewed female break or rap groups, we have seen that most of the band members are between 15 and 20 years of age. As for the male groups, in both cities we find rappers, break dancers, DJs and spray painters in different age groups (11/12 to 26). Based on these empirical data we might inquire if the small number of female groups or the short period of the groups' existence is associated with the girls' entry into the work market, with marriage or maternity, thus preventing them from continuing to exercise their artistic-musical activities. Such arguments seem plausible; however,

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9   Rap (rhythm and poetry), break dance, graffiti and scratching (done by disc jockeys or DJs) are elements that make up hip hop. Some groups interviewed in Sao Paulo attribute the word rap to the meaning "rhythm, attitude and word" (in Portuguese the word for "word" begins with the letter p: palavra).

there is a need for new empirical studies and analyses that focus on these themes. At the same time, in accepting this justification, we would be hastening to conclusions and overlooking the analyses of other aspects concerning female participation in youth cultures. In spite of the few female rap bands and the few female spray painters and break dancers, we have found, in studies on the hip hop movement in São Paulo and Berlin (Weller, 2003), a strong female presence in terms of artistic-musical activities (during shows and other events) and/or sociopolitical activities (for example, in charity campaigns for food and clothing, campaigns against AIDS). Hence, if we understand hip hop not only as a space for rappers, dancers, spray painters and DJs, but also as the youth culture of those boys and girls who participate as fans of "A Style Nobody Can Deal With" (Rose, 1994a) we will see that the female participation in the movement is significant[10]. This differentiated gaze on youth cultures broadens the perspectives of analysis and comprehension of meanings that stem from within these movements. McRobbie and Garber (1975) propose at least three possibilities of studying youth cultures, with the aim to overcome the existing gaps in this field of study: 1) a critical re-reading of mainstream youth studies on account of their having overlooked the gender perspective; 2) raising awareness of the adolescent girls that belong to predominantly male cultures (skinheads, hip hop, among others); 3) dispensing greater attention to the 'alternative cultures' developed by female groups, for example, the teeny-bopper movement of adolescents and youths interested in bands or personalities of the pop universe[11].

Henceforth, we will proceed to briefly re-construct the experiences of black female youths of Turkish backgrounds, belonging to the hip hop movement in the cities of Berlin and São Paulo, a movement of hegemonic male features, revealing in some contexts sexist and homophobic aspects as well[12].

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10 Despite the great number of fans in the age group ranging from 15 to 20, we also find youths over 20 (some even married with children) in musical events and in the movements' sociopolitical activities.

11 Some studies already point in this direction, for example, Fritzsche, 2003a; Wald, 2004.

12 According to Victoria Sau, 2004, "the word machismo (here, machism) is used primarily in the colloquial and popular scope. A more appropriate term (mainly at the ideological level) for expressing the referred concept is sexism, considering that the former is more suitable for those physical or verbal acts, whereby the sexism underlying social structure is manifested in a vulgar manner. In the psychological realm, the difference between sexism and machism is that sexism is conscious and machism unconscious; that is, the machist individual acts without necessarily being capable of explaining or accounting for the internal reasons for his/her acts, since he is solely limited to reproducing and acting upon, in an off-handed or thoughtless way, the sexism he inherits from the culture he belongs to because of nationality or social condition. In turn, homophobia or aversion towards homosexuals is the result of a set of stereotypes and prejudices as well as the intolerance towards sexual minorities. Sexist and homofobic stances are defended, above all, by groups that identify with the gansta rap style. On this subject matter see, among others: Jacob, 1993; Glovania/Heil, 1995; Rose, 1994; Quinn, 1996.

4.1 "You can't go with them all 'cause it'll ruin your reputation…": The Struggle for Artistic Acknowledgement and Image Preservation of the POWER GIRLS Group

The São Paulo group Power Girls is made up of two 17-year-olds and one 15-year-old, who have known each other for roughly six years and who decided to set up a rap band eight months ago. When inquired on their insertion in this aesthetic-political universe and on the relation with the male audience these youths had the following to say[13]:

Y: What's it like with the guys, are they prejudiced against girls' rap bands? How do you see this?

Af: Oh! (pause)

Bf: I don't know. You do the talking.

Af: Well, some are. Lots of people when there's a girl's band, like, today they said on the radio that a girl's band was comin' to town. And the radio guy went ahead and said that, you know, that it's good to have women in the hip hop movement and all, but that you can't just be rolling around the group that way 'cause people say that women wanna hip hop for, eh, like…

Cf: Yeah.

Af: 'Cause they say women join the hip hop movement, just to, like, to show off the trendies, 'cause they see everybody singing and they think it's cool, and so they start singing too, they set up their band and sing. So there's some, not all of 'em but most guys in the movement say that women are in it just to go with everyone, show off, and that just blows it. But like, we try to, like, in gigs, we kinda try to say that we're struggling for equality, men and women in the movement, and for equality in all senses. So it's growing a lot, women in the hip hop movement are growing, though some are feminists, and we don't agree with that either. But that's the deal with us, like, we never had that kind of discrimination, you know, from the guys. We're more friends with the guys than with the girls in the movement.

Bf: Yeah.

Af: We never had that kind of prejudice, nobody ever came up to tell us, I guess.

Bf: This thing about rollin' around the group, goin' with everybody, um, when it's about a friend you just come up and say, you know, you say that you can't just go with everybody 'cause people will be lookin' down on you, so they take it easy a little, that's what we do.

Af: Yeah, cause there's, not all of 'em, 'course, but there's lots of girls that are in it just for that.

Bf: And they go with lots of the dudes.

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13 In transcribing the interviews, we adopted the following codes: Y is for identifying the interviewers (the codes Y1, Y2, etc. were adopted in interviews with more than one interviewer). For interviewees, we used the first few letters on the alphabet (A, B, C, etc.) followed by f for female and m for male. For more details about the Fieldwork in São Paulo and Berlin and about the methodological aspects of group discussion and the documentary method see Weller, 2005, 2006 and also the article of Ralf Bohnsack in this volume.

Af: So the thing is, for example, we got girlfriends that also joined the movement and went with everybody. So like, they went with all the dudes and that done it for all the girls. That's why the dudes talk like that. But that's the only kind of prejudice that's in it for us women, 'cause like, we all get talked, you know. But there's lots of people giving us support too…

According to the interviewees the boys have an established opinion concerning the girls' interest for the hip hop movement, which represents a barrier for any girl who would be interested in participating in this juvenile culture. In other words, it must be shown to 'the dudes' that the aim is not to find a space in the movement for the purpose of flirtation or of showing off the latest trends. Such a judgment is found not only among male groups within a same district, but also in the media itself. The very means of communication – in this case, radio show hosts – take on the role of reinforcing the latent sexism not only in the universe of hip hop culture, as they broadcast new female groups. In the statement "it's good to have women in the hip hop movement but you can't be rolling around the group" the idea that only women circulate and "go with everyone" is implicit. In the male and sexist imagery this circulation takes place in only one way, that is, it is women who "roll" from one partner to the next, while men remain static and, in this position, immune to any sort of disesteem. Actually though, this notion is also shared by the female interviewees. These youths have already internalized values and expectations attributed to the female in their society, in which thorough preservation of the image and reputation is assumed. In this sense, the women themselves, in the hip hop movement contribute to the preservation of these values imposed by the sexist society by undertaking the commitment of controlling and adverting other female companions: "when it's about a friend you just come up and say, you know, you say that you can't just go with everybody 'cause people will be lookin' down on you." In the interviewees' viewpoint, this undertaking is necessary because what is at stake is not only the image and reputation of a girl directly involved in a situation, but rather of all of those who participate in the movement. Discrimination becomes collective because the 'talk' regarding the consequences of one specific fact will affect all of the women, collectively.

In such a context marked by the image that women circulate within the movement and among the members of the opposite sex, the Power Girls group has strived to elaborate a way to contest these positions and to assert equal status between men and women in the movement as well as equality in every way. It is observed that the group has opted for the stance of rejecting feminism and feminist struggles. Such a stance has led to their being accepted by the boys while disliked by other women in the movement who identify themselves as feminists. The group seems to be in search of a third way of building equality, which is made overt during the interview as follows: "No to sexism, no to feminism, yes to socialism." It is interesting to

observe that these girls establish a binary opposition between feminism and sexism, which leads to a rejection of both positions. Although what the interviewees mean by "socialism" is not clear, this third approach appears as a utopian and decontextualized theoretical elaboration. However, in the quotidian practice, these youths are fully aware that equality between men and women is far from being achieved, that their companions in the hip hop movement are scarcely willing to engage in sharing chores and responsibilities so as to enable women to pursue their artistic careers after marriage or after they have had children:

Cf: Like, when I get married, like, if I continue singing rap, like, I don't wanna have a baby right away, cause like, after ya have a baby, like, if ya continue rapping, ya won't be able to rap every time ya go out. Your husband, he'll go out, he'll leave the baby for us to look after, they don't really care. That's why I said ya gotta be responsible when ya get married. I just don't wanna have kids that easy.

Af: Yeah, you bet.

Bf: I'm taking Tauana[14] to be dancing and doing some…

Cf: Are ya' taking her right away, so little, so little?

Bf: They can already come along when their two.

Cf: Well hon', I'll tell ya' this much. It'll be two years before ya' start singing again.

Af: Yeah, it'll be two years. Or make it three.

Bf: My mom can sit for me.

Af: Right.

Cf: Ya' think ya' can say my mom'll sit, just like that. My mom said she'd look after my child when I get married. That's why I'm getting her to move in with me.

The support of the maternal grandmother, who would assume the grandchild's co-education and the task of child-raising, is seen as the only possible means of conciliating family and artistic career. Nevertheless, even being able to rely on this help ("My mom said she'd look after my child when I get married"), the interviewees seem to be aware that they will be hindered from their singing and from participating in the activities within the movement during a certain period of time.

4.2 "Just overnight they change into somebody else, react totally different…": Disappointment Experienced by Group LIFE GIRLS with Change in Behavior and Loss of Friendship

Life Girls is a Berlin break dance group made up of three youths who have known each other since their childhood[15]. They usually meet in a juvenile

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14 Name chosen by interviewee for her future daughter.

15 This group discussion was conducted by the Author together with Aglaja Przyborski. Af is 20 years old; Bf is 15; and Cf is 16. The group started at the time when educators at the youth center offered a dance course to girls of Turkish background. Later, Af was also in-

center which they have frequented for many years and which has become, not only to these youths but also to many youths in that district, a 'second home,' so to speak. The meaning of this space, which also has a specific room available for the girls, was clearly stressed during the interview and can be observed during the visits. The juvenile center offers a number of activities, although the dance rooms represent the favorite and most frequented space. The center also has a multi-purpose room, where the group had a presentation which was fundamental to their consolidation:

Bf: Our second [public presentation] was here.

Af: At the RZ [youth center] like, our buddies, like, against us.

Cf: Everybody laughed.

Af: Everybody laughed but everybody enjoyed it, they said the dudes would make fun of us, that they'd laugh at us and, like, you know, and, yeah, yeah.

Cf: But we didn't show them.

Af: We always rehearsed alone and, yeah, I'd always tell the girls that, come on ya' all, they think it's cool but they don't ever say nothing. Maybe, ya know, the dudes at the same age as them, I'm 20 and they're 15 and 16 and, yeah, to them, the dudes never say it to their face, oh you did well, this and that, and that they think it's cool that the girls…

Bf: The guys have …

Af: Yeah, and that's why they, maybe they have this image, maybe not, but the boys just can't seem to say it to the girls. But to me, they say they think it's cool that the girls are now dancing and so…

Much like the São Paulo group, the ushering in of the Berlin youths of Turkish background in hip hop, mainly through break dancing, was applauded by male peers although this support was not revealed overtly to all the participants. At the beginning the boys did not know that the girls were rehearsing, because the girls feared the iniciative of entering an environment which had so far been solely male would be hindered by the boys. They also feared that the public presentation would be scornfully booed and that they would be exposed to ridicule. The experience and confidence that Ayse (Af) conveyed to other female peers was crucial for them to accept the challenge of setting up a female break group. But it is the boys themselves who end up realizing the very asset it would represent for them if more female youths would get involved and start to rehearse the difficult artistic elements of break dance. The female participation would facilitate the ushering in of new and original aspects in performances aimed at break tournaments – to take place either at local or national and international levels – and enhance their chances in relation to other groups:

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vited to teach break dancing to other girls who frequented the youth center.

Af: …I'd dance with three dudes and they're really very good, they're some of the best around here and, yeah, they're actually the best Am Bm and Cm and yeah.

Cf: And they really insisted that a girl dance and she was the only one, so she said ok.

Af: Yeah, so I practiced with them and they would only say, um, we're gonna have to do something about it, they didn't have a whole lot of patience. In the last three, two days, they started practicing a little and, like, and I was always, like, um, um, um, um, I'd say, like, I'm gonna screw up, I just know it, cause we never practiced the steps as partners all the way, we never got it synchronized and, um, on stage, I got it wrong (laughter).

Cf: But even so they got first place.

Af: Yeah, even so, we were the Berlin champions (laughter). I even had to fight (battlen) against my coach.

Y2: Is that so?

Af: Yeah, and he was in front of me and I go to the middle [of the stage] and, sort of like, they do something and I have to come in and also do something, like battlen and stuff like that, um, I do some steps and he starts to laugh and say good, good (laughter).

Y2: (laughter)

Af: He don't see me as his competition or stuff like that, nor could I be cause he's already strong and, um, he says good, good, that's it Af (laughter).

Bf: It was fun.

Af: Yeah. I even had to do some belly dancing and stuff. They brought in belly dancing…

Ayse's participation was fundamental for the group to win the Berlin break dancing tournament, given that the gig's originality is just as important a criterion as the accuracy of the corporeal performance. However, it is note-worthy that the interest in female participation in the movement is restricted to a background role within the group. Whereas the boys present their acro-batic movements, the girls make their bodies available in order to benefit the image of the group, be it as the group's hostess (Front-Girl), as background stage decoration (Background-Girl), or yet to give the gig an overall air of exoticism, for example, by adding belly-dancing elements. Thus, hip hop cannot be much different from other styles and music groups that often resort to women as dancers or background voices (see Glowania/Heil, 1995).

Although Ayse has had the opportunity to demonstrate not only her skills as an oriental dancer but also as a break dancer, at no point did her participa-tion in the group represent a threat to her male peers. While she describes the "battle" against her coach as a true challenge, he does nothing but praise her efforts, viewing the situation not as a real fight, but rather as an amusing enactment. Furthermore, the scant interest that the boys had in rehearsing unveiled that this performance, prepared for the break dance tournament, did not aim to include women or to create equality: the aim was to overwhelm opponents and increase the chances of winning the title.

After years of struggle for space and acknowledgment of female groups in the hip hop movement, the boys' change in attitude towards the young women, once they had grown out of puberty, has been a major shock to the members of Life Girls:

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Af: … because at a given time they make believe they are your, you know, your protector and then they go, um, you can't do this, you can't do that, you can't do whatever. And when a girl takes that, you know, um, when, for instance, somebody tells me, don't wear miniskirts ok, and when, um, when somebody says, um, cause my brother knows I wear miniskirts, my mother knows, my dad knows and I don't care about the rest of world. And when some guy, any ol' Joe comes up to you and says, look, you can't wear stuff like that, not with me around, not with me in this neighborhood, or something like, um, that's not cool, put on something longer. So I might say, who do you think you are man, get out of my face you monkey. That's exactly what I'd say because, hey, do they actually think they are responsible for this and,ya know what, I grew up in this neighborhood and I, um, I've gone through this lots of times. They were still little kids, and we weren't that small, we were fifteen, sixteen, still kids, no make-up yet, no hair-do, just a pony tail sports pants and training jacket, so we'd go outside and not care a bit about them. But now that I've grown a bit older, that I've grown prettier, that I've become more feminine and that my body has taken a pretty shape, so to speak, and I wear something that is more revealing, or I put make-up on my eyes or on my face, or, um, I do my hair and we draw attention, that really bugs them a lot, you can just tell. So, they, um, forgot, which is the worst thing because just overnight they change into somebody else, react totally different and that can spoil lots of things, um, a friend-ship… that's the way it is, it's something you just can't change.

Bf: Yeah,

Af: They won't accept that you're

Bf: Growing up into an adult.

Af: Growing up into an adult and that you have eyes for other men. And, um, you know men, they know how other men work and maybe that's why they don't wanna accept that, that things might just be. Like, take a look at that girl looking at you or, like, something like goes through.

Bf: Yeah, or when you're dancing, some people say, look, you guys are girls, so why are you dancing like that and yack yack yack, some think it's cool, wow, you dance and like, others will say, you guys are girls, it doesn't suit you, you better give up or stuff, that's what they say.

Af: Yeah, but it's not because they don't like it, but it's because somehow they generalize it in their heads and that's why they say girls shouldn't be dancing, they shouldn't be do-ing this or that. Girls

Bf: Should stay home.

Af: Shouldn't be having gigs that often, shouldn't be exposed (pause). That's absurd (pause). Now that I'm putting it into words, it all comes out in the open.

Bf: Now that's when it all becomes clear now.

Af: Yeah, now it all becomes real clear to me what is actually happening here. It was already clear before, but now that I stop to actually think about it, and, um, that I see the images a little, it really is absurd.

Bf: Yeah, I've been thinking a lot about this, it's always on my mind.

Af: But all of this, everything we've been saying is really true. It's not made up, it's not small town or stuff, it's the way things really are, the way they are in Berlin-XX[16]. It's like that here.

Bf: That's just what it's like in Berlin-XX.

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16   A Berlin district with high concentration of inhabitants of Turkish background.

At a younger age, at a time when there was not much difference in the dress or in the style of dancing, there was a closer bond and greater reciprocity between the members of the both sexes. However, with the onset of puberty and, specifically, with the enhancement of feminine features through attire and/or make-up, the girls would now be seen as a threat to male 'honor' and to the norms which some strive to establish for the neighborhood or district in which they live: "not with me around, not with me in this neighborhood." To Ayse, who grew up in an Alevist family[17], controlling and restricting women's freedom is seen as a negation of living together harmoniously which had until then been possible ("they forgot"), as an inversion of unexplainable conduct: "Just overnight they change into somebody else, react totally different." The change in the boys' behavior is expressed, on the one hand, as a form of jealousy, which cannot bear the fact that the young women of Turkish origin will "have eyes for other men" and, on the other hand, as a consequence of the habitus which they incorporate. Aware of how "other men work," that is, how their own peers would not react otherwise and, at the same time, buttressed by the logic of being in keeping with male 'honor (see Bohnsack/Loos/Przyborsky, 2001), the young men wish to prevent the relationships of the young Turkish women in their neighborhood with other men – whether or not they belong to the same ethnic group – with the purpose of preserving them 'intact' for marriage. Such control and restriction is interpreted as absurd to these women, given that they do not live in a small community or in remote times: "…Now that I'm putting it into words, it all comes out in the open… now it all becomes real clear to me what is actually happening here… it really is absurd… It's not made up, it's not small town… this is … in Berlin-XX."

5 Final Considerations

Our analysis concerning the experience of these Berlin girls of Turkish background and of the São Paulo Negro girls did not so much focus on identifying contrasts and resemblances among the different contexts and social realities as it did on analyzing these youths' reflections concerning their experience with the opposite sex and also the difficulties they face in their struggle for acknowledgement as women in a juvenile cultural environment

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17 Alevism is a religious branch within Islam which emerged in opposition to Sunni-Orthodox Islam. During the Osman Empire, the Alevis suffered harsh persecution and discrimination. During a long time the Alevis were obliged to conceal their identity. In Germany one third of the population of Turkish background is made up of Alevis from the region of Anatolia (there are approximately 40,000 Alevis living in Berlin). To the Alevis, women have the same rights as men and can even assume religious roles (cf. Yonan, 1993: 69-72).

strongly represented by the male and by the preservation of what has been built as male within this universe[18].

In the São Paulo context, there is an anticipation of the prejudices and of the moralization in relation to female behavior, so that the female youths will opt for a strategy that eschews proximity or that forgoes intimacy with peers. Such strategy seems to be in contradiction with the group's stance in the struggle for equality between the sexes in the movement. However, their quotidian experiences as well as the projections for the future (marriage, child-raising), jeopardize any consensus between the discourse and the practice of equality. In turn, with the Berlin youths of Turkish background, it is not the girls who drift away from the boys, rather it is the contrary: with the onset of puberty the collective trajectory is broken violently, and any former harmony is negated for the purpose of keeping with a form of male 'honor' contingent on values brought by immigrants from past generations. Although forgoing relationships poses a problem mainly for the girls, who will now be seen as "watched" or "controlled" by peers of the opposite sex, the consequences of these major restrictions can be observed among the boys, given that they will no longer be able to express warmth and affectivity towards the girls within the same ethnic group[19].

Analyzing certain aspects in the quotidian of the black girls in the São Paulo periphery and of the Berlin girls of Turkish background, we pose the following questions: What is the impact of these experiences in the identity constitution of these youths? In what way has hip hop, or other juvenile manifestations, enabled the traditional mainstream roles to be not only contested but also to be transformed? What spaces have female groups been occupying in the sphere of juvenile cultures? What dialogs have these groups and feminist organizations been establishing?

Posing such questions unveil the need for further studies and reflections on the theme, which has still not received enough attention from researchers despite the achievements of new spaces and the increasing visibility of feminist groups. However, further studies will demand a theoretical basis and the mastery of methodologies that reach beyond a descriptive feature and facilitate the understanding of the identities and the gender relations that are emerging in the sphere of juvenile cultures.

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18 These representations entail a number of elements such as a brash and aggressive voice, corporeal mimicry, attire, the habit of uttering swear words at gigs, among others.

19 This situation leads these young women of Turkish background to establish intimate relations with youths from other ethnic groups.

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Nicolle Pfaff

Social Distinction in Children's Peer Groups: First Results from Brazil and Germany

This paper presents preliminary results from a cross-cultural study on peer group practices of preadolescent pupils in contrasting social and educational settings in Brazil and Germany. Based on a distinction theoretical approach and referring to studies from the field of inequality research, school and youth research, the reconstructive investigation aims at the production of social inequality in peer groups of preadolescent youths. In this first publication, the variety of dimensions of social distinction in children's practices is highlighted, covering as varying fields as social categories of inequality, class or gender, as well as questions of school achievement, adolescent development or taste. In the following, the lack of research into social distinction is demonstrated in line with some possible points of reference in diverse fields of study (1). In a second step, the methodology of the underlying study is presented (2) and, thirdly (3) some first reconstructive results are shown – both with special attention to the cross-cultural character of the investigation. Finally, some conclusive remarks are given on further cross-cultural studies in the field of childhood and youth research on social inequality.

1   How Do We Learn Social Distinction? – A Lack of Research on Inequality

Social inequality has many faces. Beside its visible effects and the underlying social characteristics, such as class, gender or race and ethnicity, to which we refer while discussing current problems of inequality in our society, there is a far less investigated dimension of the constitution of inequality. Distinctive practices in everyday life have been known since Bourdieu (1974, 1982) as behavior that constitutes inequality. However, as Daloz (2007) introduces, many sociologists before Bourdieu, such as Simmel, Elias, Veblen (1994) or Goffman (1951) also drew attention to certain characteristics in the way of living, which is understood today as distinctive or distinguishing behavior. Most newer and current attempts, however, refer to the theoretical analysis by Bourdieu (1984), who describes distinctive patterns and practices as cul-

tural practices of taste related to specific habitus and capital formations. He differentiates three aspects of analysis of phenomena of distinction: the social position of an individual, the cultural value of distinguishing objects, and the construction and reconstruction of the esthetics of distinction itself.

Even if this theoretical conceptualization of distinction serves well for studies on distinctive practices, apart from certain fields, such as studies on elites (see i.e. Verba, 1987; Swaan et al., 2000; Daloz, 2007) and the German tradition of life style research (see i.e. Otte, 2005; Schulze, 2005; Richter, 2006), empirical investigations into phenomena of social distinction remained lacking until the present. The little research there is, therefore concentrates on socioeconomic and cultural-esthetic differences in situations of life and life styles, while other dimensions of the production of inequality, such as gender or ethnicity are faded out (see i.e. Cicourel, 1993).

Especially on the field of childhood and youth not much empirical work has been done to highlight processes of learning and development of distinctive practices (see i.e. Reay, 1995; Goodwin, 2003). From inequality research focusing on educational participation we know that different social groups, all ahead social classes and ethnic groups in many countries are sorted together to somehow homogenous groups by unequal educational possibilities in school systems (see i.e. OECD, 2005; Marks, 2005; Motiram/Nugent, 2007). Other studies in the field of educational science show that schools and other educational institutions themselves take part in the production of attributions concerning class (i.e. Gambetta, 1987; Ball et al., 2002; André, 1997), ethnicity (i.e. Solorzano, 1998; Fergusson, 2000), gender (i.e. Carvalho, 1999; Faulstich-Wieland et al., 2004), but also of school attainment (i.e. Mehan, 1992; Helsper et al., 2001) or deviant behavior (i.e. Fergusson, 2000; Bishop et al., 2004). Furthermore, research on student culture indicates mechanisms in peer culture participating in the production of basic social categories and affiliations on the one (see i.e. Willis, 1977; Helsper, 1989) as well as school outcomes and attainment on the other side (i.e. Damico, 1975; Kinney, 1993; Zschach, 2008). But even if these studies give interesting insights into the interactive and institutional production of social groups, they fail to throw light on the distinctive processes going on in the peer culture of children and youths.

Instead, studies from the field of social psychology investigating the development of social attributions during childhood show that children at such an early age as six, are able to securely attribute a binary categorization of social class (i.e. Leahy, 1981, 1983). In addition, it is known that this ability to categorize people develops further during childhood and early adolescence. In this field, there are some empirical studies on other social characteristics, such as gender (i.e. Kohlberg, 1966; Gelman/Collman/Maccoby, 1986; Carey, 1995) or ethnicity (i.e. Williams/Moreland, 1976; Tajfel, 1981) indicating that children learn to differentiate between biological and social

attributions at a very early age. The peak of stereotypical ideas on gender and race has been measured during basic school and it declines afterwards (see Aboud, 1988; Carey, 1995). Cross-cultural studies, such as an investigation into social attributions of children and youths in the U.S. and India (see Miller, 1984) thereby suggest culture-specific points of reference for the development of systems of attribution, as well as differences in the processes of learning to stereotype. These studies give interesting insights into the development of social attributions and stereotypes, but they do not enlighten practices of social distinction *per se*.

On the contrary, some reconstructive studies on peer cultures of children and youths indicate different modes of peer group construction, such as class, gender, race and ethnicity (i.e. Adler/Adler, 1998; Reay, 1995; Goodwin, 2003). Furthermore, dimensions of consumer culture (i.e. Chrisholm/Pitcairn, 1998; Cook, 2000; Martens/Southerton/Scott, 2004), but also aesthetical attitudes and youth practices, such as style, music preference or clothing (see i.e. Hebdige, 1979; Holert/Terkessidis, 1996; Pereira, 2007) seem to serve as patterns of peer culture construction.

2 Methodical Background

The empirical basis of the analysis presented in this paper originates from two reconstructive studies in Germany and Brazil which are based on the same methods of data collection and connected by a similar object. The German material, on the one hand, is taken from the study 'Peer groups and school related selection'[1], which is carried out as a longitudinal qualitative investigation on the importance of peer groups in and outside of school on school achievement and careers during childhood and youth (see Krüger et al., 2008a, 2008b). The data used for the present analysis is drawn from the first of three waves of data collection in this investigation, carried out during winter 2006/2007. The Brazilian data has been collected in a project on 'Doing gender in peer groups', carried out by the author in winter 2007/2008[2].

Both studies apply a recent approach in childhood research; children are seen as active individuals who participate in the construction of their social environment, and a special importance of the social world of peer groups is suggested (Younniss/Smollar, 1985; Corsaro/Eder, 1990). Furthermore, both studies use the same complex setting of methods of data collection based on

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1 The study is financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG), led by Heinz-Hermann Krüger and conducted at the Centre of Education and School Research at the Martin-Luther-University of Halle-Wittenberg.

2 Based on a research stay at University of Brasilia financed by a research scholarship of the German Research Foundation (DFG).

a preliminary quantitative study with 200 students at five schools of different poles of the German school system[3] and 100 students at two contrasting schools in the Brazilian school system, narrative interviews with about 60 German and 16 Brazilian children, as well as ethnographic field work and group discussions with ten children and their peer groups in Germany and eight peer groups in Brazil from different social backgrounds (for further methodological detail see Krüger/Pfaff, 2008). As overall strategy of data interpretation within these two research projects on children's peer groups the documentary method is implemented, which aims at decoding frames of collective orientations based on common experiences of people within a certain social context (see Bohnsack, 2003; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/ Nohl, 2001).

Concerning the topic of the presented study, documentary reconstructions serve to enlighten the basic structure and frames of orientations related to processes of peer group building and distinctive practices towards other peer and social groups. Therefore, the diverse material, such as interviews, group discussions and ethnographic field work, is used to focus on different aspects of the phenomenon of social distinction: While the documentary interpretation of interviews (see Nohl in this volume) can serve to indicate the importance of the social position of the family and the specific habitus of social distinction transferred by the parent generation, group discussions are used to understand and describe the interactive construction of processes of distinction within a local peer culture and beyond. Ethnographic field work might attract attention to certain forms of distinction based on observed behavior in the investigated peer groups.

For the presented analysis, mainly data from group discussions has been transcribed and systematized along different discriminable practices of distinction. The data material included has been traced to a detailed documentary interpretation and is mainly supposed to indicate the broad variety and diversity of practices of distinction in different social settings. Hence, social as well as cross-cultural comparisons remain limited in this first analysis. This limitation includes the last steps of the formation of types in the documentary interpretation. The following analysis is a first attempt to construct a sense-genetic typology of processes of social distinction in the stage of pre-adolescence in two different cultural settings. A sociogenetic comparison of the various social and cultural contexts will not be made yet.

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[3]   For detailed description of the German school system see i.e. Marsh, Köller, and Baumert (2001). Our investigation took place in grade 5, when the children were already separated in different courses of education. Thus, the data collection included a high qualifying grammar school (*Gymnasium*), a compulsory school including and integrating all different courses of education (Gesamtschule), a secondary modern school (Realschule), and a low educating school (Hauptschule). To avoid unnecessary simplifications the following pre-sentation uses the German terms.

3 Fields and Practices of Social Distinction in Childhood: First Results

Even if there is a lack of studies analyzing practices of social distinction among children and youths and related learning processes, some investigations give helpful insights into certain dimensions of distinction, such as gender and sex (i.e. Thorne, 1993), class (i.e. Adler/Adler, 1998; Chassé/Rahn, 2005; Elliot et al., 2006), race and ethnicity (i.e. Daoud/Quiocho, 2005), adolescent development (i.e. Wagner-Willi, 2005) among others. In the following analysis a first systematization of dimensions of peer distinction is carried out and some first insights into their social conditions are given. Therefore, we begin here with the most investigated social categories of inequality gender, class and race.

3.1 Gender and Sex

Especially on the field of gender and sex various reconstructive (i.e. Thorne/Luria, 1986; Maccoby, 1990; Thorne, 1993; Breidenstein/Kelle, 1998), but also cross-cultural quantitative studies (i.e. Harkness/Super, 1985; Chen et al., 1992; Killen et al., 2002) have been carried out in the investigated age group of preadolescence to underline the universal existence of the so-called 'two world approach', which states the separation of boys and girls at nine to twelve years of age. Different investigations have also been carried out regarding the development of gender roles and stereotypes on sexuality which lead to processes of exclusion and stigmatization in preadolescent and adolescent peer groups (Hill/Lynch, 1983; Plummer, 2001).

However, the age-related importance of these two aspects of social distinction within peer groups is very obvious in diverse empirical materials of the present investigation. The vast majority of the investigated groups in the research processes organized by the children themselves were of gender homogenous composition. During the group discussions, the teenagers express their understanding of friendship and spare time activities, school, and without being questioned, images of their own and the opposite sex (see also Pfaff/Zitzke/Zschach, 2008). Predominantly, children often reflected the phenomenon of gender separation in their discussions, whereas, in most cases, the same sex affiliation is seen as a natural behavior, as some German boys state:

"Well, I mean only to stick to the point for example that only boys with boys and girls with girls, that's just by nature" [Tim[4] and friend, 11 years old, *Gymnasium*, Germany][5].

Two male Brazilian friends give a very similar description:

Am: Because nowadays the schools are more separated into small groups. There are the most elegant and futile girls, there are the girls who are not that futile, there are the popular boys, who have most friends.
Bm: ☺ we also have a group ☺ [...]
Am: of annoying and ugly girls   [Mateo and friend, 12 years old, private school, Brazil]

The friends describe the organization of peer culture within schools as gender separated groups with certain characteristics. Furthermore, these characteristics are related to traditional gender roles where girls are sorted concerning their beauty and futility. In addition to gender-related dimensions of distinction, the discourse of Mateo and his friend associate aesthetical and character-related aspects to the categories of boys and girls. This relation draws attention to the intersection of dimensions of social distinction which we will find in many examples of distinctive behavior and discourse of preadolescents.

As documented by the quoted segments of group discussions, gender separation in both cultural contexts during preadolescence is seen as the normal form of social organization of peer culture.

As stated by studies in the field, deviations of gender separation in most cases lead to exclusion of children from peer groups or represent, if tolerated, a high social status of a certain child (Thorne, 1993; Oswald, 1995). At the same time, violations of gender-related peer homogeneity are used by children to legitimate exclusions of peers from common play. This is usually also true for gender-untypical behavior (Eder, 1995; Renold, 2004, 2005). For instance, in a group discussion with 10 to 14 year-old German girls from different migratory backgrounds the non-feminine behavior of a peer is criticized:

Jw: actually she's really nice but she is (.) well (.) she doesn't behave like a girl [...] when we met them on the way to the funfair we just ran into her [...] then she went to her father and did (.) well I don't know (.) welcome him like an old man like she slapped him on the back and said hello.
all: [laughing]   [Aylin and friends, 10 to 13 years old, *Hauptschule*, Germany]

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4   For detailed information on the German children see the biographical and group portraits in Krüger et al. 2008.

5   The citation of segments of the discourses uses capital letters for the identification of speakers and small letters for the characterization of their sex. Breaks are cited in seconds in brackets, indentations signify overlaps of speakers and a smiley ☺ shows that something is said laughing. Unintelligible or hardly intelligible words are written in brackets and the symbol [...] marks cuts of the citated part of the discssion (for detailled description of the German children and their groups see Krüger et al. 2008). Own translation of the German and Brazilian citations.

This behavior does not lead to the girl's exclusion but provokes the girls to make fun of her which appears to be a kind of deprecation. Especially in the Muslim migratory community the relation between father and daughter is scrutinized rigidly by the girls.

This is very different in the case of a German upper class girl group where the untypical behavior of one girl contributes to assert her high social status within the group.

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Yw: What differentiates you from other groups?
Tw: we are simply the coolest gang of the world (.) the wild chicks
Va:                                              ⌊☺ 2 ☺
Fw:                                    ⌊ we have Theo in the group
Nw:                                             ⌊ yes indeed
Tw: Well, I'm a unique girl.
Ow:                     ⌊well you have (              )
Fw:                               ⌊ exactly Theo has
Nw:                                     ⌊exactly you are no girl and no boy
Tw: ey! (throws a key at Nadja)
Nw: But it's true in some regards (.) as good as you play football
                    [Nadja and friends, 10 to 11 years old, *Gymnasium*, Germany]
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Differences like these can also be found in groups of boys from different social backgrounds as well as in Brazilian peer groups (i.e. Pfaff, 2010). Social distinction in those cases goes along a certain behavior in a special cultural, social, as well as gender-related context.

3.2 Class

Most theoretical concepts of distinction as well as scientific investigations of distinctive practices exclusively relate these phenomena to the dimension of social class (critically i.e. Reay, 1995; Cicourel, 1993; Reinders/Mangold/ Greb, 2005). Thus, distinction is seen as a phenomenon to construct, present and reproduce differences between members of different social milieus (Bourdieu, 1982, p.62). In the context of youth and school research, various studies refer to a high social homogeneity of preadolescent peer groups and networks of friendship (Hallinan, 1980; Eckert, 1989; Adler/Adler, 1998; Elliot et al., 2006). On the one hand, this is related to the social exclusiveness of certain schools and types of schools. In the present sample the high diffe-rentiation of the German and the separation of social classes in public and private schools in the Brazilian school system leads to a vast homogeneity of the investigated groups of pupils. Two examples from two groups of girls from Brazil and Germany show how children from upper class families and elitist schools describe social differences:

Y: Do you have friends in public schools too?
Af: yes we do [...] in the house ((   )) In the house are many children and all go to public schools.
Y: mhm.
Bf: I don't know anyone
Dm: I know kids from public schools ((   ))
Cf: I know one boy, but he left the public school you know now he goes to a private school too
Bf: I don't know anyone from a public school
Af: I know someone
Dm: I know some in my house [...] because my mom is a teacher and she teaches at a public school. Once I was there with her and knew them just as I became a friend of them. You know when I get to know someone I easily become friends
Bf: I don't   [Sarinha & friends, 534-558, private school, Brazil]

As this extract from peer discourse shows, for children from a Brazilian private school it is not very common to have friends who attend public schools. Only Sarinha (Af) who herself comes from a middle-class family admits to having friends in the residential building she lives in – all of them attend public schools. After her statement, the way of dealing with this topic changes, as the children only talk about knowing people from public schools and not about having friends anymore. Thereby, even to know children from public schools needs to be legitimated, as in the case of one girl (Cf), who explains that her friend already changed to a private school and one speaker (Dm) who finally devalues friendship to legitimate his contacts to the children at the public school where his mother works.

A similar tendency of stigmatization of contact to pupils from less elitist schools can be found in a German girl group, who describe themselves in contrast to pupils of a public school in a socially deprived district of their city:

Tw: lets take the Reudnitzers as the ultimate opposite. actually, the Reudnitzers are stupid (.)
Al: └ ☺ 2 ☺
Nw: └ stupid isn't the word for it [...]
Tw: well, all our parents work. [in direction of Pw] do your parents work? yes your parents work, too.
Fw: actually my parents have attended college and university.
Ow: └mine as well.
Tw: └Absolutely,   my parents studied as well
Fw: └yours as well? [in direction of Pw]
Ow: └my father studied languages
Pw: └my parents didn't study
Tw: └your parents didn't study?
Pw: └they haven't attended high school
Tw: └I see they don't have A-level   [Nadja and friends, 1-100, Gymnasium, Gemany]

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In the girls' discourse, the children from a public basic school (*Hauptschule*) in a deprived district of the city are understood as "*stupid*" and, therefore, intellectually inferior to them. The reason and legitimation for this construction, however, is not the school and the achievement of the stigmatized children themselves, but the educational and career achievements of their parents. Because they attend a school in an urban area where unemployment is high, the girls in this group understand the other pupils implicitly as children from uneducated and unemployed parents. The social distinction in this group thus reaches into the group itself, as one girl, who is not so familiar with the others yet, needs to legitimate her parents who did not attend high school and university.

These two examples from group discussions in Brazil and Germany render obvious that children use diverse indicators and characteristics to measure and construct social class and to distinguish themselves from others, such as school type, education, parents' education and job status, or city district. At the same time, the importance of social distinction to identify oneself becomes obvious.

Further analysis in this field can unfold different practices and mechanisms of distinction and of addressing and identifying the issue of social class in different cultural as well as social settings.

3.3 Race and Ethnicity

Empirical studies on racial or ethnical distinction during childhood and youth mainly have been carried out in the field of social psychology and research on social identity (i.e. Tajfel, 1982; Phinney/Cantu/Kurtz, 1997; Roberts, 1999). They show, for instance, that even small children are able to identify people of their own and different race and ethnicity and that this behavior is mainly based on emotional and valuing aspects of attribution (i.e. Tajfel, 1981). Other studies investigate the development of social and cultural identity of adolescents from minority groups, such as Turks in Germany (i.e. Brüß, 2000; Merkens/Wessels, 2003) and highlight the importance of distinctive practices for the development of self-esteem and cultural identification in both, minority and majority groups.

More recent investigations draw attention to the intersection of the social categories of gender, class and race, and state the varying importance of these dimensions of social classification for the organization of peer culture (i.e. Adler/Adler, 1998; Goodwin, 2003), for relations of recognition within peer groups, but also for depreciative behavior among peers (i.e. Reay, 1995).

In the present study and its rich empirical material, distinctions related to race and ethnicity are relatively rare at first sight. Particularly, in the Brazilian group discussions, the children barely pronounce racial differentiations,

preconceptions or racist behavior as a subject of their discourse. Only in some narrative interviews stories like the following are told:

"The boys don't like being with me. This is because they are very prejudiced with the race of people. There was a mulatto boy he lived there by the school, my friend, he was the only friend I had in this grade [Y: mhm] and the boys called him a 'Cuban cigar' because he was mulatto [...] And he liked to play football, we played with him. He never cheated on me, never cheated on me, and also he was my only friend until he finally left the school. Up to now they still call him a Cuban cigar."

[Interview William, 373-382, 11 years old, public school, Brazil]

Interestingly, as in this case, most expressions of prejudiced or racist behavior, the Brazilian children in my sample do not relate to their own experience but to things that happened to friends or class mates. William, whose own parents come from different ethnic backgrounds (Afro- and Indio-Brazilian) describes the discriminating practices of his class mates, how they happened to his friend. In the introduction to this story, he names the race-related preconceptions of the other boys in his class as reason for his loneliness. His only friend had the same racial background as he himself, but finally left school after experiencing racial discrimination. However, the discrimination does not aim at certain minorities as racial groups but targeted the racial mix, which in fact, is the majority of the Brazilian population. Belonging to a certain race seems to be related to a certain identity, while this seems not to be the case for being part of the mixed majority.

In the German sample, only the children with migratory background talk about experiencing ethnic discrimination, as Aylin and her friends tell in the group discussion:

Aw: Or eh, for instance, the eh there are these foreign groups here and for example me and the other girls we are all foreigners and there are these Germans coming to annoy us
Dw: Or for example there are situations we address them because they annoy us all the time and bother us ((   ))
Sw: Or ehm there are some eh, for example which annoy us and say well you have different color of skin (.) I don't like that (10)

[Aylin and friends, 11-13 years old, *Hauptschule*, Germany]

Even if the discourse on this subject among the girls remains very general and no specific experience is mentioned, it is obvious that the type of discrimination concerning race is the same as related by the Brazilian boy. Skin color for the children works as a criterion to distinguish within peer culture, to make friends, or to exclude. But in contrast to William's story, Aylin and her friends relate discriminative behavior directed at themselves, even if they have no specific experience to tell.

The perspective of the discriminating German majority can be found in the group discussion of Chantal and her school friends:

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Dw: [swallows] ah well (.) and (Sehnaz, Tugba, Büsra, Özlem) (Öz-)
Cw: well the Turks
Dw: hello, I'm talking
Cw: the Turks are so
Dw: Özlem is- (.) Özlem is ok, though
Cw: ☺[laughs]☺
Dw: Özlem is really ok. really, Özlem is ok
Ew: yes
Cw: yes Özle- and Büsra too
Dw: no
Cw: yes
Dw: no , the shoes she wears
Cw: yes […]
Ew: well and all annoy ehm Sehnaz also because she wea- ehm has a headscarf
Dw: and there says (.) the others always say I (.) I also want to wear a (kepi)
Cw: ☺[laughs]☺ but this
I: hm-hm
Cw: now is not anymore. it only was when she wore it, when she started to wear it […]
Ew: °but its its normal that when she wears the headscarf°
Ew: °but if she would sit in front of me or like that it would disturb me too but° […]
Ew: yes she is sitting very far in the back now
         [Chantal & school-friends, 10-11 years old, comprehensive school, Germany]

While talking about other groups of children, within their turn one girl finally comes to tell about some girls with Turkish migratory background, whom she names individually first. As the discourse shows, the migrant girls are basically understood through their cultural identity and depreciated as such because of their style and cultural habits. Individual girls of this group who are recognized by the German girls have to be identified separately and are not accepted without doubt by the group. Ethnical discrimination here appears to be based on stylistic differences and distinctions but is identified and named in the manner of cultural and migratory background of the group discriminated against.

3.4 Generation

Aesthetic dimensions of distinctive behavior in children and youth contexts are also of certain importance concerning the distinction of generations. Related to this, not much research has been done up to the present, except for the very broad tradition of reconstructive work on youth cultural styles. As already stated by Parsons (1964), youth culture is created by young people in distinction to adult society related to aesthetic and value matters. Diverse mainly ethnographic (i.e. Trasher, 1927; Willis, 1977), but also other reconstructive studies (i.e. Helsper, 1989; Bohnsack et al., 1995) as well as some investigations in the field of political science (i.e. Inglehart, 1997) represent those differences (for summary cf. Pfaff, 2010).

From the perspective of developmental psychology as well as socialization theory, the distinction between children and adults can be seen as an early indicator and step towards the entry into the life span of adolescence (i.e. Fend, 2000). Thereby the peer-group disburdens the family from being the one central agent of socialization (i.e. Zinnecker, 2000), identity building is more based on relations to friends of the same age group than on those with parents and teachers (i.e. Corsaro/Eder, 1990).

Thus, according to expectations, we do indeed find strong evidence for first practices of distinction towards the children's own parents, as well as towards teachers in the children's discussions in both cultural and most social contexts.

Concerning the separation from parents, two central elements can be found in the empirical material. Firstly, as Chantal and her friends state in the following, children do not want to share activities within the peer group with parents anymore:

Dw: well and one time we met in the city, only her, me and Lisa-Marie, because   Anna could not come, and there she had we first went to the city
Cw: with her mother
Dw: [annoyed] with her mother
Cw: ye-es
Dw: and then
Cw: ⌊well (.) first they went to the dentist
Dw: well and then we all wanted to enter with her, and she the mother said no no only Lisa and then we had to wait there […]
Cw: eh but the mother well we both felt stupid that her mother came, because we wanted to meet Lisa alone, I don't want to insult her but she tells her mother everything, this is ok but
Dw: everything

       [Chantal and school friends, 10-11 years old, comprehensive school, Germany]

Peer activities, as documented in this quotation from the girl group, are supposed to be kept separate from activities with parents. The children reject an influence of Lisa-Marie's mother on their spare time activities. At the same time, the experience with her and her mother leads to the exclusion of the friend, who is criticized for having too close a relationship with her mother in the following.

A second dimension of the beginning distinction of preadolescents from their parents can be seen in this segment of the discussion of Isabela and Luana:

Bf: what we do? God, how many times did we go out of the house like, without permission
Af: ok. No, not me
Bf: at school.
Af: no, I will not go to school either but my mother knows.
Bf: your mother knows, for sure.

       [Isabela and Luana, 12 years old, 97-104, public school, Brazil]

The girls, who normally need parental permission to leave the house, test their growing autonomy while going out without asking their mothers' consent. In their discourse, they make fun of their mothers' lack of knowledge, which is also related to their habit of absenting themselves from school. This latter practice does not only undermine their parents' authority, but also their teachers', who are a second group of adults, preadolescents start to set themselves apart from. Two examples from different educational and social settings in Brazil may demonstrate milieu-related differences in the children's differentiation from their teachers:

Af: The science teacher, my God! She's so annoying
Bf: when she comes and someone is on his feet still she writes down his name. well Paula I don't know
Ef: no, but the name = her voice is nerve-racking this Barbara, is she Barbara?
Af: ((   )) her arms are really strange
Bf: I hate this teacher ((   )) she only screams, she doesn't know how to talk to anyone
Af: she only knows how to make point deductions::: for us
<div align="right">[Marietta and friends, 235-242, 11-12 years old, public school, Brazil]</div>

In their talk about the science teacher, the girls depreciate the teacher in two ways. On the one hand, they describe her as draconian, when they complain about notes for misbehavior and point deductions. On the other hand, the girls devalue physical aspects of the teacher, such as a "*nerve-racking*" voice or "*strange*" arms. Interestingly, the same mode of devaluing distinction can be found with pupils from secondary schools with lower final qualification (Hauptschule) in Germany (see Zschach 2008 for detailed reconstructions). For instance René and his friend state in a group discussion: *„Smith the Crone the ugly she overacts [Rm: she has such such such a hooting laugh] yes (2) and she is always wearing the same (clothes)" (GD: René, 209-213).* This quote contains the same two dimensions of being draconian on the one and being physically exceptional on the other hand.

A very different way of distinction from teachers, however, can be found in the investigated higher qualifying milieus. Two boys from a Brazilian private school describe their "*most annoying*" teacher as follows:

Bm: the most annoying? That's the science teacher. [...] she is very demanding.
Am: like, she demands very much from us, you understand? But she doesn't answer questions we have when she writes on the black board
<div align="right">[Mateo and Oscar, 12 years old, private school, Brazil]</div>

The distinguishing criticism of these children does not relate to the person of the teacher or to her strictness, but concerns her ability as a teacher to impart knowledge. The boys complain that the science teacher does not answer their subject-related questions which implies criticism on her ability to explain the subject matter. Similar to the personal mode of distinction in the low-qualifying schools the education-related mode of criticism in higher-qualifying schools has also been addressed by German pupils. For instance

Nadja and her friends [262, secondary school, Germany] state: "*we should demand Mrs. F. give better lessons*".

As distinction from the adult generation, personified i.e. by parents and teachers, seems to be an important step in preadolescence in both investigated cultures, also certain modes and practices of distinction concerning generational differences exist independent of culture-related differences in family relations and school organization and climate.

3.5 Further Dimensions of Distinction: Development, Taste and Achievement

Gender, class, race/ethnicity and generation can be understood as basic social categories to identify and structure society, and they are associated with distinction since they are used to explain relations of inequality. However, more recent reconstructive work on childhood and youth suggests that further dimensions exist that preadolescents resort to for distinguishing within their peer culture and beyond. Another three aspects obvious in the German as well as in the Brazilian material, are outlined briefly in the following: *personal development on the way to adolescence* as an age related dimension, *taste* as an aesthetic dimension of personal style, which gains certain importance in the context of youth culture and, last but not least, *school achievement* as a specific aspect which has very different meanings in diverse social contexts.

3.5.1 Distinction via Development

Studies on peer organization and group constitution during childhood suggest, that individual development towards adolescence, shown by indicators, such as physical advancement in development, style or morale and behavioral autonomy, must be understood as important aspects of the distribution of sympathy and friendship (i.e. Tajfel, 1981; Adler/Kless/Adler, 1992, Wagner-Willi, 2005). Thereby the research perspective is just as diverse as the phenomenon itself: while social psychology asks for indicators for group constitution and stigmatization (i.e. Tajfel, 1981; Brüß, 2000), more recent ethnographic child research deals with aspects of peer life, such as popularity (i.e. Adler/Kless/Adler, 1992; Adler/Adler, 1998) or peer rituals and school yard practices (i.e. Wagner-Willi, 2005).

Personal development in its various facets can be found in the material of the present study in different contexts and seems to occur mostly in connection with further aspects of social distinction. The following part of a discussion in a girl group for example indicates how adolescent development is used as an indicator related to gender separation and to the deprecation of members of the other sex:

Yw: And with boys you don't really want to deal with them
Mw: └ Nooo ☺
Bw: No, not necessarily, ☺ about the boys in our class we just laugh ☺
Mw: they only played football the whole time nothing else (.) yesterday at the bonfire lit
     for Easter they just played football with small kids.
Bw: No this was no small child this was Fritz ☺ (3)
Mw: ☺ 3 ☺ he is ☺ he is just as big (.) he is just as tall and is in the fourth grade
Bw: └ Well I thought who I thought who is this?
Mw: └ Well I thought this as
     well the whole time
Bw: and then hey, this might be Fritz

[Melanie and friend, 11 years old, *Gymnasium*, Germany]

Melanie and her friends confirm the interviewer's suggestive question, which must be seen as a reaction to the girls' discourse, in which boys as playmates up to this point of the discussion are ignored. Here, the girls use two arguments for their distance from boys: on the one hand, boys serve more as topic of conversation and for jokes than as interaction partners. On the other hand, the girls insist on differences in leisure practices (Thorne, 1993) which make interaction impossible. If boys "*only play football the whole time*" they are not considered as playmates. This attribution is associated with the diagnosis of a developmental lag of boys (see also Adler/Kess/Adler, 1992). The example of Fritz, a boy from fourth grade they could not identify at first, is used to make fun of someone – here the girls demonstrate their practice of ridiculing boys. Gender-related distinction here is legitimated and carried out through diagnosing a developmental lag in one of the boys.

Another example relates adolescent development to generation as the Brazilian girls in their debate reflect their parents' concepts of their own physical and moral development:

Gf: my dad said that I can only have a boyfriend once I am sixteen.
Af: my sister asked to be allowed to have one when she was fourteen and my dad said that
     she is only allowed once she turned fifteen. She said that it is bad to have to wait for so
     long. But she as well he will talk that she's not hiding that she stays with the boy be-
     cause he is very good-looking [...]
Ef; then well, my dad well, it's I think, well [...] well, my dad he does not stay with me
     because I live in one house and he lives in another, my dad lives in South R. and I live
     in North R., you understand [..]. Well, he says he will kill the good boy, without bene-
     fit.
?f: ☺2☺ [...]
Gf: I think it's like that, my parents think well I have to protect my daughter have to pro-
     tect her, but they have to know that one day we will grow up and they will not be able
     to keep their protection and we have to go out in the world and they have to let us go.
Af: well but for a mom and a dad we never grow up.

[Maria-Clara & friends, 11 to 12 years old, public school, Brazil]

While talking about their relations to boys and having a boyfriend, the girls comment on their parents' limitations of their autonomy concerning romantic relations. The story about the older sister as well as the last expressions show huge differences in parental and self-perceptions of the own stage of development. Especially the fathers' fears and attempts to protect them from too early a romantic relation must be understood as a common experience which is made fun of in the girls' group. As the final general comments indicate, however, no common orientation frame exists in this group concerning the acceptance of the parental protection versus distinction against parental influence in interpersonal relations.

Not in physical regards but in relation to intellectual development, the German girls around Nadja practice distinction from families and children from contrasting social classes:

Cw: But sometimes, some people stop short in front of us and the best is, the children they sometimes look at me awkwardly and ask what songs that are. although everybody knows them like ,A Mighty Fortress' or something like this.
Aw: ⌊ not everybody some kids just watch TV.
Cw: ⌊ But don't they play it there as well?
Aw: ⌊ Well ehm you know Leo yes and Leo's mother is language-thingamy therapist?
Cw   ⌊ yes.
Aw: and she has children who only watch TV all day and therefore can not speak
Bw: what?
Aw: ⌊ yes! (1)
                    [Nadja & friends 2, 150-162, 10 to 12 years old, *Gymnasium*, Germany]

These girls, who learn to play string instruments together in a Christian context, during the Christmas Season present their accomplishments at the local market place. Thus, Christmas carols are part of their cultural capital and they cannot imagine children growing up without this knowledge. At the same time, they share the experience of children, who until they listen to their performance have never heard certain songs. Their theory about this lag in cognitive development is quite simple, because it associates social class as well as education with certain spare time activities: being culturally or intellectually uneducated for them is based in a leisure time limited to watching TV contrasting to their own education- and culture-oriented hobbies.

Summarizing this brief outlook on practices of distinction related to concepts of development, it can be seen that they are often connected to further dimensions of social distinction. Others, such as the perception of developmental advance in ethnic minorities or majorities addressed by the girls or the attribution of a cognitive lag to boys in their class in relation to their school achievement could be added.

3.5.2 Distinction via Taste and Beauty

The same intersection can be found for aesthetic forms of social distinction, as it is very important for the existence of youth cultural styles for any given generation to develop their own styles. This type of distinction has been investigated first with standardized cross-sectional studies on youth leisure activities and life styles (i.e. Zinnecker, 1987; Fritzsche, 1997), and later in reconstructive studies comparing different youth cultures (i.e. Fornäs, 1995; Holert/Terkessidis, 1996). Hebdige (1979) was the first to show how young people use and re-interpret social symbols for collages and thus construct new and provocative semantics within their social contexts. More recent studies, however, investigate processes of distinction within certain youth cultures among certain traditions or styles (i.e. Hitzler/Pfadenhauer, 1998; Schmidt/Neumann-Braun, 2004; Calmbach, 2007).

In preadolescence, however, youth cultural styling is not yet very common. Nevertheless, the investigated groups use patterns of style and taste for a demarcation from their peers or other people. Actually, most groups address the dimension of aesthetics when asked for their relationships with their peers. This can be seen, for example, in the statement of a group of German carnival dancers about another dance group:

```
Mw:     F-City, well they have yes actually around our age
Mw:                        └ small oh well
Dw:     but they don't do nice dances
Mw:     they also don't have nice costumes
Sw:                            └ he here
Dw:                                └ they also don't have a nice hairstyle
Sw:     ☺and there is a gay who is part of the group☺
All:    ☺ (5)☺
```
[Chantal and her dancing group, 18-25, 10 to 16 years old, various schools, Germany]

In the institutionalized context of carnival dancing groups the patterns of taste and beauty are fix. In their debate, the girls start with the search for a comparable group with regard to the participants' age and later on, evaluate certain aspects of their dancing from a general evaluation to concrete aspects, such as costumes and hairstyle. Finally, the participation of a boy in the girls-dominated sphere of carnival dancing groups is addressed in the same breath but in another way than concerning the aspects of taste and beauty: it is treated with irony by calling the boy gay on the one and responded by long laughter by the others on the other hand. Next to aspects of beauty, those of achievement (no nice dances) and doing gender (gay) are used by this group of girls to practice distinction from other dancing groups in the same field.
In contrast, another example from the school group of Aylin shows how taste and beauty are used to stigmatize children and to legitimate violence on the one hand and to judge in relation to gender-roles and gender-related behavior on the other:

Aw: I don't like it when one says well he doesn't look good, I go and insult him or I beat him up briefly (.) this is fun for me, he doesn't have power anyway, ehm I demonstrate my power and eh [breathes] (let) everything out. I really hate this too

Sw: or eh eh a girl from the 6th grade she wears very short dresses and then she always goes to the boys and throws herself at them very crudely even though they are together with other girls, actually I don't like this too because they could be from her class

[Aylin and friends, 54-60, 10 to 14 years old, *Hauptschule*, Germany]

In this part of the discussion Aylin and her friends talk about the unfairness of some other pupils and of school life in general and therefore practice distinction against the stigmatization of individuals with reference to style and beauty. At the same time, the next expression demonstrates this form of social distinction within peer culture very clearly. Based on the observation of the clothing style of a girl from the 6th grade the girls associate unfair behavior related to romantic relations and judge the girl.

Finally, a part of the discussion of Maria-Clara and her friends indicates the general importance of beauty and taste:

Y: And what is this about beauty?
Bf: ah
Gf: ah beauty is everything
Af: yes that's everything
Gf: one has to use make-up I already asked my mom my mom already bought, one has eye shadow
Af: I have make-up, I have lip gloss, I have lipstick (( ))
Bf: one has to, surely
Ef: Samira does=all the girls surround Gabriela to ask for her lip gloss
Gf: all the girls have make-up, have lip gloss, to make its its like when we have we are ready and beautiful
Ef: eye shadow, the lip gloss is very =oh for me the mouth has to be the most important for me it's the mouth
Af: this lip gloss is a sensation.
Gf: the mouth has to be the most important for me.?
Bf: yes the mouth principally
Gf: the mouth and the eyes need most make-up (( ))
Ef: my dad doesn't let me use make-up
Af: my dad doesn't like it either.

[Maria-Clara and friends, 476-495, 11 to 12 years old, public school, Brazil]

In this part of the discussion, a strong orientation towards female beauty and the use of make-up can be found in this group of girls. Even if the general statement that "beauty is everything" remains very general and no reasons are given, the following discourse with participation of all group members indicates a certain perception of beauty. Being beautiful for these girls is strongly connected to the use of beauty products and therefore related to somewhat traditional female gender roles. This orientation must be understood as a basis of processes of distinction from other girls, and, as the last

expressions in this segment show, also from parents insofar as they criticize the girls' attempts to put on make-up to be more beautiful.

Anyway, the present examples show that the dimension of aesthetics with aspects such as beauty and taste, is again related to other categories of social distinction such as gender or generation.

3.5.3 Distinction via Achievement

Since most studies on peer culture have been carried out in the social context of schools, it is particularly the matter of school achievement in relation to peer groups which has often been the topic of investigations. Concerning patterns and practices of distinction some important results can be captured (see summarizing Zschach, 2008): Firstly, studies from the 1970s described peer norms concerning school achievement as varying between school-oriented and school-depreciative and stated an significant influence of those clique values on the school outcomes of the members of a group (i.e. Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970; Bradley, 1979). Secondly, various studies deal with the popularity and strategies of behavior of successful pupils within the peer group (i.e. Juvonen/Murdock, 1995; Pelkner/Boehnke, 2003; Breidenstein/Meyer, 2004). According to them, good pupils try to present their high achievement as a result of their natural talents in order to avoid the impeachment of being a nerd. Therefore the way to deal with good results varies in different cultures. Thirdly, based on the present German material, Maren Zschach (2008) indicates different ways of communication about school-related results within peer groups: one is to talk more about the achievement of others and avoid the topic of one's own results, another is the leveling of differences in the general achievement and a third is to taboo results entirely. Especially the first strategy seems to be important for the present investigation.

In contrast to school-related patterns, other forms of achievement, such as in sports or leisure time activities, are only rarely investigated. Nevertheless they are of certain importance in many groups, for such who establish school-depreciative values on the one hand and for special institutionalized groups, such as sport teams or musical groups on the other.

Both types of distinction via achievement, school and leisure-related ones, can be found in the diverse material from group discussions with German and Brazilian preadolescents, but for the present paper we want to fade out leisure-related aspects. As an example for school-related distinction René and his friend distinguish themselves from the good pupils who, from the 5th grade on in a highly differentiated German school system went to a high qualifying school:

„two girls from our old turn they have been real […] crawlers. and now they go to the Gymnasium, they always got good results just because they crawled"

<div align="right">[René and friend, 24-27, 11 and 13 years, Hauptschule, Germany]</div>

The boys do not respect the former class mates' good results at school as a matter of learning achievement, but as a wrongful preference by the teachers who have been taken in by the girls' polite behavior. In their perspective, it is not personal achievement but pupil-teacher-relations which is decisive for school careers. This point of view prevents the boys from recognizing their own low achievement.

That the comparison of school achievements within the turn is important for the pupil is indicated by two expressions by Mateo and his friend Arthur:

"well, we like to know, we are curious, we like to know the results of the others but only when they choose to tell they tell, if they don't want to they don't tell"

<div align="right">[Mateo and Oscar, 596-598, 12 years old, private school, Brazil]</div>

"there was a boy there who only got good results, so as for being his friend you had to have good results as well, because he thought like, ah, if you have bad results this will have a bad influence, I will not be able to play with you because you will make me get bad marks as well."

<div align="right">[Mateo and Oscar, 649-652, 12 years old, private school, Brazil]</div>

In the first expression, one of the boys reflects the general curiosity of the pupils within the turn to compare results and outcomes. Everybody wants to know the results of the others. But at the same time he stresses that the exposure of one's own marks is optional, i.e., that who does not want to share, can keep his results secret. With this description, the boys create the impression of a relatively open atmosphere without a peer-related pressure to get higher grades at their school. In contrast to this, Mateo later tells the second story to give an impression of the situation at another more expensive school with a high reputation which he went to first. He thereby expresses the general fear of a decrease in achievement because of certain peer relations. In this point of view, the peer group appears to be a risk factor in terms of school success.

4   Final Remarks: Cross-Cultural Reconstructive Research on Patterns of Distinction

There is a lack of studies on practices of distinction in the field of research on social inequality. The way to construct inequality in daily interactions and social situations up to the present is only rarely investigated. Above all, the variety of dimensions and aspects of distinction have been ignored by a research tradition which mainly focuses on social class as the traditional axis of

inequality research. Furthermore, especially investigations of childhood and youth are absent from existing research on processes of social distinction.

The present paper presents a first attempt to start fill this gap by exploring different dimensions and patterns of social distinction in preadolescent peer groups and beyond. Anyhow, various points of contact can be found in studies from social identity research, school research and cultural studies on youth. These different lines of investigation, for instance, indicate that beside the social categories of class, gender, and race or ethnicity children use further dimensions to organize peer culture and to distinguish their peers from other social groups. Furthermore, they give important insights into how practices of distinction and attribution are learned during childhood and youth and also about the relevance of distinguishing behavior in group construction.

Firstly, there seems to be distinguishing behavior and orientations in all groups under investigation, so they seem to be an important characteristic of preadolescent peer groups. As a second result, a variety of dimensions of social distinction in preadolescent peer culture can be stated. In addition to the categories mentioned above, the presented first analysis includes further dimensions of generation, individual development, taste and beauty as well as achievement. Other dimensions, not subject of this paper, are patterns of behavior and morale as well as norms of friendship. Exploring these additional dimensions of social distinction in preadolescent peer groups must be left to further research and publications. As many examples in the present paper indicate, secondly, preadolescents from different cultures, educational settings and social backgrounds share these basic dimensions of social distinction. Distinguishing practices concerning gender, class, race or ethnicity, generation, development, achievement and taste seem to be part of identity building at the threshold between childhood and youth.

Thirdly, this is also true for some concrete practices of social distinction and some modes to distinguish in different social contexts. For instance, concerning the universal gender-related segregation of peer culture in preadolescence, we found a reflection of this behavior in both cultures mostly in education-oriented contexts. Furthermore, the way of dealing with deviations from gender-separation and roles differs in both cultures along the lines of different educational contexts: it is depreciated in lower and valued in higher education milieus. Related to class, the brief outline of interpretations of two examples from a secondary school (*Gymnasium*) in Germany and a private school in Brazil on one hand, shows a general tendency to stigmatize children from lower-educating schools in both cultures. On the other hand, it refers to the variety of indicators the children use to construct class as a dimension of distinction. As a last example, distinction *vis-à-vis* teachers can be named, which varies very much in the different educational settings. While children from the *Gymnasium* and private schools criticize teachers'

achievements on their jobs and concerning their teaching practice, children from *Hauptschule* and public schools depreciate their teachers on the grounds of physical characteristics and patterns of behavior. These modes of generational distinction towards teachers are the same in Brazil and Germany, even if the structure of the educational system is very different. Other examples could be mentioned showing cultural, education- or gender-related similarities or differences in practices of social distinction.

Finally, a similar situation can be found in Brazil and Germany concerning the intersection or interdependence of different dimensions of social distinction in the practices of the investigated preadolescents. As stated for the example of development-related distinctions which at the same time relegate to the categories of gender and class, various practices of distinction at the same time refer to more than just one dimension. They use categories of distinction as indicators for others. Whether all processes of distinction finally trace back to the sociodemographical dimensions of class, gender, race/ethnicity and generation needs further interpretation and research, and will be explored during the next phases of the current project.

Thus, some areas of interest for further research are already mentioned. Based on the diverse material from Brazil and Germany, the variety of dimensions of preadolescent practices of social distinction can be explored, the interdependence of those categories has to be investigated and the concrete educational, social and cultural circumstances and contexts of the production of those practices need to be reconstructed.

Future research has to outline in particular the development of processes and practices of social distinction during childhood and youth and therefore needs longitudinal research designs. Furthermore, reconstructive and standardized studies on categories and practices of distinction in a cross-cultural perspective need to be carried out to underpin and examine existing results.

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III The Documentary Method and the Interpretation of Interviews

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Narrative Interview and Documentary Interpretation*

1. Introduction

Over the past few years, qualitative methods have developed into recognised techniques for acquiring and evaluating data in empirical social research. To a certain extent, the conflicting natures and the distinctness of their different approaches have helped to define their foundations, outlines and areas of practical application. On the other hand, there has been a tendency in recent years to combine different and sometimes even contrary qualitative methods. Without wanting to elaborate on the discussion about method triangulation, which goes as far as to suggest the integration of quantitative and qualitative techniques, I would like to consider in this article how the Documentary Method can be used to interpret narrative interviews.

However, before different approaches of empirical social research can be successfully combined, I believe that it is necessary not only to work on the practical coexistence of two different research methods but also (and first of all) to identify the methodological similarities and differences between the two methods (cf. Maschke/Schittenhelm, 2005). After all, if the main quality feature of the predominant techniques in qualitative social research – their methodological foundation – is to be maintained, it is necessary to use a methodologically reflective approach in combining different methods.

In this article I would like to attempt to combine the Documentary Method of data interpretation with an extremely popular method of data acquisition, the narrative interview. In order to do justice to the methodological differences and similarities between these two methods, I would first of all like to briefly explain the approach and significance of the narrative interview (Section 2), of which I will then provide a critical appraisal (Section 3) in preparation of introducing the Documentary Method. After briefly explaining the main features of the Documentary Method (Section 4), I will then illustrate how it can be used to interpret narrative interviews (Section 5).

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2. The Narrative Interview as a Method of Empirical Social Research

The narrative interview has become so important for qualitative empirical social research because it permits longer experiential periods or even complete biographies to be recorded sequentially from the interviewees' perspective. The purpose of the narrative interview is to allow respondents to speak off the cuff about a part of their everyday life that is of interest to the researchers, be it their entire life story or just their working life.

The narrative interview was developed in the 1970s by Fritz Schütze, originally in connection with a research project on municipal merging. Community politicians gave an account of the "chains of incidences" (Schütze, 1982: 579) they had experienced in conjunction with these municipal mergers. Later on, the narrative interview was also used to record biographical accounts, which revealed chains of personal experiences similar to those revealed in the initial interviews that had focussed on profession and politics. In the period that followed, Schütze presented several biographical analyses on very different types of people – a miller (Schütze, 1991), a soldier (1992) and students (1994, 2001).

When reconstructing his narrative interviews, Schütze identified process structures that were typical of these accounts. These *process structures of the life course* (Schütze, 1983b), which analysis reveals to be the conjunction between "the biographical subject's explanatory models and interpretations" and "their reconstructed biography" (ibid: 284), are present in different combinations in many impromptu biographical narratives. As process structures they cannot be reduced to the 'objective' course of life or its 'subjective' experience but act as mediators between the objectivity and subjectivity of the life stories. Schütze distinguishes between four process structures, or "four fundamental types of attitudes towards biographical experiences":

"1. Biographical action schemes
The biographical subject can plan these schemes, and the sequence of experiences thus consists of the successful or failed attempt to put them into practice.
2. Institutional sequence patterns of the biography
The biographical subject and their interaction partners or opponents can expect these patterns as part of an expected social or organisational schedule, and the sequence of experiences thus consists of the punctual, accelerated, delayed, impeded or failed progression of the individual steps expected.
3. Biographical trajectories of suffering
Biographical events may be overwhelming for the biographical subject. Initially they can only react to them 'conditionally', struggling to regain an albeit frail state of balance in the way they live their everyday life.

4. Transformative processes
Finally, as is the case with action schemes, relevant biographical events can stem from the biographical subject's 'inner world'; in contrast to action schemes, however, they develop unexpectedly and are experienced by the biographical subject as a systematic transformation in their options of action and experience" (1984: 92).

In contrast to the trajectory of suffering, which is set off by external conditions, the transformative process has its roots in the biographical subject's "inner world" (Schütze, 1984: 94). From the action scheme, the transformative process differs in that it cannot be brought about intentionally but implies a "constant process of going through situations in which new things are experienced" and a "permanent discrepancy between the planning of activities and the putting them into practice" (ibid: 93).

3. The Narrative Interview Between Single Case Analysis and Case Comparison

For reasons of space, the method of analysis developed by Fritz Schütze to interpret narrative interviews cannot be presented here in detail. Schütze's main objective is to interpret those parts of the interview structured by the narrative genre[1] in such a way that the process structures of the individual life course become visible (cf., inter alia, Schütze, 1983a; Riemann, 1987).

My main concern in the following will be the question of how, in the interpretation of narrative interviews, the process structures as such have been reconstructed, abstracted and made into theoretically relevant formal categories. As we will see, Schütze makes more use of single case analysis than of case comparison in his attempts to come upon such process structures.

In the series of essays on the narrative interview written by Schütze between 1976 and 2001, he develops "formal" as well as "substantial" theories and categories – to use the same distinction as Glaser/Strauss (1969), which Schütze also frequently refers to. In these works, Schütze takes the unusual path of using the process structures of the biographies of his subjects to develop the formal categories first (cf. Schütze, 1976, 1983a and b, 1984, 1987), followed by substantial theories and categories – for example on transformative processes in times of war (cf. Schütze, 1989) or on the "wild" transformation of a student (cf. Schütze, 1994).

It is not possible to comment on how the formal categories, i.e. the biographical process structures, were originally developed because Schütze does not include the cases he analysed in his essays. However, it is possible to identify his strategic approach both from his representations of the development of substantial theories and from the statements on his methodology.

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1   I will be elaborating on the distinction between various text genres – a very important aspect also in documentary interpretation – in Section 5.

In Schütze's work, the analysis begins with a single case, i.e. a narrative interview in which the "sequential layers of major and minor process structures that are sequential in themselves" (1983b: 284) is reconstructed. By using this method, Schütze looks for the general within the particular in each case. As Schütze puts it, "since these are precise, in-depth text analyses, (…) general features and fundamental mechanisms of social and biographical processes can be hypothetically recorded in a single case" (1991: 207). His aim is thus to "analytically identify general situational and process features (…) from the singularity of the events under examination" (ibid: 208). He also describes this 'hypothetical ascertaining of data' (see also Schütze, 1987: 248) as "analytical abstraction" (Schütze, 1989: 39, 1984: 114).

According to Schütze, "detaching oneself from the single case analysis of the singular interview and making contrastive comparisons of different interview texts" should always follow "analytical abstraction", with which, incidentally, the "overall formation" of a biography (in terms of the layers of process structures) can be identified (1983b: 287). The main purpose of comparative analysis is therefore to confirm, review and distinguish between newly developed categories and their internal relationships (cf. Schütze, 1987: 248). In this context, Schütze looks for minimal and maximal contrasts in order to consolidate the already established categories and their internal relationships as well as compare them with other categories and their internal relationships. This approach is used in Schütze's examination of the experiences of American and German participants of war (cf. Schütze, 1989) and in his research work on the life of a miller (cf. Schütze, 1991). On the basis of this case comparison, Schütze then arrives at an "in-depth analytical abstraction" (1989: 71) of the individual cases and finally at a "tentative theoretical model" (ibid). The research work ends as soon as the theoretical model and the categories are "saturated" and no more new aspects can be found (1983b: 293).

While this form of case comparison within a subject area (e.g. the experiences of millers or participants of war) aims at the development of a substantial theory, Schütze outlines in one of his early texts the generation of a formal category as defined by Glaser/Strauss (1969). If the objective is to "identify elementary biographical process structures", for instance the biographical trajectory of suffering (Schütze, 1983b: 292), the comparative analysis of a field of experience (e.g. primary socialisation in boarding schools) should be followed by "the examination of an autobiography dominantly characterised by suffering with a completely different central field of experience (e.g. emigration, becoming unemployed, etc.)" (ibid).

Schütze bases these considerations about the generation of substantial and formal categories in particular and about his research strategy in general (cf. particularly Schütze, 1984: 115, FN 1) on the Grounded Theory by Glaser/Strauss (1969), but in my opinion only takes their approach into ac-

count to a certain extent. Particularly the priority Schütze gives to single case analysis is inconsistent with Glaser/Strauss, who prefer theory construction to a precise and detailed single case analysis (cf. 1969: 30). This difference, which is only seemingly limited to the results of qualitative research (case analysis vs. theory construction), has important implications. In order to identify these implications, I would like to take a brief look at Glaser/Strauss' Grounded Theory.

Glaser/Strauss are sceptical towards the hypothetical ascertainability of the general within the particular of a single case and thus also towards analytical abstraction based on single case analysis (cf., inter alia, 1969: 55, FN 11). For this reason, they construct comparative analysis, beyond case comparison, as a "constant comparative method" (ibid: 101) that ranges from the initial interpretation to the comparison of at times seemingly incomparable subject areas (cf. ibid: 54 f). During comparative analysis, categories, their features and their relationships not only undergo a process of consolidation, examination and differentiation – as is the case in Schütze's work – but are actually developed (cf. ibid: 36 f) as well.

In contrast, Schütze insists on the "hypothetical" ascertainability of important categories on the basis of a single case; above all its biographical process structures, i.e. its central formal categories, can in fact, he claims, be identified in one single case, although they may have been tried and differentiated in numerous comparable cases.

As already implied, however, there are parallels between Glaser/Strauss (1969) and Schütze's work regarding the nature of the theoretical models that are to result from research. At the core of these models is the development of (formal or substantial) categories, of characteristics of these categories and, finally, of hypotheses on relations between these characteristics or categories. Particularly the formal categories of the biographical trajectory and of the transformative process have – in terms of their core characteristics and their relations – been elaborated with such precision that Schütze sometimes even identifies phase sequences (e.g. within biographical trajectories).

As part of this process, Schütze – similarly to Glaser/Strauss – points out a category for each phenomenon (e.g. for each section of a narrated biography) and, insofar as possible, its characteristics. In the context of an individual biography, Schütze then also reconstructs the relationships between the individual categories, for example between biographical trajectories and transformative processes in a student (cf. Schütze, 1994). Again, it becomes clear that the priority Schütze gives to single case analysis tends to prevent the comparison of such relations between process structures *across* different biographies, and that a more extensive theory construction (as envisaged by Glaser/Strauss) is not possible in this field.

Precisely because of the priority given to the single case, the reference point of every interpretation in Schütze's work is mainly the (individual)

biography; in other words, Schütze reconstructs every utterance in a narrative interview in its biographical context, trying to identify the process structure that underlies an utterance first and foremost within the context of the research subject's biography or personality.

In my view, this one-dimensional interpretation of a phenomenon, which only refers to the biography, is a problem in methodological terms. However, it can also be found in Glaser/Strauss' Grounded Theory (1969), which seeks to empirically refine and expand the categories but reconstructs each specific combination of category characteristics in *one* case only, with the result that – as Nentwig-Gesemann (2007: 288) criticises – "each case is only allocated to one type".

In contrast to Glaser/Strauss' Grounded Theory and to Schütze's approach, the Documentary Method aims at not only interpreting spoken data with regard to their functionality for *one* case or *one* (e.g. the biographical) dimension but at capturing its multidimensionality (which may include, but not exclusively, the biography recorded in the case at hand). To achieve this, however, it is necessary from the beginning of the interpretation process not to stick to a single case but to perform even the sequential analysis of spoken data as part of the comparative analysis.

4. The Main Features of the Documentary Method

Before elaborating on how the Documentary Method can be used to interpret narrative interviews, placing particular emphasis on the comparative analysis and, above all, on type formation, I would like to describe at least the main features of the Documentary Method (for details on this, cf.: Bohnsack, 2007a; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007a). Following the sociologist Karl Mannheim, Ralf Bohnsack developed this method into a sophisticated technique of qualitative educational and social research in terms of both methodology and practicability.[2]

The Documentary Method shares with the narrative interview the conviction that what is communicated verbally and explicitly in interview texts is not the only element of significance to the empirical analysis, but that it is above all necessary to reconstruct the meaning that underlies and is implied

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2   Fritz Schütze himself also sometimes resorts to the Documentary Method of interpretation. While one of Schütze's early publications only looks at and criticises the ethnomethodological version of the Documentary Method advocated by Garfinkel (1967) as a way of interpreting everyday life (cf. Schütze, 1976: 165ff), one of his more recent publications (cf. Schütze, 1993) proposes the Documentary Method as the suitable concept for case analysis to be accomplished by social workers. However, he does not take into account the significance the Documentary Method has by now given to comparative analysis and type formation.

with these utterances. While the actor or speaker is consciously aware of what he or she is doing – e.g. expressing a political belief, giving charity to someone in need, or saying "I love you" – this action or text also has a second level of meaning to which the actor does not necessarily have access. We experience this in everyday life in situations in which we recognise an action or text as the expression or proof of a particular attitude (e.g. a loyalist or laissez-faire attitude, a hypocritical personality in the charity-giving case, or strong faithfulness).

The Documentary Method distinguishes between these two levels of meaning by referring to the first level as that of the "intentional expressive meaning" and "objective meaning" and to the latter as that of the "documentary meaning". The intentional expressive meaning designates what "was meant by the subject just as it appeared to him when his consciousness was focused upon it" (Mannheim, 1952: 46). The objective meaning, on the other hand, does not refer to the intentions of the actors but to the "objective social configuration" (ibid) that exists beyond the intentions and specific characteristics of the actors. When we classify a conclusion as a political statement, the sentence "I love you" as a declaration of love, or the act of giving money to a poor person as charity, we are resorting to general and, as it were, objective knowledge. We are filing facts according to their topic. In other words, we are working out WHAT a text or an action is about.

The documentary meaning gauges the action or text according to the process by which it came about, i.e. by its "modus operandi" (Bohnsack, 2007a: 255). By drawing on other actions or texts by the same actor, it sees the modus operandi "as proof" of a "synoptical appraisal" undertaken by the researcher which "may take his global orientation [in original: "habitus"; AMN] as a whole into its purview" (Mannheim, 1952: 52). The important point here is the way a text or action is constructed, or the limits within which its topic is dealt with, i.e. the "orientation framework" within which (Bohnsack, 2007a: 135) a problem is handled.

While in everyday life we intuitively resort to the practical level and simply demonstrate how to, for example, tie a knot, in science we must rely on finding ways of verbally explicating the process by which texts and actions come about, or their orientation frameworks. This is done by falling back on practice. In this practice, we have an "atheoretical" knowledge (Mannheim, 1997: 67) but are not required to pinpoint or explicate it in terms of common-sense theory.

This knowledge forms part of our routine, or, to use the same term as Bohnsack et al. (1995) with reference to Bourdieu, of our "habitual action". While people may distance themselves from their habitual actions and try to explicate them, this is entirely unnecessary in the milieus we are familiar with because habitual action can involve not only individuals but whole groups. Only when we are forced to explain something to outsiders do we

attempt to convey the object of habitual action and atheoretical knowledge in common-sense terms.

Atheoretical knowledge thus connects people. After all, it is founded on common actions and experience. This is why, in this context, Mannheim (1997: 203) speaks of a "*conjunctive experience*". Whenever we want to tell people who have not shared it about our own conjunctive experience, we have to explain its meaning in detail. Mannheim thus also refers to this as *communication* or *communicative knowledge* (ibid: 258). However, since our aim as researchers – particularly as researchers of biographies and culture – is to examine not only general knowledge that exists irrespective of the various groups and individuals of our society, we must rely to a considerable extent on the conjunctive knowledge that is closely linked with people's specific practices in their biographies and milieus.

But how do I gain access to the documentary meaning of habitual action and atheoretical knowledge? In this respect, the Documentary Method takes the same path of sequential analysis that is also characteristic of Schütze's method of analysis. However, in contrast to the latter approach, the Documentary Method involves a consistently *comparative* sequential analysis.

In his attempts to explain comparative sequential analysis, Bohnsack refers to George Herbert Mead's interaction model: "If (in accordance with Mead) a gesture or utterance acquires its significance or meaning in the context of the other actors' reactions, an (implicit) regularity is established in the relationship between (empirically observable) utterance and (empirically observable) reaction, which must then be made accessible or explicated" (Bohnsack, 2001: 335). The Documentary Method then assumes that the utterances that potentially follow an initial utterance are, in an atheoretical and habitualised form, available to the research subjects as knowledge. However, since the research subjects are unable to explicate the coherent follow-up utterances – particularly where a routine, or even new, practice is concerned – an empirical reconstruction and explication of the research subjects' atheoretical knowledge is required, i.e. of the following and empirically identifiable actions that represent an adequate response to the initial action. The framework or orientation framework within which the topic or problem introduced in the initial utterance is attended to with the follow-up utterance is the orientation framework that spans the sequence.

It is important, however, to remember that possible, i.e. adequate, follow-up utterances can only be validly recorded if they can be differentiated from inadequate follow-up utterances. This happens by way of comparison with other cases in which similar topics are handled in different ways. For this reason, sequential analysis is always comparative in the Documentary Method (cf. Bohnsack/Nohl, 2007).

The way, or the orientation framework, in which a topic is handled in an interview is therefore best reconstructed if compared with other interview

texts that deal with the same topic but within contrasting orientation frameworks. For, if we only had *one* interview text to look at, we would interpret it against the background of our own (common-sense) theories on the respective topic only (e.g. first day at school). By comparing the sequences in the first interview (e.g. the experience of the first day at school) with the potentially very different experiences of a second and third interview, we no longer see the first interview against the background of our own common-sense theories only, but also against the background of other empirical cases. Our previous knowledge is not obliterated but is methodically relativised. "The Documentary Method therefore depends on the researcher's position. (…) The better established and thus intersubjectively comprehensible and verifiable the researcher's comparative horizons, the more methodically controllable the method becomes" (Bohnsack, 2007a: 137). This is why comparative analysis is the golden standard of methodically controlled research (cf. Nohl, 2007).

In research practice, the methodological considerations presented up to this point (documentary meaning, reference to conjunctive, atheoretical or practical knowledge, comparative sequential analysis, reconstruction of orientation frameworks, comparison) are reflected in three stages of documentary interpretation: the formulating interpretation, the reflecting interpretation, and type formation. I will explain these in more detail in the next section, making direct reference to the analysis of narrative interviews.

5. The Documentary Interpretation of Narrative Interviews

In this chapter I will introduce a method for interview analysis. While it follows the tradition of the Documentary Method, it takes up certain elements of the *analysis of narrative structures*, a method developed by Fritz Schütze.[3]

One of the most important features of the documentary interpretation of interviews is the clear-cut distinction it makes between the "formulating interpretation" on the one hand, which summarises topics, (5.1) and the "reflecting interpretation" of the framework of orientation on the other hand, in which topics are elaborated on (5.2). Secondly, the Documentary Method is based on a consistent comparative analysis that begins at the very outset of

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[3] The strategy presented here along with its methodological background builds on research experience gained in the course of a major research project (cf. Nohl, 2006, 2008) and on some of Bohnsack's previous considerations (2007a: 65-6) on the narrative interview. Following this, the documentary interpretation of narrative interviews was developed further in a number of dissertation projects and, most importantly, in an international, interdisciplinary research project on the integration of highly qualified migrants into the labour market (cf. Nohl et al., 2006, see also Nohl/Ofner's contribution to this volume and the working papers at www.cultural-capital.net.)

the interpretation process (5.3). Thirdly, the empirical results acquired by applying the Documentary Method are formulated as types – in particular as multidimensional, sociogenetic types (5.4).

5.1 The Formulating Interpretation of Interviews

The formulating interpretation of interviews begins even before their transcription. After the data has been collected, the researchers listen to the audiotapes of the interviews and note down in a table the chronological order of the topics in each individual case. These "*topical structures*" (Bohnsack, 2007a: 135) permit the topics that are most relevant to research to be identified prior to transcription.

There are three criteria that are relevant to the selection of topical segments: 1. Topics of interest are those the researchers decided on prior to empirical research. 2. Also of interest, of course, are the topics the interviewees talked about in much detail, passionately and/or metaphorically. It is important to pay attention to these "focusing metaphors" (cf. Bohnsack, 2003: 45), among other reasons, simply because they may serve as a corrective to the topics chosen by the researchers. 3. What is more, the topical structures can be an aid to identifying those topics that come up in several cases and thus lend themselves to comparative analysis.

Following transcription, a detailed formulating interpretation is prepared. This interpretation stage involves reviewing each interview segment sequentially to find more or less distinctive changes of topic. This way, principal topics and subtopics are identified. For every subtopic that covers one, two or even several interview lines, a summary is prepared in full sentences and expressed in the researchers' own words.

This reformulation of the topical content of the interview in itself helps the researchers to establish or maintain a distance from the text (cf. Schäffer, 2006). They are made aware of the fact that the topical content of the interview is not self-evident but requires interpretation. This becomes most apparent when – as is often the case – the group of researchers or the research workshop start disputing about which detailed formulating interpretation is appropriate.

5.2 The Reflecting Interpretation of Interviews

While the formulating interpretation aims at establishing *what* the interview text is about, the reflecting interpretation is concerned with the *how*: how is a topic or the problem presented elaborated on, and in which framework of orientation is it dealt with? The question of the style or modus operandi in which a topic is developed refers equally to the formal and semantic aspects of interviews. The semantics of the text cannot be disassociated from its formal

structure, the documentary interpretation of interviews takes account of this. According to Schütze, narrative interviews should involve asking questions that encourage narration. If such questions achieve their aim, the interviews to be interpreted mainly consist of narratives that are, of course, linked with descriptions and argumentations. In order to identify whether a narrative interview actually includes narratives and where these narratives are to be found, the Documentary Method – as part of its formal interpretation process – takes up the differentiation of text genres developed in the context of Fritz Schütze's narrative structure analysis. As regards semantics, it then resorts to its own means of comparative sequential analysis. Since the formal structure of the text also reveals something about the relevance of its semantic contents, I would like to look at the formal interpretation of interviews first (5.2.1) and then present the associated semantic interpretation of the Documentary Method (5.2.2).

5.2.1   Formal Interpretation and Differentiation of Text Genres

In the analysis of narrative interviews, Fritz Schütze distinguishes between narratives, descriptions and argumentations. In a narrative, the informant gives an account of actions and events that have a beginning and an end as well as a chronological sequence. Descriptions are generally characterised by the fact that the narrator gives an account of recurring courses of action or established facts (e.g. of a picture or machine). Argumentations are summaries of the motives, reasons and conditions behind one's own or someone else's actions based on common-sense theory (cf. Schütze, 1987: 148). Evaluations, which – deviating from Schütze's approach – I would like to formulate separately, are evaluative statements about the interviewee's own or someone else's actions.

Fritz Schütze pointed out that impromptu narratives are a particularly true reflection of the narrator's experience. Precisely because the narrator must complete (give a shape to), condense and detail what he or she narrates – i.e. because he or she becomes impelled to fulfil certain narrative obligations[4] – he or she becomes entangled in his/her own experiences and there-

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[4] There are three different obligations a narrator has to fulfil. 1. The *obligation to detail* impels the narrator "to stick to the actual sequence of the events he or she has experienced and – based on the nature of the links between the events as experienced by the narrator – to progress from giving an account of event A to giving an account of event B" (ibid., p. 188). 2. The *obligation to give a shape* to the narrative impels the narrator "to complete the cognitive structures he or she has begun to present. The completion process involves the building up and completing by way of presentation of embedded cognitive structures, without which the overriding cognitive structures could not be completed" (ibid.). 3. The *obligation to provide relevance and density* impels the narrator "to give an account only of those events that are relevant as 'central points' for the narrative to be told. This implies an obligation to continuously assess individual events and situations in terms of the overall message of what is going to be narrated" (ibid.).

fore provides a profound insight into the layers of these experiences. According to Schütze, we can assume that there is a close connection between what is narrated and what was actually experienced here. Yet the experience is always embedded in the narrators' attitude and thus, in a sense, 'constructed'. It is therefore never 'reality' but always a narrated experience.

Unlike in his or her narratives, in the argumentative and evaluating parts of narrative interviews the respondent mainly takes account of the communicative situation and the conversational nature of the actual interview. This is because here, he or she explains and theorises about the motives and reasons behind his or her own action or makes an evaluative statement about them to the interviewer. Argumentations and evaluations are therefore "closely connected – in terms of content – to the interviewee's present point of view" (Schütze, 1987: 149).

The Documentary Method places into a meta-theoretical context the distinction between on the one hand the communicative statement about one's own or someone else's action (evaluation) or the explanation of the reasons and motives behind this action (argumentation) and on the other hand the narration and description of the experience of immediate courses of action and events:

The experience of a direct practice of action to be reconstructed in narratives and descriptions is embedded so deeply in this practice and in the respondents' relevant knowledge and foregone conclusions that they are unable to explicate it by way of communication but can only narrate or describe it. Such "atheoretical" (Mannheim, 1982: 67) and "conjunctive" knowledge (ibid: 203) is only disclosed to us if we either observe the practice directly or manage to gain access to it through narratives and descriptions (cf. Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007b: 14). Thus the narratives and descriptions in narrative interviews serve to identify the "atheoretical" and "conjunctive knowledge", which is as much embedded in the practice as it serves as a basis for it. Karl Mannheim himself has emphasised that the perspectivity of conjunctive knowledge is expressed particularly effectively in the "basic form of conveying things", i.e. in the "narration behind which the narrator stands" (1997: 192).

As shown in Section 4, we can differentiate between conjunctive knowledge embedded in the practice of action on the one hand and "communicative knowledge" (Mannheim, 1997) on the other. Communicative knowledge usually refers to the motives behind the action ('in-order-to' motives, as Alfred Schütz puts it) and "is based on reciprocal (…) presumptions of motives that are institutionalised, i.e. 'objectified', by society, and are articulated explicitly or 'literally'" (Bohnsack, 2007a: 60-1). In this respect, communicative knowledge mainly corresponds with the text genres of argumentation and evaluation. This is because argumentations and evaluations first and foremost refer to the motives and reasons behind sequences of action and

events that serve to make them seem plausible to the interviewer(s); in the evaluation phase, the respondent gives his or her views to the interviewer – mostly with reference to these motives and reasons. Since researchers and their subjects usually belong to different milieus, these explanations must refer to knowledge that is shared by society across the boundaries of those milieus. Such socially shared communicative knowledge is essentially abstract and therefore detached from the practice of action.

And so although it emanates from a different theoretical tradition, the differentiation of text genres Schütze proposes for evaluating narrative interviews can also be found in the Documentary Method, drawing a line between atheoretical conjunctive knowledge on the one hand and theoretical communicative knowledge on the other. However, it should be noted that the distinction between conjunctive and communicative knowledge is analytical; it is precisely the intermingling of narrative/description and argumentation/evaluation in the narrative interview that demonstrate that people always live on both levels of language (cf. Mannheim, 1997: 265).

In qualitative social research we are not so much interested in those communicative aspects of knowledge that are shared by and familiar to everybody anyway, as in unknown conjunctive knowledge. The interpretation of semantic content is therefore predominantly – but not exclusively – based on the conjunctive knowledge that is expressed in narratives and descriptions[5].

5.2.2   Semantic Interpretation and Comparative Sequential Analysis

Whereas the formal level of interpretation, which focuses on the differentiation of text genres, relies heavily on narrative structure analysis, on the semantic level of interpretation it is the Documentary Method that primarily comes to bear. The formal distinction between argumentation, evaluation, description and narrative, as well as the focus on the latter, seeks to take account of the actors' experiences without being taken in by their subjective ascriptions of meaning. On the semantic level, too, the aim is to gain access to a reality that is neither defined as objective beyond the actors' knowledge

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[5]   This, however, should not lead to the assumption that theoretical text genres are of no use to evaluation. Although it does not make sense to reconstruct argumentations and evaluations as that which they are supposed to be, i.e. as explanations of motives or reasons or opinions, argumentations and evaluations can be interpreted using the Documentary Method: rather than following their literal meaning, it is also possible to reconstruct the creation or construction method of the argumentations, thus working out *how* someone justifies or evaluates their actions. This modus operandi of theorising can also provide an insight into the orientation framework within which a person processes their topics and problems. In those interviews that are not dominated by narratives but tend to focus on argumentations and evaluations, it is sometimes a good idea to take more account of the conversational nature of the interview and to resort to the conversational analysis of the Documentary Method (cf. Bohnsack, 2007a: 121 ff), including its categories for describing the structure of discourse (proposition, elaboration, conclusion).

nor consists exclusively of the meaning they subjectively ascribe (which Karl Mannheim refers to as the "intentional expressive meaning"). In this context, the Documentary Method helps to overcome the dichotomisation between subjective and objective meaning (cf. Bohnsack, 2007a).

Although the actors' knowledge continues to serve as the empirical basis of documentary interpretation, this basis becomes detached from the actors' ascriptions of meaning. The precondition for this is the distinction already mentioned several times above between theoretical communicative knowledge on the one hand and implied atheoretical conjunctive knowledge on the other (cf. Mannheim, 1982). Documentary researchers therefore "do not assume that they know more than the actors, but that the latter themselves do not know what they really know, having an implicit knowledge that is not easily accessible to them by reflection" (Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007b: 11). Here the observer gains "access to the practice of action and its underlying (process) structure, which is outside the perspective of the actors themselves" (ibid: 12).

This, however, also implies a break with common sense. The question asked is not *what* the social reality is but *how* this reality is created. Reflecting interpretation seeks "to reconstruct and explicate the *framework* in which a topic is elaborated on, to establish *how*, i.e. with reference to (…) which frame of orientation the topic is dealt with" (Bohnsack, 2007a: 135; italics in original).

If the Documentary Method aims at analysing the implicit regularity of experiences and reconstructing the documentary meaning embedded in this regularity, i.e. the orientation framework of these experiences, this involves identifying continuities across a series of action sequences or narrative sequences about such actions.

The *comparative sequential analysis* already described briefly in Section 4 can now be applied directly to the analysis of narrative text sequences. If we assume that in a case a topic is experienced in one (and only one) particular way (i.e. within one framework of orientation), we can assume with regard to an individual topical section that a first narrative segment can only be followed by a specific second segment that corresponds to the way the topic is experienced, to the respective framework. It thus becomes possible to determine the documentary meaning, the way of dealing with the topic and the orientation framework in a triple step – the first segment, the second segment (continuation) and the third segment (ratification of the framework). If the continuation of the first segment corresponds to the homologous framework of the case, then we can expect this continuation to be ratified in the third segment (cf. Bohnsack, 2001).

In research practice, we regard the second segment as a given and adequate continuation of a first segment during interpretation and try to discover alternative versions for this second segment through brainstorming. The comprehensive class of all alternative second segments, which would be an appropriate, homologous continuation of the first segment and are equivalent to the given second segment, forms the homologous orientation framework. This framework becomes particularly evident if it can be distinguished from other non-equivalent, i.e. heterologous second and third segments, in other empirical cases:
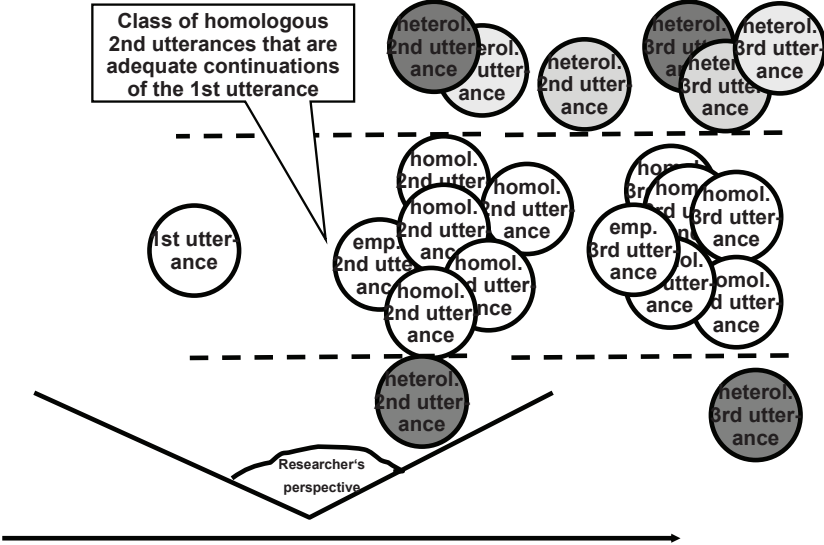
I would like to explain this using a (fictitious) example: we analyse three interviews - A, B and C - in which middle-aged persons give an account of their first days of school. All three of them narrate the initial act using nearly the same utterances ("and then I started school" or something similar). The following table shows the different second utterances:

Case Narrative sequence	Interview A		

The implicit regularity that underlies the narrative sequence in interview B can be more easily recognised and validly identified by comparing it with the narrative sequences in interviews A and C. It becomes apparent, for example, that the narrative sequence in interview B is structured by an orientation towards (curricular) learning (despite the fact that these hopes were disappointed). This becomes particularly evident if compared with interview A, in which the interviewee focuses on his/her social relations in school, i.e. in an orientation framework of social relations. Although we find a similarly high relevance of social relations in interview C, here the orientation of the interviewee is towards family relations, against the background of which school becomes completely irrelevant.

5.3 Comparative Analysis

If the significance of a sequence of text segments, i.e. their regularity, which, as documentary meaning, constitutes the orientation framework, can only be identified by comparing it with other sequences of text segments in other empirical cases (cf. Bohnsack, 2001: 337f), then comparison mainly serves to permit and facilitate interpretation. It is also, however, a method for validating interpretations (see Nohl, 2007).

All interpretations are bound by horizons of comparison. When interpreting a single (initial) case, researchers analyse the text against the background of their own conceptions of normality, which are the result of experience, thought experiments, (common-sense) theories and/or past empirical research. In interview A, what should *normally* be the nature of the second and third utterances following the utterance "and then I started school"? The conceptions of normality developed (often only implicitly) regarding this question are based on the standpoint of the researchers (cf. Mannheim, 1985), who initially only notice those aspects of the interview that conform or are in conflict with their expectations of normality. There is a risk of immediately incorporating the unfamiliar case into what we regard as self-evident – even when all we notice about this case is that it is in conflict with our ideas.

Biased by the researcher's position, this interpretation can be methodically controlled and reflected by supplementing and possibly substituting the implicit comparative horizons not empirically verified in relevant empirical research with empirical comparative horizons (i.e. with other empirical cases).

At the beginning of comparative sequential analysis, the interviews are compared in terms of how the interviewees elaborate on the topic, i.e. in which (different) orientation frameworks they deal with the topic. The third part that structures the comparison, i.e. the tertium comparationis, is the topic of the initial utterance here.

5.4 Type Formation

In addition to serving validation purposes, comparative sequential analysis also serves to *generate multidimensional typologies* and thus to *generalise* empirical results (on the following, see also Bohnsack 2007a, Chapter 8, and 2007b). After all, the identification of different sequences of text segments in various cases and the reconstruction of their respective orientation frameworks should not happen by chance but be embedded in a systematic variation of cases and a resulting type formation. If we (initially) only use a subject-related tertium comparationis (e.g. the question of how the interviewees recount their first day at school) for comparative analysis, we can generate *sense-genetic types* from the reconstructed orientation frameworks (5.4.1). A complex comparative analysis, within which the tertium comparationis is varied (several times), is the precondition for *multidimensional sociogenetic type formation* (5.4.2).

5.4.1 Sensegenetic Type Formation

Up to this point, comparative sequential analysis has predominantly served to precisely reconstruct the sequential structure, i.e. the orientation framework (in which a topic is elaborated on), in an interview A in such a way that it was possible to clearly distinguish it from the orientation frameworks in interviews B, C and D. The contrasting orientation frameworks of interviews B, C, D, etc. were above all relevant as 'non-A' orientation frameworks. In sense-genetic type formation, the contrasting orientation frameworks now acquire a meaning of their own. That is to say, they are no longer regarded as 'non-A' but as B, C and D in their own right. The orientation frameworks thus reconstructed are *abstracted* (i.e. detached from the individual case) and formulated as types (A, B, C etc.)

Abstraction of the respective orientation frameworks and the resulting sense-genetic type formation can be made easier by taking other interviews

into account. Orientation framework A, which up to this point was only observed in interview A, can now be identified in interviews Y and X too and thus be detached from single case A. And orientation framework B – initially only visible in interview B – can now be identified in interviews S und T and thus be detached from individual case B; and so on and so forth.

Sense-genetic type formation shows how *different* the orientation frameworks are in which research subjects deal with topics and problems that are the focus of research. However, it cannot clarify in which social contexts and constellations these typified orientation frameworks exist. Sense-genetic type formation cannot, for example, shed light on how the way an educator deals with clients is connected with his/her professional experience. Nor can it identify how educational processes are linked with a specific age. It is sociogenetic type formation that deals with these questions concerning the social contexts and genesis of an orientation framework.

5.4.2   Sociogenetic Type Formation

In order to establish in what social context the orientation frameworks referring to different topics exist, the interpretation must not end with a comparison of how one topic is dealt with in two interviews, but must include further interview sections in which other topics are elaborated on and, most importantly, in which other orientation frameworks can be reconstructed. The benefit of empirical comparison increases with the degree of variation of the tertia comparationis applied.

However, in order to identify the connections between different orientation frameworks it is necessary to systematically change the tertia comparationis instead of varying them randomly. When doing so, it is important to precisely define the tertium comparationis. If the individual types can be distinguished clearly from each other due to the fact that they refer to different topics and problems, the tertia comparationis can easily be defined empirically. In that case, the tertium comparationis is the orientation framework within which in different cases a common topic is dealt with in the same way. However, if the individual types are developed from mutually overlapping topics and problems or even from the same sequence in the interviews, it becomes rather difficult to develop an empirical definition of the tertia comparationis. Initially only a tentative and provisional phrasing will be possible. Not until the examination is complete and all the types can be clearly distinguished from each other can a more accurate definition of the tertia comparationis be achieved.

In a study of spontaneous transformative processes (cf. Nohl, 2006, 2008), for example, narrative interviews were held with teenagers, adults aged about 35 and older people aged about 65. There I reconstructed transformative processes that began with a spontaneous act. Having given an

account of their spontaneously and newly established practices, all subjects spoke about how they had to fight to gain recognition (be it from their parents, state support agencies or on the market) for these new activities (e.g. doll-making, break dancing, working with a computer or playing in a music group), even within their own milieu but above all in public institutions.

This section of the narrative interview can be identified as a phase in the transformative process, i.e. as a "phase of proving oneself in society", if we take as a reference dimension entire biographies and their transformative processes and compare this section with other sections of the transformative process. If, however, two different cases are drawn on, namely two cases that differ in terms of the narrator's age, the reference dimension is also changed: it is no longer the biographical dimension that is the focus of the interpretation, but the dimension of age.

Although this comparison of two cases still demonstrates the efforts to gain recognition for a new practice outside the subject's own milieu, i.e. in public institutions, differences emerge within this similarity between adolescents and middle-aged people: the latter clearly make efforts to gain positive recognition when dealing with social institutions, whereas adolescents may even be encouraged by a negative initial response by public institutions, e.g. criminalisation by the police.

As this example is meant to clarify, the formation of a type begins with the presence of a homologous orientation framework in each case (in this example, the phase of gaining recognition in society) that refers to the common characteristics of the cases within the phase sequence dimension in transformative processes. Against the background of these common features, other orientation frameworks then emerge (the significance of positive or negative responses by public institutions) in which both cases differ from each other. We can assume here that these contrasting orientation frameworks can be allocated to a second dimension of experience, i.e. that of age. This then requires further elaboration, e.g. by also including the older people in the sample.

Bohnsack (1989: 374) describes this approach as follows: the "contrast within similarity is a fundamental principle of the generation of individual types. It is also the connecting element that keeps an entire typology together". Such contrasts in similarity can serve as the starting point of a multidimensional type formation. In the above-mentioned study on spontaneous transformative processes, these are the biographical dimension of the sequence of phases in transformative processes, the age-specific dimension of these transformations and – to a certain extent – their school-specific dimension. The choice of these dimensions for type formation is contingent and is based on the sample structure that allows precisely these comparisons. A systematic variation of gender, for example, would have permitted type formation in this dimension, too.

And so although the narrator of a biography (implicitly) has the duty on account of his or her narrative obligations to ensure that the narratives are homogenised and structured, it is possible in documentary interpretation to identify the heterogeneity and multidimensionality (i.e. the overlapping of different, e.g. phase-, age- and school-specific orientation frameworks) of the cases. This heterogeneity and plurality, this "coalescence of different objects as well as the existence of something identical pervading an entire range of differences" (Mannheim, 1952: 57), is the starting point of "sociogenetic type formation" in which not only the dissimilarity of orientation frameworks is elaborated on, but also an identification of the sociogenesis of these differences is attempted. "Sociogenetic type formation inquires for the experiential background against which the genesis of an orientation can be found" (Bohnsack, 2007b: 232). These experiential backgrounds or dimensions can only be identified if in one case – in contrast to other cases – not only a first type but also a second type and the overlapping of both types can be shown. This is possible, for example, where a section of a narrative interview can be interpreted as an indication both of a phase in the transformative process and of an age-specific experiential dimension.

In that in one case several types and their overlapping can be identified with the Documentary Method (in the systematic comparison with other cases), this method differs from the Grounded Theory approach as preferred by Schütze, Glaser and Strauss (see Section 3). This multidimensional type formation then continues with a generalisation of study results that equally deviates from the approaches of narrative structure analysis and Grounded Theory.

In the Documentary Method, generalisation mainly means the capacity of a type (e.g. the phases in a transformative process) to be generalised. This capacity to be generalised depends on the extent to which the overlapping of these types by other types (e.g. that of age) can be "proven and thus located within a typology" (Bohnsack, 2007b: 249). "A type formation capable of being generalised requires that it be confirmed in the overlapping or specification by other types and thus be made visible again and again in an increasingly contoured manner and on increasingly abstract levels" (ibid). Generalisation and specification are therefore interdependent. Generalisation is not possible unless it can be shown how type A is overlapped by type X, i.e. unless the limits of a type can be specified.

6. Final Remarks

As shown, the documentary interpretation of narrative interviews resorts on the one hand to certain elements, in particular the text genre analysis, of the method of analysis originally intended for this data collection method. On the

other hand, comparative analysis in the Documentary Method begins as early as the first (reflecting) interpretations and is then conducted via case comparison towards multidimensional type formation.

Documentary interpretation (through case reconstructions) thus not only allows for the individuality of experiential connections, may these refer to the entire biography or to individual sections of it (e.g. to profession). As those aspects of these experiential connections that are typical of age, social gender, academic qualifications or other collective experience dimensions are identified, the Documentary Method also permits the identification of the collective aspects of the biographies. In the biographies, individuality and collectivity are therefore not mutually exclusive but are closely linked with each other.

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Rogério De Moura

CSOs and the Structure of Professional Education Programs in the Context of Youth Care: The Point of View of Coordinators in Brazil and Germany

"For the young people we have here in the context of the KJHG, young people from Hellersdorf, Skinheads, let us say young people from the extreme right-wing social scene, and young people from Kreuzberg, who come from the left-wing social scene have already confronted each other in the city. But there aren't any problems here, because they quickly realize that they don't know much, and that they need to achieve things, we all need goals to achieve, we all need to reach our learning limits, training limits, which are relatively high. It doesn't matter whether I (embodying the young person's character): 'Whether I am a skinhead, or a young Turk, or a skinhead from Hellersdorf, but it does matter!! when I don't achieve things here, then I can't come here anymore, right? I miss this training."

M. coordinator, WZ, Berlin, 2004

This text is a partial result of a research carried out in the cities of São Paulo and Berlin, during the years 2002 and 2006. It deals with a study of some aspects of political-institutional planning and pedagogical assumptions of professional educational programs for socially underprivileged young people between 15 and 20 years of age.

To conduct the research, twelve professional education organizations were visited in the two cities, which were named CSOs (Civil Society Organizations). These organizations received money from the government to act in professional education programs for young people in both countries and were chosen due to criteria such as the duration of the educational activities (minimum of five years), the scope, number of young people who participated, and the designated budget. These criteria were flexible, considering that aspects like the amount of scholarships and differentiation in the budgets covered quite a span. There was an important program in São Paulo already in existence, only consolidated in 2004, and there were Civil Society Organizations that did not operate exclusively with government resources, but should be considered in a discussion about transparency in public policies for youths. These organizations are also known in Brazil as NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations). One of the pioneers in giving theoretical perspectives to study organizations in Brazil was Thiollent (1987, 1995), while the discussion about the NGOs and the third sector activated by Fisher (2002) among others.

1 Intra-National and International Role of the Global Agencies in Both Cities

In both cities, the program coordinators recognize the role of global agencies as important players in the conveyance of public youth policies. While in São Paulo this recognition is more veiled or hidden and mixed with an appeal for ideas and values disseminated by theoretical matrixes supported by the global agencies (UNESCO, in the case of *Spirit of Work Program*… and for others visited before the main field work), in Berlin the international agencies play key roles, particularly the European Union through the ESF (European Social Fund), directly interfering in the sharing of resources within the city and in the political struggle and power, conducted on various levels and among different institutional parts.

From a qualitative focus, interviews were conducted with structured itineraries, to be answered openly by the professional education program coordinators, social workers and social pedagogues, as well as individual interviews and/or group discussions with some young people. All interviews were in part narrative or biographic, in order to recollect as much of the reporters' and the surveyed institutions' experiences as possible.

The observation that took place in the research was, in the beginning, not-participative but it turned into participative in the last phase of the research. In this text, the analysis of the interviews will be focused on only in the coordinators, because, considering that they were in a leading position in the institutions, their ways to deal with themes such as youth policy, social risk or social control, criminality, professional education and pedagogical strategy for underprivileged people had great relevance. That is why, in some way and according to Bohnsack (2001:12-14), the research tries to investigate not only *what* were these programs, but *how* were they built inside these organizations, in terms of the legitimation of their existence and demand for budget in societies like the Brazilin or the German.

Facing the challenge of conducting the research in different countries, separated by geographical and linguistic barriers, the consistency in the research field, in terms of managing three levels of investigation (coordinators, teachers and adolescents), faces limitations. Beyond the resources mentioned, there has also been intensely used data collection on youth and translation of documents to accompany the theoretical discussion around the concept of youth in a comparative perspective, and considering the differences between Germany and Brazil (see Moura 2006; Weller 2002, and in this volume; Spósito 1997, 2003, 2005; Pochman 1999, 2003, 2004).

1.1 Political-Institutional Architecture for Youth in São Paulo and Berlin

After a first mostly quantitative-oriented period, in which all of the twelve organizations and other state institutions were involved, the number of organizations was reduced to six. Among these six organizations (three in each city) more systematically studied, it was not only the existence and consolidation of political and institutional regulation of the segment of youth in Germany, which drew attention in our research, but also the open dialogue and great dominance of nomenclature and institutional codification demonstrated by the coordinators in Berlin. The three coordinators in the city demonstrated having both a critical view on the situation of youth assistance in Germany and also assertiveness to talk openly about the budget, the political struggle for resources and the institutional barriers between public and private institutions, and among levels of government. Although it is considered as a positive aspect of the research, because it shows a kind of political openness, it represents also a process of institutional legitimation of these organizations as socialization spheres that complement the role of school or work.

In the case of São Paulo, what stood out was an ignorance in relation to the few existing tools of public policies for youth in the country, a certain fear to talk about resources and an exacerbation or super-insulated appreciation of the isolated role of organizations that operate programs for youths, characterized by a rhetoric of social responsibility. Two of the organizations in the city are anchored within the private sector and one is an autonomous civil society organization. This exacerbation can be understood as the result of a lack of youths' rights in the country, as Moura (2007) showed. Besides the importance of discussing the making of public policies in the two cities, there was a need for an ethnographic approach in order to keep closer to these six organizations in the two cities in a later phase.

From the point of view of qualitative research methodology, there have been various sources and authors employed, but we must highlight the work of Bohnsack (2001, 2008), which is developing extensive research inspired by Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. Although the approach of the documentary method has not been established as the main theoretical scope of this research, there are some very important aspects that contributed to the systematic reflection:

(1) The change in the placement of the question "what is society from the actors' perspective?" to "how is it produced through the actors' practice?"
(2) The importance of participant observation, which is a resource that requires at one side a "participant's performative positioning", and on the other side an "observer's distanced positioning", see Bohnsack (2008: 130);
(3) A possibility to combine some types of interview (semi-structured, par-

tially narrative or biographic, but containing both quantitative and qualitative data)

(4) The construction of types or typologies, those that can correspond to study of the informants in terms of gender, school-professional background or generation.

1.2 Aspects of the Organizations' Biographies

An ethnographical exploration of these organizations was held by visiting, collecting data and interviewing coordinators (who were mainly white women in São Paulo and white men in Berlin).

These institutions can be seen as civil society organizations that concentrate themselves in professional education youth programs and in some way orchestrate the world of work. The research has provided a good opportunity to investigate these organizations as spaces of social dramatizations, according to Goffman's dramaturgic approach (1985). Thus, Serva and Andion (2006) were right to say that the theatricality of a research as a theme might be highlighted. This corresponds to the quest for other epistemological places, where subject and object, society and individual require an ethnographic posture.

All of these programs were more relevant in the 1990s, when the situations in Berlin and São Paulo were complicated in terms of school attendance and social or professional integration of young people to society. The relevance here is justified by the need of complementary or informal activities to the youths, which the two cities demanded. In the interviews there were polemic concepts or terms like a "market of youth professional education", which had been heard in the *Herr der Hilfe Program*. Government plays the key role of a "financial supporter" in a context where the regulation is already established in Germany, but not in Brazil.

All these organizations in both cities, even though not presenting a unique pedagogical or training approach, start the activities with adolescents through a practical approach. In doing so, they offer an alternative to school, where these young people have failed, and who usually privilege theory over practice in terms of teaching-learning processes. This is a tendency within the Brazilian educational system, where offers of practical activities inside full-time school or full-time education programs is now growing.

Regarding the history of the organizations, the analysis of the three interviews in São Paulo in two cases shows a strong attachment to the founders' personal biographies, known in Brazil as social entrepreneurs, one of them being a social pedagogue (learning program*)* and the other one a Russian immigrant who founded a group, and later gave his name to the foundation that guides the *Spirit or Work* Program. The third was strongly linked to the market and business sector, but not necessarily to a personal biography of a "founder".

In Berlin, only one interview (*Herr der Hilfe Program*) among the three chosen organizations presents a strong connection to the personal biography of its founder, although there are more cases in the six social organizations visited in the city. Thus, both the Program *Hof der Hoffnung* (linked to social actions resulting from the occupations there in the 1950s) and *Aufbau der Jugend* (connected to the public policies of post-War reconstruction) consolidated themselves as organizations out of social pressures and demands exerted by groups of youths and workers, and have been historically and politically connected to some kind of institutional government regulation.

1. *Spirit of Work on the Warehouse Floor* Program

The Program SWWF belongs to an organization of the third sector and is a social branch of a group of industries in the metal-mechanical industrial field of Russian origin, founded in 1988 in the south of Brazil. In 1994, in order to strengthen the shares, the foundation created the *Spirit or Work* Program, with the goal of granting professional preparation to poor young people in communities where the factories were established, who were in between the last year of elementary school and the last year of high school. The program is a kind of simulation of the dual system of German professional training and also shows similarities to activities of the Brazilian *s system* (SENAC, SENAI, SESI) having received resources from the federal funds PROEP (World Bank/Brazilian Federal Government).

The program's coordination team consists of five people working within the foundation, including consultants who perform training courses for voluntary educators within those companies where the projects take place. The outreach is national and, until 2004, there were 55 schools within the country's industrial units where it is operated and three schools within the city of São Paulo established on production plants of industrial, commercial, and service companies.

The foundation's main partners are CEFET (Federal Center of Technological Education) and various other companies performing the educational activities within their production area, preferably on the factory floor. There is a limit of 20 students per year and per company, who are accompanied by 40 voluntary trainers leading pedagogical activities inside the company. There are 22 courses which comprise 800 hours in the classroom, 25 hours of class per week, offered in diverse methods of professional training related to the areas of metal-mechanics, chemistry, electronics, manufacturing, logistics, food, equipment operations, cosmetics, and administrative services industries. The program reaches, according to its coordinator, 85% of occupational insertion and also grants uniforms to young people.

2. *Learning* Program

The MA Association, a civil society organization that houses the Learning Program, has been around for 25 years. Its mission is "the full development of human beings." The association aims at "pushing forward the process of individual and community growth through the search for solutions in the social sphere, through methods of Waldorf pedagogy and for extended medicine through the principles of anthroposophy." Its emergence is the result of the initiative of a German pedagogue, who, in 1976, founded the institution with the help of students from the Waldorf school in the southern region of the city of São Paulo. She went on to participate inside a neighboring big slum to bring together children from privileged social sectors (students from the Waldorf school) with those from underprivileged social strata. Since 1983, the activities have been amplified and included another neighboring slum, today directly serving four thousand people and indirectly twelve thousand, of which 1,700 young people and children are in vulnerability situations and under social risk. International support, especially from companies, organizations and individuals in Germany and other countries such as the U.S. and Japan, is crucial to its performance. Inside what the institution calls SEC (social-educational center) there are professional preparation, which have nine people on the coordination team. Through these activities, ninety young people per year are seen to, the pre-requisite is that they attend school and are between 15 and 18 years old. The scope of the activities reaches the districts or supradistricts. The socio-educational center's prospectus says that the office of learning's objective is "social protection for adolescents and young people in situations of social vulnerability, ensuring the space, autonomy and social integration, stimulating participation in public life, and recognition of work as a right of citizenship; widening the cultural and informational repertoire and participation in public life. There are courses and workshops such as: metal and woodcraft, recycling paper, cooking, baking and sewing.

3. Protagoras Program

The ACP, which unites a CSO renowned for its work with juvenile protagonism in the city of São Paulo and a company exploiting natural resources, was born from this commercial company's desire to make social investments and open its own social responsibility program in 1999. The program aims at "creating and disseminating innovative and effective social technologies, committed to the solution of community issues, formulated and implemented by young people".

According to the coordinator, the money invested in the program could be reinvested in the company, but they chose to invest in the company's

image of social responsibility. Schooling approximately 200 young people per class per annum, within a period of ten months the program targets young people from 14 to 18 years of age, 80% of whom are from public schools and 20% from private schools. The program systematized and organized a "Social Technology for Youth" manual, in which some of the main experiences of young people who went through the training process are registered, as well as the strategies and tools that were used in the program. The focus is on youth projects in the fields of environment and health but, as the program emphasizes the autonomy of young people to propose and style their own projects, the initiative can be considered as professional training for the job, creating a space for the development and strengthening of the young person's professional biography.

1.3 A Brief Description of Three Chosen Institutions in Berlin

1. *Herr der Hilfe* Program

The HZS is a foundation created by HZ, actor and broadcaster from the 1950s, who had visited a prison in Berlin and was touched by the prisoners' situation. He went on to offer help to those who left prison and needed support for social integration. In 1957, the foundation received financial support from the Berlin Senate and became an institution for the resocialization of people who had left the carceral system.

Presently, the foundation supports a total of 1,700 people, including various branches in Berlin, with 260 employees in at least fifteen branches, also giving workshops within institutions for criminal juveniles. Out of a total of 1,700 people who are supported in the areas of professional qualification, house monitoring and counseling, 93 young people are served solely in the context of the KJHG (Kinder und Jungendhilfsgesetz) or in a free translation LACJ (Law of Assistance to Children and Young People) in which, Article 13 (1) indicates professional education actions for underprivileged youth.

The young people taking part in these activities are regarded by law as socially underprivileged and in need of assistance, presenting problems such as being school drop-outs, being involved in criminal activities and thus, in conflict with the law, involved in drugs, and related problems. Among the offered activities, governed by the Berlin Chamber of Arts and Crafts and by Article 77 of the KJHG, there are courses for clerks, gardening, gas and glass installation, motorcycle mechanics, painters, panel painters, and production of ads with light design. The young people are divided into groups of twelve to fifteen, receiving a total of thirty hours of training per week, from which seven are in the professional training school. The duration of the training

ranges from six months for professional preparation to three years for regular professional training courses. The organization's goal is the professional integration and re-socialization of young people considered as socially underprivileged or at social risk, who are still in prison, or who have just left the carceral system.

2. *Hof der Hoffnung* Program

The WZ Association, which organizes professional education workshops for young people in the district of Berlin-Zehlendorf, was founded in 1985 and is a school in the west of Berlin. The facility, which has been occupied by popular housing movements in post-War Berlin and by a union of workers called *Neue Heimat*, was sold to the WZ Registered Association and today houses activities for about 100 socially underprivileged adolescents.

According to the organization's prospectus describing their activities, "the social disadvantage is present when there are socialization deficits. This can be detected in problems in the development of young people, relationships at school and within the family, through chemical dependency, in tendencies towards unlawful acts, through traces of violent behavior, in lack of housing and problematic educational and professional biography." The organization has approximately twenty employees, who take turns working in several split-shifts, twenty hours a week. The team is made up of educators, a crafts masters, and social pedagogues who are responsible for guiding and leading the organization's pedagogic program. The organization offers one year of professional preparation in accordance to article 19 of BBiG, Federal Act of Professional Education. After this year of preparation, the young people may enter a proper professional training course, which can also be mediated by the CSO, supported by Articles 13 and 27 of KJHG, which provides social support to the youths and assistance towards the education of young people.

The association seeks to provide professional qualification for adolescents and socially underprivileged young adults in carpentry, construction, coating, and cooking. The workshops take place both at the organization's headquarters as well as in the construction areas or industrial kitchens, designed as training fields where young people can learn and experience situations. There are also courses in bricklaying, carpentry, upholstery, and building for young people between fifteen and 27 years of age, in weekly shifts alternating between theory and practice, having work preparation with a duration of one year with classes only in the WZ association's workshops, and courses with a duration of two to three years, during which the students attend part of the classes at the professional training school and the other part in the WZ's workshops. Included in the package of pedagogic measures and aids offered by the CSO are. compensating the education deficit, support for

solving the youths' financial and family problems, planning to work in areas of civil construction, handling of materials, improvement of socialization conditions, individual accompaniment, developing the ability of self-criticism and to listen to criticism, punctuality and reliability in work commitments, accompaniment in learning courses, support for the development of cultural and artistic activities such as music, video, graffiti, field trips**,** and finally, assistance to young people who leave the carceral system.

3. *Aufbau der Jugend* Program

The JW in Berlin emerged as an institution of public law in the post-War period (1950s) and started its activities professionally training soldiers. It belongs to the set of institutions that helped to generate visibility to associations of *Jugendhilfe* (Youth Care), and is a kind of organization which develops actions of preparation and training, and also coordinates the arrangement of culture, leisure and sports activities, especially for underprivileged young people. The institution coordinator's explanation shows how its appearance is associated with the period of the country's reconstruction and the emergence of the 2nd Republic:

"Well, it has existed since 1950. Under this name since 1947, in the General City Council. After the separation of the city, it was in the West. The idea was to qualify soldiers. The first workshops were located within the area of civil construction with qualification procedures. Later, in the mid-1970s, the youth construction workshop began the first training course under the dual system. There was a special program from the Berlin Senate and then we organized the institution in Berlin-Spandau, also for the first training. After 1997, the work in the workshop in the east of the city began, with 56 employees, who were granted, through the EU, 1.8 million euros by the Federal Institute of Labor. (...) Well, at the time, there was a budget of 3 million for the Chamber of Industries to install first personal computers and equipment and organize the institution."

B. coordinator of *Aufbau der Jugend*, Berlin, 20. Feb.2004

In the district of Prenzlauer Berg, where the organization offers 265 training opportunities for underprivileged youths, it has been operating in the 1990s. It also offers the opportunity, after the completion of the workshops, practical activities and training, to acquire the General School Certificate and continue at a secondary school level. Its goal is that young people reach professional training with a certificate of completion, based on the grounds of the Federal Law of Professional Education (BbiG). The Prenzlauer Berg workshop is located in a large building, in the eastern part of Berlin, which once was a printing shop that looks like a factory, occupying an entire block.

The mediation between young people and the institution is made by the youth office and district office as well as the legal and institutional basis that regulates the financing of actions by the Federal Labor Agency, included by SGBIII (Code of Social Law III which regulates professional training) and SGBVIII (Code of Social Law VIII which provides assistance to children

and youths). Furthermore, the entity receives financial assistance from the EU through the ESF (European Social Fund), as noted by the coordinator.

As part of what is classified as BBE (Berufliche Bildung und Eingliederungschancen; professional training and integration opportunities) or courses for preparation and employment, the following courses are offered: nutrition and home economics, technical and electro-technical metal works, painting techniques, wood techniques, technical information, economy, and administration, which usually last from six months to one year.

> "It is professional preparation. And they are the exact professions as described in Article 25 of BBiG (Federal Law of Education Training), right? And it is based on the dual system. And then the young people go to training school. In this period, the vocational school is responsible. So, when you are with us then, three or four times a week or in a block of intensive classes for two weeks. After that, it is exactly as provided in paragraph 25 of BBiG."

> B. coordinator, *Aufbau der Jugend*, Berlin, 20. Feb.2004.

Article 25 of the Federal Act of Professional Training regulates the planning of training, in other words, states duration, organization, examination applications, course structure, and accreditation. In Berlin and its surrounding areas, the organization offers 1,500 vacancies for educational reinforcement, 300 vacancies for professional education, and 120 vacancies for professional guidance in more than twenty different types of professions. Young people are organized into groups of twelve and there are educators and social pedagogues who accompany the entire process.

2. Analysis and Interpretation of the Interviews with the Coordinators in the Organizations

During the interviews with the coordinators, the researcher has always tried to let the informants express themselves freely, searching for the most relevant material on their views and values in the context of pedagogical actions for young people. Nevertheless, a planned itinerary of questions was followed, in which the beginning mainly refers to:

1 - Aspects of the "organization's" biography,
2 - Biography and professional experience of the coordinator,
3 - The role of global agencies (UN, UNESCO, EU, WB. IDB),
4 - The coordinator's view on the political-institutional architecture for youths in the two cities,
5 - Their view of the "structure and organizations of youth educational programs or public policy inside the youth care" and their considerations about the theme of "social control".

These questions have been divided into excerpts and, later, transcribed and interpreted. In São Paulo, women as coordinators predominated. It was, therefore, possible to observe a tendency for white (women) to be in positions of prominence or power, while colored people (mostly men) were students or clients of the programs. This division generates a kind of typology of informants: white men and women on the top of a power pyramid inside the institution or organizations; and black, eastern Germans/Europeans and Turks on the bottom of this power pyramid inside the programs. Again, the work of Bohnsack (2008:141-154) made an important contribution to identify a kind of typology and role of coordinators inside the programs.

In Berlin, the gender-related predominance was male, also white, while among the students there was a less-defined composition, with a variable number of adolescence of Turkish, German, and Eastern European origin, many also male. Gender has also influenced the speech of coordinators in both cities. They tend to refer to the *guy*, the youngster (male) when describing a situation which involves the abstract figure of an underprivileged adolescent or youth. On the other side, the male black youths were the ones under social risk in the city of São Paulo during the 1990s. That is why we can see a rhetoric of social care programs being organized in the two cities, to react to those real tendencies, but also to legitimate activities to protect parts of society (the young population) under social risk.

Even so, the question of gender/ethnicity, together with the factor of a partially regulated landscape (Berlin) in contrast to a non-regulated landscape (São Paulo) produced an interesting frame for the two cities.

From the transcription, translation, and interpretation of interviews referring to the coordinators' discourse in the two cities, some elements deserve to be highlighted:

2.1 Aspects of the Program Coordinators' Biography: Professional Migration and the Field "Youth/Jugend/Juventude" as a Choice

The answers shown in interviews with the coordinators both in São Paulo and Berlin, identified a phenomenon called professional migration (switching field of professional expertise), with the coordinators having left areas of expertise such as chemistry, information technology, literature, engineering, and psychology for the field of *Jugendhilfe* (youth assistance or youth care) and the *Freie Träger* (independent organization) in Germany.

The same process occurred in São Paulo, where they migrated from areas such as psychology, literature, and administration to the unregulated area of professional expertise of the CSOs, NGOs or foundations in Brazil. That shows a tendency that there possibly is a professional migration from traditional fields to the scope of CSOs or NGOs in both countries. In Germa-

ny it is strongly influenced by the labor market policies, which stimulate the emergence of a second or third labor regulated market. That's not the case in Brazil, where it is normal to identify a formal labor market in opposition to an informal labor market.

While there is a clearer gender division in the level of the coordinators, among the young people that rather obvious division exists not only in terms of gender (mostly men) but also in terms of ethnicity (on the one side black and men in São Paulo and on the other side white, Eastern European and German-Turkish but also men in Berlin). Nevertheless, both in terms of youths or the social workers, educators or social pedagogues the results were inconclusive, because of the demand of time and resources to investigate these groups more closely.

The professional migration of coordinators from the surveyed institutions shows, in a way, that at some point in their lives they have chosen to work with young people. However, these coordinators' speech shows that they play a dual role in the programs: on the one side the administrator/collector of resources for the professional training programs. On the other side, they play a role of teacher/master who believe in certain values and ideas and try to convince the youngsters to stay in the program.

In both cities, these coordinators face a dilemma of, on the one hand, supporting (training) underprivileged young people for adult life and work, and on the other, controlling and keeping them out of dangerous situations or social risk. The analysis of the interviews, material, the visits to workshops, and data intersection, allows to confirm that they try to deal with these situations using different approaches or methods. In doing so, it seems that they try to establish a strategy to deal with the three classes of control stressed by Elias (1994:116): social control, control over the nature and self-control. They establish a kind of control over young people, but they have to encourage them, too, to develop self-control and to be relatively autonomous and independent after leaving the programs.

Excerpt: "Public policy for youth in Sao Paulo and Berlin"

Y: How do you characterize the youth professional assistance in São Paulo (Berlin) and The public policy for youth in São Paulo (Berlin)?

Af- (Coordinator – Spirit of Work on the Warehouse Floor)

- I'm gonna be honest with you. I can't make any evaluation on this issue. I have been absolutely concentrating in the SWWF Program for the last four years and I don't come from an area with much experience (in public policies). I know several activities in projects but I'm not that close to public policy. (...) We do work with the private sector. We have one root of origin in this field. It has inspired public policy and we want to bring more companies to support them to do the same thing.

Bf- (Coodinator- Learning – São Paulo):

- Well, I should tell you… I'm not prepared for that! I haven't reflected on that yet… But, in general, we've got so many attractions to the youngsters. So many things in the cultural field, field trips, some little workshops, those things… But he goes from one side to another, and that's why I tell you about the reference of authority. He stays there, in a park, drinking, smoking marihuana, doesn't go to school, he can't get out of this vicious circle. There are no cultural activities for him. There is a lot of it! For free! But when I've got a problem here, I don't know where to go or whom to call. Maybe it's because I don't invest so much on the partnerships. Many times I don't know where to send a young guy who arrives here, who isn't my student… We are in the middle of a slum, and everything happens here. Then comes a young guy who has been sleeping in the streets for three days. (...) I am lost!!

Cf- (Coordinator – Protagoras – São Paulo):

- Since last year, there is the VAE financing. Have you heard of it? It's a sponsorship by means of cash, aiming at youngsters' projects, elaborated by youngsters who don't have a registered company. Therefore, to me this is an awesome initiative (…). And here, inside the program, we brainstorm on how to be a manager; we discuss and talk, because every supporting institution is connected to a registration number. And there are boys out there carrying outstanding projects in their communities. And they don't want to run an NGO, they don't want to run a place, an institution... (...) What calls my attention in São Paulo, in Brazil as a whole, is that it is still a bit tutelary. Juvenile politics around here try but still cannot manage to change something. (...) You then find a project designed, and it does follow a direction, an innovative direction and so on, and the practice reveals a lot of protecting, of leaving it the way it is, of trying to avoid change; the politics have little interaction. They aren"t a complement from each other. They are like STDAIDS or any health program to the young that we find by dozens. And the boys are already aware, they can't stand it anymore to hear about prevention. I mean, we still haven't gone one step further. Policy have little communication among each other. (...) It is very difficult to sit at a multidisciplinary table to talk about children and adolescents which doesn't carry this protective, tutelary perspective. You look at the teenager and he is a target, he needs something. He is a teenager who is under development… He needs protection, you know? But it is too much emphasized. Yes! … I believe he needs something. But it is not this what he needs, he needs a whole lot of other things. So, it is, in fact, about not believing. – 'He is poor, doesn't know how to spend money, I have to define that for him, what he is going to do. He also doesn't know things. I have to guide, to set fixed times to get in and out, to help him to do things'; it gets all very uninteresting, I think.

Am – (Coordinator- *Herr der Hilfe* - Berlin)

- Well, at the moment the situation about the youth care in general and the budget in Berlin is very problematic. Every institution says, "The need to teach or qualify young people in the context of the youth care is there, in terms of getting a professional training. But the budget situation in the city, as we can see in the press, is devastating. The funding by the Youth Secretary isn't possible anymore. (…) And there are problems… when we get young people, there are problems not only at school. There are also problems with drugs, delinquency, or youngsters who constantly use violence. (…) But when the budget isn't

there, there is nothing to do. And then we try to get resources from the Agency of Work, in a contingent way. And according to the support of the Agency, vacancies are going to be subsidized. Also, the caring for young people in terms of social care, professional preparation and professional training, they last for three years and cost too much. And the Youth Secretary says: "This Young guy is unable to do this professional training". Then we get some resources from the District Secretary. But it is not enough to pay for the places in the youth care.

Bm - Coordinator - *Hof der Hoffnung* - Berlin

-In the history of the Professional Youth Assistance (Jugendberufshilfe) there was the post-War movement of house squatting. At the time, when young people, who didn't have any qualification or chance in the labor market, could squat, thus find a house to live in and to renovate it. Since this motivation was there, it had to be used. That was in the time when there was a West Berlin. An opportunity to learn from scratch. That idea was interesting for those who were looking for professional training. Then, at the same time, the Youth Secretary also thought that this concept was good and supported those young people to take professional training courses. (…) Nowadays, everything is about costs… It must be inexpensive, yet effective. Then, the qualification that we conduct here has to show results. You cannot say "Here the youngsters have studied for three years and are now prepared for the Professional School Certificate; but rather that they have been here for three years and have also undergone work towards a life preparation" (…) Well, the youngsters come from broken social background and we try to give them a normal life. It has to do with a development process, and it needs time. It is impossible to do this in half a year, because it depends on how big their problems are. Nowadays the funds are just to measures of work preparation and not anymore for qualification or professional training (…) And the youngsters come from a very bad situation… they have no regular life, have left the school, have a catastrophic financial situation. (…) We start to organize everything with them, they can go to companies to do the practical part, and we try to help them to get the General School Certificate. This is more difficult, because after a year, they have to leave the workshop.

Cm – Coordinator – *Aufbau der Jugend* program – Berlin

- From Monday on, I have been in a discussion and the Senate said that it is not going to financially support 1,200 places for youngsters to obtain professional training, it is going to be reduced to 800 places. If you read the papers you will see the difficulties of the youngsters. Our aims, it is no longer successful. (...) I believe that the Professional Youth Assistance is no longer politically controlled. (…) I believe this is going to be considered an issue just when the youngsters are one foot from prison. When there is more crime in this city. People say that the children are lazy, but they have no chance to do anything. When the students from the *Realschule* have to send 70 Applications and then get no place in the companies to gain hands-on experience, what can he do in the world? What can a young guy do when his parents haven't had a job in years? They can only survive depending on Social benefits.

3 Final Considerations

As described before, we must highlight an inconclusive and yet to be explored point in a new research around professional educational programs for the young. It was possible to observe a process of Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, as Goffman (1985) suggested.

Among these processes, we can highlight:

1 - Dramatic incorporation of words (roles) from the youths (students) by the adults (teachers and coordinators), simulating or rebuilding through dialogue, for example, in individual interviews, interaction situations, the conflicts and reflections that occur between these groups in real life and in learning situations;

2 - The occurrence of simulation, role-playing, or representation of the world of labor or school through practical classes in pre-training workshops or for work preparation, with the occurrence of trials and practical exercises and even the handling of various materials such as metal, synthetics, glass, wood, minerals, and various liquid substances by young people. In this context, we should highlight the occurrence of a dramaturgy, where the *Bildhaftigkeit* and the plasticity of the expressions in dialogues, represent, as pointed out by Bohnsack (2008:140), a special context to build a typology and even a comparison between individuals or groups;

3 - Use of technical or theatrical performances, such as in the WZ and HZS organizations (Berlin) and ACM and CAP (São Paulo) in order to create a multiple and diverse learning environment, and in some way establishing a dialogue with the theory of multiple intelligence, from Howard Gardner, discussed in Brazil by Antunes (1997);

4 - Crystallization in civil society organizations of learning spaces that, when acclimatized, adapted for this purpose, become spheres of socialization corresponding to the spheres of family, school, and work.

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Arnd-Michael Nohl / Ulrike Selma Ofner

Migration and Ethnicity in Documentary Interpretation – Perspectives from a Project on Highly Qualified Migrants

Public discussion on migration tends to use ethnicity as an important category. Newspapers frequently point to the ethnic background of newly arrived immigrants or even of those people who have been in the respective country for ages. The "Chinese-American" is a common notion as is the "Turkish guest worker" in Germany. Unfortunately, research on migration often follows this trend and takes over ethnicized categories from common sense discourse. Research is being done on "Italian" migrants or "Mexican" un-documented people. Even where ethnicity is not a category that structures sampling, it is at least a topic under empirical scrutiny. How migrants define their own ethnicity is a frequent question of both quantitative and qualitative inquiry.

Yet, it makes a difference whether a person *describes* himself or herself as belonging to an "ethnic group" (and/or *is described* accordingly by others), or whether a person actually *belongs* to an ethnic group. This subtle but extremely important distinction between the ethnic self-description and the description by outsiders on the one hand and ethnic affiliations on the other hand results in the fact that migration researchers are faced with major problems with regard to basic theory as well as methodology. These problems could be countered by prejudging – in a constructivist manner – both theoretically and methodologically that ethnicity was merely a matter of ascription. One could also – in an objectivist manner – make the ethnic group the basic concept and steer the sampling of empirical research along ethnic lines of distinction. The task of migration research and its empirical results becomes more complex when one does not basically orient oneself either in theory or in methodology to ethnic categories of distinction, but tries to empirically grasp the meaning of ethnic labelling and of potential forms of communitization.

This complex task is the main discussion point of the article at hand. We would like to discuss how it is possible to conduct migration research beyond ethnic lines of distinction without completely ignoring the meaning of ethnicity (in both of the above mentioned manifestations). In order to do this we will first draw on a classical approach of empirical, qualitative research which has been ground breaking in the field of migration: the approach of the early Chicago School (chapter 1). Important insights of this approach are taken up when we expand on the methodology we use in our own research:

the Documentary Method (chapter 2). As methodological reflection cannot and should not be abstracted from empirical research practice, it will be useful to discuss main issues of our approach within the framework of an ongoing inquiry into the life histories of highly qualified migrants[1] (chapter 3 – 7).

1 "Race Relations" and Comparative Analysis in the Chicago School

In two respects, the former Chicago School, as it had formed around William I. Thomas and later on around Robert Ezra Park, was relevant to conducting research on the immigration society: On the one hand, first theoretical categories and models used to describe the phenomena of immigration were developed which, however, are often criticized these days and which focus on ethnic differences without being pre-structured by them. On the other hand, this research practice includes a trend-setting approach to conducting research on immigration and on the impacts it has on modern societies.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, immigration in the United States must have appeared as an element of "*Conditio Humana*" (Human Condition), and not as a special phenomenon of a hyphenated sociology. In contrast to conventional contemporary reception, which deals either only with the migration-theoretical results of this sociology and criticizes it (cf. e.g. Wieviorka, 1995; Treibel, 1999; Heckmann, 1992), or merely reflects it in a methodological manner (cf. e.g. Lindner, 1990; Weymann, 1995; Bohnsack, 2005), we would like to look at both aspects of the Chicago School.

Robert E. Park portrays the programme of sociology in an immigration society with the following words: "In the study of race relations, we are concerned with more than the formal facts. We are concerned with experiences and with the personal reactions of individuals and races. It is not sufficient to know what happened; we want to know how the transaction looked through the eyes of individuals seeing it from opposing points of view. If there were not racial points of view there would be no race problems" (1950: 152).

This research attitude rules out from the very beginning a one-sided assignment of problems (in the sense of reducing immigration problems to migrants). "Race relations" constitute in the reciprocal perspectives of all

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1   As much as distinction forms and potential forms of communitization such as the ethnic group or even gender were the subject of this study on highly qualified migrants, the migration status as such remained an empirically underexposed subject in this study. One of the reasons for this is that we have not empirically compared the migrants with highly qualified locals. There is no study without blind spots (cf. Nohl, 2007).

groups and individuals involved, through which one shall take a sociological look at the social process.

This research attitude outlined by Park is implemented in an impressive way by Louis Wirth, one of his students. In his dissertation on the „Ghetto" (1956), Wirth first elaborated the historical genesis, i.e. the „natural history" of ghettos in Europe, and then cast his empirical eyes on the settlement of the Jewish population[2] in Chicago.

With regard to the first 30 years of Jewish migration to Chicago, Wirth emphasizes that the Jews, most of whom had migrated from Germany, shared the clubs, political views and even the wartime experiences of the German-speaking Chicago population, while they cultivated their religious rites. Until then, there had been no "racial problems" in the sense Park had in mind. According to Wirth, "racial points of view" (i.e. perspectives which designate or are typical of an ethnic group) developed only when Jews also migrated from Russia. Wirth reconstructed what the successful Jews must have thought of the newcomers:

"The Jews on the South and the North Side [the better-off residential areas; note by authors] were becoming conscious of the growth of the ghetto on the West Side, which, though removed from their own residential districts by considerable distance, would be regarded by Gentiles as an integral part of the Jewish community. They considered themselves even farther removed in social distance than in miles from these poor, benighted peddlers with long beards, with side-locks, and long black coats. They sensed that all the progress they had made in breaking down barriers, in preventing the development of a ghetto, and in gaining recognition for themselves, as persons rather than as Jews, with their Christian neighbours might now, with the new connotation that was attached to the word Jew, come to a sudden halt" (1956: 183).

The social distance towards the newcomers was accompanied by the fear that outsiders ("gentiles") would not see the differences and might believe that all persons of Jewish faith, whether they live within or outside the ghetto, formed an entity. The ghettoization and the latent prejudice of the non-Jewish population seem to be the prerequisites for the forming of "race relations" and "race problems". The latter are not given a priori, but constitute in the social occurrences of the immigration society, as is shown by Wirth.

In the course of the years, the population in the individual residential districts has changed, though. The ghetto population is prospering and moves into the transitional zone in which the well-established Jews are already living. The latter are now forced to move on, since they live in this area not only because of the better housing conditions, but above all because they

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2   One cannot escape the objectivizing and – in this case – ethnicizing suggestive power of languages. While at this point we should be talking of a population group which – as is shown by Wirth – made similar practical experience (such as living in European ghettos) and is called Jewish on the strength of self and external ascriptions, it mutates into the "Jewish population" for the sake of a more practical and clear language.

want to distance themselves from the Jews in the ghetto. On the other hand, new immigrants are moving into the old ghetto.

In accordance with Park's programmatic draft, Wirth investigates objective facts only as far as they are conveyed by the reciprocal perspectives. In this respect, two fundamental approaches come into effect: On the one hand, Wirth *compares* between the perspectives of established and newcoming Jews, including their experience with non-Jews. On the other hand, he inter-relates these perspectives and *compares* them. In doing so, he orients himself above all by the self-structured nature of his cases (the social worlds) without categorizing them into geographic, ethnic or socio-economic dimensions *in advance* of the empiric reconstruction.[3]

The fact that these comparative reconstructions remained largely "unsystematic" and that the "search for comparison groups was not streched to the limit for the development of theory", as Glaser and Strauss (1969: 155) were to write decades later, is all the more astonishing because the comparative analysis is at least suggested in Park's migration-sociological research programme (see above).[4] What else than the reconstructive interpretation of reciprocally comparing and demarcating ethnic points of view could have been the central practice of Chicago research activities on "race relations"?

Yet, Park's research programme is pioneering with regard to practical research and basic theory. In the scope of this programme, Park emphasizes above all the terms "attitude", "experience", "opinion" and "idea". According to Park, experience is "concrete, personal and unique". It is derived from practical actions, not from theorizing reflection: „To say that it [experience; note by authors] is personal is merely to say that it is the result of action rather than reflection" (1950: 152). On the other hand, the idea is repeatable and thus independent of time and place. Historical facts were developing

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3   Zorbaugh (1969) did the same in a very convincing manner, although his study contained fewer theoretical references to migration research.

4   One of the reasons for this might have been that especially in his final chapter, Wirth quite suddenly comes up with sociological generalizations. In order to make clear the sociological relevance of his empirical study, Wirth reduces his distinguishing comparisons to some sociological generalizations, which closely follow Park's socio-ecological theory. He now speaks of a "symbiosis" and "accommodation" of the groups (ibid: p. 282f) without making this empirically plausible. We believe that the shortened presentation of the empirical results is due to the orientation to the metaphor of the social laboratory which is typical of the Chicago School. These researchers believed Chicago to be the ideal laboratory in which social phenomena could be empirically-microscopically analyzed and immediately afterwards be generalized for the entire country. Wirth wrote for instance: „If we knew the full story of the ghetto we would have a laboratory specimen for the sociologist that embodies all the concepts and the processes of his professional vocabulary." (ibid., p. 287). Already Robert E. Park had seen urban development as some kind of "controlled experiment" (1952: 73). He wrote the following: „in the city every characteristic of human nature is not only visible but is magnified" (ibid: p. 86). This point of view, oriented to generalization, was not longer aware of the contrasts among the urban population which Wirth had originally brought out.

only when individuals were communicating on their experiences (cf. ibid: 153). This clearly shows that experience is not the subjective reflection of objective results. Instead, objective results are constituted in connection with experience. Besides, experience offers researchers a doorway to the "racial points of view" (ibid: 152) and/or to „attitudes" (ibid: 153). The latter are stored in the (accumulated) experience of man. „To make an attitude intelligible it is necessary to study its natural history; to reproduce the circumstances under which it arose so completely that the observer can enter imaginatively into the situation and the experience of which the attitude is part." (ibid: 154)

Even though the reference to the imaginative entering of the situation shows that in those days precise methods of interpretation were not available, it makes clear the significance of the natural history of an attitude, as it was elaborated, for instance, by Wirth on the example of the ghetto. This attitude and its genesis can be elaborated only by the observer, never by the actor himself. As soon as the actor turns to it, he formulates a rationalized version of his attitude, which Park describes as "opinion" (ibid: 154). While an attitude can be worked into naturally accumulated experience and can be grasped only in the scope of an intensive interpretation, an opinion is a theorized self-reflection (established on the basis of one's own attitude).

2   Towards the Documentary Interpretation of Migration

In our opinion the documentary method corresponds to Park's programme of research on "race relations" in that it also starts out from the perspective-bound constitution of social problems and distinguishes between theoretical self-reflection and experience-bound attitudes. Yet, it implements the methodological and basic-theoretical implications of this programme in a more convincing manner.

Already the founder of the sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim, had seen the innovative practical research potential of U.S. American sociology, especially that of the Chicago School, and had suggested to combine it with the fund of formal basic categories developed in Germany in those days (cf. Mannheim, 1953a, 1953b). Especially the documentary method of interpretation developed by Mannheim and further developed into a multi-purpose research method by Ralf Bohnsack (cf. Mannheim, 1952a; Bohnsack, 2008; Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007), which is the methodological basis of our own study (see Section 3), is capable of taking into account Robert E. Park's programmatic reflections and of converting them into a consistent methodology.

The documentary method considers the knowledge of actors an empirical basis, but detaches from the actors' ascriptions of meaning ("opinions" according to Park). This requires the distinction between reflective or theoretical knowledge on the one hand ("idea" according to Park) and the practical or incorporated knowledge on the other hand, which was described as "experience" and "attitude" by Park, while Karl Mannheim referred to it as "non-theoretical" knowledge and/or "conjunctive experience" (cf. Mannheim, 1982: 67, 191). Documentary researchers therefore "do not assume that they know more than the actors, but that the latter themselves do not know what they really know, having an implicit knowledge that is not easily accessible to them by reflection" (Bohnsack/Nentwig-Gesemann/Nohl, 2007b: 11).

Since this implicit and/or "a-theoretical" knowledge can initially be accessed only against the background of the interpreter's thought-experimental ideas of normality, it is important to substitute these ideas of normality by empirical comparison horizons and cases as soon as possible. For this reason, comparative analysis in the documentary method must not only bring the different cases into relation (as is the case with Louis Wirth), but is also responsible for methodically controlling the interpreter's ties to a particular social location (cf. Mannheim, 1952b). It is only against the background of other empirical cases of comparison that the interpreter will be able to realize the peculiarities of the cases he is studying without being blocked by his/her own ideas of normality.

In the scope of this peculiarity of the cases, questions of ethnicity must also be discussed. The empirical question here is, first of all, whether the cases which are associated with an ethnic group in an objectivist manner (for purely strategic research reasons on the part of the researcher) have the conjunctive experience in common which distinguishes these cases from other cases (which are associated with another „ethnic group" for strategic research reasons).[5] Secondly, it must be clarified which conjunctive experience across cases is found within an "ethnic group". After all, it might be experiences made with ethnic labelling from outsiders.[6] Thirdly, in cases of ethnic labelling which have not been turned into the conjunctive experience of an ethnic group (reconstructed as such by the researcher) it must be reconstructed in

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5 In this context it shows that one cannot completely escape the clutches of objectivism not only when it comes to giving these groups a name (see footnote 2), but also in the scope of research practice. If it is not intended to conduct a complete survey on a society or a social space, it will always be necessary to preliminarily identify within this social space individual groups for strategic research reasons, and to give these groups a name ("youths", "Mexicans", "men"). However, this can only be the beginning and not the result of research.

6 For instance, the confrontation with ethnic labeling from outsiders can be identified as a conjunctive experience across different cases, which shows in otherwise quite different cases of individuals whose parents immigrated from Turkey (cf. Nohl, 2001; Ofner, 2003).

which frames of orientation and experience this external ethnic labelling (and possible even self-labelling) is experienced (cf. Bohnsack/Nohl, 2001).

However, experiences and orientation frames are not only case-specific. According to the documentary method, empirical inquiry should not stop at reconstructing cases. In fact it aims at constructing types. Experiences and orientations identified across different cases are abstracted from singular cases and constructed as types. As soon as an orientation frame is abstracted from a specific case by comparison with other cases with the same orientation frame, a sense-genetic type emerges.

The construction of socio-genetic types serves to inquire into the social background of a certain frame of orientation (cf. Bohnsack, 2007). By comparing different cases, specific dimensions of experience can be identified which pertain to intersecting "social locations" (Mannheim, 1952b). Social locations like the generation location, the gender location or the migratory location provide the respective people with a potential of experiences in a specific part of the social realm. This location already "restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities" and suggests (but does not enforce) "certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling, and thought" (ibid: 106).

The three questions concerning ethnicity, which were asked above, can now be answered within the construction of types – and thus on a higher level of complexity. First of all, the connection between ethnicity and social location must be investigated. Yet ethnicity as such is not a social location per se. That is the documentary interpretation of migration does not start off by comparing migrants of different "ethnic" background. Rather one investigates *if* there are collective experiences which are shared by a group of people we signify with ethnic labels. Only in this case an ethnic social location would have to be assumed, while it would have to be taken into account at the same time whether the experiences in question were possibly experiences in external ethnic labelling. Now it can be worked out which meaning an external ethnic labelling (and possibly even a self-labelling) has in the frame of social locations referring to different dimensions (gender location, generation location, age etc.).[7]

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7   Such an approach towards ethnicity has been prevalent in recent documentary interpretations of migration, cf. Nohl, 2001; Bohnsack/Nohl, 2001; Weller, 2003; Schittenhelm, 2005.

3   Highly Qualified Migrants: Empirical Results and Methodological Remarks on an International Project

In the scope of the international, interdisciplinary research project "Cultural Capital during Migration"[8] we have not based our sampling on ethnic differences, thus being in accordance with the reflections mentioned above. As it is the purpose of this project to empirically analyse how migrants use their knowledge and skills during their status passage into the labour market, which obstacles they face and what kind of strategies they develop in order to overcome them,[9] we have drawn our attention to the topics mentioned and have considered implicit and explicit aspects of ethnicity only within these topics.

Although most migration research structures its sampling according to ethnic affiliations (e.g. by comparing Turks to Italian migrants), our sampling is focused on different status groups of migrants instead. Firstly, we distinguish between migrants who received their educational titles in the host country and those who received their educational certificates abroad. Secondly, we compare migrants whose labour market access is restricted by migration law with those with full legal access. Thirdly, we compare between the core group of our research, the migrants with academic titles and those with vocational qualification (who serve as a contrasting group). Last but not least, we contrast the labour market access in Germany to Turkey, United Kingdom and Canada respectively. With these comparisons we intended to empirically shed light on the different factors (educational organisations, labour market expectations, migration law) which influence the status passages of highly qualified migrants into the labour market. While reconstructing the various experiences of migrants during their "multi-dimensional status passage" (Schittenhelm, 2005) into the labour market, those which are significant across different cases are abstracted from singular cases and constructed as types.

Within the frame of the broader project the article at hand is concerned with the orientations and experiences of the status group of those highly qualified migrants who have obtained their educational titles abroad and who

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8   The leaders of the project are Arnd-Michael Nohl, Karin Schittenhelm, Oliver Schmidtke, and Anja Weiss. For an outline of the project including its methodological rationale see Nohl et al. 2006. First results of the project have been published in working papers, see http://www.cultural-capital.net. See also Schittenhelm, 2007; Ofner/Nohl, 2008; Henkelmann, 2007; Nohl/Schittenhelm, 2008; Soremski, 2008; Nohl, 2008a.

9   Connected to its methodological frame which is largely influenced by the Documentary Method, the project is based on a Neo-Bourdieuan perspective on migration, education, and social inequality in which the concept of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1986) plays an important role although this concept had to be revised vis-à-vis issues of globalisation and migration (cf. Weiss, 2006a and b).

only then came to Germany where they have obtained a residence permit which allows them access to the labour market equal to that of native people.

To ensure comparability throughout the entire project, interviewees were chosen along specific criteria. They should have left their country of origin at least 5 years before the interview, they should not be older than 45 years, and have a degree or working experience in the field of economy/management, IT or the health sector. Although these criteria facilitated comparison, we were confronted with an enormous heterogeneity of cases even within our own status group.[10] During the documentary interpretation of approximately 45 narrative interviews (cf. Schütze, 2003) in total (of which 32 were examined thoroughly), it took us quite a time to identify several important dimensions of these biographical accounts.[11]

Nonetheless, we have tried to avoid one-sidedness of sampling when we were searching for interview partners and selecting narrative interviews for closer examination. We found it important to include men and women, people from different countries of origin (from Sweden to Gabun) and migrants who are more or less successful. Hence our sample includes persons who have been able to fully and immediately use their foreign academic degrees on the labour market as well as those who were only able to cash in their knowledge and skills on labyrinthine tracks, sometimes beyond or below their original qualifications. While avoiding one-sidedness especially in the second phase of data collection, following strategies of "theoretical sampling" (Glaser/Strauss, 1969), we paid also attention to elaborate previously but tentatively developed types as well as to develop contrasting types.

Most significant were the dimensions of motives for migration, phases of the status passage into the labour market and strategies to use one's knowledge and skills as cultural capital. Each of these dimensions has been taken as the starting point for constructing *sense-genetic types*, i.e. frames of orientation, which have been detached from individual cases and have been identified as specific for the respective dimension, are formulated as types (cf. Bohnsack, 2008). Only then we were able to analyse how these dimensions overlap and modify each other in the sense of socio-genetic typology. And only within these three typified dimensions we identified the function ethnic labels and ethnic commonalities may assume.

In the remaining part of this article we will elaborate on the biographical orientations related to migration (chapter 4), then go into typical strategies of using one's knowledge and skills on the labour market (chapter 5) and into the phases of the status passage (chapter 6). Finally we will give first insights

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10   Heterogeneity turned out to be methodologically challenging for comparative analysis between status groups and countries in particular (cf. Nohl, 2008c).

11   For the documentary interpretation of narrative interviews cf. the contribution of Nohl to this volume and, in depth, Nohl, 2008b.

into the construction of a socio-genetic typology on cultural capital during migration (chapter 7).

4 Biographical Orientations Related to Migration

Reconstructive social research provides the researcher with surprises. When starting the investigation into highly skilled migrants we anticipated that we are per se dealing with labour migration in the common sense, i.e. with people who migrated for the sake of using ones cultural capital under better conditions – mostly for better payment. But to our own surprise it was very hard to find 'the classical labour migrant' when looking for interview partners with foreign academic degrees. In fact amongst the 45 persons interviewed only two would fit into this category.

So let us have a look at those orientations, motives, and reasons which brought academic foreigners to Germany. These biographical orientations need to be regarded in a broader context. Whatever it was – single reasons or clusters of motives – they were not constituted in a vacuum but are closely related to the macro- and meso-structural conditions under which they are developed. The typology we elaborated deals with the biographical orientations and the background which induced the decision to migrate and to stay in Germany. In our empirical data we could identify five main types of orientations: Partnership orientation (1), amelioration orientation (2), qualification orientation (3), refuge seeking (4) and Wanderlust (5). These orientations can occur as single causes or interfering motivations for leaving the country of origin. They determine the process that leads from emigration to immigration. Therefore we also identified overlapping, changing, obsolete and new orientations which motivate migrants to consolidate their presence in the actual country of residence.[12]

(1) Partnership orientation: This type of orientation can either occur as a singular reason to migrate or can be connected to co-existent motivations to change the place of living.[13] It can also be a reason to stay in the country.

  (a) In those cases in which partnership was the only identifiable motive to migrate, the persons in question were notably willing to undergo more or less considerable risks or deprivations in their professional career. In cases where partnership-based orientation was associated

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12 That doesn't mean that there are no other orientations beside these five that have been singled out as particularly striking. For example, social contacts in the immigration country might support the decision to stay without being a very significant single motive.

13 By the way, none of the interviewees had a purely strategic partnership in the form of marriage as one of the very few possibilities to obtain a stable residence permit in Germany.

to other, labour market related motives (qualification, amelioration and, to some extent, exploration), the migrants also had to endure forms of (professional) downgrading after coming to Germany but most of them sooner or later managed to put their knowledge and skills to use.

(b) However, partnership and/or family orientations can substitute the original motives to migrate, e.g. refuge-seeking or qualification is substituted by a partnership orientation which becomes even stronger when migrants have started a family.

(2) Amelioration orientation: We define „amelioration" as a hope for socio-economic improvement. As evidenced in the interviews, aspirations for a higher living standard, social security, attractive professional fields and higher wages are to be considered as an amelioration orientation.

(a) Apart from the rare cases of migrants endowed with a cultural capital both highly valued and transnationally usable (cf. chapter 5), who came from low-income countries in order to get a well paid job in Germany, generally the migrants' amelioration expectations were connected to other motives like partnership orientation. As an exception, for the ethnic Germans of our sample a higher living standard and social security were the striking and singular motives to migrate to Germany.

(b) Very rarely it occurred that the amelioration motive emerged only after a stay in Germany for qualification purposes. In these cases the change of orientation was initiated by further new motives. With regard to the amelioration orientation it has to be mentioned that the hopes for a better socio-economic level of living which migrants achieved in Germany in some cases turned out to be less positive than hoped-for. However, these migrants did not re-migrate back home for other reasons.

(3) Qualification orientations: In our empirical data we found different kinds of qualification: study terms abroad, postgraduate studies, pre-doctoral positions, gathering professional experience abroad, medical specialists' training. Where qualification was the only motive for migration, the original idea was not to stay in Germany but to return after having gathered the aspired cultural capital. However, other orientations emerged which made the plan of returning home obsolete (see above).

(4) Refuge seeking: The biographical narrations revealed that some people had to leave their home country due to the menace of war, armed unrests or political persecution. Unlike stays abroad for qualification purposes, which imply temporariness, refuge-seeking is a type of migration of unpredictable duration. As long as the cause that drives a person to flee does not vanish, it will overlay all other motivations for staying. These

other orientations turn out to be merely additional motives that can exert a positive impetus on establishing oneself in exile: founding a family, professional success etc.

(5) Wanderlust: The comparatively luxurious "desire for change" is an orientation of lower significance in our empirical data than the four types elaborated above. The analysis of the interviews shows that factors like curiosity, explorative urges or simply 'itchy feet' can only be found in combination with other orientations leading to migration.[14] This seems to be symptomatic for the current socio-economic situation in many parts of the world.[15]

5   Typical Modi Operandi of Using Knowledge and Skills

As much as biographical orientations are closely related to the macro-structural and meso-structural conditions under which they are developed, the utilization of knowledge and skills cannot be observed in isolation from the labour market on which they act. For this reason it is impossible to only take into regard biographical and professional orientations of migrants. These orientations rather have to be reconstructed in their close conjunction with the opportunity structures and restrictions of the labour market.

Therefore the typology which we develop in this chapter cannot be reduced to the *career orientations* of migrants, but pertains to the *modus operandi* of utilizing knowledge and skills. Ultimately this modus operandi designates the emergence of cultural capital and comprises of the relation of knowledge, skills and biographical orientations on the one hand, and opportunities and restrictions of the labour market on the other.[16]

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14   The orientations we found to be combined with wanderlust were mostly orientations likely to promote the career such as qualification and amelioration. Therefore it is not surprising that migrants with wanderlust desires are at the same time strategically oriented towards finding adequate jobs. In some cases wanderlust was specifically directed towards Germany because of connections to this country for special reasons such as childhood holidays. Obviously this went hand in hand with learning German – and speaking the language furthermore improved the opportunities on the labour market from the very beginning..

15   This has to be seen in contrast to the previous generation. We happened to interview three migrants born in the early 1940s and it turned out to be remarkable how literarily lightfooted they afforded to travel around. When they arrived in Germany in the late 1960s or early 70s, they did not necessarily have concrete ideas about their stay here. In fact, they did not worry about their future in this decade of very good access to the labour market especially for academics. However, such generation-typical differences could not be further investigated in the scope of our project.

16   Yet, at times implicit and unconscious actions (following a knowledge of which they themselves are not aware) and strategically planned actions cannot be separated clearly.

The modi operandi of the usage of knowledge and skills are not only diverse concerning the results of the respective efforts, but also with regard to the tracks which lead to these diverse results. Therefore, beginning with the respective type we also examine some different paths leading to this modus operandi. We have developed six types of utilization of knowledge and skills, including sub-types which describe the tracks on which these forms of utilization have been achieved.

(1) Full acknowledgement of cultural capital on the private sector: The full acknowledgement of cultural capital on the private sector certainly is one of the most privileged forms of using knowledge and skills based on foreign educational titles. However, it is ridden with prerequisites. Those migrants who are able to fully use their knowledge and skills on the labour market have told us different tracks towards the full acknowledgement of cultural capital which can be constructed as sub-types:

(a) In the case of those whose knowledge and skills prove to be transnational from the start, that is independent from the place of acquisition, we find a labour market which itself has gone through a transnationalization process. The field of medical and medicine-related science is endued with broad networks and journals across different countries. It is not only jobs and job applicants who are brokered in these networks and journals, but the very careers of these people are formed – e.g. by publications – across borders.

(b) Whereas this labour market in Germany is quite open even to scientists without command of the German language (because it is based on English), the transnational careers in the economy are an evidence of how useful and important a good command of German is for the acquisition of management posts. Apparently the professional knowledge expected from managers is rather transnational, whereas specific communicative competencies, which are also within the scope of duties of a manager, are strongly bound to a good command of the country's language.

(c) In those cases where the cultural capital is not considered transnational from the first, there are different tracks to acquire certain stocks of knowledge and skills in order to catch up and reach full acknowledgement of one's cultural capital. Among the bankers whom we have included in our research we have found an interesting mode of acquiring knowledge and skills in-house. This mode is interesting because apparently the respective banks assume per se (i.e. regardless of a migration background) that their prospective employees do not possess the skills and knowledge required for successful work. For this reason they have more or less institutionalized a kind of a novice phase. In this novice phase, which ideally is shaped as a trainee-programme, our interview partners succeed in adapting their cultural capital to the expectations of their employers and finally receive full recognition.

(d) By far more difficult is the recognition of cultural capital in private enterprises where those stocks of knowledge and skills which are (or seem to be) needed for full recognition have to be made up for outside the enterprise, that is to say at university. The persons concerned have to fight their way through the university's bureaucracy and to put up with the recognition of only a small part of their previous academic courses. Only when they have obtained a local academic degree, they are able to access the labour market on the level of their previous (foreign) academic degree.

(2) Full state recognition of institutionalized cultural capital and private enterprise recognition for incorporated cultural capital related to the home country and migratory background: Whereas in the previous type of full recognition of cultural capital by private enterprises the peculiarity that the migrant has obtained his/her knowledge and skills outside Germany is at best not valued at all or if so it is only valued negatively, in the following type we find an unusual combination of full state recognition for cultural capital and of appreciation of knowledge and skills related to the home country and the migration background in general:

In this type the recognition of the foreign academic title is subject to a more intense state regulation than in the type previously discussed. That is for those migrants who hold foreign degrees in medicine or law the state recognition for the foreign title is the conditio sine qua non for labour market inclusion. If one looks at the life stories it seems to be so easy and hassle-free to receive full state recognition for cultural capital, but this recognition is linked to restrictive entry conditions to the respective professional fields. The professional law itself ethnicizes the migrants. It implicates that only a certain person subgroup (Germans, EU-citizens, migrants married to Germans) is entitled to a minor professional licence as physician/dentist or to receive practical training in judicial work after having passed the first state examination. The minor professional licence (which in the medical profession allows the person only to work under the supervision of a fully licensed physician) itself is then linked to certain conditions concerning the foreign academic title of the migrant. Then the status as a novice (the status in which the migrant has only a minor professional licence) is very much regularized by the state, too. However, this track finally leads the migrant to a position on the labour market distinguished by its economic independence.

We have to assume that the strong regulations on the basis of professional law and the implicated discrimination of migrants with foreign academic titles are followed by ethnic exclusion on the labour market. This ethnic exclusion makes it important for the respective doctor to find employment in a practice which is placed in a niche of the health system. They cater for people with whom they share the same home country or at least the

migratory background.[17] This niche in the labour market could be called an "ethnic economy". However, this term would disguise the peculiar genesis of the niche which has to do less with ethnic affiliation than with ethnic labelling. First of all, this niche has been constituted by the immigration of major population groups (especially those who share the home country with the respective professional). Those persons from these population groups who do not feel adequately catered for in the practices of native 'German' doctors then look for alternatives and find them in doctors with a migratory background. It is only on this basis of (assumed) ethnic exclusion in the mainstream practices that the specific knowledge and skills of a doctor with a migratory background become relevant: He/she does not only speak the language of the patient, but also is assumed to have a better understanding of his/her situation as a migrant.

(3) Home country related recognition of cultural capital by private sector: Whereas the previous type is constituted by a combination of full state recognition of knowledge and skills and of their reference to the home country or migration background, in the third type we have identified a lack of that general recognition which is the prerequisite for enhancing cultural capital with knowledge and skills related to migratory background or the home country. In fact in the third type the knowledge and skills which the migrants bring along with them is exclusively used with reference to the home country. Hence it is the specific (ethnicized) reference to the home country which makes knowledge and skills become cultural capital. A lawyer from Brazil, for instance, finds employment as a specialist for Latin American tax law. Nevertheless, this home country related niche with its opportunities is also ridden with restrictions which become quite apparent in the cases examined. The very knowledge and skills which are successfully placed on the market as long as there is a strong reference to the home country loose value as soon as this reference disappears.

(4) Private sector recognition for newly acquired non-academic cultural capital within the previous profession: Whereas in the previously described forms of cultural capital the foreign academic degrees were – more or less successfully – used on the labour market, from hereon we discuss types in which foreign knowledge and skills are not valued offhand on the labour market. Mainly among ethnic Germans we have found persons who, although their educational titles had been recognized by the state, were not able to find an adequate position on the labour market. After a considerable period of unemployment they started an occupational retraining in their profession, subsidized by the welfare state and its employment office. While

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17   In the judicial system this peculiarity is not only based on the assumption that a migrant – on the basis of his/her incorporated cultural capital – is able to better cater for other migrants (especially if they are compatriots), but also on institutionalized cultural capital (e.g. private law). For instance, a lawyer can defend a migrant in divorce cases.

this retraining is positioned on a sub-academic level, these migrants could not find any assistance for further or repeated academic training in their profession. Hence the retraining takes place on a lower, more practically orientated level – downgrading the cultural capital of the migrants (for example an engineer for car-constructing from Russia got a training as a repairman for cars).

(5) Private sector recognition for newly acquired non-academic cultural capital outside the previous profession: That the foreign academic degree is not accepted in the receiving country is an experience also shared by those migrants whose form of cultural capital constitutes the present type. However, the migrants considered here have dissociated from their original profession before or during migration and have gained experience in non-professional "jobs", e.g. as taxi-driver. Having worked and been insured for more than one year, they then have the (sometimes hard won) opportunity to enter a state-financed occupational retraining course in a new, but non-academic professional area. This course, financed by the employment office, gives them new opportunities on the labour market.

(6) Cultural capital based on social identity: Insofar as cultural capital denotes a relation between a person's knowledge and skills on the one hand and the expectations and opportunities of the labour market on the other hand, not only the existing stocks of knowledge and skills as such are concerned but also their ascription. Yet the modus operandi of using cultural capital which constitutes the following type dislocates this balance: Here migrants are mainly ascribed knowledge and skills on the basis of their social identity. Other parts of their knowledge and skills, especially those acquired during university education, are not considered. On the one hand we find people who are able to position themselves on the labour market because *as migrants* they are considered language mediators (who have received only a very short training). On the other hand we have identified female migrants who are consigned to do jobs because they are *women*. They then work in child care or family assistance jobs although they have not received any relevant training at all. We also find combinations of the ascribed cultural capital, e.g. when a Bosnian female is asked by the city administration to care for a child from Bosnia displaying behavioural problems.

6   Phases of the Multidimensional Status Passage

Whereas the typologies on the biographical orientations related to migration and the typical modi operandi of using one's knowledge and skills give insights into important factors of labour market inclusion, the temporal and spatial nature of the labour market inclusion which we observe within the narrative interviews conducted with migrants can be best conceived of as a

status passage. As the migration-related biographical orientations (see chapter 4) already have revealed, this status passage is not only concerned with labour market inclusion but also with other aspects of the migration to Germany. During the analysis of the interviews it then became clear that there is yet another dimension to be considered, too: the dimension of partnership and social relations. Hence the object of our scrutiny is a "multidimensional status passage" (Schittenhelm, 2005). By considering these three dimensions and their interactions we identified the following phases of the status passage into Germany and into the German labour market:[18]

(1) Pre-Migration: The pre-migrational phase is understood as the period of time during which the orientation(s) which motivate(s) migration develop(s). Different aspects and incidents generate the migration motive. In some cases we see the development of a multidimensional migration motive (e.g. a combination of a partnership, amelioration and an exploration orientation); other cases only show one dominating aspect (e.g. a partnership-related migration motive).

(2) Transition: This phase comprises any possible transitional stage persons find themselves in during migration. The state of transition as it is understood here extends from emigration to the point where a decision for a medium or long-term stay in Germany is taken or until the most basic legal rights (right to earn money, free choice of residence) are assured. By means of using such a wide definition, the transitional phase covers many different characteristics of the migrational histories of our interviewees. It is therefore divided into subtypes, differentiated according to the voluntariness and the duration of the transition.

(3) Initial Phase: This phase describes the period of time during which the migrants are allowed to perform an active start in Germany (regarding access to the labour market and general self-determination). Some typical elements of the initial phase shall just be mentioned very briefly here: These are e.g. language problems in everyday life, a phase of acquiring the foreign language in a language course, initial unemployment, as well as visits to and problems with public authorities.
The initial phase is directly linked to the migration-related biographical orientations (see chapter 4), because it is set as the phase in which the motive for staying (or in some cases for leaving again) develops and mostly (except for the remigrants) it ends when a biographically relevant motive for staying can be identified. According to the different combinations of dimensions involved in generating the reason for staying (ranging from the migration-dimension over the labour market to the dimension of partnership and social relations), there are different subtypes of the initial phase on which we cannot elaborate here.

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18   The following is a brief summary of the in-depth analysis accomplished by Thomsen (2008a).

(4) Establishment: The beginning of the establishment phase can be identified at the point in time when the immigration orientation changes into a motivation for staying. An establishment is often (but not necessarily) reached by the impact of the dimension of labour market inclusion, and nearly always by the impact of a partnership and family orientation. As the name of the phase already suggests, in many cases a further establishment can be observed in the combination of both dimensions.

7 Socio-Genetic Typology: Relations Between Usage of Cultural Capital, Migration-Related Orientations and Phases of the Status Passage

The labour market inclusion of highly qualified migrants takes place in a combination of those typified dimensions which we have analytically separated in the previous chapters. Now it is essential to relate these typologies to each other and to discover (in terms of sociogenetic type construction) regular connections between them.

The central question of our sociogenetic typology is how and under which social conditions the migrants (are able to) use their knowledge and skills as cultural capital. In order to answer this question, we consider the relation of knowledge and skills on the one hand, and the expectations and opportunity structures of the labour market on the other hand. As is evident in chapter 5, these typical relations have specific antecedents which we have described as paths or tracks. Within these paths towards the utilization of knowledge and skills, different typical experiential dimensions of the migrants intertwine. At the interface at which the multidimensionality of biographical experiences is manifested, forms of legal inclusion and exclusion, social networks, experiences of symbolic exclusion, gender, migration-related biographical orientations, phases of status passages and the utilization of knowledge and skills merge (see figure 1).
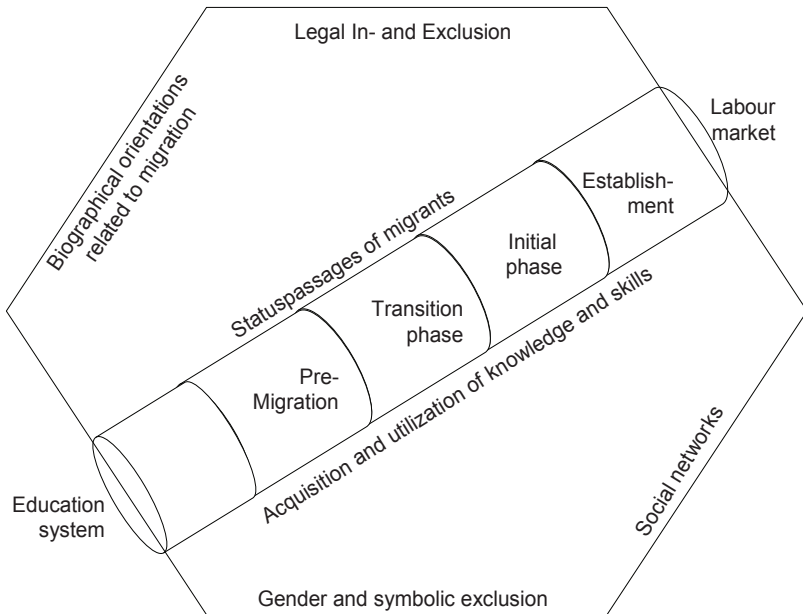
Figure 1: Multidimensionality of biographical experience

Owing to the interest of the research project we take the utilization of knowledge and skills as well as the paths which lead to it as kind of basic typology. Only from here we reconstruct how this basic typology is overlapped by other typical experiential dimensions. In the following we investigate regular connections between the typified dimensions mentioned above. We start with the respective endpoint of the utilization of knowledge and skills as cultural capital. Then we reconstruct which experiential dimensions how and in which reciprocal entanglement constitute the path the migrants have followed towards this endpoint.[19] Six socio-genetic types have been identified:

(1) Cultural capital on the basis of social identity: Flight, long-term transitory deprivation and symbolic exclusion: In those cases of women refugees who only hold an exceptional leave to remain ("Duldung"), legal exclusion as well as symbolic exclusion based on gender and ethnicity turned out to be decisive for the inclusion into the labour market.

19　The dimensions of symbolic exclusion (Ofner, 2008) and social networks (Thomsen, 2008b) are not included here.

It is characteristic that these persons who came to Germany in order to flee from their home country are caught in a long-lasting transitional phase because they are not granted a permanent residence permit. As migrants who only hold an exceptional leave to remain they are usually not allowed to work and they have to reside in a hostel. The long duration of this transitional status in which the migrants cannot be certain if they will be able to remain in Germany is not meant to prepare the migrants for life in Germany. Rather its purpose is to keep refugees in transition, in abeyance.

Although the motive to flee could not be used to lead to a permanent residence status, it plays an important role in the labour market inclusion of these refugees. This motive explains why these migrants put up with the accommodation in a hostel and finally – after their legalization – with a labour market inclusion below their academic education.

It is significant that even during the many years of transitory deprivation, these migrants made their first experiences with gendered and ethnicized labour market inclusion. Both refugees analysed here had observed that other female refugees illegally work as cleaning women. They themselves dismissed such opportunities due to their illegality. However, even when they still only hold the exceptional leave to remain, these women refugees find opportunities to work. With these 'jobs', which are situated on the lower levels of the service sector and which have a 'female' or ethnicized connotation, the trajectory into a form of utilizing cultural capital which is ascribed on the basis of social identity starts even within the transitional phase.

These refugees continue to use ascribed cultural capital on the basis of their ethnic and gender identity when they get legalized and search for jobs on the legal labour market. They are invited to a course in which academically educated migrants are trained as 'community translators'. On completion of the course both refugees discover that the opportunities to work as independent community translators are very restricted.

(2) Legal inclusion into the welfare state and labour market independent motives to stay as the context of new acquisition of non-academic knowledge and skills: An intricate form of labour market inclusion, in which the cultural capital that migrants bring along with them from abroad gets lost (like in the previous type), is to be found among persons who are – in contrast to the refugees mentioned above – largely included in legal terms. It is only with knowledge and skills which they have acquired in Germany that these persons manage to succeed on the labour market. Under which conditions did these migrants acquire new knowledge and skills, the more so as they are non-academic?

In the life stories of the respective migrants it is documented that they go through a relatively short phase of transition, after which they are granted a legal status which allows them a long-lasting stay in the country. Here the

initial phase and legal inclusion merge. Legal inclusion goes as far as granting citizenship to those migrants who are ethnic Germans. Others marry persons residing in Germany. Hence they are not only legally included, but are also motivated to settle down due to partnership and family orientation (at least as soon as they have children).

However, in all cases investigated we have identified enormous difficulties in making use of the foreign academic title on the German labour market. The academic diplomas are not acknowledged by universities or by private sector employers. There are various though functionally equivalent reasons for the migrants not to revise their decision to migrate during this initial phase: In the light of the difficult living conditions back in Russia, remigration is not an option for ethnic Germans motivated by strong orientations towards amelioration not only as far as earning their living is concerned. This is even more evident as these migrants are also partnership and family oriented, so that a revision of the decision to migrate would have to be a family decision.

There are two contextual conditions under which these migrants busy themselves with acquiring new, non-academic knowledge and skills below their former educational titles: Firstly, the orientations which lead to settlement in Germany develop beyond the labour market (be it due to politico-economic amelioration or to starting a family). Secondly, the respective migrants get into the phase of establishment before they are soundly included in the labour market.

The relatively late acquisition of non-academic knowledge and skills indeed is also based on the welfare state-provisions these persons have access to. This is because they have been working (though in unskilled jobs) during the initial phase (and thus got insured against unemployment) or were legally included as ethnic Germans.

(3) Precarious balances between biographical orientations and utilization of cultural capital restricted to the home country: How come that highly qualified migrants – and it's worth noting that the respective persons are all female – hazard the consequences of the fact that their foreign academic titles can only be used with strong reference to their home country? These ladies for a considerable time risk a precarious balance between their private biographical orientations and their wish to use the foreign educational title on the labour market.

On their arrival these women do not receive full recognition of the educational titles they have been granted back home. Rather they find employment (or get self-employed) because their educational title is country-specific. They work e.g. as a specialist for the Polish economy or become a judicial expert for Latin-American tax law.

All these migrants come to Germany with a partnership orientation, i.e. in order to continue their partnership with a German national. However, none

of them takes the 'easy' road, which consists of getting married and receiving a family visa subsequently. On the contrary, they try to legally set foot on German territory independent of their spouses. Those who do not profit from EU legislation receive a visa as a specialist (e.g. for Latin American tax law) or as an undertaker. Hence this independent access to legal inclusion in Germany also documents the precarious balance between the restricted utilization of cultural capital and biographical orientations. The migrants then try to leave this precarious balance behind and to give their stay in Germany permanence by expanding their opportunities to use cultural capital.

(4) Careers based on professional law and migration motives convertible to extensive legal inclusion: In contrast to the previously discussed connection of different experiential dimensions, we now investigate a tight and stable connection of migration-related biographical orientations and legal as well as labour market inclusion.

In the respective cases we find a biographical orientation or a flight motive which allows swift and extensive legal inclusion already in the premigration phase, or in the transition phase at the latest. All these migrants are either married to Germans, become Germans or receive full rights as refugees under asylum laws. With this extensive legal inclusion they enjoy the benefits of a state procedure which recognizes their educational titles as medics, which allows them to be granted a minor medical licence.

In this regular connection in the initial phase of the status passage, the utilization of knowledge and skills overlaps with a specific legal inclusion which itself is connected to migration-related biographical orientations. This overlap is the prerequisite for the opportunity to get processed by professional law.

The respective migrants then start their career in Germany as an assistant doctor/dentist. However, this degradation is smoothed by a career based on professional law with which these migrants can anticipate the end of their assistance and hence the full utilization of their cultural capital. The utilization of cultural capital is further improved by the ethnicized niche on the labour market. As we have shown in chapter 4, these doctors find employment in practices which cater for migrants, especially those of their own home country.

(5) Completion of academic knowledge and skills during a period of rest in the context of partnership or qualification orientations as migration motives: Highly qualified foreigners have to put up with a partial devaluation of their cultural capital and with a subsequent acquisition of new knowledge and skills not only in the health system with its professional law, but also in medical/biological research and in the management/business sector.

In the regular connection reconstructed above (4) we have already seen that the biographical orientations related to migration are an important contextual condition for putting up with degradation. Whereas in the health

system, which is heavily regulated by the state, the period of rest in which new stocks of knowledge and skills can be acquired is organized by professional law, we do not find such organizational structures on those tracks which lead to full recognition of cultural capital by the private sector. Here we shall ask why the respective migrants do not only put up with the temporary degradation of their academic titles, but also with the risks of acquiring new knowledge and skills although their value as cultural capital cannot be anticipated?

In the life stories of the respective migrants it becomes apparent that various biographical orientations overlap in the migration process. Moreover, their migration takes place in an early stage of their lifetime at which they have not yet established themselves in the home country. The biographical orientation(s) which is (are) important in the premigration phase (qualification and/or partnership motives) then is (are) not replaced by another orientation, but overlap(s) and is (are) hence enforced. The qualification orientation in particular makes it easier for the migrants to acquire knowledge and skills within a company or a university for a longer period of time, because this orientation is based on the assumption that one's education is not yet completed and that there is still something to be learned.

(6) The enlargement of cultural capital during the premigration or transition phase and the local attachment of transnational careers through partnership and family orientations: Finally we would like to consider a connection of experiential dimensions which is peculiar just because migrants are able to use their foreign knowledge and skills so easily. If one turns to the life stories of those who, in the private sector, receive full recognition for their foreign educational titles and who do not have to expand their cultural capital after migration, two characteristics become evident: Firstly, those highly qualified migrants who work in the private economy as managers or consultants have already enhanced their cultural capital before migration or in the transition phase. In some cases the migrants even establish a close connection to Germany at that time.

Secondly, we have to ask why these highly qualified people, whose academic degrees turn out to be transnationally acknowledged, remain in the geographically restricted German labour market at all? Reconstructing the life stories of these migrants, we come across a partnership orientation that only develops after migration. This partnership orientation goes along with the transition from the initial phase to that of establishment and finally leads to starting a family, i.e. having children.

In the cases of these persons, who command transnational cultural capital, an important characteristic of the status passage also relevant to many other cases becomes apparent: Utilizing cultural capital may not always be in the focus of the biographical orientations of the migrants themselves, although it is in the research project's centre of interest.

8   Outlook

As the empirical results of our research project clearly show, migration can hardly be reduced to questions of ethnicity. At the same time, such questions concerning ethnicity cannot be ignored completely either in the scope of migration research. The documentary method offers a complex access to the connection between migration and ethnicity, which we would like to examine once more theoretically and empirically in conclusion and in an outlook.

The question of migration research, which we believe to be of central importance, can be formulated as follows in the sense of the documentary method: To what extent is ethnicity a matter of communicative knowledge, provided we are talking about ethnicizing self-labelling or external labelling? And to what extent is ethnicity a momentum of communitization, i.e. a factor of conjunctive experience?

First of all, the results of our research work indicate that migrants experience ethnicization through others or ethnicize themselves. For example, persons who have hardly thought about "ethnic groups" before leaving their country of origin are labelled as coming from that country, while nobody ever asks them whether they can identify themselves with their home country.

Those academic migrants, whose university degrees are not acknowledged (neither by institutions nor by the private sector), are ethnicized with regard to their professional skills and/or their substitution. The receiving country reduces them to their (actual or presumed) language capacities in dealing with their fellow-countrymen.[20] Other university graduates, on the other hand, gain recognition on the labour market (and get a job) just because they have acquired professional competence and knowledge regarding their country of origin during their studies. With this in mind, we refer to the esteem of specific experience, to include (conjunctive) experience (for instance with the economic or judicial system existing in the country of origin). Yet, it is not the experience of an "ethnic group" but conjunctive experience made in dealing with a state and a national community.

An interesting intermediate form between ethnic labelling and conjunctive knowledge related to ethnicity is found with those doctors whose patients are almost exclusively migrants from the same country of origin. Once they have overcome the ethnically discriminating obstacles of professional

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20   As far as ethnicity "merely" refers to experiences made with external ethnicization, it nevertheless must be taken into account that such assumed affiliations with an imagined community will produce consequences. Even though they are not based on similar previous experience, they may cause such an experience. In the field of ethnicity, the formation of ghettos might be seen as a result of such assumed affiliations. It is these consequences of imagined societies that enable practical collective experiences like that of an affiliation with a social location.

law, these doctors (more or less) consciously establish themselves in quarters with a high percentage of migrants. The local migrants see and accept them as "belonging to the same ethnic group". Strictly speaking, this is neither self-ethnicization nor external ethnicization, but the intermediate form of an ethnic self-collectivization, regardless of potential differences with regard to religion, affiliation with a certain class, minority etc.[21]

When, for instance, a doctor from Russia treats mainly patients who likewise come from Russian-speaking countries, both the doctor (as shows in our interviews) as well as his patients (as it is assumed) allege that they will understand each other better – not only with regard to the language.

This kind of making use of cultural capital by referring to assumed origin-specific language and action capabilities is also found independently of the individual's origin, which means that doctors from different countries act in accordance with the same pattern to gain a professional foothold in the receiving country. Thus, it is not at all an "ethnic" pattern of labour market inclusion practiced e.g. only by doctors from Russia. It rather is a question of dealing in a strategic manner with ethnic labelling which is characteristic of an occupational group.

These results refer to the significance of comparative analysis for the reconstruction of ethnicity. In order to be able to identify whether an ethnic group has experience in common, it will not be sufficient to look for such congruity among different members of this group which, for the time being, has only been imagined by the researchers. (Using the example of the doctors from Russia, these would be found rapidly: They all are treating patients from Russian-speaking countries.) It is also necessary to differentiate between these common experiences and the experiences made by other ethnic groups, which have only been imagined for the time being. If, however, the common experiences of one "ethnic" group correspond to those of the second group – as is the case in the example – they obviously are not conjunctive *ethnic* experiences, but – like in the example – conjunctive experiences which go back to a specific modus operandi of making use of knowledge and skills.

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21 At the same time, doctors from foreign countries experience external ethnicization and/or a symbolic exclusion by members of the majority group in society. The latter for the most part stay away from doctor's practices which are both run and visited by migrants.

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IV The Documentary Method and the Interpretation of
   Pictures and Videos

Ralf Bohnsack

The Interpretation of Pictures and the Documentary Method

Some general remarks concerning the development of picture interpretation in the field of qualitative methods will open up this contribution. Then I will come to the question of how it may be possible to develop a social scientific method which is designed to treat pictures as self-contained, autonomous domains that can be subjected to analysis in their own terms. As I would like to demonstrate, the methodological background for this method can be found in Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge in connection with methods and theories of art history, and to some extent of semiotics. Consequences for the practice of the documentary interpretation of pictures will be demonstrated through private and public photographs.

1. The Increasing Progress of Qualitative Methods and the Marginalization of the Picture

When examining the development of qualitative methods during the last twenty years, we come to an observation which, at first sight, seems to be a paradox: the growing sophistication and systematization of qualitative methods has been accompanied by the marginalization of the picture. The considerable progress in qualitative methods during the last twenty years is - especially in Germany - essentially associated with the interpretation of texts. This is partly due to the so-called linguistic turn (see also: Bohnsack, 2007c).

In the field of empirical social sciences, the linguistic turn succeeded easily, among others because it was preceded by a premise in empirical research which has been concisely articulated by Karl Popper (1959: 95ff.): Reality must, if it should become scientifically relevant, be articulated by ways of "protocol sentences" or "basic statements" and that means in the form of a text. Qualitative research has not only followed this premise, but has also developed it further. Only original research data which consists of linguistic action of research subjects, meaning texts which are produced by the actors themselves, must not be transformed into protocol sentences. In the field of picture interpretation, however, this transformation is especially necessary, consequently making it suspect of being invalid.

The orientation towards the paradigm of the text and its formal structures has led to enormous progress in qualitative methods' precision. One of the reasons for this success can be seen in the methodological device of treating the text as a self-referential system or—as Harvey Sacks (1995: 536) has put it: "If one is doing something like a sociology of conversation, what one wants to do is to see what the system itself provides as bases, motives, or what have you, for doing something essential to the system." This device or premise, which was first applied in the field of Conversational Analysis, was later followed by other methodologies pertaining to the area of text interpretation. However, up until now this premise has not yet become relevant in a strict sense for those qualitative methods which deal with the interpretation of pictures[1]. The focus on this methodological device—meaning the treatment of pictures in empirical research as self-referential systems—is one of the central concerns of my paper.

Acknowledging that pictures have the methodological status of self-referential systems also has consequences for the ways of understanding pictures as a media of communication. We can differentiate between two quite distinct means of iconic understanding. A communication about pictures is to be distinguished from an understanding through pictures, as I would like to put it.

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1 And this is also true for the analysis of videos and movies in social sciences. In those areas of video analysis, which allocates itself in the tradition of Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology (and also of Cultural Studies), the picture only has a supplementary function to the analysis of talk, meaning a supplementary function to the text (see also: Bohnsack, 2008b). Charles Goodwin (2001: 157) has made this explicit in a very clear manner: "However in the work to be described here neither vision, nor the images (…) are treated as coherent, self-contained domains that can be subjected to analysis in their own terms. Instead it quickly becomes apparent that visual phenomena can only be investigated by taking into account a diverse set of semiotic resources (…). Many of these, such as structure provided by current talk, are not in any sense visual, but the visible phenomena (…) cannot be properly analyzed without them." Whereas it is regarded as impossible by Goodwin to analyze visible phenomena without reference to talk, Conversational Analysis has a long tradition in analyzing talk, meaning verbal phenomena, without reference to other semiotic resources, especially visible phenomena. Neither here nor in other publications in the realm of Conversation Analysis I could find a comprehensive reasoning for this fundamental difference concerning the methodological and theoretical status of pictures and texts. For a video analysis on the basis of the documentary method see the contribution of Baltruschat in this volume, Bohnsack (2008b) and Monika Wagner-Willi (2006).

2. An Understanding through Pictures versus an Understanding about Pictures

For the most part, an immediate understanding through pictures, or within the medium of the picture and thus beyond the medium of language and text, has been excluded tacitly or without further explanation from methodology and also from the theory of action. Theory, methodology and practical research should be in the position, "to no longer explain pictures through texts, but to differentiate them from texts," as the historian of the arts Hans Belting (2001: 15) with reference to William J.T. Mitchell (1994) has put it.

To speak of an understanding through pictures means that our world, our social reality, is not only represented by, but also constituted or produced by pictures and images. William Mitchell (1994: 41) has devoted a great deal of attention to this subject. Constructing the world through images, however, may be understood in at least two ways. One way of understanding only takes into consideration the interpretation and explanation of the world as essentially applied in the medium of iconicity. A more extensive understanding also includes the importance of pictures or images for practical action, their quality and capacity to provide orientation for our actions and our everyday practice.

The latter aspect has been widely neglected in theories of action, communication and human development. Pictures provide orientation for our everyday practice on the quite elementary levels of understanding, learning, socialization and human development—and here we are not speaking primarily of the influence of mass media. Behavior in social situations or settings as well as forms of expressions through gestures and the expressions of faces are learned through the medium of mental images. They are adopted mimetically (compare: Gebauer & Wulf, 1995) and are stored in memory through the medium of images.

Images are implicated in all signs or systems of meaning. In the terms of semiotics, a specific "signified" which is associated with a specific "signifier" (for instance a word) is not a thing, but a mental image. In the semiotics of Roland Barthes (1967: 43) we can read: "the signified of the word ox is not the animal ox but its mental image." And according to Alfred Schutz (1964: 3) every symbol or—more precisely: every typification is based on the "imagination of hypothetical sense presentation." These images are based to a great extent on iconic knowledge.

The understanding and the orientation of action and everyday practice through the medium of iconicity is mostly pre-reflexive. This modus of understanding is performed below the level of conceptual or verbal explication. Iconic or image-based understanding is embedded in tacit knowledge, in "atheoretical" knowledge, as it is called by Karl Mannheim (1982).

It is above all habitual, routinized action, which is structured by atheoretical or tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is also imparted through the medium of text and through the genres of narrations and descriptions in the form of metaphors, of metaphorical, meaning image-based depictions, of social settings. In a fundamental and elementary way, however, atheoretical or tacit knowledge is imparted by the medium of iconicity, for instance in the medium of pictures or images about social settings, and by incorporated practices of actions. The medium of atheoretical knowledge is thus generally that of "imagery" ("Bildlichkeit"), if we define the concept of imagery in the sense of Gottfried Boehm (1978: 447) in the way that "picture and language are participating at a joint level of imagery." This dimension of imagery belongs to the sphere of tacit or atheoretical knowledge.

The transition in interpretation from the sphere of explicit knowledge to that of tacit or atheoretical knowledge is, in the terms of Erwin Panofsky (1955), the transition from Iconography to Iconology. As a historian of the arts, Panofsky was in his time essentially influenced by the discussion in the social sciences—especially by his contemporary Karl Mannheim and by Mannheim's Documentary Method of Interpretation (see also: Bohnsack, 2007a).

3. The Change in Analytic Stance: From "What" to "How", from Iconography to Iconology, from Immanent to Documentary Meaning

Long before devoting attention to the interpretation of pictures, I worked with the Documentary Method of Interpretation myself. The Documentary Method is rather popular as an essential element of the Ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkel (1967). Having been influenced by Garfinkel since the 1970's, I went back to the roots of the Documentary Method in Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge (Bohnsack, 2006). On the basis of Mannheim's methodology, we began to develop a method for the interpretation of talk, especially of group discussions (among others: Bohnsack, 2004), and then of all sorts of texts in general (Bohnsack, 2008a; Bohnsack, Pfaff & Weller, 2008).

The change from the immanent or literal meaning to the documentary meaning, the change from iconography to iconology is a change in perspective and analytic mentality. It can be characterized in correspondence with Martin Heidegger (1986), Niklas Luhmann (1990) and especially Karl Mannheim as the change from the question of What to the question of How. It is the change from the question, what cultural or social phenomena are all

about to the question, how they are produced (see also the other contribution by Bohnsack in this volume). Following Panofsky, the question What does not only include the level of iconography, but also the so called pre-iconographic level.

Diagram 1: Dimensions of Meaning and Interpretation in the Picture

Dimensions of Meaning and Interpretation in the Picture

documentary interpretation
(iconological-iconic interpretation)

habitus, documentary meaning,
modus operandi

Question:
How is the presentation produced?

communicative knowledge

generalized knowledge of institutions and roles

conjunctive knowledge

knowledge of concrete motives of concrete actors

Question :
Which concrete story does the picture tell us ?

formal composition

planimetric composition
perspectivic projection
scenic choreography

iconographic interpretation
(connotative message)

Question :
What is represented in the picture?
Example: The action of greeting

pre-iconographic level of meaning
(denotative message)
Example: The gesture of 'lifting the hat'

The difference between iconography and pre-iconography is relevant not only to art history, but also to the social sciences and action theory. This becomes evident when Panofsky (1955: 52-54) explains these two levels or steps of interpretation, not in the field of works of art, but in the field of "everyday life" (1955: 53), as he himself calls it. As an example, Panofsky describes the gesture of an acquaintance. This gesture, which at the pre-iconographical level will at first be identified as the "lifting of a hat"(1955: 54), can only at the iconographical level be analyzed as a "greeting"(1955: 52) (see Diagram 1).

When we elaborate Panofsky's argumentation in the framework of social sciences, the step from the pre-iconographical to the iconographical level of interpretation can be characterized as the step to the ascription of motives, more precisely: to the ascription of "in-order-to-motives," as Alfred Schutz (1964: 31) has called it: The acquaintance then is lifting his hat, in order to greet. On the level of iconographical interpretation, we search for subjective intentions—as we always do in the realm of common sense. This sort of iconographical interpretation is only on a sound methodical basis as long as we are dealing with action within the framework of institutions and roles.

Otherwise, the iconographical interpretation is based on introspection and ascriptions, on the construction of motives, which cannot be the object of direct empirical observation.

In contrast to the iconographical approach to analysis, iconological interpretation is characterized by "the rupture with the presuppositions of lay and scholarly common sense" as we can call it in Pierre Bourdieu's terms (1992: 247). The iconological stance of analysis, its analytic mentality, is radically different from asking the question What. It is searching for the How, for the modus operandi of the production, or the emergence, or the process of the formation of a gesture. Asking in this way, we can—according to Panofsky—gain access to the "intrinsic meaning or content" of a gesture (1955: 40), to its "characteristic meaning" or its "documentary meaning" (1932: 115, 118), as Panofsky formulates with reference to Mannheim. By the way of iconological interpretation,

"we will receive the impression of a specific disposition from the gesture (…), which documents itself in the act of greeting, as clearly and independently from the intent and the consciousness of the greeting person as it would document itself in any other utterance of the life of the person concerned" (1932: 115f.). [17]

This characteristic meaning (in German: "Wesenssinn"), "which documents itself," is also called "habitus" by Panofsky. As is generally known, Bourdieu adopted this concept from Panofsky. The conception of habitus can refer to individuals or to collective phenomena like milieus: for instance to the "proletarian" or the "bourgeois" habitus. It may be the expression of a phase of contemporary history or of a specific generation: for instance the habitus of the "68-generation." Or it may be understood—as it was in the original intention of Panofsky—as the expression of a historical epoch in general: for example of the Gothic or the Renaissance period.

4. The Difference between the Habitus of the Representing and the Habitus of the Represented Picture Producers

According to Panofsky, in reconstructing for the iconological meaning, we are searching for the habitus of the producer of the picture. Especially in the area of photography, however, it seems to be necessary to proceed beyond Panofsky and to differentiate between two fundamental dimensions or kinds of picture producers: On one hand we have the representing picture producers, as I would like to call them, such as the photographer or the artist, as well as all of those who are acting behind the camera and who are participating in the production of the picture, even after the photographical record. On

the other hand we have the represented picture producers. These are all the persons, beings, and social scenes which are part of the subject of the picture and are acting in front of the camera.

The methodical problems which result from the complex relation between these two different kinds of picture producers can be solved easily as long as both belong to the same milieu, to the same "(conjunctive) space of experience" (in German: (konjunktiver) Erfahrungsraum"), as we call it using the terminology of Karl Mannheim (1982).[2] This is, for instance, the case when a member of a family is producing a family photo or when (as it is with historical paintings which are meant to give us insight into a historical epoch) the painter as well as the models or pictured scenes belong to the same epoch[3]). It is the main concern of iconological and documentary interpretation to gain access to the space of experience of the picture producers. And a central element of this space of experience is the individual or collective habitus.

All this becomes methodically much more complex when the habitus of the represented picture producer is not in correspondence or congruent with that of the representing picture producer, for instance the photographer or the painter. I have tried to demonstrate this with a photo of a family of farm workers from Brazil (see Picture 1), which was taken by a professional photographer with artistic ambitions. By careful interpretation it might be shown, that the incongruities between the habitus of the representing and the represented picture producers refer to incongruities of the different spaces of experience, the different milieus they both belong to and to their relation in society (Bohnsack, 2008a: 249ff.).

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2   Here the question arises, if the amateur photographs and the habitus of the amateur photographer can be interpreted according to the standards and methods of art history. The answer has been given by Pierre Bourdieu (1990) already with the title of his book about family photography: "Photography. A Middle-brow Art" (in French: "Un art moyen"). And in the book he explains: „In fact, while everything would lead one to expect that this activity (…) would be delivered over to the anarchy of individual improvisation, it appears hat there is nothing more regulated and conventional than photographic practice and amateur photographs" (1990: 7). The stylistic preferences, the habitus, "the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group"(1990: 6), constitutes a selectivity, which has its consequences also for the snapshot and especially for the snapshot (more comprehensive to that: Bohnsack, 2008b). In the field of qualitative text-interpretation it is a matter of course to interpret profane products like pieces of art, artful practices with inherent laws and a strict order, or, as it is called in Ethnomethodology: "as an ongoing accomplishment (…) with the ordinary, artful ways of that accomplishment" (Garfinkel, 1967: vii). But up to know this device has not really been transferred to the interpretation of pictures.
3   Different from the English translation in Mannheim (1982: 204), where we can find the formulation: "conjunctive experiential space", I prefer to translate the German term "konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum" (Mannheim, 1980: 227) with "conjunctive space of experience".

Picture 1: Sebastião Salgado: Family with eleven children in Sertão de Tauá. Ceará 1983 (Sebastião Salgado, 1997)

Returning to Panofsky, it can be seen as one of his most extraordinary achievements to have worked out the concept of habitus or the documentary meaning (for instance of an epoch like the Renaissance) by ways of homologies (that means: structural identities) between quite different media or quite different genres of art from the same epoch (from literature to painting, and architecture to music). Exactly this extraordinary achievement has become the point of reference for the art historian Max Imdahl to ask what then is singular to the picture medium or to iconicity in Panofsky's interpretations. Panofsky is not primarily interested in those meanings which are conveyed through pictures alone, but in those which are also imparted through pictures and other media.

5. The Importance of Formal Structure and the Methodically Controlled Suspension of Parts of Iconographic Knowledge

In this context, Max Imdahl (1996: 89ff.) also criticized the reduced significance of "forms" and "formal compositions" in the work of Panofsky. Forms

and compositions are reduced to the function of arranging pictured objects in their concreteness, and of arranging iconographical narrations (for example a text from the Bible) in a recognizable manner. Imdahl (1996a: 89f.) contrasts this so-called "recognizing view" ("wiedererkennendes Sehen") with the "seeing view" ("sehendes Sehen"), which has its point of reference not in pictured objects in their concreteness, but in their relation to the overall context and to the entire composition of the picture.

The "seeing view," in opposition to the "recognizing view," is the basis of Imdahl's method, which he has called "iconic" ("Ikonik" in German) (Imdahl, 1994, 1996a). Iconical interpretation is based primarily on formal composition and on pre-iconographical description. According to Imdahl, iconical interpretation can abstain from the ascription of iconographical meanings or iconographical pre-knowledge—and that means from textual knowledge. Iconic interpretation can—as Imdahl has put it—"refrain from the perception of the literary or scenic content of the picture, it is particularly successful when the knowledge of the represented subject is—so to speak—methodically suppressed" (1996b: 435).

Such a "suppression" or "suspension" of textual pre-knowledge seems to be methodically necessary if we seek to comprehend a picture in Imdahl's sense (1979: 190) as a "system, which is constructed according to inherent laws and its evident autonomy." In terms of the social sciences this means comprehending the picture as a "self-referential system"(Luhmann, 1987: 31f.). If we follow Max Imdahl and attempt to grasp the relevance of his approach for the social sciences, we will be simply—as I have already mentioned—making use of a device which has been the source of enormous progress in qualitative methods as far as the field of text interpretation is concerned. Now the question is how we can manage to transfer this device to the interpretation of pictures, to iconicity and its inherent laws.

As far as the suspension of the textual knowledge, as stipulated by Max Imdahl, is concerned, we can find correspondences or analogies to semiotics in the work of both of its prominent representatives: Umberto Eco as well as Roland Barthes. Beyond the differences between them, both agree that we must begin our interpretation of pictures below the level of connotations in order to advance to the autonomy and inherent laws of the picture. The level of connotation, however, as Eco (1968: 143) emphasizes, corresponds in several respects to Panofsky's level of iconography.[4]

The singularity of the picture in contrast to text, and the specific system of meaning, the singular message of the pictorial, iconical signs, is thus determined on the pre-iconographical or denotative level. When decoding these messages, however, we must always pass through the next higher level: the

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4 Concerning the correspondences between Roland Barthes and Erwin Panofsky see also: van Leeuwen, 2001.

level of iconographical or connotative code, which somehow obtrudes upon our minds and which Roland Barthes (1991: 45) has called the "obvious meaning" ("sens obvie"). In our common sense-interpretations, we usually tend to interpret non-abstract pictures by beginning with a mental construction of actions and stories which might have taken place in the picture. In the territory of common sense, we thus tend towards an iconographical interpretation.

The decoding of a message which can be imparted exclusively by a picture thus must always go through iconographical or connotative code. However the message must "get rid of its connotations" as Roland Barthes (1991: 31) has put it, and "is first of all a residual message, constituted by what remains in the picture when we (mentally) erase the signs of connotation"[5]).

At this point, some parallels with Foucault's well-known interpretation of the painting "Las Meninas" by Diego Velázquez become apparent (see Picture 2). In his interpretation, Foucault (1989: 10) emphasized: "We must therefore pretend not to know." According to Foucalt, it is not so much the knowledge about institutions and roles which should be suspended (in the example of "Las Meninas," this would mean suspending our knowledge about the institution of the Spanish Court with its courtiers, maid of honors and gnomes). It is much more "proper names," as Foucault (1989: 10) says, which should be "erased." This means that our knowledge about the case-specific or the milieu-specific peculiarity of what is presented, and of its concrete history, should be omitted, "if one wishes to keep the relation of language to vision open, if one wishes to treat their incompatibility as a starting point for speech instead of as an obstacle to be avoided" (Foucault, 1989: 10).

As my last expositions suggest, it appears that certain correlations can be worked out between prominent approaches and traditions in the area of picture interpretation. These correlations suggest that specific meanings or specific elements of knowledge on the connotative or iconographical level, which are primarily formed by narrations and by our textual knowledge, need to be—so to speak—suspended or ignored. In this way it seems to be possible to "keep open" the relation or tension between picture and language or picture and text in Foucault's sense (1989: 10).

The precondition for this openness is to avoid, from the outset, the subordination of the picture to the logic of language and text. Up until now this problem has not been taken into account in qualitative methods consequently. In the field of semiotics, it was Roland Barthes who presented a number of exemplary interpretations, which follow the method of suspension

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5   Here I am not following the English translation in Barthes (1991: 31): „ (…) is first of all a privative message, constituted by what remains in the image, when we (mentally) erase the signs of connotation".

outlined here, which begins "when we (mentally) erase the signs of connotation," as Barthes (1991: 31) has put it.

Picture 2: Diego Velázquez: Las Meninas, 1656. Madrid, Museo del Prado

(Thierry Greub, 2001: 295)

Barthes calls the system of meaning which is the result of these interpretations the "obtuse meaning" (1991: 53ff.) ("sens obtue"). In the medium of text or language, the significance of this system of pictorial meaning can be transmitted only in the form of ambiguities and contrariness. With reference to photographs from the Eisenstein movie "The Battleship Potemkin" Roland Barthes has shown that the facial expression of a weeping old woman, for instance, is neither a face which is tragic in the classic sense, nor does it cross the line into being comical. In a similar way, Umberto Eco (1994: 146) speaks of the "productive ambiguity" ("ambiguità produttiva") in the deeper semantic structure of the picture.

The iconic meaning, which is Max Imdahl's term for this deeper semantic structure, has—according to Imdahl—its peculiarity in a "complexity of meaning which is characterized by transcontrariness" (in German: "eine Sinnkomplexität des Übergegensätzlichen") (1996a: 107).

Picture 3: Giotto, The Capture of Christ, about 1305. Padua, Arena-Kapelle (Max Imdahl, 1996a, p. 45) (the slanting line was drawn by me according to Imdahl)

Imdahl (1994: 312) explains this with the example of Giotto's famous fresco "The Capture of Christ" (see Picture 3) and tries to demonstrate, that "due to a specific pictorial composition, Christ appears in a position of being inferior and superior at the same time." This complexity of meaning, which transcends simple iconography, is essentially based upon the so-called "planimetric composition" ("planimetrische Komposition"), that means: upon the composition of the picture as a plane. In the case of Giotto's "Capture of Christ" it is only one slanting line, which—according to Imdahl—is decisive for the composition of the picture. The complexity of meaning in its transcontrariness can hardly be expressed in words and the verbal transmission of its meaning can succeed only in direct reference to the picture.

Whereas – according to Imdahl – it is not completely futile to attempt to verbalize this complexity of meaning, Roland Barthes (1991: 59) insists that "we can locate theoretically but not describe" that deeper semantic structure of the picture which he calls the "obtuse meaning." And a further quotation: "The obtuse meaning is not in the language system" (1991: 51 and 54).

On the basis of Roland Barthes' theory of semiotics, there seems to be no successful way to develop a method for the interpretation of pictures which is relevant for the social sciences and is able to transcend the surface of iconographical or connotative meanings. It seems to be more promising to attempt to do this in the tradition of Panofsky's theory and its modifications and advancements through Max Imdahl. In the framework of social sciences, however, several methodical specifications seem to be required, especially with respect to the suspension of iconographical or connotative meaning that is, disregarding of parts of verbal and textual knowledge. In the field of social scientific interpretations of pictures, these specifications seem to be especially necessary, because here iconographical knowledge is not transmitted in a codified manner—as we will find in the history of arts, for instance in the form of Biblical texts.

Foucault emphasizes (as I have already mentioned), that in the case of the interpretation of pictures we should not suspend all of our knowledge about names—not all names should be "erased," only the "proper names." Taking a family photo as an example, we should, or must proceed on the assumption (or on the basis of secured information) that the pictured persons are a family. Thus we have to activate our knowledge about the institution of the family and its role-relations. If we know that it is the "Johnson" family, we should also draw upon our knowledge about the role-relations of the presented picture producers: mother, father, aunt, uncle and so on. We should, however, suspend or ignore as completely as possible all of the knowledge we have about the concrete biography and history of the "Johnson" family.

In the framework of the Documentary Method and Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge, which we call the "Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge" (Bohnsack, 2006) the two forms of knowledge which are to be differentiated here can be categorized as communicative knowledge on the one hand and conjunctive knowledge on the other (see Diagram 1). Communicative knowledge concerns generalized and mostly stereotyped, more precisely: institutionalized knowledge. In the understanding of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966: 51): "Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors." This knowledge concerns role-relations in society. From this communicative

knowledge, we must differentiate the conjunctive knowledge which is connected with proper names. This sort of knowledge about the "Johnson" family concerns its individual, case-specific peculiarity on one hand, and its milieu-specific character on the other.

Even when we are endowed with valid knowledge about the biography of the family in a verbal-textual form (maybe on the basis of interviews or the analysis of family conversations), we should suspend or ignore this in the course of the interpretation of the photos.

Thus we must begin as far as possible below or beside the iconographical level, that is, on the pre-iconographical level and on the level of the formal structure (see Diagram 1).

With Max Imdahl (1996a, Chapter II) we can differentiate among three dimensions in the formal compositional structure of the picture: the "planimetric structure," the "scenic choreography" and the "perspectivic projection." Perspectivity has its function primarily in the identification of concrete objects in their spatiality and corporality. Perceptivity is thus orientated to the regularity of the world which is presented in the picture, to the world outside, and within the environment of the picture. With reference to scenic choreography, the same is true for the social scenes in the world outside. In contrast to that, the reconstruction of the planimetric composition, of the picture's formal structure as a plane, leads us to the principles of design and to the inherent laws of the picture itself. It is first of all the planimetric composition which leads us to the picture as a "system, which is designed according to its inherent laws and is evident in its autonomy" (Imdahl, 1979: 190).

If we thus succeed in gaining access to the picture as a self-referential system, then we will also attain systematic access to inherent laws of the picture producer's realms of experience—for example to the realms of experience of a family with its specific collective habitus.

6. Example of a Private Family Photo

Picture 4: Family Photo

To illustrate this, I would like to refer to an example from a research project about traditions in families from Eastern Germany, from the former GDR. In addition to family photos, we also based our interpretation on conversations at the living room table and on group discussions with parents and grandparents (for a more comprehensive interpretation see: Bohnsack, 2008b; for another interpretation of family photos on the basis of the documentary method see: Nentwig-Gesemann, 2006).

Here we have a photo of a family celebration, a photo of a First Communion in the GDR at the beginning of the 1980's (see Picture 4). The planimetric composition of the picture is strictly dominated by vertical and horizontal lines (see Picture 5). The representing picture producer and the represented picture producer have chosen a prefabricated building with GDR-typical slabs and the large trees with the harsh contrasts of vertical lines as the background. Moreover, the group is positioned on a path paved with slabs, so that the photo on the whole is dominated by a vertical and horizontal structuring which gives it harshness and a rigid order.

Picture 5: Familiy Photo: planimetry

Essential elements of the milieu of this family, of its realms of experience are thus expressed in an immediate way. A precondition for the validity of such a far-reaching interpretation, however, is that also in other dimensions of the picture - especially at the level of pre-iconographic description - homologous elements can be worked out. Harshness and rigidity are documented not only in the planimetric composition, but also in the expressions of faces, in gestures and in posture, which is characterized by a strictly vertical body axis.

This rigidity and harshness stands in contrast to the provisional character of other parts of the foreground. The path on which the group is positioned is not yet completed. It seems to lead to nowhere and its provisional cordon is destroyed. This impression of being unaccomplished and unsure or insecure is increased by the picture's design, with the background being moved far away and by the absence of a middle ground. Thus the small group seems to be isolated in a special way and removed from relationships in which they could be held and imbedded. The group seems to be a little bit "lost".

All together, we have a tense relationship between the impression of being provisional, insecure, and isolated on one hand, and harshness and rigidity on the other. This tense relationship makes up the atmosphere of the picture and gives us some insight into the family's habitus. In a verbal-textual manner, this habitus can only be formulated through "transcontrariness" - as the habitus of rigidity and harshness in the context of provision and insecu-

rity. As I have already mentioned, the specific quality of the iconic meaning resp. of its verbalization is seen by Max Imdahl in its "complexity of meaning characterized by transcontrariness" which becomes immediately evident in the picture, which however can hardly be formulated in a verbal-textual manner.

8. Example of an Advertising Photo

Picture 6: Advertising Photo I

As another example of such a "complexity of meaning characterized by transcontrariness" and as an example of the importance of formal structure, I would like to present a quite different family photo to you (see Picture 6): here we have an advertising photo from the clothing company Burberry, which is meant to target markets in Russia and the USA.

A closer interpretation of this advertising photo (see Picture 7) can give us insight into the lifestyle which is being promoted here. Taking a look at the planimetric composition, it becomes evident that we have two groups. The group on the right hand is being viewed upon favorably by the group on the left. The distinct styling of the group on the right makes it evident that this group is the primary vehicle of the advertising message, and also the addressee of the message. The right-hand group represents a specific generation: the generation in transition from the pre-family to the family phase of its life cycle. Through the benevolence and acceptance on the part of group on the left, which is constituted by representatives of other generations, the right-hand group and the lifestyle which it stands for is integrated into a trans-generational context, and at the same time, into the context of the extended family.

Picture 7: Advertising Photo I: planimetry
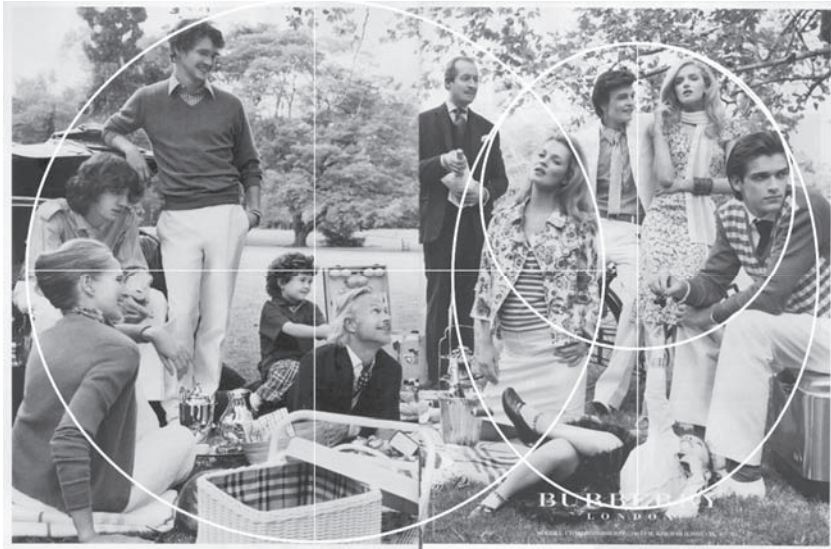
In contrast to the compositional arrangement, and to the physical closeness of the members of the right-hand group, we can observe the absence of any visual contact. The impression of belonging, unity, and community which is produced by the planimetric composition and scenic choreography is thus negated by the absence or denial of visual contact. The protagonists of our photo are members of a community, and at the same time they are isolated individuals. The Burberry Style as a lifestyle of clothing—which seems to be the message here—can enable us to experience belonging and community without requiring us to forfeit our individualism.

However, we recognize that the presentation of individuality and autonomy has taken the specific form of a negation. This is due to the peculiar form of presentation in advertising. Advertising depends on the medium of the pose (see also: Bohnsack, 2007b; Imdahl, 1996c), the "hyper-ritualization" as Erving Goffman (1979: 84) has called it, and is confronted with the paradoxical challenge of expressing individuality through the medium of poses and stereotypes. In our case, this is accomplished through the absence or denial of visual contact. This effect is even more evident in the photo which is intended for the German advertising market (see Picture 8).

Picture 8: Advertising Photo II

Thus the photo demonstrates yet another form of transcontrariness in its iconic or iconological meaning: the presentation of individuality by posing or using stereotyped postures.

Picture 9: Advertising Photo I: planimetry and golden section. Burberry London planimetry and golden section. From Vogue 2005 Russia

Picture 10: Advertising Photo I: Burberry London: perspectivity.
From Vogue 2005 Russia (lines were drawn by me)

If we return to the photo for the Russian and American markets, we can see that one person is standing in the planimetric center (see Picture 9), which is here marked by the intersection of the circles, as well as in the so called golden section, and also in the perspectives center, in the vanishing point (see Picture 10). That person is the supermodel Kate Moss who personifies the propagated lifestyle to the extreme (for a more comprehensive interpretation see: Bohnsack, 2007d, 2008b).

Returning to the photo of the First Communion (see Picture 11), we can now see that it is not the most important person of the ritual, the child receiving First Communion, who has been moved into the perspective's center, but rather the grandmother. The photographer or representing picture producer (the child's aunt), has positioned herself eye-to-eye with the grandmother. The focus of perspective, the vanishing point, is on the level of the grandmother's eyes and close to them. Perspectivity can reveal insights into the perspective of the presenting picture producers and their philosophy, their "Weltanschauung," as Panofsky (1992) has elaborated in his essay on the "perspective as a 'symbolic form'."

Picture 11: Family Photo: perspectivity
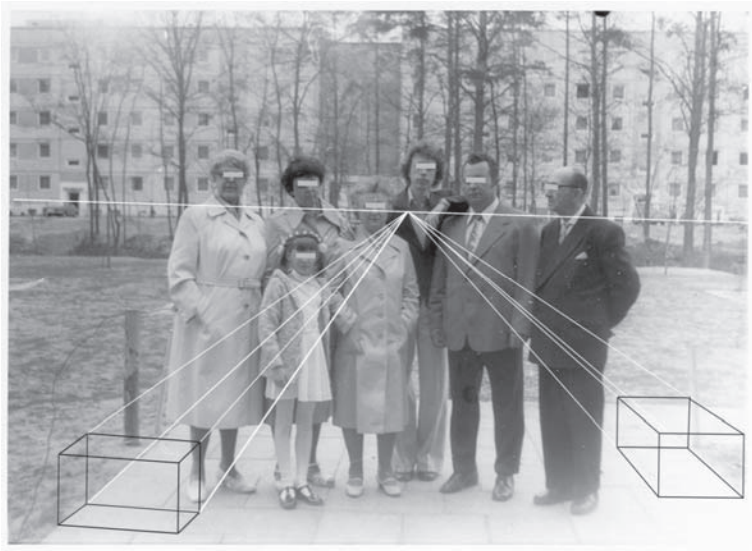
Here, a gender-specific hierarchy with generation-specific elements is documented. We have a predominance of women, especially the elder women in the family. Homologous to the focus of the photographer's perspective, which means, of the presenting picture producer, the group—the presented picture producers—have positioned themselves around the grandmother. Such observations concerning the structure of this family could later be validated on the basis of the interpretation of texts from group discussions and from table conversation.

8. The Analysis of the Formal Structure Opens up an Access to the Picture in its Entirety

By thoroughly reconstructing the formal, especially the planimetric composition of a picture, we are somehow forced to interpret the picture's elements, not in isolation from each other, but basically ensemble, in the context of the other elements. In contrast to that, in a common-sense interpretation, we are inclined to pick single elements out of the picture's context.

Analogies to methodological devices for the interpretation of texts become apparent here. As we know from the field of Ethnomethodology, it is indispensable for the proper understanding of an utterance to consider the

overwhelming context which is produced by the speakers themselves. The single elements of a text as well as the elements of a picture arrange themselves as contexts and settings, and attain their proper meaning only through the settings which they are part of. In the area of Ethnomethodology, this mutual relation has been called reflexivity. According to Harold Garfinkel (1961, 1967) the method of interpretation, which allows access to the structures of meaning constituted by this reflexivity is the documentary method. We are only able to validly reconstruct context if we succeed in identifying formal structures. They are documents for the natural order which has been produced by the actors themselves.

Conversational Analysis has done pioneering work here. The reconstruction of formal structures is an important instrument for the interpretation of deeper semantics. In Germany, for example, this has been verified by the analysis of communicative genres (Günthner/Knoblauch, 1995) as well as by the reconstruction of textual genres with the method of narrative interviews (Schütze, 1987), and also through the reconstruction of discourse organization in our own interpretations of conversation on the basis of the documentary method (Bohnsack/Przyborski, 2006). In the field of the interpretation of pictures, however, the reconstruction of formal structures is still in its infancy. For the further development of methodology, it seems to be useful to make use of the preliminary work concerning formal aesthetics in the field of art history.

9. Sequence Analysis, Reconstruction of Simultaneity and the Importance of Comparative Analysis

The interpretations of texts, like pictures, have in common the methodological device of gaining access to inherent laws of meaning of a text by way of formal structure. However, the procedures and strategies for its application are quite different. As Imdahl has emphasized, we are only successful in interpreting the inherent meaning of a picture if we comprehend its fundamental structure of simultaneity[6]. Imdahl (1996a: 23) describes this in his

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6   Whereas Imdahl as a historian of the arts is focusing on the picture as a performance of the representing picture producer, the structure of simultaneity is also valid for the performance of the represented picture producers, as has already been worked out by Ray L. Birdwhistell (1952) the classic of the interpretation of gestures, of Kinesics. Hubert Knoblauch (2006: 78) has pointed to this "dimension of simultaneity" concerning video analysis (without concreter references to research practice however). For the importance of simultaneity in video analysis in methodology and research practice on basis of the documentary method see Bohnsack (2008b) and Monika Wagner-Willi (2006).

headstrong language as "the coincidence of composition and endowment with meaning," where "the entirety is totally present from the outset."

Here we have an essential difference to the qualitative methods in the field of text interpretation, where sequence analysis is the central methodical device. When trying to transfer this to the interpretation of pictures, we would ignore its inherent structures. Sequence analysis, however, can be understood as being derived from the more general principle of comparative analysis, the principle of operating with horizons of comparison.

The specific structure of conversational meaning or of narration, for instance, is made accessible when I comparatively contrast it with alternative courses of conversation or narration (Bohnsack, 2001). In the interpretation of pictures we are dependent on horizons of comparison as well (see also: Bohnsack, 2003). Access to the interpretation of the formal composition of a picture in its individuality can be gained—as Max Imdahl (1994) has shown—by contrasting it with other contingent possibilities of composition. These can be designed by experiments of thought or—and even more validly—the interpretation can be guided by empirical horizons of comparison (for instance when comparing the photo of a First Communion with those from different milieus or different cultures: for instance in Eastern and Western Germany; Bohnsack, 2008b).

10. Conclusions

When developing qualitative methods for the interpretation of pictures, it seems to be important not to explain pictures by texts, but to differentiate them from texts. Nevertheless, it seems equally important to develop common standards or methodological devices which are relevant for the interpretation of texts, as well as for the interpretation of pictures. Examples of common standards are: to treat the text as well as the picture as a self-referential system, to differentiate between explicit and implicit (atheoretical) knowledge, to change the analytic stance from the question What to the question How, to reconstruct the formal structures of texts as well as pictures in order to integrate single elements into the over-all context, and—last but not least—to use comparative analysis. The application or realization of these common standards and methodological devices in the field of the interpretation of pictures, however, has to be quite different from that of the interpretation of texts, if we intend to advance to iconicity as a self-contained domain, to its inherent laws and to its autonomy independent from texts.

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Alexander Geimer

Cultural Practices of the Reception and Appropriation of Films from the Standpoint of a Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge

1 Film Analysis and the Analysis of the Reception and Appropriation of Films

Due to the disregard of the visual quality of the social reality (resulting from the methodological textual focus since the so-called linguistic turn, see Bohnsack, 2008a: 155ff., 2007), the qualitative analysis of films in the social sciences has no particular tradition. However, the preoccupation with films has a long history in media and film studies, which developed in the course of a wide differentiation with several theoretical positions being tied to grand theories such as psychoanalysis, semiotics, marxism, post-structuralism, and cognitive psychology. Sociological research questions are barely related to these approaches. For from a sociological point of view, such professional readings of films are of the same value and as 'true' and 'correct' as everyday and lay readings of any other member of a given society. Just as lay film readings, professionals' readings are ridden with prerequisites: film theories premise in different ways an ideal or implicit viewer who is influenced by the aesthetic principles the theory is able to detect in a film. That is, behind every construction of a film stands the construction of an audience.

Even though film theorists have criticized this practice, it still dominates scientific work. Among all film theorists, it is especially Janet Staiger who questions this procedure of focusing aesthetical structures by premising an ideal or implicit recipient. She states that the audience and its context of reception and appropriation of films have to be considered in detail: "This context most certainly includes the sense data of the film, but it also includes the interpretative strategies used by a spectator. These strategies are influenced by, among other things, aesthetic preferences and practices, knowledge and expectations prior to attending to the movie images, and experiences in the exhibition situation" (Staiger, 2000: 30f.).

Based on the relativization of the difference between professional and lay film readings and the assumption that various influencing factors on film readings exist, we come to a crucial conclusion concerning a sociological grasp of films: We should not be interested in deciding on one objective film reading that gives us any information about the general influence of a film on recipients but in reconstructing concrete different film readings in our em-

pirical work. Therefore we need a methodological framework and corresponding methods which allow the reconstructing of viewers' experiences. The most prominent and in many actual studies considered approach is provided by Cultural Studies.

2 The Difficulty with the Concept of Film and Media Appropriation in Cultural Studies

Even though, Cultural Studies are an enormous heterogeneous project, some dominant strategies in the occupation with films and media in general can be identified. Cultural Studies developed two lines of traditions in analysing films and media products and their reception respectively appropriation (see Fiske, 1992): *discourse analysis* of the media product and *ethnographic analysis* of the everyday use of media products. While the analysis of the potential meaning is the main subject of the discourse analytic tradition, it is the aim of the audience research to describe the concrete contact of people with a media product and their "social use" of it (Keppler, 2001, see also Morley/Silverstone, 1993). The discourse analysis of media products concentrates on the revealing of ideological structures (e.g. concerning race, gender, class) which are dominating the representation of social realities in films. But the ideological framing of media products does not determine their reception, so Cultural Studies also conduct „the examination of how interacting individuals connect their lives to these ideological texts and make sense of their experiences in terms of the texts' meanings" (Denzin, 1992: 82)[1]. The methods used in audience research of Cultural Studies mostly trace back to qualitative and especially ethnographical works and the interpretative paradigm (Wilson, 1970) in sociology. Nowadays, there is a broad consensus that a "radical contextualism" (Ang, 1996a; see also Grossberg, 1994) that focuses mainly on the local, situational and interactional social use of media products (during the concrete reception process as well as afterwards) is the best solution. Recently, this approach received great attention. In Germany, nearly every qualitative work on audience research refers in any way to this concept of film and media appropriation (– for an overview of actual approaches see Geimer/Ehrenspeck, 2010).

According to the primary occupation with the situational emergence of meaning in interaction and the local doing of social differences, most Cul-

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1   The position of Denzin is not considered in detail here. This is due to premises following from "the cinematization of American society" (Denzin, 1992: 138) which are not shared by all Cultural Studies researchers: "First, reality has become a staged, social production. Second, the real is judged against its staged, cinematic or video counterpart. Third the metaphor of a dramaturgical society […] has now become an interactional reality" (ebd.).

tural Studies' researchers focus on interpretation strategies and decoding practices of films and other media products which are *not* anchored in habitus formations (in terms of Bourdieu) or conjunctive spaces of experience (in terms of Mannheim) but in general common sense discourse and the contextual varying work of self-presentation and the doing of social differences. In fact, many cultural researchers cast doubt on the existence of stable structures of experiences. Moreover, Fiske states that cultural postmodernism leads to an enormous social diversity which implies that concepts of stable 'social groups' or 'social categories' are less appropriate than a concept of social formations that are consistently altering and rearranging and whose members are changing. Then media products provide symbolic material for the constant construction of contextual varying differences. In this struggle for meaning, only local consensus can be achieved in negotiation processes, for a broad consensus including the altering formations cannot be accomplished (any longer). Bohnsack has already – regarding the interpretative paradigm in sociology – criticized such a view on the social construction of reality concerning 'consensus construction': "The process character of interactions and conversations was reduced to the single aspect of local and situational negotiation, that is, to the emergence of meanings" (Bohnsack, 2004: 215).

In fact, many Cultural Studies' theorists may, in a post-structuralistic and anti-essentialistic manner, question any underlying dimension of knowledge being represented (and reproduced) in social action and refer to the ongoing accomplishment of social reality in cultural performances (in terms of e.g. Fiske or post-structuralistic theorists such as Butler, 1990). Such methodological premises must lead to methodical problems concerning the reconstruction of fundamental structures of experience in everyday practice: "The empirical procedures for the analysis of […] deeper meaning patterns have only been approximately worked out in the methodology of Cultural Studies" (Bohnsack, 2004: 216).

Nevertheless, to observe media products as discourse collages which are selectively used by recipients making their own fabrications depending on the availability of common sense knowledge structures and their everyday activities is an important concern – but it's less about 'appropriation' as we like to conceptualize it. Instead, it shows how films (and other media products) are interpreted related to their use in different social settings in order to accomplish and arrange (that is to reproduce or modify) these settings. To put it in Garfinkel's (1967) words, it is about the production of *accountability* by means of media products / films. In order to obtain another grasp of appropriation one needs a methodological vocabulary and methodical instruments that are less connected with the interpretative paradigm and post-structuralism in the social sciences to which Cultural Studies' researchers often refer.

3 A Concept of Appropriation from the Standpoint of the Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge

The current social sciences do not solely offer the sociology of knowledge according to the interpretative paradigm (e.g. Berger/Luckmann, 1969) but also the works of Karl Mannheim (1952, 1982) and their advancement in the praxeological sociology of knowledge and the documentary method (Bohnsack, 2008a). This allows the reconstruction of conjunctive spaces of experience and therein registered generative principles of the construction of everyday practice (orientation patterns) which are not merely depending on negotiation processes in everyday interaction. In conjunctive spaces of experience an explicit construction of social differences and similarities is not just unnecessary but impossible because the collective shared knowledge is taken for granted and, therefore, remains implicit. Polanyi also discussed this kind of knowledge – as a tacit knowledge that is known by people without being able to explain it (Polanyi, 1966). The knowledge established by conjunctive spaces of experience is atheoretical and often represented in metaphors; it comprises orientation patterns, which guide the practice of everyday life and embedded media reception processes. Accordingly, also Bohnsack notes: "Depending on the history of socialization the overlay of different conjunctive spaces of experience leads to different *reception modes*" (Bohnsack, 2008b). Against the background of these main ideas of the praxeological sociology of knowledge, a concept of appropriation of films (and other media products) can be proposed: appropriation requires a specific connectivity between films (or other media products) and a conjunctive space of experience. As Cultural Studies conceptualize the medium-reception-interaction (Winter, 2003: 156ff.; Denzin, 1992: 82ff.) inspired by the interpretative paradigm (e.g. ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism) and partly by post-structuralism (Fiske, 1987, 1996) this dimension of film (and media) appropriation cannot be grasped.

In light of this, it is no surprise that most of the media research in cultural studies concerning media appropriation deals with the *communicative* appropriation of *TV series, TV shows or 'cult movies'*. These programmes are usually received by an intensely "talking recipient" (Holly/Püschel/Bergmann, 2001) often being an aficionado or being situated in so-called fan cultures, whose members chat and quarrel not only about the content and characters but more detailed media knowledge. In this case, common sense knowledge concerning production, distribution and reception (filmography and the biography of stars, untold background stories and unseen history of characters, filming techniques and special effects, knowledge about critiques and so on) becomes of conjunctive meaning for the members of fan cultures or aficionados. Thus, the Cultural Studies' approach is in a position to pro-

duce insightful findings about medium-recipient-interactions, especially regarding fan cultures/reception of cult movies as well as in general concerning the social use of films/media products (and its ideological implications). But appropriation in the sense of an interaction between fundamental knowledge structures and a film requires the consideration of a perspective that goes far beyond a "radical contextualism" (Ang, 1996; see also Grossberg, 1994) focusing mainly on the local, interactional use of media products. This is possible by recourse to the works of Mannheim and the praxeological sociology of knowledge, which allows the reconstruction of conjunctive spaces of experience and therein registered generative principles of the construction of everyday practice.

In the following, I present empirical findings from an analysis of interviews with fourteen young people (from Berlin, aged between 18 and 22) about their occupation with films.[2] The outcomes show two different reception modes. On the one hand films can be used as a *resource for group interaction and the performance of social relationships* – which has been observed by Cultural Studies very well. On the other, films can be used as *resource for world experience* which implies a certain connectivity between the social practice shown in a film and the everyday life practice of the audience which has not been observed exhaustively until now.

4 Two Fundamental Modes of the Reception of Films

4.1 Films as a Resource for Group Interaction and Social Relationships

Films are part of young people's everyday leisure time and whenever this is picked out as a central theme it suggests itself as an opportunity to talk about films. In contrast to many other leisure activities one doesn't need to share the viewing of a film in order to talk about it. Thus, knowledge about films is suitable in a special manner for starting and supporting conversations, e.g. during "small talk" at the work place. In these everyday situations a "cascade

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[2]   6 are male and 8 are female. 10 have the German high school diploma (4 are doing an apprenticeship, 6 are studying), one young man is in his last high school year, one has a CSE (and is unemployed) and two females have a secondary school diploma and are working as a masseuse resp. office clerk. The parents of one juvenile are not German and come from Iran. The interviews were raised in the project „Kommunikatbildungsprozesse Jugendlicher zur Todesthematik und filmische Instruktionsmuster" (see Geimer/Lepa/Hackenberg/ Ehrenspeck, 2007) which was founded by the German research foundation (DFG). For this project was mainly following a quantitative approach, the outcomes of both studies are not compared.

of reception acts" (see Krotz, 2001: 87f.) follows the prior and concrete reception process:

If you stand together somehow and smoke a cigarette or something and first you talk about the weekend or so and then, well oh yes, I've watched a great movie at the weekend. And then, of course, you ask the others if they have watched it also or maybe have heard of it, and then you can easily start a conversation. (Lara, 18)

Thereby, knowledge about films supports the continuity of talk especially when one is not familiar with one's counterpart:

Well, somehow I like talking about films, especially if you are not very acquainted with someone and /er/ need something to talk about. (Eva, 19)

These quotes demonstrate the "catalytic" function of film knowledge in social situations. Being a theme easily implemented in the course of interaction, film knowledge helps to fill gaps or to start or respectively to maintain conversations. Furthermore, the communication about films can become so important that one watches certain films merely in order to share the knowledge with others. On this note, another interviewee stated that she watches brutal horror films ("slaughter films" in her terms) in order to join in conversations about them:

But, I watch them, too, because everybody watches them (laughs), because you can talk about them then… (Claudia, 21)

The opportunity to talk about films supports not just the flow of conversations, it also operates as a distinguishing mark, which is used to include or exclude persons as (non-)members of peer groups. This communicative function of film knowledge is documented in the following utterances, which reveal that films are cited in order to create a sense of cohesiveness:

Just retelling the jokes, on special scenes, and then people laugh about it the whole evening. Or days later. Well there's a lot of stuff, especially out of comedies, which are kind of a insider joke also, about which we talk in school or so, and then, just a word, and everybody starts laughing, 'cause he knows exactly what was meant in this situation. (Katja, 22)

According to that social function of film reception and film knowledge, many young people watch special kinds of films with special people (friends, partner, family). That is, films and knowledge about films can be used to manage social relationships. Or as a young man puts it:

If you invite somebody for cinema then the film which you choose gives evidence for your personality… (Mevlüt, 21)

For this reason the cited young man Mevlüt would neither watch "Terminator" nor any other "action stuff" with a girl, and vice versa would not watch "harmonious" and "sentimental" films with his male friends. Thus, films are chosen in the light of the anticipated reaction of a counterpart. That is, films

are chosen in order to establish (or 'do') differences and manage the impression of oneself and presentation of self in everyday life. There are almost no young people who do *not* exhibit such a social use of films. Many other remarks show that often a film is completely absorbed in the social situation in which the reception takes place. In that way, a film becomes an accessory part of social sceneries. Unlike other reception practices, talk during reception is not forbidden but desired. According to this, a girl quotes that in "film nights" together with her girl friends they prepare pizzas during the films and chat a lot, not merely about the film (contrary to the reception of other films with her family). Asked what they talked about during the reception in these "film nights" she answers:

Well, sometimes something crosses ones mind, which crosses ones mind and doesn't belong to the film, or something in the film catches someone's eye. (Claudia, 21)

The quotation shows that any theme "which crosses ones mind" – independent of its association with the film – can structure the interaction during reception. Quite similar to this, another young man classifies watching films in cinema mainly as a "social event":

Well, actually in the cinema it is, cinema for me is rather such a matter where you meet with friends and /er- well - er/ if anything a social event. Where you meet with friends. Go out. And cinema is a part of it, I think. […]
It's rarely the case that /er/ I visit a cinema because of a film. I go there if, really, I don't know if peer pressure plays a role, or not, but in any case, when, at that time in school it was like, when, when everybody was talking about a movie which was supposed to be pretty cool then you watched it in any case. (Mevlüt, 21)

Both quotations show that the social activity is the primary focus of action. The film and its story, actors or quality and so forth seem to be less relevant, almost irrelevant. There are other interviewees who state also that they have no especial interest in choosing certain movies when going to the cinema – sequentially appearing to them merely as "meeting friends". Often later on, the choice of a certain film emerges "not as great, but that's ok". In this reception mode, even a bad film may provide good reasons for conversation. For example, some friends have seen a preview of a film during a cinema visit, which appeared to them as "pretty bad", and on this account they decided to watch it at the next opportunity. In fact, the reception, which took place later turned out according to their prior evaluation:

One of the worst or even the worst film (laughing) I've ever seen. And partly we have watched such bad films, of which we knew: ok, this one will be bad. And then, a friend and I smuggled a bottle of apple liquor into the cinema and we killed time with that, umm, well. (Steff, 20)

The interviewee answered the subsequent question of the ungratified interviewer as to why he watches films of which he knows that they're bad that it's not just about "killing time" but a "destructive lust"…

Well, I can't tell where this may be traced back to. Maybe, it's just like a destructive lust to do something completely absurd or to make fun of a film … sometimes we have… Well, we have a … a friend came up with a power film from Spain, called school killers…well, this one was just bad too, and then we tried to find out the inner logic which doesn't exist, that's pretty interesting, even if the film is bloody awful. (Steff, 20)

The strength of the "power film" stems not from the film, which lacks inner "logic", but from the collective reception and talking about the film in which the lacking logic is produced together in a social event being often celebrated by consuming drugs. This activity may be interpreted as a kind of 'appropriation' on which Cultural Studies primarily concentrate. The young people channel the film into their own fabrication that undermines the aesthetical (and potentially ideological) structures of a film.

Besides this reception mode, another one was reconstructed in which the film does not mainly appear as a resource of social interaction but of world experience. Then films are not solely integrated into everyday practice but the practice displayed in films is related to one's own everyday practice.

4.2 Films as a Resource for World Experience

We start with a maximum contrast to the reception mode in which films appear as a resource for the performance of group interaction and social relationships: a young man (Lars, 20) quotes that he dislikes any disturbances while watching a film, this includes talking to others. He points out how important it is for him to "really concentrate just on the film". This concentration is not given up even if he receives visitors while watching a film. Then it is up to them to decide whether they want to watch the film also or leave again. These priorities also appear when he describes cinema visits with his family. If they choose a film he disliked, he simply watched another one at the same time and they met again afterwards. Additionally this orientation is reproduced in the organization of film nights, in which he watches up to four movies with various friends while having nearly no conversation during the reception as well as afterwards. Many other young people report quite similar circumstances of film reception – one put the condition he desires to establish by setting it in words as follows: "Sort of immersion in a world or however described" (David, 19).

Of course, this "immersion" can take place in a way that the later occupation with the film is framed by the interactional reception mode reconstructed above. But there is also another reception mode in which the young people have strictly different experiences that are, for some of them, very

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hard to describe – as is the case in the remarks below following the question as to whether the interviewee Maria could name a film that impressed her:

Maria, 21:'Perfect World' /er/ with /er/ Kevin Coster.
I: That's the one he kidnaps this guy, isn't it?
M: /er/ Exactly.
I: This one intensely impressed you? Why that?
M: I don't know it!
I: ((laughs))
M.: I suppose, I've, watched it umpteen times, twenty times? I have no idea…
I: Thaaat much?
M: Yes, and every time the same feelings /er/
I: Which kind of feelings?
M: Probably, 'cause you have … get some kind of mercy or relatedness to Kevin Coster in his role which he plays somehow /er/ And the son … the little boy, he has no father, and then the relationship which they establish, and there is Kevin Coster … he wants to meet his own father again and (takes a deep breath) I don't know, that's so … And then the music. They have some, I suppose, Scottish music.

Maria has enormous problems in describing what caused the feeling that led to her watching this film about twenty times. Not until the interviewer's second question, she tries to explain more precisely and then refers to some plot parts of which she finally can't tell why they impressed her in any way ("I don't know, that's so…"). She then attributes her emotions especially to the (Scottish) music. The special kind of relation to the film (and the practice a film exhibits) that she tries so desperately to describe that she refers to the music instead of formulating an adequate closing of the plot's impact on her. Other young people reject the verbalization of their film experience, at least immediately after reception and partly completely:

I dislike talking about films, when I, when I just watched them. My mother always comments about it. I need some time, well 'cause either I am that captivated that I want to maintain this spellbound feeling or to keep hold of it, so that I don't want to flog them to death. Often, I think, you can't talk about some things anyway, because they already tell their own tale. (Arnia, 20)

As films tell their "own tale", putting them in one's own words means to alienate one from the experience they made possible. In another section of the same interview she reveals that the "own tale" which the film tells has a special impact on her when the plot is somehow congruent to her own experiences:

I think, films, certain themes can address you depending on your personal condition. I think, when my boyfriend left me or I left him, and then somehow a small sequence of a film alludes to that, or I recognize something, then it is appealing me in a very special way. Or if some stuff stemming from my background is rolled up, or parallels exist. (Arnia, 20)

Other young people also refer to such "parallels" between the practice exhibited in a film and their own biography and everyday practice. The following

young man manages to articulate in a long narration / description what kind of impressing parallels to his own experience he found in the film MILLION DOLLAR HOTEL (2000).

This one's playing in a scum asylum in San Francisco and the whole look of the film is totally filthy and I love that, if, just as in real life, you know? /er/ the hood I am living, you know, an "in" area, you know, everything filthy, but one has to take a close look, you know, and in this film it's just like that, it's provoked, so you have to take a close look to like the film… (Lars, 20)

It is the parallel between the intense look one has to take at the film and its scenery as well as at the social environment of the interviewee in order to realize, in both cases, the beauty of both. The hood and "in" area is somehow similar to the scum asylum in the film. Both share a hidden beauty, which cannot be revealed by everybody and is accessible to nobody at first sight. On this note, the interviewee describes – after the extract above – the "beautiful" and at the same time "broken-down" main actress of the film (Milla Jovovich). While the selected short passage already displays the close connection between the practice exhibited in the film and the everyday practice of the interviewee, in his further narration he carries this connection to the extreme as he extricates some sort of quintessence out of the plot, or in his own words "metaphors" helping him to cope with certain recurrent problems and situations in everyday life as well as philosophical questions. By means of the MILLION DOLLAR HOTEL he comes to the following conclusion:

If people are outstanding /er-er/ educated or not, you know, everybody can be happy, everybody, and if it's a 'dosser' or worst scum for my sake… (Lars, 20)

The primary reception mode comprises no social use of a film in any interactional sense (presentation of self or doing of differences or performing of relationships). Instead, it is about the fabricating of a connectivity between one's own space of experience and the one shown in the film. Additionally, these parallels are used to build and stabilize "metaphors" guiding the answer to philosophical questions as well as everyday life decisions, which is documented in many parts of the interview, such as the following:

There are films, where you keep something in mind, for life. So, where you pick up certain metaphors, in which you recognize yourself or recognize anything at all and realize that's the way it is, and that's what I like the most. (Lars, 20)

It is to highlight, that in such a reception mode, the juveniles make no social use of films in the sense of referring to them for the various interactional purposes of the local, situational process of meaning making and local management of impressions. In fact, it is about the intense experience of a film and the production of a relation to oneself ("pick up certain metaphors, in

which you recognize yourself").[3] In a quite analogous but more concrete way, films help another interviewee to cope with special problems resulting from her last partnership – Katja imagines getting by with her biography just as the characters in the film, they "made it too".

Katja, 22: These are all films in which the women were happily in love, but then the man emerged as a tyrant and they tried everything to get away from him…
I: And this was not possible. Or was really hard…
K.: Yes, he really did to her, then he wanted to kill her and everything and /er/ she wasn't allowed to tell a single word about it, was deported from her family and everything. And, so, I've undergone the same…
I: Oh, I see…
K: And because of this, watching such things affects me or partly I know the ones in the film made it too.

As the interviewee watches, with her family, films showing such problems in a partnership which she also suffered once and which she could not communicate to her family at that time, dramas like ENOUGH (2002) or SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY (1991) being the central theme in this extract support the coping of her trauma: the oppression in the partnership and the forced distance to her family. In light of that it is no surprise that 67% of 827 asked American psychoanalysts stated to work with films in their therapies (see Norcross et al., 2003). It is this practice of using a film as a resource for world experience that we call appropriation.[4] Later on in the course of the reconstruction of specific reception practices by means of the analysis of written narratives, we will learn that such appropriations occur in particular circumstances and that other fabrications of a connectivity between a filmic representation of a social practice and everyday life practice also exist.

But not every young person knows a form of such a connectivity that often produces intense emotions. That is, not every young person is able to connect his or her own space of experience to the one displayed on the screen. In fact, we talked with young people who are missing such an intense experience:

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3   Or elsewhere in the same interview with Lars (20)*: As I said, some films are that extraordinary good that /er/ that I recognize myself. Yes. That's it, simple like that, yes metaphors, like /er/ no idea, "besser arm dran als Arm ab" [German saying that means in a very indefinite manner that a bad situation is not that bad like "Could be worse - could be raining" or "Every cloud has a silver lining"). Ways separate in life. Well, sayings you remember.*

4   To give some more examples for this reception mode: A young woman (Arnia, 20) changes her view on Polish refugees by taking over their role for the first time while watching a film and thereby gains new access to the neighbouring country. Another girl highlights her insight in strange spaces of experiences (of drug addicts and couriers), which are usually solely reflected in some statistical numbers and stresses the influence of this insight on her occupational orientations.

Well, intense emotions? No, but I always wished that it would happen, but it never happened. A film with which I was occupied for a long time /er/ in order to understand it one day and /er/ but that was not in any emotional manner, it was just /er/ it was the first movie made by David Lynch I've watched and /er/ haven't seen anything comparable and /er/ was merely interested in what's lying beneath that or if these moments of violence are just senseless (''). But emotional? (Karl, 21)

The interviewee desired to be touched emotionally by a film, but that "never happened". This can be traced back to his more rational frame of orientation which is shaped by common sense knowledge and not conjunctive knowledge stocks. As he watches films in the light of such interpretational schemes as "what's lying beneath" and focuses on the (re)construction of the intentions of an 'author' of a film, it is very unlikely that the missing emotionality will occur. Likewise, we found more young people being unable to relate films to their own experience. Asked about any relation between everyday life and the social practice exhibited in films Mevlüt stated:

Mevlüt, 21: Well, I've got a mate being really familiar with films and /er/ with the actors and all that stuff, that is, some films he really knows inside out and often the film music too.
I: Yes.
M: Sometimes, that's funny. He starts humming the film music before it appears in the film.
(both are laughing)
M: But, but, no /er/ Me, I'm lacking the according knowledge.
I: OK
M: Well, neither do I know very much about all the actors nor I know anything about brand new gossip…

The interviewee refers in his answer to the common sense knowledge of a friend about films. He could not display in a more precise manner that he is not interested in gaining access to the social practice films exhibit. First, he does not refer to his own knowledge. And second, the knowledge he refers to is of a surprisingly impersonal nature regarding the question. So his answer to the question as to whether he uses films as a resource for world experience shows that he primarily knows films as a resource for interactional purposes such as the performance of group interaction and social relationships. Later on, he elaborates this reception mode more precisely. While there are some cases consistently preferring one of the two reception modes, actually most young people know both. *That is, the results basically cannot be interpreted as a typology of persons but one of practices that are rarely bound to concrete people.* A young woman (Claudia, 21), especially, proves the possibility of the changing of reception modes. On the one hand, she seeks the intense experience of dramas together with her family to cope with her last partnership. On the other hand, she watches comedies with her girl friends while preparing pizzas and the group practices constituting talk about films in which film knowledge is used to identify members.

5 Empirical Findings of an Analysis of Young Persons' Written Narratives of the Film THE OTHERS

The analysis of the written re-narrations was conducted in order to validate the reception mode in which a film appears as a resource of world experience and which from the standpoint of the praxeological sociology of knowledge can be termed appropriation (in special circumstances as we see in this chapter). For this reception mode implies the viewing of a certain film; it is inevitable to collect data that gives an account of concrete reception processes. Written narratives seem to be appropriate for this purpose and exist for every one of the interviewed young people. They watched the film THE OTHERS (2001) and immediately afterwards wrote their narratives. Again, the analysis was conducted by means of the documentary method. In the following, the outcomes are discussed on a more abstract level than the two reception modes in the last chapter. This means that – due to the shortage of space – I will merely introduce a typology of reception practices without sourcing them by extracts from the narratives.

The analysis of the fourteen narratives leads to four reception practices which we termed: *reproductive respectively productive appropriation, conjunctive distinction, aesthetic formalization, and polysemous interpretation*. The first practice corresponds to the reception mode using films as a resource for world experience reconstructed in the interview analysis. It implies an interaction between the social practice exhibited in a film and young people's everyday life practice. We were able to differentiate between two modes. A *reproductive appropriation* takes place if conjunctive knowledge is connectable to a filmic representation, but the structure of knowledge itself does not change. The young people focus on such filmic structures (persons, relations, circumstances, environments and so forth), which 'are related' to their space of experience, more precisely: they construct some kind of relationship. For example, an interviewee concentrates on the history of her disease to understand the situation of a character, or another one empathizes with a character and her problem of losing an important person in the light of her own loss. This reception practice leads to the reproduction of conjunctive structures of experiences. A substantial variety of this we called *productive appropriation*. Thereby, the film functions less as a 'mirror' reflecting one's own experiences but it influences and changes the structure of deposited experiences (tacit knowledge / conjunctive knowledge) – as it occurs in the following case: a young man described in his narrative serious confusions concerning his identity and was able to project them onto the film characters and, at the same time, could also carry with him sedative aspects concerning coping with his problems. In an analogous manner, Schäffer examined a "transconjunctive dimension in terms of anciently conjunctive knowledge, that is

knowledge stocks concerning milieus, biographies, and above all style and habitus of other generations" (Schäffer, 1998: 35f.).

Reproductive as well as *productive appropriation* similarly feature the connectivity between conjunctive knowledge structures (depending on various spaces of experience) and the aesthetic structure of a film. That is, the practice staged in a film is connectable to the everyday life practice. This is not the case concerning the reception practice of *conjunctive distinction.* Along the lines of *reproductive and productive appropriation*, young people operate with conjunctive knowledge stocks, but the film functions as a negative horizon and experiences can be verbalized against the background of the film, but stand in vivid contrast to it.

		Connectivity between knowledge stocks and film	
		not connectable	*connectable*
Forms of knowledge	*communicative knowledge*	polysemous interpretation	aesthetic formalization
	conjunctive knowledge	conjunctive distinction	reproductive / productive appropriation

Figure 1: Typology of Reception Practices

In contrast to the reception practices reconstructed so far, a polysemous interpretation implies a primary use of common sense knowledge, which is not exclusively connectable to a film. That is, there are too many discourses available in which a film can be decoded and the interpretation varies with every discourse a young person chooses. In doing so, there is no single film reading detectable and no definite meaning constructible, rather young people bring out the polysemy by the constant use of different stocks of common sense knowledge. The young people cannot determine which film reading (and which knowledge stock) is the "right" or "true" or "better" one. For example, a girl successively interprets the film as a critique of religiousness, critique of knowledge, propagating of an afterlife, capitalistic product of media industry.

Reducing such a polysemy or avoiding its emergence by constructing a certain film reading is provided by the communicative knowledge about the authors' intentions and their ways of encoding films and distributing messages (*aesthetical formalization*). For this purpose of 'message construction',

young people often refer to the principles of film making in general or to laws of various genres or directors' handwritings and to other things potentially controlling influences on the audience. A variety of this reception practice being less but also bound on the (re)construction of an aesthetic structure is the taking over of explicit ideological standpoints of interpretation. This means, that in the eyes of a young person a film is of a special kind because it shows some ideological relevant problems in a certain way (such as unemployment in a given society, the gender relations in a given culture, and so forth). This "showing" must be related to some aesthetic structures, but does not need to be elaborated precisely. In addition, it is possible that young people describe the aesthetic structure of a film without constructing authors' intentions and refer to their own perception instead (such as the emergence of fear, pity, anger instructed by music, light, plot, acting skills and so forth).

6 Conclusion

The interview analysis allowed reconstructing two fundamental different reception modes concerning general occupation with films. Used as a resource for social interaction, films support the situational making of differences in interaction and the local 'doing' of social categories such as gender and (peer) group membership. In this way of using films as a resource for the performance of group interaction and social relationships the practice exhibited in the film is of less relevance. In contrast, it becomes a main interest when films are used as a resource for world experience. Then the focus of juveniles lies on the connectivity of the practice shown in a film to one's own everyday life practice. While the interactional reception mode is well observed by Cultural Studies, due to methodological and methodical reasons (see chapter 2), the reception practice of using films as resource for world experience is rarely observed. Thus, this paper especially concentrated on the production of connectivity between the social practice exhibited in a film and everyday life practice. From the standpoint of a praxeological sociology of knowledge this is the determining level on which appropriation processes can take place. The analysis of written narratives allowed validating and specifying this reception mode pattern as a practice of *reproductive* or *productive appropriation*. Thereby, a typology was reconstructed in which this practice was classified amongst other ones. Since these are not connected to conjunctive spaces of experience, they were not detectable by means of the interview analysis. The young people did not talk about them because the interview did not comprise the reception of a specific film but the young people's occupation with films in general. Notwithstanding, the practice of producing an

intense connectivity between oneself and films (*re/productive appropriation*) is so important for many young people that they also expressed it in the interviews. On this issue, especially, further research is needed for concepts concerning any 'impact' of films on young people are related to it. This concerns discourses about the formation of orientations by means of film reception such as 'deviant or subversive behaviour and media reception' or '(implicit) learning by media reception' or even 'curing with media reception'. In short, and generally speaking, whenever it is about the interaction of structures of knowledge and experience with aesthetic structures the praxeological sociology of knowledge and the documentary method provide a challenging methodological frame of reference and useful methodical tools.

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Astrid Baltruschat

Film Interpretation According to the Documentary Method

In the context of an analysis of two short films that were created for a creative competition, I have tried to develop an approach for interpreting films, which have been shot by the research subject on their own initiative.

So far, the documentary method has almost exclusively been used for analyzing films that were produced by the researchers themselves (i.e. Wagner-Willi, 2005; Klambeck, 2006; Nentwig-Gesemann, 2006) or on the initiative of the researchers (i.e. Bausch, 2006). In this case, the medium of film was employed as a research tool for systematically obtaining data. These data have to be distinguished from films which were produced by the research subjects themselves to, e.g., document family occasions or cultural events. Such films are comparable with the data material of family photos, the analysis of which by means of the documentary method has already been introduced in the context of the interpretation of pictures (Bohnsack, 2005; Bohnsack, 2007). While, in a certain way, these films represent documents of the everyday (or also the less ordinary) life of the subjects, the films presented here are artifacts, specially produced filmic compositions which were developed in the context of the Melanchthon competition "School in a State of Flux" (German: "Schule im Wandel") on the subject of "Rethinking School! - Does school as an institution have to be fundamentally changed?" (German: "Schule überdenken! – Muss die Institution Schule grundlegend verändert werden?").[1]

One of the two films was shot by a team of students, the other by a group of teachers. The film of the students has the title "Melanchthon - I like it!" (German: "Melanchthon - find ich super!") and orients itself on the genre of the documentary. The title hints at the name of their school, the "Melanchthon-Gymnasium". The film by the teachers is titled "Chamber of Terror or Secondary School at the Time of Revaluation" (German: "Kammer des Schreckens[2] oder Realschule in Zeiten der Revaluation") and represents the genre of satirical film.

Both groups shot their film in their own school and the members of each team played the leading roles themselves. With respect to the school, both

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1   The films can be seen at www.moviscript.de; further information regarding the competition: http://www.freunde-melanchthon-gymnasium.de/wettbewerb/dokumente/ws_artikel_ wettbewerb.pdf (pdf file of the article by Koch 2006)

2   This title is a play on the German title of "Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets", which is called "Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens", literally meaning "Harry Potter and the Chamber of Terror".

groups are linked by a common, conjunctive experiential space, which they each address in their respective film. In the production of the film they are essentially both the *representing* as well as the *represented* producers: They act *in front* and *behind* the camera. As in the case of the interpretation of family photos that were taken by family members, no distinction has to be made between the creative performances of these two types of picture producers (cf. Bohnsack, 2003a: 160).

If such a distinction would be necessary, as in the example of a Brazilian family of agricultural laborers that were photographed by a professional photographer foreign to this particular milieu (see Bohnsack, 2003: 249-257; Bohnsack in the 4th part of this volume), one would have to consider the editing, camera settings and work and the overall composition of the film as the creative performance of the representing film producers, and compare this with the creative performance of the represented producers, i.e., the actors movements and in particular their gestures and facial expressions.

Much like the interpretation of pictures, the interpretation of films so far plays a rather marginalized role in the social sciences (Marotzki/Schäfer, 2006: 66). Most works are either geared towards reception analysis and do not devote themselves to the film as a self-referential product but rather primarily focus on the recipients of the film, including their acquisition or their usage of films (Mikos/Wegener, 2005: 14), or they follow the interpretative paradigm (Bohnsack, 2009: 9 et seq.). This puts the (putative) intentions or constructions of meaning, ascribed to the producers of the films, at the center of interest. Such a film analysis ultimately aims at the subjective everyday theories of the subjects and therefore at their explicit knowledge. Compared with this, a film interpretation on the basis of the documentary method does not center on the subjective *theories* of the producers but on their action-guiding *practical* knowledge. It thereby aims at a type of knowledge, which the subjects themselves do not explicitly talk about, but which determines and structures their actions and their understanding of the world, without them having to be conscious about this. This kind of knowledge can also be termed "implicit knowledge" or, following Mannheim, "atheoretical knowledge"[3], because it does not find expression in the everyday theories of the subjects but mainly shows in their actions and characterizes their habitus. Different from reception research of films, documentary film analysis focuses on the film itself as a self-referential, independent product.

It is thus necessary to develop a method which asserts the position of film in its particularity. Analogous to the documentary interpretation of pictures, which focuses on the picture as "a mediator of meaning that can not be replaced by anything else" (Imdahl, 1979: 190), the method has to take into

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3   see Mannheim, 1964: 97 et seqq.; for better understandability and readability of the text all quotes in this text have been translated from the original German. All references refer to the German original.

account the pertinacity and specificity of the film in order to be able to access the "document sense" or respectively the "characteristic meaning" (German: "Wesenssinn", Panofsky, 1932: 115, 118), which becomes evident here. With respect to the film, the question of what constitutes the essence of the film, that which is specifically filmic, has to be answered first. This question is addressed and continued at a later point.

The transcript

Because the film, unlike the picture, is not available as a purely simultaneous structure, which can, so to say, be understood at a glance, and because it does not present itself in a material form (e.g., printed), but rather is linked to the time of performance as something merely transitory, the methodological question poses itself of whether and in what form a transcript of the film can and should be created as an aid for the interpretive work.

The traditional methods for the transcription of films in narrative and/or tabular form (as a sequence protocol or a protocol of takes/shots) (cf., e.g.,: Faulstich, 2002: 63-80; Korte, 1999: 32-39; Korte, 2005), common in film scientific analyses, or the transcription method of films, which have thus far been developed in the context of qualitative social research, hold fundamental problems for an interpretation following the documentary method (cf. Bohnsack, 2009: 42 et seq.): According to the documentary method, such forms of transcription leave the pre-interpretive level and can no longer be regarded as a transcript in the literal sense of the word. Strictly speaking, the act of replacing a picture with, e.g., a text, already constitutes an interpretive act.

In addition, the pertinacity of film, which the documentary interpretation is geared at, is ultimately lost through transcription of the film into another medium (e.g., into language or a graphic). Especially the "complexity of meaning which is characterized by transcontrariness" (German: "Sinnkomplexität des Übergegensätzlichen") that Imdahl (1996: 107) named as a particularity of the iconic and that is also inherent in film, can not simply be verbalized but at best be paraphrased in form of contrasts. Therefore, referring back to the film itself in the end remains essential when interpreting a film according to the documentary method.

Stefan Hampl (2005; 2008; 2010) and Aglaja Przyborski (Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr, 2009), however, have developed a transcription system for films[4], which largely solves the above-mentioned problems:

TC:	3:55	3:56	3:57	3:58	3:59	4:00
Cm:			W a s	m a c h s t	d e n n d u?	
Af.:	I c h	kann nicht	m e h r .		S e h r	s c h ö n !
Bm:	(b u z z i n g): ♫ ♫ ♫	♫ ♫ ♫	♫ ♫ ♫	♫ ♫ ♫	♫ ♫ ♫	♫ ♫
Sound:	rustle with	paper	~ ~	~ ~	~ ~	
Camera:			→	→	→	→

Illustration 1

Stills were taken from the film by means of a computer program (e.g., "Video2Photo") in 1-second-intervals (0.5-second-intervals in the other film) and strung together in tabular form. Subsequently, the spoken text is then assigned to the pictures, and sounds or music are marked correspondingly. In order to illustrate which voices or sounds come from outside the frame, the font color was changed in these cases (grey instead of black).

This transcript consistently remains on the pre-interpretive level, because the visual level is represented by visual means and the verbal level is simultaneously transcribed to text. The complexity of meaning of the iconic is thus not lost but still preserved in the pictorial. Furthermore, the representation along a constant timeline, which much resembles a musical score, allows the rendition of the time flow of the moving picture.

By virtue of its clarity, this transcription system is outstandingly suitable for obtaining an overview of the film, because it makes visible the change of camera angles in their duration and frequency as well as the relation between pictorial and textual flow in their synchronicity. It thereby provides a valuable aid and basis for the interpretative work supplementary to the film itself.

In the present case the system was amended by marking the visible cuts and adding symbols for the camera work, because ruptures in the picture flow, which could suggest cuts that are not actually present in the film itself (example teacher film 8:09 - 8:13, Illus.2), appear in the transcript particularly in the case of a left turn of the camera.

TC:	E24 8:09	8:10	8:11	8:12	8:13	E25 8:14
Sound:				gong		2x knock
Camera:	←	↖	↖	←		

Illustration 2

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The analytic stance of the documentary method

The documentary method is characterized by a change in the analytical stance from WHAT to HOW: Not the literal or "immanent" meaning of a statement, the WHAT, is at the center of interest, but the way in which this statement comes about, how it is produced and that it is produced at all - hence the THAT and the HOW of a statement - are at the focus. Because particularly herein the underlying habitus presents itself and the pre-reflexive atheoretical practical knowledge, which the documentary method aims at, becomes visible (Bohnsack, 2003b: 87 et seq.; Bohnsack, 2003a: 158).

In the documentary interpretation the distinction between these two levels of meaning finds expression in two clearly delimitable steps:

In the first step, the "formulating interpretation", that which is thematized, hence the WHAT, is merely reproduced by summarizing it without any interpretation or evaluation, if possible, and by making visible the sequence of the thematic progression by means of an outline (Bohnsack, 2003a: 33 et seq., 134 et seq.).

In the second step, the "reflecting interpretation", the question is explored of HOW these statements of the actors are defined, how they are represented and how they are substantiated (Bohnsack, 2003a: 34 et seq., 135 et seq.). The objective is to retrace the *creation* of the reality constructions of the actors, but not to, however, examine them for their correctness or to judge them. Any validity claims of statements are deliberately excluded here (Bohnsack, 2003a: 64 et seq.).

This second interpretative step thus "breaks with common sense" (Bourdieu, 1996: 269), because unlike usually, the constructions of meaning of the protagonists are not up for discussion but are purposely excluded and transcended.

When communicating in the medium of the pictorial these constructions of meaning, which are to be transcended, are located on the level of the iconographic. Panofsky makes this clear using the example of a gesture of greeting: The gesture of lifting a hat only becomes a "greeting" by means of a construction of meaning, by ascribing a motive to the actor. That which we call "greeting" on the iconographic level is merely to be identified as the lifting of a hat on the pre-iconographic level (Bohnsack, 2005: 249 et seq.).

The distinction between iconographic level and pre-iconographic level can also be compared to the distinction between connotation and denotation. Barthes clarifies this distinction by means of an example: A black man in a French uniform is depicted standing in front of the Eiffel Tower on the title page of a magazine. This description captures the denotative meaning. On the connotative level this picture, however, can also be read as a reference to French colonialism (Barthes, 1970; Hickethier 2001: 118).

In a common sense interpretation we are initially inclined to "read" non-abstract pictures or gestures by mentally constructing actions and stories that

could take place in a picture or film (Bohnsack, 2005: 253). Barthes therefore terms this level of meaning the so-called "obvious meaning" (German: "entgegenkommender Sinn") (Barthes, 1990: 49 et seq.), which immediately imposes itself on the observer. In order to access the documentary meaning or the "characteristic meaning" (German: "Wesenssinn", Panofsky) it is necessary to penetrate this level of connotations or iconographic codes. Only when one has "(mentally) gotten rid of the connotations" (Barthes, 1990: 37) it is possible to reach that level of meaning which provides information about the habitus of the actors or producers. Barthes describes that level of meaning as "obtuse" meaning ("sens obtus"[5]) as opposed to the "obvious meaning".

For a documentary film interpretation this means that, analogously to the interpretation of pictures, it begins as far as possible at the pre-iconographic level in order to effect this break with common sense, which is associated with the change of the analytic stance from the WHAT to the HOW. The first step in which the WHAT of a statement is described, thus must not remain on the iconographic level but has to step behind it and leave aside the iconographic meanings as far as possible.

1 The Formulating Interpretation (or "Describing Interpretation")

Due to the complexity of a film this first step of the formulating interpretation takes place on various levels of specificity:

At the beginning of the interpretation the film as a whole is looked at and retraced in its flow. The point is not to capture the "story" that the film (putatively) tells in its "obvious meaning" (Barthes), but to describe the succession of the scenes without causal relationships or constructions of meaning. In film studies this approximately corresponds to the distinction between "story" and "plot"[6] of a film.

For this purpose the sequence order of the film is described in which the changes of the camera angles and the sceneries (the settings and persons) are traced. This description does not yet go into detail but strives for a structuring of the flow in superordinate and subordinate or enclosed sequences. It remains at the pre-iconographic level as far as possible and merely resorts to communicatively generalized bodies of knowledge which contain insights

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5   Title of the original edition by Barthes 1990: "L´obvie et l´obtus."
6   Faulstich describes the "story" as the mere succession of sequences, while the "plot" is characterized by a meaning structure on the basis of causal relationships (*"because..."*) (Faulstich 2002, p. 80 et seq.; similar: Steinmetz 2005, p. 42 + 34). Mikos employs these terms in a different manner (Mikos, 2003: 43; p. 106, 128 – 135).

regarding social institutions and role relations (e.g., what is a school, a teacher or a student - in the example of Barthes, the clothing of the black man is already identified as "French uniform".)

This structure primarily orients itself at the visual in order to be able to disregard, for the time being, the iconographic level as far as possible, which finds its way in through the inclusion of language. The recourse to that which is explicitly thematized is only secondary.[7]

The step of the "formulating, respectively describing interpretation" is performed again and again in the later course of the film interpretation as well: In the context of the reflecting interpretation a formulating interpretation is produced of every single "focusing metaphor" (see below) in preparation. This formulating interpretation, however, exists on a very high level of specificity and once again begins as far as possible back at the pre-iconographic level. The form of the description can turn out differently depending on the type of the chosen focusing metaphor.

2 Reflecting Interpretation

2. 1 The Formal Structure of the Film

In principle, the documentary method does not focus on individual isolated elements but on their connections and reference to each other and to the overall context. When interpreting a group discussion, for example, the progression of discourse is traced first, or when interpreting a picture, the formal structure of a picture is analyzed in order to obtain a view of the whole.

To reveal the formal structure of the films a structural diagram of the progression was prepared for each film. These orient themselves primarily on the change of camera angles and the montage. This way the order of sequences (e.g., subordinate or enclosed), the change of places, or the continuity of separate action strata becomes clear. Persistently recurring elements can also be illustrated in this manner.

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7   E.g., the comparison between the then and now, which is made explicit by the students in the text, is employed for structuring (cf. Baltruschat, 2010).

Illustration 3a

S1　S2　S3/4　S5　S6/7　S8.1　S8.2/3　S8.4　S8.5/6　S9.1　S9.2-5　S9.6　S9.7

curtain raiser　schoolhouse　student council „interview"

GS 1: sports lessons
now – then

GS 2: general lessons
then – now

„film in the film" …

Illustration 3b

S10	S10.9	S11.1-4	S11.5	S11.6	S12.1	S12.2	S12.3	S12.4	S13	S14 – 15.5	S15.6-8
outdoor		GS 3: computer / writing now – then				GS 4: musical lessons then – now				final credits	outtakes

„…film in the film"

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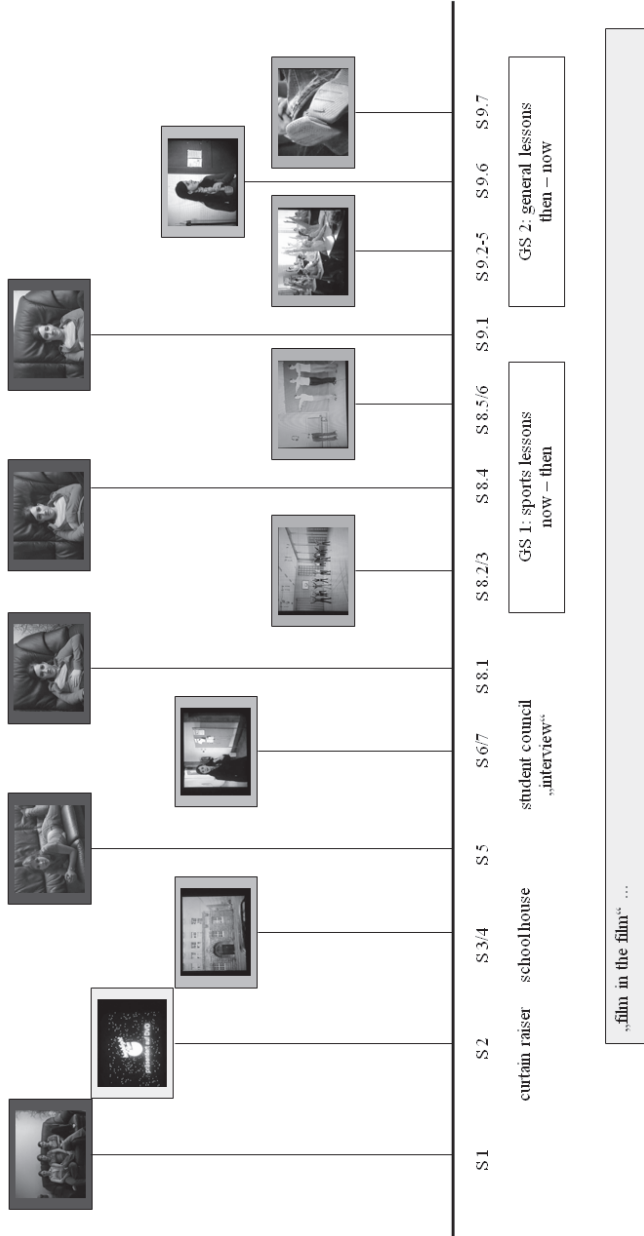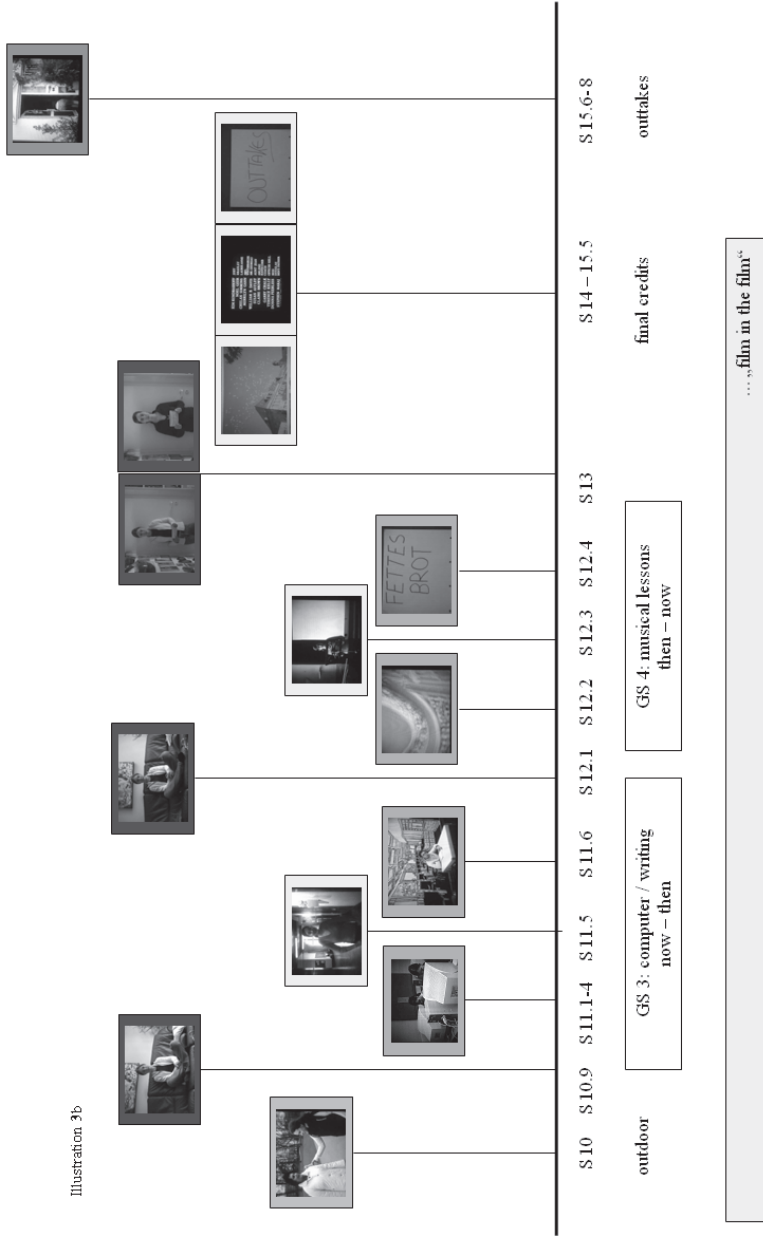
A distinction between different types of narrations as described by Bordwell (1985: 3 et seqq.) following Artistotle, was utilized for the structuring of the student film - the distinction between diegetic and mimetic narration: While in the diegetic narration a narrator directly addresses the audience, the mimetic narration takes place in the acting out of situations and actions. Usually one of the narrative styles dominates in a film. In the present film a permanent change between both narrative styles becomes evident.

Also striking is the permanent back and forth between the setting of the school and a private setting (in the scenes on the sofa - Illus. 3 a+b marked in red).

Some important characteristics of the student film already become visible here, which later come up again as homologous structures in the interpretation of individual details.

This marks an important difference to the second film I interpreted[8]: No change in location is found there. And precisely this prison-like confinement to an enclosed space, which also echoes in the title ("Chamber of Terror") proves to be one of the main characteristics of this film. Merely two enclosed sequences transcend this setting (1. a close-up of a clock; 2. the same clock in connection with a portrait) by being inserted into the film in a completely unrelated and therefore not precisely defined (by means of editing) manner. The structuring power which is ascribed to these symbols also shows itself as a homologous structure in the interpretation of individual scenes.

In this film, the alternation between different narrative styles does not play as important a role as in the student film. In contrast, a kind of leitmotif becomes visible through variations of a permanently recurring action stratum in which the teacher, "Marianne", works behind tall stacks of paper with red smudged hands (cf. 2.2.3).

While in the student film a dissociation of the school setting and the typically scholastic situations becomes visible through the changes in narrative styles and settings (they *"(only) perform"* - as they themselves state *"a little play"* at the school), a prison-like frame of action and a fixation on a "dual-headed" (clock and portrait, cf. Illus.2) structuring power is in the foreground of the teacher film.

So the central orientations of both groups already become visible to some extent in the overall structure of the respective films. They can be further specified by contrasting both films by use of a comparative analysis such as I have hinted at with respect to their different formal structures.

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8   Due to a lack of space the illustration of the structural diagram of the teacher film was not included here. It can be found in: Baltruschat, 2010.

2.2 The Selection of "Focusing Metaphors"

In the documentary method, focusing metaphors are passages or sections which are characterized by high interactive and metaphorical density. In these passages, the collective consciousness and the collective identity of the producers appear in a particularly concentrated manner. This facilitates access to their conjunctive spaces of experience and their common orientations which are documented in the overall product (Bohnsack, 2003a: 138 et.s.).

Related to the search of such focusing metaphors in the interpretation of films, the question is how "the intrinsically filmic" (Barthes, 1990: 65) manifests itself. Barthes answers this question with a reference to the photogramme, i.e. a film still: "Paradoxically", the "filmic" "in the film cannot be grasped 'at the right place', 'in the movement', 'in reality', but so far only in an important artifact, the photogramme" (Barthes, 1990: 64). There one can most likely best transcend the "obvious meaning", rid oneself of the connotations and thereby arrive at the "obtuse" meaning. Barthes demonstrates this by means of an interpretation of a photogramme from the film "The Battleship Potemkin" by Eisenstein (Barthes 1990). On the basis of the facial expression of an old woman Barthes illustrates the appearance of a dimension of meaning, which verbally can only be expressed in dichotomies. Here then that density of meaning becomes evident, which Imdahl calls the "complexity of meaning which is characterized by transcontrarinesss" (Imdahl, 1996: 107).

In contrast, a number of other film theoriticians, from Pudowkin to Deleuze, locate the particularity of the film in the montage, respectively the cut. This position is very concisely mirrored in a quotation which is ascribed to Stanley Kubrick: "Editing is the only process in which the film does not borrow anything from other arts. Only when being cut the film is entirely one with itself" (Weidemann, 2005: 371).

The topos of a unique "language of film" comes up time and again in the context of montage theories. Balázs phrases this topos as follows: "What is it that the camera does not reproduce but creates by itself? What makes film a unique language? The close-up. The angle. The montage. (...) It is only through the montage, the rhythm and the associative process of the picture sequence that the essential becomes visible: the composition of the work" (Balázs, 1930: 56). Mikos (2003: 207) notices: "The filmic reality is created only by joining together the individual pictures." Meanings, which are not contained in the pictures themselves, are only created through the linkage of pictures by means of editing (Mikos, 2003: 101).

Kracauer on the other hand, following Panofsky, sees the particularity of film compared to other art forms in the fact that it is not created on the basis of an abstract idea but arises directly out of the physical reality. Consequently, according to Kracauer, it is the "small units" or elements of actions,

respectively the "moments of everyday life", or even just individual fragments of visible reality, that open up a dimension of meaning which extends far beyond the mere contents of the story told by the film (Kracauer, 1964: 393).

When selecting focusing metaphors it suggests itself to include these different answers to the question regarding the particularity of film. This way, individual photogrammes, as in the case of Barthes, as well as individual gestures or parts of sceneries, i.e., "small units", as in the case of Kracauer, or the technique of the montage, can be placed at the center of attention. An interpretation for each of these areas will be exemplarily introduced in the following (see below 2.2.1 - 2.2.3).

Particular focusing serves as a criterion for the choice of certain elements or sections which are subjected to an intensive analysis. This focusing is characterized by: a striking density in the filmic composition or the movements of the represented film producers, breaks or discontinuities, integration of metaphorical meanings in word and/or picture, a prominent positioning in the overall composition, or other unusual features.

In the case of film, two dimensions of relations, which are meaningful for the documentary interpretation, come into view: On the one hand one finds *simultaneous* relations[9], much like in a still; on the other hand, however, similar to texts, there are also sequential relations[10] which arise in virtue of the temporal development of the film. The simultaneous relations of the film, however, do not confine themselves solely to the relations within the picture (in the so-called "photogramme"), but can also be seen in the construction of the filmic reality, respectively the filmic space in its entirety, in which the domain of acoustics appears alongside the domain of the visual.

According to Bordwell (1985: 117) the filmic space results from three different components:

1) from the photographed space, the "shot space"
2) from the "editing space", which results from the montage and the changes of the camera angles, and
3) from the "sonic space", the acoustics added to the picture.

In their interplay the components result in the "scenographic space" (Bordwell) or the "narrative", respectively "diegetic" space of the film (Hickethier, 2001: 85), which only becomes perceptible in the sequentiality, in the unfolding of the film into the dimension of time[11].

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[9]   Regarding the "simultaneous structure" (German: "Simultanstruktur") of pictures cf.: Bohnsack, 2003a: 168
[10] Regarding the "interconnection of sequentiality and simultaneity" (German: "Verschränkung von Sequenzialität and Simultaneität") cf. Wagner-Willi, 2005: 269 et seqq.
[11] Because of this peculiarity of the film (as opposed to the picture) Sachs-Hombach describes the film as a "sculpture of time" (German: "Zeit-Plastik"): Unlike the picture, the film is "three-dimensional, with the third dimension not being represented by the spatial depth, as in a sculpture, but rather by the temporal extension". (Sachs-Hombach, 2003: 130)

In a film, unlike in stills or texts, we thus have to deal with both relational dimensions at the same time: sequentiality is added to simultaneity. The simultaneous relations here occur synchronously at different filmic levels and in doing so unfold sequentially.

The focusing metaphors which are selected for a detailed analysis can confine themselves either to individual dimensions and components or they can integrate several at once. In the case of a photogramme as a focusing metaphor, for example, a reduction to the dimension of simultaneity and the component of the "shot space", the photographed space, takes place.

This reduction is possible if one assumes that the documentary can already appear in individual fragments, without having to grasp the entire work in its objective connotations (Mannheim, 1964:119-123). These fragments form "novel totalities" (Mannheim, 1964: 123). In this process it is decisive, however, that such individual elements are not looked at in isolation but are put in relation to the other elements and the whole as parts of a totality and that thereby homologous structures can be shown again and again. Because the whole as a superordinate framework is always also present in the details.[12]

Due to the superordinate significance of the pre-iconographic level for the film, the interpretation of the spoken text, provided that it is of interest, is carried out only after the interpretation of the visual. It is then put into relation to the corresponding sequence of pictures. The sonic space of a film can take very different forms (original noise, background music, language, etc.) and may in turn be interwoven with the other spaces constitutive of the film in manifold ways (on-off; accentuation or contrasting of the visual, etc.) . This can only be hinted at here.[13]

Comparative analysis as a methodical principle

Depending on the background against which a picture or another unit of meaning is being interpreted, different aspects or dimensions of meaning come into the focus of the interpreter. In order to methodically control both, one's own positional dependence and the polysemy, i.e. the ambiguity, of the element to be interpreted, the comparative analysis as a methodical principle therefore plays a central role in documentary interpretation. The more complex and ambiguous a product is, the more meaningful this principle becomes (Bohnsack, 2007: 32-34).

Due to the complexity of a film interpretation the number of comparable empirical cases, which are also subjected to an interpretation and therefore

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[12] Following Imdahl: "From the outset, the whole exists in its totality and is coexistent in every individual [component] as the manifest framework whenever each individual (component) is considered." (Imdahl, 1996: 23)

[13] For additional deliberations regarding the word-picture relation cf. Hickethier, 2001: 107-109; regarding sound and music: Hickethier, 2001: 96-102; Faulstich, 2002: 131-143

can be drawn on for a comparative analysis, will usually be rather low. It is therefore all the more important to exhaust the possibilities of comparisons and relationships internal to the film in order to forego, as far as possible, imaginative horizons of comparison chosen by the interpreter.

In the interpretation of the student film it suggests itself, for example, to tie in with the explicit comparison, which the students pick out as a central theme in their film, by contrasting four scenes each of the school of the past and the school of the present. The corresponding sequences can be contrasted and compared with each other and the four resulting relationship pairs can then be juxtaposed in opposition. In doing so the "principle of contrast in commonality" (German: "Prinzip des Kontrasts in der Gemeinsamkeit") (Bohnsack et al., 2001: 236; Bohnsack, 2003a: 37), or obversely, the commonality in contrast, takes effect. On the basis of these relationships one can look for homologies, i.e., for structural identities, which make visible the whole of the film in its documentary content (Bohnsack, 2009: 37; Bohnsack, 2003a: 203 et seq.) and which simultaneously are employed for the validation of the reconstructed orientations.

Additional possibilities of comparison arise from the contrasting of pictures or sequences that are directly connected to each other. For example, the use of two immediately successive final pictures in the student film is very striking and invites an evaluation of relationships as well as a comparative analysis.

Illustration 4

The search for homologies finally continues on broader levels and dimensions of meaning as well. The reconstructed orientations are, for example, also validated by the fact that they reveal themselves both in the picture and in the text and furthermore at the level of the overall structure as well as in details. In the following it is to be shown by means of individual focusing metaphors, which are introduced, illustrated and reflected upon, how these basic principles can be emphasized in the interpretation of films.

2.2.1 Focusing Metaphors from the Domain of the formal Composition of Photogrammes

Individual photogrammes allow a detailed analysis of simultaneous relations without taking into account the sequentiality. Choosing a still as a focusing metaphor particularly suggests itself in the case of complex pictorial structures, or for instances where the camera angle remains unchanged over a long period of time. The following examples reveal the opportunity but also the limitations of work with photogrammes in the interpretation of films.

For the interpretation of photogrammes one can resort to the approach of the documentary picture interpretation, which, however, shall be outlined only briefly in this context[14]:

Initially, a detailed description of the picture on the pre-iconographic level is prepared in the context of the formulating interpretation. Subsequently, the formal composition of the still is then analyzed in three dimensions on the level of the reflecting interpretation: regarding the planimetric composition, the perspectivic projection and the scenic choreography. In this approach the analysis of the planimetric composition has priority (Bohnsack, 2005: 256).

Because the documentary picture interpretation is not at the center, the emphasis in the presentation of the following examples shall focus on how the methodical principles of the documentary interpretation, with respect to the film interpretation, can be implemented in the work with photogrammes.

Photogrammes of the student film regarding the comparison "Then - Now"

The producers of the student film "Melanchthon - I like it" themselves generate a comparison horizon by contrasting the school of the past with the school of today. This comparison is played out by means of four scene pairs. Physical education, general lessons, writing and music lessons are the central themes (cf. Illus. 3 a+b). The students place the explicitly negative counter-horizon of this comparison into the *Then*, because at the end of the film they draw the following conclusion: *"It is our personal opinion that we like the development from that time to today much better".*

As previously mentioned, it suggests itself to employ this explicit comparison horizon intrinsic to the film for a comparative analysis. The individual elements, the photogrammes, are systematically arranged into relationships with each other, and then these relations can be compared to further relations. This results in "setting the relationships into relation to each other" (Bohnsack, 2009: 37), the process of which already begins with the relationships within the simultaneous structure of the individual photo-

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14 Detailed presentations and examples can be found in: Bohnsack, 2003a: 236-257; Bohnsack et al., 2001: 323-337; Bohnsack, 2005: 256-259

grammes. This way, both dimensions of the film, the simultaneity and the sequentiality, are apparent also in the analysis of photogrammes. I would like to clarify at least the basic principles of this approach. To this end I start with the first scene pair which is dedicated to physical education.
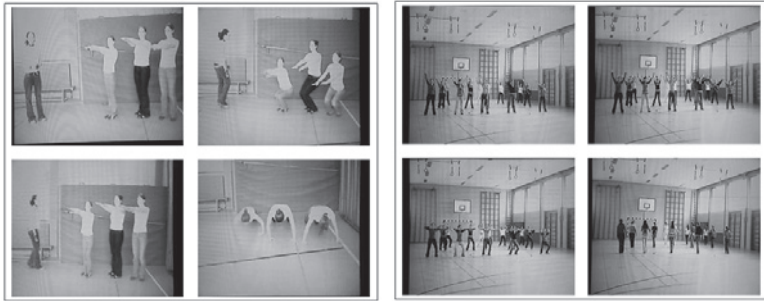
Illustration 5a and 5b

At first glance, the different camera angles that were chosen stand out. The classifications of the camera angles, which are common in film studies, orient themselves at the relation between the person shown (or the object) and his/her surroundings. Different graduation scales with continuous transitions are used, which distinguish between five, seven or eight different shot sizes (Korte, 1999: 25 et seq; Hickethier, 2001: 57-60). The following overview illustrates the various setting options.
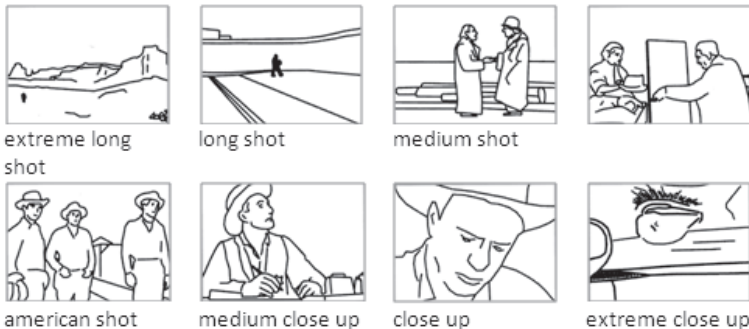
Illustration 6 (Steinmetz, 2005: 21-23)

In the long shot, e.g., the individual appears far in the background and thus becomes of minor importance in comparison to his/her surroundings. In contrast, in the "American shot" or "medium close-up" the individual persons are prominently featured while their surroundings recede. In the extreme close up, however, the holistic impression of a single person disappears again in favour of the individual detail, which is at the center of attention.

In virtue of the different camera angles in the physical education lesson the students of the present disappear in a seemingly highly structured space, while the students of the *Then* appear very present. The different sharpness of the pictures and the arising inconsistency with respect to the presence of the protagonists is striking: The persons in the *Now* are examined more "sharply" and at the same time disappear in the crowd and the space, the lines of which become all the more dominant because of the sharpness. Despite or because of the sharpness the students in the *Now* scene are ultimately less present than the students in the *Then*, who are portrayed rather out of focus.

Illustration 7a and 7b

If we look at the second pair of scenes against the background of the first scene pair, the different camera angles stand out here as well. While for the *Then* a medium shot (figure shot) was again used, close-up and extreme close-up dominate the *Now*. Additionally, regarding the composition, the resulting fragmentation of the represented people is striking.

This leads to a similar conclusion as in the case of the first pair of scenes, even if it is reached in a different way: Here also, the overall persons disappear in the depiction of the present; this time, however, due to the concentration of the attention to details.
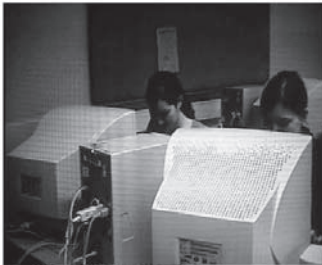
Illustration 8a and 8b

The third scene pair is less different in the chosen camera angle than in the positioning of the protagonists. This creates the same discrepancy between protagonist and surroundings in the *Now* scene that had been expressed by the different camera angles in the previous scene pairs: The protagonists in the now disappear behind the expansive props (the computers). In contrast, the view on the student in the *Then* scene remains clear and unobstructed.

The chosen point of comparison ("tertium comparationis"), which structures this relation, is confirmed through the contrasting of these three scene pairs (cf.: Bohnsack, 2003a: 204). It consists of the relationship of the actors with their environment. This relationship came into play through the different camera angles and continued in the positioning of the actors in their surroundings (with the camera angle remaining the same) in the third pair of scenes. In comparison to the scenes in the *Then* this relationship in the scenes regarding the *Now* changed to the disadvantage of the represented persons.

In the photogramme the contrast between the last pair of scenes can only be seen to some extent. It is primarily created by means of the camera work and the resulting editing space. One can best retrace this on the basis of the running film.

Illustration 9a

Illustration 9b

While the music in the *Then* scene ("sonic space") finds its correspondence in "dance-like", circular camera work (c.f. Illus. 9a), the *Now* scene does not exhibit an immediately noticeable connection between music and composition. The camera remains motionless and the only thing displayed is the name of the band whose music is played: "Fettes Brot" (c.f. Illus. 9b). In virtue of the camera work a "non-space" is juxtaposed to a moving three-

dimensional space in the *Then*: The picture in the *Now* remains two-dimensional and static.

While by means of a pan shot into the music room (7:05 - 7:06) the scene about the *Then* is still placed in the school, the scene about the *Now* remains completely undefined with respect to the filmic context thanks to the cuts in 7:28 and 7:53 and thus represents a kind of "non-place". The music culture of the teenagers remains apart from the sphere of the school. No insight into this sphere is granted apart from the sign that reads "Fettes Brot".[15]

In comparing these four scene pairs one notices that in the *Now* scenes the people in their entirety and as individuals take a back seat, are blocked, or are completely ignored. While there is a relatively balanced relation between person and surroundings in the *Then* scenes, it is striking that there is rather an "in-congruity" between the people and their environment, between person and institution, in the *Now* scenes.

From the perspective of a committed educator, who brings his own horizon of interpretation to the film, this could be read as a reference to the idea that the personalities of the students receive too little attention and interpreted as a demand for focusing on them more strongly. If one looks at the relevance system of the students as it is expressed many times throughout the film, however, one reaches the exact opposite conclusion: At the documentary meaning level the retreat of the protagonists from the attention to the individual person, which is perceived as exaggerated, is expressed again and again and the implementation of a clear separation between the institution school and one's own privacy repeatedly becomes visible. At the end of the film (S 15: "Outtakes"), e.g., the intrusive gaze of a "hidden camera" into one's own privacy is once again highlighted and fended off at the same time c.f. Illus. 10).
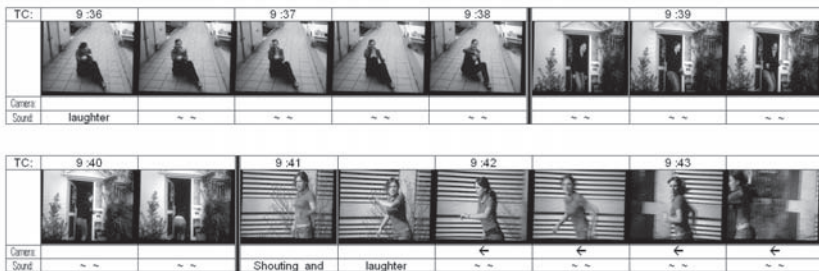
Illustration 10

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15   A more detailed description of the interpretation is not possible in this context (cf. Baltruschat 2008).

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When analyzing the film more closely, one can furthermore reconstruct an implicit horizon of comparison out of the explicit horizon of comparison between the *Then* and the *Now*, which becomes evident in the overall composition of the film. In this new comparison horizon the outdoor scene (S 10, cf. Illus. 3 a+b), which can be found exactly at the center of the film, becomes an antithesis to the scenes which play in the school.[16] This reconstructed horizon of comparison is not located between the *Then* and the *Now*, but between the institution of the school and life outside of this institution. It also finds expression as a homologous structure in the double final picture of this film (cf. Illustration 4).

2.2.2 Focusing Metaphors from the Domain of Editing

For the analysis of a montage, knowledge of the conventions of film making, i.e., that which is commonly referred to as the "language of film"[17], is very useful. It facilitates the understanding of the specific production of the filmic narration by means of cuts and camera work. Such cinematographic elements of the "language of film" thereby represent communicatively generalized bodies of knowledge and thus a kind of "iconographic level" which can be transgressed in order to access the HOW, i.e., the specific type of production of the respective statement. I would like to clarify this in the following example.

The sequence "The Path" (German: "Der Weg") from the teacher film[18]

With the aid of the conventions of film-making and by means of the camera work and montage a "narrative space" is constructed, which we "read" as follows: A person of whom we can only see the feet slowly walks straight ahead and moves through a group of adolescents. At first her gaze is directed to the floor, then horizontally, then to the floor again and so on. Her glances move below the eye-level of the students. This person is therefore either short or she walks with a stoop (c.f. Illus.11).

This description constitutes the "iconographic" or connotative level of this

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16 For further detail cf. Baltruschat, 2010

17 The conventions for the creation of films, which have, for example, developed for editing or camera work, are frequently considered a particular form of "language", which has to be learned by film-makers as well as for the recipient of the film. This is also for example expressed in the titles of handbooks and instruction manuals, which are geared towards the practitioner, e.g. Arijon, 1976"Grammar of the Film Language"; for the film-maker or Steinmetz, 2005, "Filme sehen lernen" ("Learning to See Films"; for the recipient). The concept of the "language of film" is to be understood rather metaphorically since the cinematic structures merely resemble those of a language. Cf. also: Mikos, 2003: 10 et seq.; Kessler, 2002: 108 et seqq.

18 This is the only scene in the two films, in which the represented and the representing film producers belong to different realms of experience.

sequence, so to say, and retraces the story which is here told with the means of this so-called "film language".

On the denotative or pre-iconographic level, however, we merely have two very different film pictures which are put together alternately. If one compares the pictures with each other, one notices that both pictures show incomplete, fragmented people: feet in the one, torsos without heads and legs in the other. From a film-making perspective, these two different film pictures are contextualized by the fact that they are connected in a constant forward motion. This forward motion is thus the connecting element of this sequence.

This is a certain editing technique which is also referred to as "Match Cut" (cf. Steinmetz, 2005: 36) (to match: "to fit together"; Steinmetz, 2005: 24). For means of comparison and contrast I would like to draw on two examples of Match Cuts from two well-known films:

Numerous Match Cuts can be found in "Run Lola Run" by Tom Tykwer, in which the continuity of the respective sequence is created through a constant theme, which is common to the different sections: the running Lola. In "2001: A Space Odyssey" by Stanley Kubrick, a bone is thrown into the air by an ape. After the cut the bone is replaced by a spaceship which has a similar shape and seamlessly continues the movement of the bone.[19]

In the first case the connecting element of the sections that are put together is thus a running woman, in the second case the movement of an object, with the movement and the outer shape of the object remaining constant and the object itself being exchanged.

If one now draws a comparison between these three types of "matching", it is striking that the connecting element in the teacher film is not a visible person (as in Tykwer's film), nor an object in motion (as in Kubrick's film), but rather something immaterial - namely a mere movement that is executed by the camera.

The connection between these two disparate scenes thus remains very vague and loose, with the absence of the walking person, who actually represents the connecting element, standing out. This absence was already visible in the first section (0:58 - 1:05) in which one only saw the feet, but it is once again emphasized by means of this type of montage. So this depersonalization appears as a homologous structure both in the film image as well as in the montage.

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[19]   cf. film clips on the DVD accompanying Steinmetz, 2005

Illustration 11

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It is interesting that this is the only scene in the film in which teachers and students meet. Through the type of montage used, among others, this encounter becomes, however, more of a "non-encounter": As we have already seen, the connecting element in the process of "matching" simply consists of the movement of something absent. In addition, there is a rupture in the sonic space of this sequence which is unusual for matching. Typically, the togetherness of such a "matched" sequence is underlined by a continuation of the sonic space, e.g., by unchanging running noises or by continuing background music (e.g., in "Run Lola Run").[20] In the example "The Path" (German: "Der Weg"), however, the sonic space ends abruptly with each cut. That this is not due to technical inability on the part of the production team becomes clear if one compares a montage directly prior to this sequence: There different sections are connected with each other by means of continuous background music.

So the "non-encounter" of the teacher with the students not only becomes apparent by virtue of the vague connection of the sequences but is additionally augmented by the ruptures in the sonic space. By this arrangement of the acoustics two differentiated spaces are created in which both groups of people act separate from each other - the teacher in the one, the students in the other.

Finally, this "non-encounter" is also underlined by the direction of the gazes: If one compares the present passage with a so-called "Eyeline Match" (Steinmetz, 2005: 24) in which the visual axes of the actors are presented and connected in a way that they appear to be looking at each other[21], the non-meeting of the looks in this sequence becomes all the clearer. The visual axes of the two parties create the impression that they do not notice each other at all. In addition, attention is called to the fact that the teacher moves "below the eye level" of the students.

The expressed lack of communication between the two parties, the teacher and the students, on the one hand repeats itself in the composition of the picture, in which the heads of the students are partially cut off (hence those parts of the body that are relevant for communication) and in which the only visible parts of the teacher are her feet. On the other hand it is also amplified through the contrast with the high communication density which prevails among the students. While the students are in lively exchange with each other the teacher, particularly also because of the structure of the sonic space, seems to live in an isolated world in which all sounds from the outside appear very muffled, as if from afar, and in which only the sounds of her own steps are present.

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[20] In the Kubrick example a cross-fade from one sonic space to the next is employed.

[21] cf., e.g: Fred Zinnemann: "High Noon": While the young wife of the sheriff is driving out of the town a meeting of their eyes is created by means of the "Eyeline Match" technique, although both of them are not present in the same picture (cf. film clip on the DVD accompanying Steinmetz, 2005).

This isolation itself is intensified through additional homologies: The way in which the camera is directed through the student group simulates a "blinker-like" view, which is not focused on anything in particular. And also when looking to the floor no other persons or objects come into focus. She sees only her own feet and briefcase.

In the representation of the isolation another characteristic feature of this sequence becomes clear at the same time, however: the self-centeredness and the seclusion of the teacher. This self-centeredness is ultimately also underlined by means of a filmic narrative technique used here: the so-called "subjective camera". This refers to a filmic narrative concept in which the camera is directed in such a way that it reflects the view of an actor (here: the teacher). The so-called "objective camera", which reflects, so to speak, the "objective" view, hence the view of an outsider (a viewer) onto the events, would be its counterpart (Hickethier, 2001: 130-132; Faulstich, 2002: 120).

The only "encounter" between teachers and students in this film thus takes place in form of a "subjective" look of the teacher onto the students (or rather: past the students), while in regards to the direction of the gaze, the sound design and the composition of the picture, the teacher appears as an isolated person (or rather "non-person"), completely trapped in her own world; a person who furthermore disappears behind a giant briefcase (a metonymy for apersonal activities).

So in this sequence a "non-encounter" – a coexistence of two separate worlds – documents itself in numerous ways. The approach used for the interpretation will be revisited in the following summary: In order to be able to capture the characteristic features of this montage more precisely a comparison with other films is carried out, in which typical forms of "Match Cuts" are employed. This means that *comparisons external to the film* were drawn.

The scene directly prior in this film in which the sonic space remained the same was employed for a *comparison internal to the film.* Additionally, the joined disparate sequences of pictures were compared with each other and resulted in the observation regarding the aspect of the fragmented ("mutilated") persons.

Finally, homologous structures were identified between the mode of the montage and the composition of the picture, between the camera work and the composition of the picture, as well as between the design of the sonic space, the composition of the picture and the mode of the montage.

Multiple relationships between the individual elements and between the various dimensions of the films were thus drawn and analyzed. The "narrative space", which in this sequence is constituted through the particular mode of film-making, makes statements about a person who remains almost invisible and who walks a certain path through a building looking neither left nor right. This is the level of the WHAT - or as Barthes put it - the level of the

"obvious meaning", which a practiced film recipient will grasp immediately. The level of the documentary meaning only discloses itself when looking at the HOW, upon examination of the specific manner of creation of the "narrative space". This HOW becomes accessible during the reflection of the particular mode of montage, camera work, composition of the picture, sonic space and style of the filmic narrative perspective.

2.2.3 Focusing Metaphors from the Domain of Gestures and Elements of "Physical Reality"

According to Kracauer and Panofsky the particularity of film consists of the fact that it operates with "physical reality" (Kracauer, 1964: 389): "The substance of the film is the outer reality as such", Panofsky (1999: 54) emphasizes. And Balázs stresses, among others, the "subtlety and power of the gesture" which defines the art of film.[22]

On the basis of this it becomes clear "that the medium of film opens up an access to an elementary level of social communication and social reality that was unknown before": to the "level of corporeality, of incorporated gestures and facial expressions." (Bohnsack, 2009: 15). This level plays a special role for documentary interpretation, particularly for the reconstruction of the habitus as a form of incorporated practical knowledge of people. Mannheim, for instance, also points out that "body language" (German: "Leibsprache"[23]) is much better suited for grasping the "structure of atheoretical formations of meaning" than "the principal medium of theoretical meaning, the verbal language" (Mannheim, 1964: 136).

While in a picture gestures and movements can only be hinted at as a "snapshot", they can actually be executed in the film. They thus experience a differentiation regarding the speed, the exact sequence of movements and the intensity, which can not be portrayed in a static picture in this way.

The scene "Marianne" from the teacher film

The scene, "Marianne", shall be introduced as an example of a focusing metaphor in which a gesture is in the center of interpretation (c.f. Illus.12).

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[22] Balázs 2001 (1924), p. 26: "Subtlety and power of the picture and the gesture constitute the art of the film. It therefore has nothing in common with literature."

[23] The German word ("Leibsprache"), used by Mannheim, is not the common translation for "body language" (German: "Körpersprache"). This word includes connotations which are related to the different terms "Leib" and "Körper" that exist in German and which can be connected with different anthropological concepts.

Illustration 12

The identification and classification of an action, such as greeting (in the example by Panofsky, see above), takes place at the iconographic level and denotes the level of immanent meaning, the level of the WHAT. In order to advance to the level of documentary meaning it is, however, necessary to abandon the assignment of the motive of greeting and to pay attention to the creation and the exact execution of this action instead - hence to focus on the HOW of this action.

The action, which the teacher "Marianne" (Af in Illus. 12) carries out behind the stacks of paper, cannot be conclusively classified on the iconographic level, because the way in which it is executed here does not belong to the usual action repertoire of teachers. One could perhaps best describe this action as a sorting of files. While doing so, Marianne sits behind mountains of papers and even expands these by adding additional stacks.

If one describes this action at the pre-iconographic level, one can identify various "small behaviours"[24] (Goffman, 1979: 24) which are very contradicttory: Right at the beginning of the passage, after Marianne appears in the picture, her right hand reaches and *pulls* forward and is reminiscent of the hand of a drowning person who wants to reach safe ground. Immediately after, her left hand *pushes* a paper stack from the back to the front. This results in a seemingly contradictory forward-backward crawl movement.

Also contradictory is the way in which she moves her arms downwards: Partly they are dropped weakly, partly they slam down powerfully, resulting in the impression that the paper is being beaten. This movement thus oscillates between violent aggression and feeble resignation. These two poles can also be seen in the "small behaviors" in which Marianne puts her hands onto the paper stacks: The first time she lets her arms feebly sink onto the stacks; the second time she pushes away from them with claw-like positioned fingers.

Illustration 13

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24   At the pre-iconographic level, Bohnsack furthermore differentiates between "gestures" and "operative actions" (Bohnsack, 2009, p. 18 et seq.).

This inconsistency also continues as a homologous structure on additional levels of meaning: Marianne's intonation shifts between a whimpering whiny pianissimo and a furious forte.

The text in itself also reveals this inconsistency:
When repeated the 9th time, the permanently recurring sentence *"I can't (any)more..."* (German: *"Ich kann nicht mehr...")*, is supplemented by *"... stop"* (German: *"aufhören"*) and thus becomes ambiguous. On the one hand the original sentence is intensified to a double appeal *"I can't anymore! Stop!".* On the other hand this text, when understood as one whole sentence, means the opposite *"I can't stop anymore!"* (German: *"Ich kann nicht mehr aufhören!"*), hence "I want to, respectively I have to, continue!"[25]

The rhythm that accompanies the text *"I can't (any)more"* in way of the slapping of the table and the paper stacks, accentuates the two words *"Can!"* and *"More!"* and places a kind of subtext below the spoken text which also points in the opposite direction of meaning: *"(I) can! - More!"* (German: *"(Ich) kann! - Mehr!"*). The powerlessness of a victim, who would like to stop but is not allowed to and the driving force of a doer/perpetrator, who does not want to (or can't) stop flow together in a kind of transcontrariness.

This inconsistency finally recurs in the imagery and the symbolism of the red smeared hands and the way in which Marianne positions her hands.

7:30   7:35

Illustration 14

Here, the bleeding hands of the victim (7:35) and the "bloodstained" claw of the doer/perpetrator (7:30) are juxtaposed.

If one includes communicatively generalized bodies of knowledge of the iconographic level, the selective tasks of teachers come into view: Because the piles of paper are stacked sets of class tests and the color red represents the typical color teachers use for making corrections. At this level, the red on

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[25]   In the original German, the sentence structure is the same for both sentences. In order to illustrate the ambiguous meaning of the sentence expressed in the original, the sentence structure was changed in the English translation.

Marianne's hands appears to be a result of excessive correction activity. In the context of this activity the powerlessness and aggression which become evident here are charged with additional meanings: Vis-a-vis the selective tasks of the school she herself becomes a victim and a perpetrator at the same time: She cannot escape these tasks and is injured ("bleeds") on the one hand while on the other hand she becomes a driven henchman to an act of violence in which she "beats" the files (as representatives of the students) and "lets them bleed". The motif of the "bleeding file", which bleeds in place of the person whom it belongs to, also appears in the film which is cited in the title of the teacher film: "Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens".[26]

The inconsistency and the oscillation between powerlessness and aggression, between "being a victim" and "being a perpetrator" that shows itself in the gesture of Marianne piling up the paper stacks, continues through various levels of meaning of this scene as a homologous structure. In addition, it reveals itself in additional sections of the film in which this scene, which runs through the film as a central theme, is revisited, and it finally also finds expression in completely different scenes by way of changed means and different imagery.[27] The orientation reconstructed here validates itself by means of the homologies, which reveal themselves on the various levels of meaning within this scene but which also extend beyond this scene.

3   Summary of the Steps of a Film Interpretation

- Transcription of the film
- Formulating/describing interpretation I: Progression of the film
- Reflecting interpretation I: Structural sketch of the film
- Interpretation of individual focusing metaphors:
    - Formulating/describing interpretation II
    - Reflecting interpretation II
- Interpretation of the film title
- Complete overview of the film (synopsis of the central orientations)

The order suggested here merely represents an ideal progression. The circular movement of any interpretative or hermeneutical processes ("hermeneutic circle") is further reinforced by the polysemy and the complexity of the present data material "film". It is hence not precluded that the actual importance of some peculiarities of the overall structure of the

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[26]   This citation is not recognizable in the English title ("Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets"), but only in the German version: "Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens", which literally means: "Harry Potter and the Chamber of Terror".

[27]   for additional details see Baltruschat, 2010

film only comes into focus in the interpretation of individual focusing metaphors or that the final intensive examination of the film title leads to a more detailed interpretation of additional passages. Even when working on the complete overview there can still be surprises and new discoveries which call for a correction or a more exact revision of the interpretation results.

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Andrea Sabisch/Sten Mellenthin*

Recording and Representing Aesthetic Experiences in Diaries

The term 'aesthetic experience' has become a cipher of the unspeakable in a sensual and meaningful in-between over the past decades. While different times have positioned the subject area of aesthetics at different proximities of art, aesthetic sensations can, in principle, be triggered by any object – they are, in fact, not exclusive to art. If taking 'Erfahrung' (experience, sensation) literally, the 'motif of 'Fahrt' (travel, journey)' still exerts an attraction that reminds of the odysseys of one Ulysses, the ships of the Flying Dutchman, the rudderless death-barque of Kafka's 'The Hunter Gracchus' or Rimbaud's 'Bateau ivre', which all drift ad infinitum. Herein, the symbolism of a life's journey shines through alongside a desire to travel. (cf. Frank, 1979: 30)

In this article, which summarises some of the results of my research on 'The Manifestation of Aesthetic Experiences in Diaries', I attempt to show the impossibility to access experience directly and only is thus far communicable as a practice (Sabisch, 2007). By using students' recordings of their experiences I create a method of translating experience at the intersection of its art-pedagogical and qualitative-empirical representation, or, respectively, of art and pedagogy.

The documentary method of interpretation reconstructs the translation processes in recordings as experience and empiricism. Therein lies its exemplary as well as controversial nature.

Aesthetic Experience – a Consensus?

Although today's German art pedagogy is characterized by its many positions rather than 'by a systematic unified approach' almost every author in the field of art pedagogy is using *one* central term: 'aesthetic experience'. It not only appears in most of the German framework plans on various levels of education but also is still used in the current discourses on arts, cultural education and education theory.

Georg Peez, teaching art pedagogy at the University of Duisburg-Essen, even suggests that 'the connection to aesthetic experience' represents a consensus in the discipline and 'the central prerequisite of processes of aesthetic education' as well (Peez, 2002: 19-21).

But what does this consensus comprise? What does the term 'aesthetic experience' mean?

Keeping these questions in mind, I began the research for my dissertation by looking for art-pedagogical facets and contexts of the term 'aesthetic experience' in order to sift the field of art pedagogy since the 1970's. After encountering the usual difficulties of German art-didactical literature research – bad keywording of journal articles, barely any bibliographies, no database containing most of the art-pedagogical publications – many of the independent art-pedagogical texts came without a reference to a discourse or source. Additionally, it became clear that most of the texts had a completely different understanding of 'aesthetic experience' ranging from production as well as reception processes, sensual as well as reflective moments, conscious and subconscious, material and imaginery, productual and processual aspects. While reading the German literature, I often felt that the texts rather reflected the author's preference and affective approach to art pedagogy than the specific processes of aesthetic experience.

I was unable to find a consensus in terms of a concise definition of the concept or the consistent reference to some definable modifying moments. But, the consistent use of the term for more than three decades, both in practicable teaching and learning contexts as well as theoretical reflection, could qualify as a consensus as such consistency is hardly to be observed at all in such heterogeneous fields.

On another level of interest, the term 'aesthetic experience' serves as a placeholder or, more elegantly put, a cipher of an unspeakable. What this cipher stands for in the context of art pedagogy, what potential for integration it possesses for whom, what it sets free, conceals or which sacrifice it denotes could all be worthwhile questions for further research.

Regarding the matter at hand, however, I find it notable that the cipher 'aesthetic experience' refers to extremely diverse doorways to art pedagogy by its frequent but first and foremost affectively charged approach. This affective use of the term is neither a specific in the field of art pedagogy, nor is it historically self-evident. It has rather become apparent in the concepts of the term 'experience' which have stressed exactly this affective notion of experience itself since the turn of the 20th century. Before I will elaborate on this in the section 'Relevance', I shall reveal a possible understanding of 'experience' in the following excursus.

Experience

In favour of a more methodical approach to describe the term 'experience' in its complexity, I will resort to philosophy as a discipline of reference to art pedagogy. I will mostly be referring to the works of phenomenologist Bernhard Waldenfels, which exemplify a contemporary phenomenological position that defines 'experience' as fundamentally affective and corporal.

In '*Bruchlinien der Erfahrung*" from 2002 ('Break Lines of Experience"; from here on cited only by using bracketed page numbers) Waldenfels describes the paradoxical structure of experience, which I can only illustrate here very abridged. It is mainly comprised of two interrelated poles, which are separated by a break. He labels the one pole of experience 'Pathos (Widerfahrnis)', translated as 'experience' or 'affect', and the other 'Response (Antwort)', translated as 'answer/ response'. As 'break' does not simply refer to a spatial gap, but literally means 'to stand apart' and hence includes a temporal dimension, Waldenfels chooses the more precise word 'diastase'.

Pathos
(Widerfahrnis)   → | **Response**
                            | ←   (Antwort)

Diastase
(Bruchlinie)
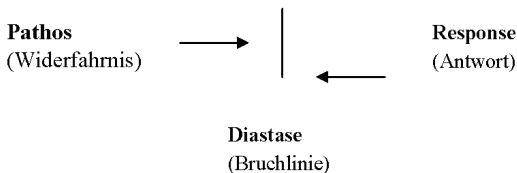
What does it mean? The rather banal example of a disturbance shall serve as an illustration: In the moment of being disturbed by a shrill sound, I have not yet identified it as a ring tone. For an instant, in the affect, I startle. But as soon as I interpret the sound as a ring tone, i.e. I assign meaning to it and place it within my frame of reference, I am already responding. Only hereafter can I switch the mobile phone off as a consequence of this interpretation. Between the instances of being startled and classifying, before we assign a meaning to something, a gap yawns to which we do not have access: a break.

Affect

These *disturbances*, which specifically exemplify the inaccessibility of the 'pathos' while touched by the unknown, can trigger certain experiences, prevent others or occur within the experience. How much they differ in intensity and thereby how strong the experience they trigger is, depends on how far beyond individual expectations or how far removed from the organisation of everyday life they are "in relation to our susceptibility to disturbances and our defence mechanisms" (p. 33). Examples that could be cited here range from simple everyday occurrences to pathological experiences such as traumatic injuries or shocks. Their common ground is the impossibility to describe the unknown and the known as opposites of psychological interior and physiological exterior instead of their interpenetration.

During the Widerfahrnis (affect) "something appears before it can be grasped, understood or rejected. The experience of a disturbance must not be confused, however, with the subsequent interpretation of an event as a disturbance and our respective defence mechanisms, which we use to regain our composure." (p. 33) Thus, affects happen (to us). They are instances in time that we can only interpret in retrospect. Affects themselves do therefore not have meaning yet. In themselves, they are without meaning (cf. Waldenfels, 2004: 133). When, in extreme cases, they paralyse us, it is not because of their meaning, i.e. their manifestation as something, but rather because they defy our sensual expectations by exceeding our order or sensual organisation. They can be "[so far beyond] our powers of comprehension as to shatter our world" (p. 33).

Break Lines of Experience

The transgression occurring at the break line of experience marks the limits of our abilities to comprehend and of any kind of interpretation. Significant in this respect is the fact that something happens within these breaks and that new differentiations are formed. Waldenfels uses the term 'diastase' to describe how this complex process of differentiation can be understood as a spatio-temporal shift: "'diastase' denotes a process of differentiation, in which that, what is being differentiated, only emerges" (p. 174). The concept is thus "closely related to Deleuze's and Derrida's use of the terms *différence* or *différance*. It does not merely describe an act of distinction in which one thing is set apart from another, but a process of separation, which is related to parting, seclusion and passing away" (p. 174). This process happens to us but is beyond our control.

In order to label and distinguish the different break lines of experience, Waldenfels calls a 'significant difference' a manifestation of something *as something*, a 'representative difference' something that stands *for something*, an 'appetitive difference' something that is *wanted in* another and 'responsive difference" if we *respond to* something (p. 175).

The spatio-temporal shift can be understood better by imagining that time and space also emerge during this process. Only then does the idea of diastase acquire "a radical temporal meaning if we imagine the occurrence of an affect in unity with the subsequentness of the effect that produces a response" (p. 178). This refers to a synchronicity inherent to break lines. But there is much more to it. "The shift does not only carry a temporal quality, it also gives time itself its very idiosyncratic imprint" (p. 179). It means that within this rift not only space and time are formed, but also the self and the other.

This 'non-place', which is created by the spatio-temporal shift and which "cannot be marked on any of the present temporal fields" (p. 180) also represents "the location of the imperfection, which eludes all creation of meaning and ambition and yet causes that there is something to say and do" (p. 60).

Imperfection

The philosophical discourse regards our non-accessible motivation to live and make experiences as something that derives from the kind of imperfection described above. Different times, however, had their own understanding of this imperfection as is being documented by several philosophical texts as well as impersonations of imperfection, for instance in Greek mythology and literature (cf. Eros).

According to Waldenfels, the imperfection derived "more and more from *absence*" (p. 50) since the early modern times. An initial absence thus triggers our desire (French: désir), i.e. a dynamic process of withdrawal that sparks our pursuits and aspirations (Latin: appetitus) again and again.

Embedding imperfection in an affect-rooted concept of experience has numerous forerunners. In the 20th century, the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud "put a new weight" (p. 302) on it. He understood this absence not only as the absence of the other but much more radically as absence or deprivation of oneself. In contrast to Freud, who, by reference of the terms 'the unconscious' and 'repression', saw imperfection as something past, the German philosopher Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) understands the anthropological meaning of the *un*conscious in the sense of a temporal pre-occurrence. In his renowned introduction to the Tübinger Philosophy – *'I am. But I do not have me. Therefore, we will yet become.'* – he takes up this affective foundation of

experience. Therein, he describes imperfection as a *not-yet-having* based on such a deficiency of 'having oneself'. The imperfection as a *not-yet-having* marks Bloch's (and later in time Lacan's) cognitive interest that aims at characterizing the unconscious as a *pre*conscious, as *pre*-occurrence. Both approaches, however, debate the affective-based attentiveness, which cannot be simply uttered nor can it be perceived 'immediately' or as an entity like John Dewey (1859–1952) has done in 'Art as Experience" from 1934, a much cited work in the field of German art pedagogy.

Although the points of contact between the philosophical and psychoanalytical discourses are much more complex than can be illustrated here, both poles of not-yet and not-anymore (primal repression) have their relevance as epistemological cornerstones. On the one hand, they stand for different dimensions of imperfection as 'not-knowing', or absence respectively. On the other hand, they do not simply represent an imperfection, but also a "*border-knowledge*, i.e. an experience of deprivation or an absence within a presence" (p. 299).

For Waldenfels the fragility of experience is all about this affective border-knowledge. According to him, this border-knowledge emerges as a responsive difference between that what strikes us, and that what we respond to. Since I have already described Waldenfels's idea of *pathos* above, by using the example of a disturbance, I will now elaborate on his concept of *response*, which he sees as a genuine part of experience.

Response

Each response creates a connection with something that has attracted, stirred, struck, moved, in short: affected us. The philosophical discourse often uses terms such as *meaning*, *desire*, *intention, attention* or *affection* with regard to these connections. They are beyond our control, but govern and guide us.

By following Waldenfels' perception of response from the perspective of personal affect, its pathic hue, i.e. the influence of what initially attracted us, shines through. The directions our efforts take are determined by our attentiveness. In this process, the self becomes the norm of the reference as well as the deprivation.

How is this to be understood? The self should be perceived as initially split, only emerging through the interaction of reference and deprivation within the diastase. Self-deprivation motivates the self to a self-reference. This process of referring is driven by a 'force', namely the 'attraction' (Latin: attentio) that passes over into *interpretation*. Differently put: 'Desiring, I am driven by something that is wanting, that deprives itself and in that affects as well as touches me"; by perceiving this 'being touched' *as some-*

thing, I have already interpreted it (Waldenfels, 2004: 221 and 136). The interpretation, in turn, is part of the response. Thus, any perception and experience begins with a something that attracts us or which we respond to.

In the diagram above (fig. 1), the arrows mark the spatio-temporal shift. This serves to illustrate that our responses to affects cannot be seen as mere reflections of the events, but rather that experience in itself is fragmented and subjected to shifts.

This rift within an experience shifts time and space, the self and the other, as those, while responding, reappear elsewhere as the other in a new co-relation. It is through this shift that they experience themselves in time, which a posteriori appears as a before and after, suggesting that there existed such a thing as an immediate, total presence in the experience. Thus, the shift implies an initial subsequent quality of responding: "Only in responding to whatever affects us the affect itself comes to light." (p. 59).

What makes Waldenfels's model of experience unique is the fact that it stresses the genuine fragility of experience and that it shows the shift that emerges through the response. While hermeneutics has mostly interpreted experience as the experience expressed through language, Waldenfels' idea of response leaves the question of how experience is articulated unanswered.

His model thus expands the 20th century's idea of an antagonism between a hermeneutic, linguistic-reflexive approach and a phenomenological one based on the analogy of the gaze. In contrast to Derrida's idea of writing as the prototype of response, Waldenfels renders the linguistic response as *one* mode of response – how experience is articulated or visualized – equally possible as he does for situational-physical or visual responses.

Relevance

For the educational practice, I see the relevance of this affective-based, physical concept of experience in its scope to describe experience as the transformation of a suffering and indulging self into a responding self. Experience is invisible. We can neither observe it nor access it directly. It eludes our consciousness. We therefore need an intellectual handrail to enable us to communicate about affective, emotional, pre-linguistic and pre-conscious phenomena, which form the basis for any attentiveness and learning.

This is not without consequences for educational practice, as it means that experience can no longer be perceived as a promising or original entity. On the contrary, the paradoxal structure of physical experience dissolves old dialectical divisions of body and mind, theory and practice, nature and technology. By strengthening the in-between of attentiveness, this construction allows for the self to be seen not just as an *active* being that is at our disposal

whenever we want it to be. Instead, the self-related sensual affect of the self is taken seriously. This kind of teaching method starts out from what attracts our attention, what motivates us and what we respond to (cf. Woo, 2007).

Yet, we know shockingly little about aesthetic interests and specific desires of expression (cf. Goetz, 2004: 372; Seydel, 2005: 168).

Bearing this in mind, an 'education' (*Erziehung*) seems obsolete which implies that we, the teachers, always know what and how learners still have to experience. It will rather give way to a '*Bildung*' (formation) of the self, which is inseparably tied to the experience of unfamiliarity (otherness). (In that, we will never be unemployed). The unfamiliar (non-own) precedes the familiar (own) by exceeding our regulatory framework and affecting us. It breaks the 'circle of being oneself'.

If we understand such a process of self-formation (*Selbstbildung*) as something that occurs through media, we arrive at an intersection with the field of art pedagogy. And more: The transformation of what affects us into something we respond to creates – so my thesis – exactly that in-between where aesthetic self-formation can genuinely begin. This in-between always is already governed by individual attentiveness and provokes the ever new venture to respond.

This is a radical proposition in so far as aesthetic experience would not just represent one mode of experience among others but rather form the basis for or motivate all kinds of experience. Since we have no control over the affect it always raises questions about the limits of teaching.

Furthermore, the physical, affective figuration of the fragmented experience becomes relevant in that it makes possible 'applications' plausible for both art pedagogy and qualitative empirical research. This shall be discussed in the following chapter.

Application of Experience

Since we have no direct access to (aesthetic) experience, I will translate the question of *what* experience *is* to *how* it can be represented in order to become communicable. The question of how to communicate about experience in art classes is essential for a pedagogy (educational science) that takes an interest in the learners' own aspirations and their questions.

In contrast to the one-sided, exclusively theoretical approach which defines 'characteristics' to form a rigid matrix for educational or empirical reconstructions and evaluations, I will use the term 'aesthetic experience' – just as the collaborative research centre of the same name in Berlin – as a dynamic placeholder in order to be able to also examine the 'applications' of experience (cf. Mattenklott, 2004: 18).

One possible way of applying and thus updating experience lies, I think, in the (albeit impossible) attempt to record it. By recording experiences, we transfer them into a medium and thereby make the differences and break lines accessible through the medium.

However, processual recordings of experience only make sense if we understand them as a practice of responding to affects. Without the object of experience, writing or recording processes in a teaching environment become as useless as an experience, which cannot be communicated without depiction. Therefore, I will use the term 'application' to describe a practice of responding as the *translation* of experience. (cf. Pazzini, 2000)

This kind of practice of responding will then be aesthetically turned if we transform what affects us – with regard to its mediality, materiality and temporality – into what we respond to. (cf. Oudée Dünkelsbühler, 2000: 55; Pazzini, 2000) Therefore, an aesthetic application of experience must be seen as 'a matter of representation, imagination, substitution, mediatisation and (re-)presentation" including all their limitations. (Meyer, 2003: 13) It is the aspiration of teaching arts to make this aesthetic dimension accessible to experience and to communication.

Art-Pedagogical Application

I will use the term 'recording' in order to sketch a method of textual and visual representation in art pedagogy, which can be perceived as a practice of responding.

This practice is especially important in the context of research- and practice-based learning, as this method focuses on the formation (Bildung) of the self. As a form of self-oriented, self-organized learning, research-based learning assumes an existing interest of the learner that manifests itself in the questions they have and in their methods used. It is therefore quite remarkable that the interrelation between research-based learning and the use of the term 'aesthetic experience' has not yet been examined; despite the fact that both discourses have been debated for the past 35 years in Germany.

In the following, I shall attempt to further outline my definition of recording and its use in other contexts. I will then try to answer questions as to what extent experience and recording processes are interwoven and how they can become communicable.

Recording

The term 'recording', which I use synonymously with the meaning of the suffix '-graphy' (from Greek *gráphein*: to write, etch, draw) is used here to denote practices of notation and documentation, which accompany learning. These practices include both content (as in *bio*graphy or *cosmo*graphy) and a method of representation through media (as in *photo*graphy, *video*graphy, *audio*graphy etc.).

Several terms are used for such recording practices in the context of art pedagogy. Alongside such names denoting the intended [fixed] product, such as 'aesthetic' or 'visual diary', 'journal' or 'portfolio', terms like 'mapping' or 'charting' stress specific recording practices. In contrast to purely text-based diaries, recordings can utilize not only linguistic means (written speech) but also combine diverse representational modes of media.

To record something is not a new practice. Most writers, academics and artists use different forms of notation to be able to capture their brief experiences in form of sketches, graphs, notes etc. preferably in a timely and mobile manner (cf. Engler, 1992; Dewey, 1934).

Since the mid-18th century, those notations have increasingly become biased by their authors' subjectivity and autobiography. Provided that the notations survive, they can be recognized as the textual or visual construction and representation of the author's ideas, arguments or imaginations. They become references.

In the 20th century, both, writers and researchers in the field of literature studies, have referred to this phenomenon as 'recordings' or 'notes'. The 'literature of recording' was thereby characterized as a literary abridgement, which occurred in form of a collection of autobiographic notes written in a rather colloquial, ephemeral register and style. It is to be noted that this style of writing occurred increasingly in certain periods of the 20th century (i.e. the 1930s, 1960s and 1990s). (cf. Lappe, 1991: 32; cf. Niemuth-Engelmann, 1998; Dittberner, 1996, 1998)

In conceiving these texts not as accidental traces but rather as written responses to affects, we retrospectively arrive at an approximation of an experience that possibly occurred and thus transcend the visible manifestations. In my doctoral thesis, I interpreted the recurring productive practice of writing as a response to a crisis of representation within the medium of written speech and thereby also of the literary repertoire. Although this hypothesis is rather presumptive, it shall nevertheless hint at how experience can manifest itself in a medium, here: in written speech as the application.

Recording and Experience

The fact that recordings in the form of personal testimonials also have their relevance in the educational context is shown not only by the current discussions on issues like *portfolio learning* and web logs. However, the way in which the interrelationship between recording and experience in the recording process actually works and how this may be productively used for art classes has not yet been examined so far and shall therefore be outlined in the following paragraphs.

The transformation of a suffering self into an extrovert and thereby outlined, responding self happens within the recording process. Therefore, recording can be seen as a tool of response, which does not merely document an experience but brings it into existence. Experience is formed through the process of recording, and therefore the recording process, as a media-determined kind of response, plays a genuine role in our creation of meaning. While we record, we are faced with many decisions with regard to the process of translation into the format used for recording.

By asking ourselves, for instance, how we can describe or visualize a certain experience, we witness the pre-occurrence of the 'not-yet'. It is exactly this pre-occurrence that constitutes the aesthetic productivity of recordings. Only during the provisional process of recording do performative dynamics appear: In the process of graphing the order of experience becomes the experience of ordering. The articulation of experience becomes the experience of articulating. The representation of experience becomes the experience of representing. In this way, the recording process creates the fissure along which experience breaks. The recording process makes the fragility of experience visible through its pauses, gaps and traces, while at the same time is itself created.

By inscribing themselves *into* the medium in the form of pauses, gaps or ruptures, the break lines do not only structure the finished product, but also its process of creation (and thus also experience) at the moment of graphing. We can thus use the manifestations to trace the way in which the break lines of experience shine through in the recording or how the recording process itself produces the intermediate sphere of fragmented experience.

The relevance of this interrelationship for art pedagogy lies in the fact that the recording process as a publication strategy geared towards the individual represents a self-determined use of media, which cannot only lead to *Bildung* (education) and thus generate experience, it can also make the organisation of experience visible as the dynamic orientation of *Bildung*.

In order to examine and reflect upon such visualisations of experience, and to substantiate particular art-pedagogical questions, we require a connection to the empirical implementation.

Experience = Empiricism

Experience in its translation means 'empiricism'. In its colloquial use, however, 'empiricism' mainly refers to academically applied (observed and manageable) experience in the form of data. I would now like to propose that by combining Waldenfels' understanding of the term experience with the principles of recording we would find connections to a qualitative empirical social research.

In the 1920s, the Viennese developmental psychologist Charlotte Bühler laid the foundations for an empirical debate on recording processes, more precisely teenagers' diaries; coincident with the period of time that Lappe identified as the beginning of the genre 'literary recording'.

While the diaries she analysed were only in retrospect declared references and studied under developmental psychological perspectives, by using recordings I developed an art-pedagogical method that, at the same time, also provides a method of data collection. I thereby have gained the advantage of not doing one-sided research *about* aesthetic experience, but rather study it by looking at an art-pedagogical application. In order to get a clearer picture I will shortly draft the setting.

Setting

During a seminar on 'Aesthetic Research" at the art-pedagogical department of the University of Dortmund in 2003, I set my students the following objective: '*Find a topic or question of your choice – not related to art – which you want to examine over the course of this semester, and choose an appropriate means of recording*"

In reference to the data collection method 'photo elicitation' drafted by Douglas Harper (Harper, 2003: 414), I called this stimulus 'elicitation of graphing' to point out the stimulative nature of the process and its underlying structures of government. The collected data consists of 55 different audiovisual and written recordings, which were produced over the course of six months. My research question on which basis I examined the recordings with respect to their relation to experience read: "How do recordings *reflect* (invisible) aesthetic experiences?" Why is qualitative research suited for this kind of study?

Qualitative Empirical Research

Qualitative empirical social research concentrates on the experiences of others between the poles of academic research and society where, on the one hand, social aspects become the objects of academic research and, on the other hand, the knowledge of social science carries the potential of changing society and thereby contains a political or ethic dimension, respectively. Within this area of conflict, collective as well as individual experiences are discussed.

In contrast to quantitative research, methods of qualitative research consider 'the perspectives of the individuals involved, the subjective and social structures of their world', with 'the openness to the world of experience, their inner state and their principles of structure' being the 'central starting point for the development of an object-based theory". (Flick, 2003: 17)

The attempt to reconstruct the other's subjective creation of sense and meaning made qualitative research not only become attractive to the field of educational studies and explains its rapid circulation, it also serves to sensitise, "discover and describe alien worlds". (Oswald, 2003: 79) According to Uwe Flick, qualitative research should, therefore, "always be recommended, where a yet scarcely studied realm of reality is to be explored". (Flick, 2003: 25)

This is the case if you look at (aesthetic) experiences of academic students as well as if dealing with the question of the relevance of studying graphing/recording in the context of empirical research. Following Seydel's research of interrelations between aesthetic experience and biography, I will analyse (aesthetic) experience in view of specific graphing.

In doing so, I regard the recording by the students to be a process of performative production in which I look at the scopes of experience the students choose or explore as well as the kind of orientations that inscribe themselves within these scopes. Other questions for further research may derive as an outcome.

Prior to sketching the research steps required for rebuilding recording process, I will outline the basic assumptions underlying this reconstructive methodology.

Basic Assumptions of a Reconstructive Methodology

Reconstructing a subjective process of 'making sense' as 'self-sense'/'self-meaning' and studying the structures and processes that are inaccessible to observation requires a methodology 'which is not normatively prescribed",

but "developed, based on the reconstruction and analysis of the processes of (re)cognition in everyday life". (Bohnsack, 2003: 25) Taking this praxeologcial methodology, which Ralf Bohnsack developed for the documentary method of interpretation, as a starting point, I have designed a data collection method – 'elicitation of graphing' – which makes others practise a media-based responding to own questions, processes of research or *Bildung*.

The praxeological methodology is grounded on the basic assumption of an existing implicit knowledge. Or, put differently: The knowledge-sociological premise of implicit knowledge only even allows for a reconstruction of experience.

Implicit Knowledge

Implicit knowledge is closely linked to experience; at least with the corporal part of experience, which is tied to the practices of performance/doing. Like in art, where thought correlates with the motor skills of the hand without being able to explicate it, for instance while painting a picture or playing the piano etc., implicit knowledge only just spawns what is being practised.

Thus, it does not only produce a subconscious structure that can be ascribed to certain rules or regulations. The implicit knowledge, beyond the practical level, rather appears as an implicit knowledge formation or structure; it is *productive* itself. In the performative realization of an experience, knowledge eludes itself through implicit knowledge, it is inaccessible, it is an imperfection, a 'not-knowing' and just thereby it organises experience, inscribes itself, as it were, into experience as a *trace* – as I have conveyed with Waldenfels. The implicit knowledge becomes a trace, which "testifies without testifying. It is, if you like, testament to the disappearance of the witness. It is testament to the disappearance of experience." (Derrida, 1998: 221)

As early as 1959, Polanyi outlined how this 'implicit knowledge' is not simply a part of everyday activities, but also a fundamental element of all cognitive processes and thereby of great relevance to the practice of academic research. (Polanyi, 1959: 73) I would like to add the thesis that habitual knowledge will also be constitutive, i.e. governing aspect for any aesthetic practice.

By choosing a 'genetic approach to analysing' and by '[aiming] at the question of how social reality is being created interactively and experience-like', reconstructive social science presumes that implicit knowledge contributes to the creation of reality by organising it and by "manifesting itself in this process of creation". (Bohnsack, 2003: 194) The implicit knowledge becomes – and this is where a reconstruction of experience should ensue – the precondition of comprehension in so far as it functions like a *Movens*

(purpose): it motivates and organises an ongoing action, activity or practice. It provides the basis for the momentum within the experience of performing and so for the experience of graphing as well. In addition, 'implicit knowledge' and experience can be perceived as a pre-structuring or grounding of future experiences of performing because – as already mentioned above – it serves "as an implicit knowledge formation or structure beyond the practical level". (Bohnsack, 2003: 23)

Postulate of Unfamiliarity

In addition to the action-governing function of implicit knowledge, another basic methodological assumption refers to the communication between researchers and their research subjects/objects. In his 'crisis experiments" the founder of ethnomethodology, Harold Garfinkel, showed together with his students by means of communicational dysfunctions that utterances made while communicating are not automatically tied to a certain meaning. Rather, "linguistic expressions are indexical, i.e. they are merely signs of meaning" that are subject to interpretation. (Bohnsack, 2003: 19)

In everyday life, this is barely recognised as an interpretation effort, because one always already circulates in a culture or subculture, a social background or generation, i.e. a shared 'conjunctive world of experience' (as Mannheim called it) and the actors "tacitly imply the intelligibility of what they signify one another." (Strübing, 2004: 389)

But if this daily practice were transferred to the field of academic research, this implication would first of all connote *that* a shared 'conjunctive world of experience' existed and secondly that within this 'conjunctive world of experience" researchers have always already 'understood' what the others would signify; otherwise they would be unable to represent the other at all.

Any research, just like any attempt to *understand* the unfamiliar, would be superfluous because the unfamiliar, and thus also experience itself, would just no longer emerge. The process of understanding would simply mean to *re*discover the Me in the You. Not proceeding on the assumption that researchers and research subjects/objects share the same world of experience under the postulate of unfamiliarity, the question of how to transcend from the conjunctive world of experience into the communicative becomes pertinent.

Recording – The Transition into the 'Communicative World of Experience«

The mode of transition from the conjunctive into the communicative world of experience is generally – for the actors mutely – regulated by the data collection method and reconstructed by the analysis method. The researchers often structure in advance the media-related freedom of the respondent by the 'power of question', thus rarely getting an image/picture for an answer to an interview question. (cf. Derrida, 2003: 15; Bodenheimer, 2004)

In order to leave those who are subject to research the structuring of the communication with regard to the study of the relevant topics, I have designed the data collection method in such a way as to let them also choose the medium to be used to communicate. I hereby relate to the studies of the educational researcher Horst Niesyto who analysed the 'indigenous production of media' in view of childhood and adolescence research. (Niesyto, 2001) The media-based 'transition' on the part of the research subjects generates an additional counter-horizon to the researcher.

In light of my art-pedagogical focal point, I have, in reference to Waldenfels, established that the transmutation of what affects us into what we respond to constitutes exactly the in-between where an aesthetic self-Bildung (self-formation) genuinely commences. By giving over this in-between space to the others I installed an additional methodical monitoring and I developed another means of reflection with regard to the experience and the mode of articulation respectively.

Furthermore, the postulate of unfamiliarity not only is an assumption that carries relevance for the following interpretation of graphings. The unfamiliarity is, in fact, not just single-sidedly postulated, but methodically controllable in so far as the students themselves decide whether or not to proceed on the assumption of a shared conjunctive world of experience in their recording and whether or not to view their recorded experiences as principally possible to share or to communicatively interpret.

The Problem of the Base Sentence

The potential significance of this methodological modification for the reflection of experience foreshadows in bringing to mind that the problem of the base sentence or respectively the question of how an observation or experience can be transformed into a [] of observation is left to the others to answer.

Especially with regard to the students' aesthetic experiences that are to be reflected, the media-related dimension of 'transition ' is of enormous importance, due to being the one that is practised in the graphing process and thereby manifested.

More than any other means of 'recording', in which observations are translated into sentences of written records, graphings serve as a methodical control mechanism that certainly "sharpens and specifies the distinction of 'data' (original texts) and interpretations by the researcher" (Bohnsack, 2003: 196). But the fact that here the research subjects, the others, are graphing entails a methodological and art-pedagogical combination of accessing the experience of unfamiliarity, particularly if recording is perceived as the instrument to respond to an affect.

Graphings clearly illustrate that the base […] problem is inseparably linked to another dimension, namely the connection between a theory and its object in question or observation: Depending on *how* the relation between theory and experience forms itself within a recording, another mode of articulating experience emerges, necessitating another methodical control mechanism.

As a result, the practice of recording becomes immensely important in a methodological context because the formation of experience and theory depends on *how* something is recorded, noted or documented. Different ways of recording establish different references to 'the' reality. They only create the object, which is non-existent without them but comes to existence through them.

Methodological Translation Steps in Research

Once we have envisioned these basic assumptions of a reconstructive methodology, we can start reconstructing the practice of recording. Due to the fact that the limited scope of this article does not allow for a demonstration of interpreting individual aesthetic experiences, I will limit myself to the question of how they can be reflected by briefly summarizing the methodological translation steps I used in my research.

As described above, I developed the 'elicitation of graphing' as a data collection method in order to draw up data that transcends the general range of interpreted individual texts and images as it requires to formulate a question of your own and offers possibilities of mixed forms of graphing. Using the documentary method I selected one case from my extensive collection of data that allowed me to demonstrate that a change in structures of orientation is associated with changes in the recording practice, and that this change emerges along the temporal, physical and media-related break lines, which also mark the limits of analysis.

By describing the break lines – along with the focus-related metaphors – as additional indicators of media-related and physical dimensions of experience as well as indicators of regulatory frameworks, I was able to add a comparative analytical step to the documentary method. I identified various media-related and physical dimensions of experience with regard to breaks by comparing the external and internal interpretation of individual cases. It became obvious that the breaks only become visible against the backdrop of a unifying process of comprehension, and thus perform two indicating functions. They do not only refer to dimensions of experience, but also to the action-governing arranging patterns of the comprehension process by disrupting them. In the reconstructed moment of disruption, the implicit knowledge is documented along the break lines because they position experiences. They thus serve as indicators of reflection and point to the temporal, media-related and physical dimensions of experience.

For this reason, graphings take on a huge significance in qualitative research that I have combined with an additional interpretative step to the documentary method: the variation of graphing. Furthermore, I suggested that a case-internal and -external comparisons of graphings and their breaks, can elucidate the arranging patterns of searching against the backdrop of orientational patterns regarding certain age groups, social backgrounds or institutions.

Recordings form the basis of all these methodological stages of translation that serve to enable reflections on aesthetic experience. Recordings thus become a filter for the reflection of experience.

Recordings as a Measure of Aesthetic Experience?

The way in which recordings become interfaces for analysing (aesthetic) experiences can be demonstrated by looking at their various functions: As a means of response, which documents experience in all its fragility by initially evoking it, a recording serves as an instrument which motivates and generates experience, denoting the first function of recordings.

While recording, searching and researching processes are being initiated, questions arise, new scopes of imagination and experience as well as new possibilities to respond emerge, linked automatically to affect-based preexperiences and attentivenesses, which in turn provide the matrix for new individual opportunities of experience. Due to the structural recurrence of this process during research, graphing also becomes a means of governing, organization and orientation in the experience-making process, which denotes the second function. Similar to a compass that provides geographical orientation, graphing can be a navigational instrument to aid a search as well as enable a discursive, spatial or temporal localisation.

These first two functions cannot be observed. They take effect during the *production* process of recordings by organizing experiences, and become visible and (re-)constructible only through the following function.

For the third function I take up the above described gesture of adherence, which uses recordings as a means of storage or archiving of experience-making processes. The transformation of the fleeting experience into ever yet subsequent recorded manifestations is the precondition of their communicability and the intersubjective traceability within the context of academic research. The documenting function of storage itself implies experiences that are just thereby initiated.

In the process of visualising, articulating or formulating of already existent or yet to be discovered experiences additional possibilities to experience arise from the production of data.

The data collection and data production method 'elicitation of graphing" was designed to be able to freely choose place and time as well as medium, topic and method of responding. This serves to avoid a one-sided representation of the others. Instead, this way of producing data helps others to 'form their voice'. It follows the demand that the others respond in recording their experiences.

The recordings in form of data produced by yourself or someone else then turn into references that are yet to be interpreted during the research process, which constitutes the fourth function: recordings become means of interpretation of one's own and unfamiliar experiences during the recording process as well as afterwards. In this double function of reference and instrument, recordings also appeal to applications in the field of qualitative empirical research because how someone orients himself during the experience process by means of recordings depends on how experiences are interpreted.

In summary, recordings as means of responding refer to different media-related, physical and temporal experiences, methods and worlds of experiences and allow the unfamiliar. They serve as a media-based and methodological connector in order to analyse aesthetic experiences. By interfering with experiences, they not only locate but assess them. To perceive the assessment as an activity that cannot be isolated from its representation means to perceive recordings as a standard for representational, i.e. aesthetic experiences.

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Talk in Qualitative Research - TiQ[1]

(3) :	seconds of a break
(.) :	short break
<u>No</u> :	emphasized
. :	strongly dropping intonation
; :	weakly dropping intonation
? :	strongly rising intonation
, :	weakly rising intonation
perha- :	interruption of a word
wou::ld :	extension of a word, the frequency of ":" corresponds to the length of extension
(well) :	uncertainty in transcription
( ) :	word(s) not understood, according to length
((moans)) :	events beyond language
@no@ :	spoken while laughing
@(.)@ :	short laughter
@(3)@ :	laughter of 3 seconds
//mmh// :	listener's signal (by interviewer, may be inserted into the text of interviewee)
L :	overlapping of speech acts
°no° :	spoken very quietly

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[1] For detailed description see Bohnsack, Ralf (2003). Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

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