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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Combining methods to a discourse-ethnographic »Montage«

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

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

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

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2 LAF is the State Office of Asylum Affairs and stands for »Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten«. It was renamed from LaGeSo in August 2016.

3 »The chaotic and flawed commissioning for the opening of new shelters, accounted for by LaGeSo, created a damage of about 1,6 million Euro«, was reported by www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-chaos-am-lageso-kostet-millionen/12959794.html (Access on 16/10/2017) and by www.stilinberlin.de/2016/02/fugeela-refugees-in-berlin-13.html (Access on 16/10/2017).

4 https://bbu.de/sites/default/files/articles/gefluechtete_in_deutschland_2016_daten-fakten-stand_dr_eckhoff.pdf (Access on 17/10/2017).

5 According to the LaGeSo press office (based on their own statistics) there wear living 13.580 refugees in 57 housings in January 2015, www.berlin.de/sen/archiv/gessoz-2011-2016/2015/pressemitteilung.249458.php (Access on 16/10/2017). According to Tagesspiegel (Schönball 2015), there were living 30.000 people in emergency shelters of the LaGeSo by the end of 2015.

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

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

6   This is a translation of my own field notes, originally written in German.
7   Refugees Welcome is a project by the association »Mensch Mensch Mensch e.V.«. To the meaning and story of the so called welcome culture see Hamann/Karakayali (2016).
8   See www.zeit.de/kultur/2017-08/neuauflage-duden-neue-woerter-postfaktisch-fluechtlingskrise and www.thelocal.de/20170807/selfie-fake-news-and-tablet-added-to-german-language-in-new-dictionary (Access on 16/10/2017).
9   The word paradise is unquestionably of deep symbolic meaning in a linguistic sense in terms of discourses as language, in CA, when acknowledging the structural power of such utterances in the situation and when identifying it as a marker of frame-shifting with Goffman's glasses.
10   Working with pictures in this manner has two main reasons. First, I do not want to show pictures of the people and of my observation on ethical grounds. Second, I consider it as a fruitful method to analyse imaginations we have in mind when thinking of a situation and remembering interaction in which we have been involved, because they can tell us something about dominant orders of knowledge. Thus, the use of pictures aims at reconstructing the emergence of patterns of interpretation and how discourses are framed within these patterns of interpretation. They are data and analysis
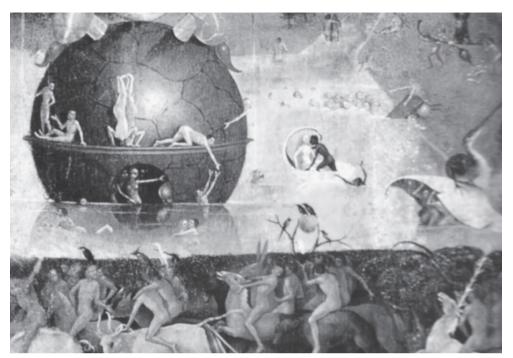
Fig. 1: pictorial quotation of the master piece of Hieronymus Bosch (Tolnay 1989, S. 225): Detail of The Garden of Earthly Delights (NL, between 1490 and 1510 n. Chr., Museo del Prado Madrid), which is part of a triptych.

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

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

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

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

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

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12 See Kondor (2013), Lucht et al. (2013), Meier et al. (2014), Maasen (2015) and Traue (2013).
13 See also critical notes on the combination of methods and the uselessness (or even danger) to do so without reflection in Christoph Maeder's article in this issue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 www.thelocal.de/20160111/paper-apologizes-for-racist-cologne-attacks-covers (Access on 16/10/2017).
17 See also Dietzes references concerning racial ethnosexism to Mathieu (2014) and on new racisms against Muslim refugees to Augstein (2016).

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

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

Heterotopia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion: programmatic thoughts of the SKADE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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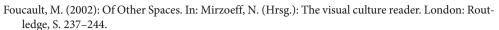
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