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

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

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

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

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

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

Methods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Videography and Genre Analysis

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

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

In our project, sociological Genre Analysis (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995) provides detailed descriptions and analysis of recursive communicative action and structure (Ulmer 1988). Communication genres are consolidated linguistic patterns that provide specific solutions to communication problems (Luckmann 1988).[5] These solutions define the different functions of accomplishment, intermediation and the sharing of intersubjective experiences of life worlds. Schnettler (2011) mentions that these communication genres are basic forms of knowledge. Appearing as linguistically consolidated and formalized patterns, they offer a person historically and culturally specific, socially grounded and modelled solutions to communicative problems. They serve to manage and to communicate intersubjective experiences of one's "life-world" (Schnettler 2011). Together, with non-genre-type communications, they form the "communicative budget" of a society (Luckmann 1988). Genres act as mediating instruments between social structures and the knowledge of the individual, providing material for the "communicative construction of reality" (Luckmann 2006). Generally, it can be said that communication genres form the institutional core of social life (Knoblauch 2005b).

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

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

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

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

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

Use of Ethnographic Data

In our example, the method outlined for studying face-to-face interactions is supported by other forms of data. As Knoblauch and Tuma (2011) emphasize, ethnographic work within Videography is not restricted to the interactions of the primary subject of the video analysis. Institutional contexts or the subjective knowledge of actors can also be of importance. In this example, further information regarding the specific event, its actors and the institutional environment are vital for a more detailed analysis and the reconstruction of the *Lateinamerikawoche* as a whole. (1) Field notes, in which the researcher records his or her impressions, observations, and reconstructions of "ethnographic conversations" (Zifonun 2010:317), provide such additional data and turn out to be essential to the process of analysis. Another form of data that offers "constructs of the second order" (Schütz 1962) is (2) the explorative expert interviews that generate further information, which is not observable in the video data. Furthermore, (3) a range of source material gathered in the context of self-expression can be valuable in analysis. This information can be gathered during a specific event, as well as from homepages, leaflets and the like.

Field Notes

During extensive field observation, it has become clear that one must not only pay attention to the event itself, but also account for its spatial and temporal environment. In our example, this indicates that observation must begin sometime before the event and continue after the event. In this case, the researcher often finds valuable information and gains a better understanding of the localized, performative realization which dominates the official part of the event. Further information collected for the purposes of analysis is of trans-situational relevance. In general, field notes include information regarding location, time and duration of an event, as well as its setting, participants and the general atmosphere. In addition, they will often include notes on informal talk or work, which serve as a reminder to the researcher. Here, a researcher can add notes to clarify ambiguous situations or time marks to draw attention to a specific fragment of audiovisual data, as well as including the details of further information sources.

Interviews

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

The conceptual term "expert" is not rigidly restricted to a professional elite. Similar to Littig (2011), I use it to describe representatives that have developed a specific expertise that is often independent of their profession. They possess procedural or interpretative knowledge in a specific field of action and also hold powerful positions in this field.[6] Pfadenhauer (2007) also understands the expert as a person with the responsibility of providing advice and making decisions. Experts typically have a stock of specialist knowledge (or expertise) that helps them to solve fundamental problems within a specific working field. Choosing these experts is part of an iterative practice (see below) in this research project. The advantage of such a practice, informed by theoretical sampling, lies in its ability to select cases through a step-by-step process based on an emerging theoretical interest (Honer 2011). In our example, the experts are members of the *Trägerkreis Lateinamerikawoche*[7] and had all been organizers and conductors of events. The open interview guideline focused on the role and experience of each person (1) during their own events, (2) during the *Lateinamerikawoche* and as (3) members or collaborators in the theme-weeks related groups and organizations. Besides a theoretical interest in realization and structural organization, another goal of the open interviews was to find out more about the key topics and thematic priorities of the interviewees. The question: "What can you tell me about the *Lateinamerikawoche*?" at the beginning always leads to an extended

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Self-Expressing Material

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

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

Iterative Research Process

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

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

Sequential Data

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

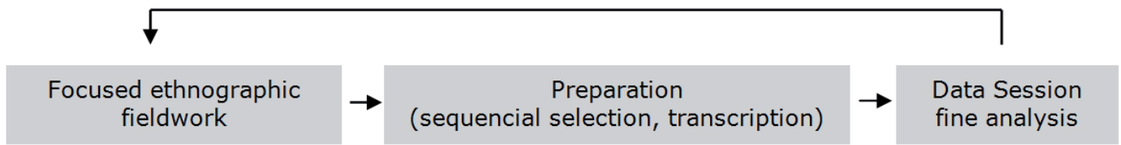

Figure 1. Iterative research process applied in video-analysis. *Source: self-elaboration.*

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

The data sequence below is part of an arranged information meeting that took place under the auspices of the "Latin-American theme week," celebrated on an annular basis in Nuremberg (http://www.lateinamerikawoche.de). The event we will focus on here took place in the evening and lasted about two hours. Throughout this period, two women sit on stage behind an elevated desk decorated with posters and deliver a speech to an audience of twenty to thirty listeners. The speech, as a whole, deals with the subject of the current political, social and economic situation in El Salvador. The particular extract we will focus on addresses the political role of communal radio stations in this country.

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

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

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

Transcript 1a. Sistema democrático.

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

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

3 los medios opositores (-) ah:
opposing media

4 (.) al sisTEMA demoCRATico
against the democratic system

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

Source: self-elaboration.

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

Transcript 1b. Quotation marks.

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

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

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

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

10 demokratischen system in el salvador
democratic system in El Salvador

Source: self-elaboration.

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

Contextual Embedding

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

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

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

Actors

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

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

Angela, however, is the virtual expert of the pair. Due to her work at the oppositional radio station, and as a citizen of El Salvador, she has suffered restrictions imposed by the highly corrupt state system. Her experience of life and work in El Salvador enables her to speak as the authentic "voice of Latin America."

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

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

Situational Setting

For the purposes of a general interpretation, as well as a detailed analysis of a communicative situation, an understanding of the characteristics of the venue is valuable. Thus, we generally take pictures of the location and its surrounding environment. The sketch below (Image 2) shows the biggest hall within the *Stadtteilzentrum Villa Leon*[9] in Nuremberg. This was the location of all the festivities I attended during *Lateinamerikawoche*. Entering the hall through the main entrance, one stands right next to the stage: a dark painted platform half a meter high. On top of it, there is a table decorated with theme week posters. Behind the table are two chairs for Angela and Maria. The ceiling features several spotlights and a video projector (which was not used during the event). Mounted on the wall behind the stage is a big canvas and two walls of the room are glass frontages through which one can see the lawn and parts of the lake outside. However, during the event, curtains obscure the view. The room has a hardwood floor. The auditorium consists of two blocks of chairs with a capacity of 112 seats. Centered on the opposite side of the room to the stage one can see the mixing desk where the illumination and the microphones are controlled by a *Villa* staff member. Next to the mixing desk and the glass frontage are more tables, five info booths and a bookstand attended by members of the *Trägerkreis*, which is mainly used before and after the official part of each event.

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

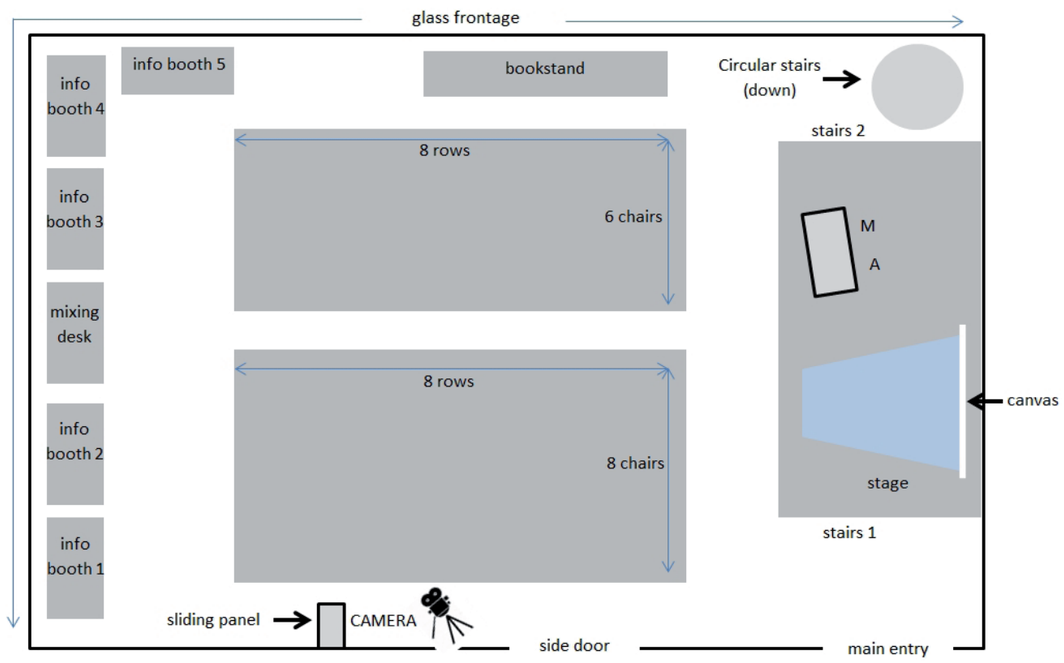

Image 2. Sketch of the event location. *Source: self-elaboration.*

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

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

Institutional environment

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

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

Analysis and Interpretation of Data Sequence

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

Intermediate Level

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

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

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

verbal interaction	gesture and facial expression
…al sisTEMA demoCRATico	glances in audience
que hay en el Salvador	direction and smiles

Score extract 1. Expressing irony. *Source: self-elaboration.*

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

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

Moderation

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

[10] It turned out that Maria was not the only one who has been abroad for a while. The two other organizers of events at the theme week told me that they had been living and working in Latin American countries for several years.

[11] From an ethnological perspective, Inhetveen (2012) is also concerned with situational translation and the use of contextualization (this issue).

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

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

Communicative Setting

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

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

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

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

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

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

Interpreting the Trans-Situational Level

Nuremberg hosts regular "cross-cultural events" and it pursues a special strategy in terms of cultural policy. Namely, that culture should not only take place in traditional institutions (e.g., museums, theatres), located in the very center of the city, but in the different residential districts in which audiences are easier to attract. Therefore, the city and its Department for Cultural Leisure (in German: *Amt für Kultur und Freizeit*) run eleven so-called Cultural Corner Shops.[14] These centers are used by a multitude of different initiatives, associations and other groups as meeting places and as venues for events like the *Lateinamerikawoche*. The *Villa Leon* is the district center of *St. Leonhard*, a neighborhood close to the city center. Its focus is the establishment of a series of musical and cultural events especially for children, as well as cross-cultural work in the district. One important facet of this activity is the *Lateinamerikawoche*, which takes place every year with the goal of "civic education and information regarding current questions of human rights and social policy, for example, in Latin America" (translation B.R. [source: http://www.kuf-kultur.de/einrichtungen/villa-leon/ueber-die-einrichtung.html]). "Informing the audience" is the official communicative goal of the venue *Villa Leon* and the *Lateinamerikawoche*. This was also mentioned in the interviews I conducted with members of the *Trägerkreis*. Gerlinde (G), the organizer of a theme week event focused on the twinning of Nuremberg and San Carlos (Nicaragua), told me that she is always surprised to see such a mixture of young and elderly people attending each year. Even at those events that are not easily accessible.

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

This theme week, currently approaching its 34th anniversary, seems to be an appropriate and successful forum for the presentation of thematically specific and challenging topics. However, there is more to this event than the desire to challenge its audience. All the interviewees told me that, each spring, they start the process of organizing the upcoming theme week and begin their search for experts. Selecting such people is not only a question of expertise, but also a matter of "originality." Angela seems ideal not only because she has experienced injustice and suffering at the hands of the state as a common citizen of El Salvador, but because of her profession and her actions as a member of a nonconformist radio station. Besides originality, it seems authenticity is highly important during the conception of the theme week events. Evidence for such an interpretation can be found in the theme week's program (see Image 5) where one can read an announcement for a musical event: "Worldmusic Café 46 … Brazilian music without clichés" and – as part of an announcement for another concert (see Image 6): "What music characterizes South America? Is Brazil only Samba? Is Argentina only Tango? Together with Alfonso Cão, we experience a trip through Latin American music, especially through Brazil, his country of birth" (translation B.R.). Obviously, there is a strong interest in non-stereotypical and authentic performances.[15]

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

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

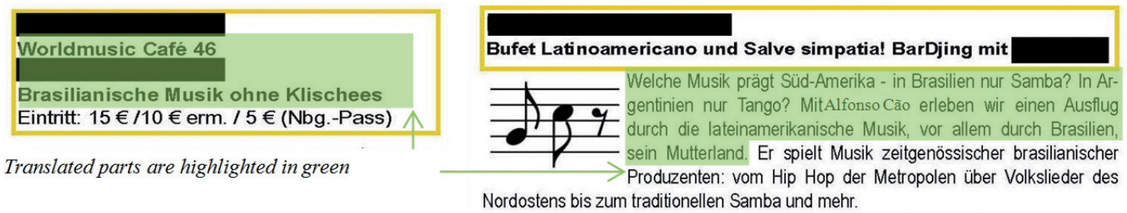

Image 5. Image 6. Two sections out of the program *Lateinamerikawoche*. *Source: Lateinamerikawoche program.*

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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