

## **The historical development of the Documentary Method and its sequence analysis in the range of text and visual data**

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### *Abstract*

The article outlines the historical development of the Documentary Method and its sequence analysis with special reference to the basic social theoretical and methodological assumptions. While the sequence analysis has been mainly developed on the basis of text, its development in picture and video analysis is still ongoing. One essential methodological difference between text and picture or video analysis is the difference of the sequentiality on the one hand and the simultaneity of visual data on the other. By discussing the special relation of both the sequential and the simultaneous dimension in video analysis, the paper will outline the methodological implications and specifics of sequence analysis and will demonstrate them by an exemplary interpretation of a video recorded classroom interaction. Based on the historical development and the empirical analysis, perspectives for the further development of the method are derived.

*Keywords:* Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge – sequentiality – simultaneity – iconology – video analysis – videography.

### *German Abstract*

Der Beitrag skizziert die historische Entwicklung der Dokumentarischen Methode und ihrer Sequenzanalyse unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sozialtheoretischen und methodologischen Grundannahmen. Während die Sequenzanalyse auf der Grundlage von Textanalysen entwickelt wurde, steht ihre Entwicklung im Bereich der Bild- und Videoanalyse noch am Anfang. Ein zentraler methodologischer Unterschied zwischen Text- und Bild- bzw. Videoanalyse ist die Unterscheidung zwischen der Sequenzialität einerseits und der Simultaneität der bildhaften Daten andererseits. Die methodologischen Besonderheiten und Implikationen der Sequenzanalyse werden vor dem Vergleichshorizont der Simultananalyse herausgearbeitet und exemplarisch anhand der Interpretation einer videographierten Unterrichtsinteraktion dargestellt. Ausgehend von der historischen Entwicklung und der empirischen Analyse werden Perspektiven für die Weiterentwicklung der Dokumentarischen Methode abgeleitet.

*Keywords:* Praxeologische Wissenssoziologie – Sequenzialität – Simultaneität – Ikonologie – Videoanalyse – Videographie.

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## 1. Introduction

Rooted in the Sociology of Knowledge (cf. Mannheim 1952a) as well as in Ethno-methodology (cf. Garfinkel 1967a), the Documentary Method as a methodological concept and empirical program (cf. Bohnsack 2017, 2020a) aims at the analysis of the implicit or "atheoretical" (Mannheim 1952a:39) methods of everyday practice, which are primarily based on collective experience in the sense of what Karl Mannheim (1980:219) termed the *conjunctive space of experience* ("konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum"). Thereby, the method tries to go beyond the reconstruction of the mainly theoretical and utilitarian constructions of common sense (cf. Bohnsack 2017:36ff.).

Originally developed in the context of group discussions and the analysis of talk (cf. Bohnsack 1989), the Documentary Method is currently being adapted for the analysis of visual data. One essential focus of the Documentary Method lies on the sequentiality of social interaction. The sequence analysis is thus based on the sequentiality of the interaction process itself. Since sequentiality is not present in pictures, the Documentary Method focuses on the simultaneity in pictures. In films or videographs, however, sequentiality and simultaneity are interwoven, which is why the method integrates sequence and simultaneity analysis for these types of data (cf. Bohnsack 2009, 2020b). In both kinds of analysis, it differentiates between the immanent or literal meaning of an utterance or expression and its implicit or "documentary meaning" (Mannheim 1952a:67). The documentary meaning of an indexical utterance (cf. Garfinkel 1967a) is analyzed by referring to the *context* of the utterance. Moreover, the documentary meaning is based on the *modus operandi* of the interaction, which is constituted by *how* something is being said or done, and thereby provides information on the habitus (cf. Bourdieu 1977) of the actor(s). The habitus is acquired primarily in collective experiences, which can refer to group-

specific (e.g., peer groups), society-specific (e.g., gender), or organization-specific (e.g., school classes) spaces of experience or milieus, respectively (cf. Bohnsack 2020a). One central strategy of the Documentary Method is to analyze this sort of multidimensionality of habitus or milieus by comparing different cases, which are documented, for example, by group discussions (cf. Bohnsack 1989) or videographs (cf. Wagener 2020) that deal with a very similar topic.

The paper focuses on sequence analysis in the Documentary Method and its relation to visual data. First, it presents the historical development of sequence analysis (section 2) with its epistemological foundations in its present constitution (section 3), followed by the depiction of its methodological specifics (sections 4). Although the sequence analysis was mainly developed on the basis of group discussions, interviews, and other forms of text, its development is still ongoing, especially in picture and video analysis (e.g., Bohnsack 2009; Asbrand/Martens 2018; Wagener 2020). One essential methodological difference between the analysis of texts and the analysis of pictures or videos concerns the principles of *sequentiality* and *simultaneity* (cf. Bohnsack 2009). By discussing the special relation of both the sequential and the simultaneous dimension in video analysis, this paper will outline the methodological implications of sequence analysis in the Documentary Method (section 5) and will demonstrate them by an exemplary interpretation of a video recorded classroom interaction (section 6). The paper will end with a conclusion as well as some perspectives on the future development of the method (section 7).

## 2. Historical development of the Documentary Method

The German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack first developed the Documentary Method in the 1980s being inspired by the work of Karl Mannheim and Ethnomethodology. With his draft of the "documentary method of interpretation" in the 1920s, Mannheim (1952a), as Bohnsack (2014a:217) puts it, presented "the first comprehensive argument for a particular approach to observation in the social sciences". However, Mannheim's work was of little relevance in the methodological discourse until Harold Garfinkel took up the "documentary method of interpretation", which he understood as a method that is "prominent in and characteristic of both social-scientific and daily-life procedures for deciding sensibility and warrant" (Garfinkel 1961:57). Although Garfinkel acknowledged the "documentary method of interpretation" as a methodological approach for "the epistemological substantiation of the social sciences" (Bohnsack 2014a:217), according to Bohnsack (ibid), "[n]either Mannheim nor Garfinkel conceived it as a method for practical empirical inquiry".

The development of the Documentary Method as a methodology for qualitative research as well as a method for practical empirical inquiry only started in the 1980s based on the analysis of group discussions in a study on "collective orientations in juvenile groups" ("Kollektive Orientierungen in Gruppen Jugendlicher"; Mangold/Bohnsack 1988). The study was based at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg and funded by the German Research Foundation. Based on Mannheim's distinction between "communicative" or theoretical knowledge on the one hand and "conjunctive knowledge" as an implicit or tacit knowledge on the other (Mannheim 1982:204), the analysis attempted to go beyond the explicit meaning in social interaction and targets its implicit or tacit dimension, which is grounded in collective or conjunctive experience (cf. Bohnsack 2014b). Whereas a consistent methodology was

first presented in Bohnsack's habilitation thesis (Bohnsack 1989), the development of the approach goes back to previous research (cf. Bohnsack/Schütze 1973; Bohnsack 1983).

## 2.1. Implicit knowledge and self-referentiality in social interaction

Bohnsack (1973) already dealt with Ethnomethodology in his diploma thesis on action competence in the context of juvenile delinquency. In a paper published in the same year in the German *Kriminologisches Journal*, Bohnsack and his former colleague at the University of Bielefeld, Fritz Schütze, took up the criticism of the labeling approach, which was directed at the *intentional* structure of action. In their view, the labeling approach fell short of being able to identify unconscious structures in the interaction of police and underprivileged youths (cf. Bohnsack/Schütze 1973). As a consequence, they targeted the *implicit* or tacit dimension of the interaction of police and juvenile suspects (cf. *ibid.*). In outlining their planned research design, which included participant observation, group discussions, and interviews, the authors theoretically referred to sociolinguistic aspects of communication such as turn taking in conversation analysis (cf. Sacks/Jefferson/Schegloff 1974), especially with reference to police questioning (cf. Bohnsack/Schütze 1973:281). However, they did not present an empirically based sequence analysis.<sup>1</sup>

In his doctoral thesis, Bohnsack (1983) then conducted empirical research on the interaction between counselors and clients in youth drug counseling centers in Western Germany. Referring to Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967a), Phenomenology (Schütz 1962), and Mannheim's documentary method of interpretation (Mannheim 1952a), this analysis aimed at the "reconstruction of the interpretative methods of everyday action" (Bohnsack 1983:2f.) and was framed as various "expressions of the 'documentary method of interpretation'" (*ibid.*)<sup>2</sup> As Bohnsack (1983:3) put it, "[t]he documentary interpretation in its various forms constitutes both theoretical and pre-theoretical action". Taking up the concept of indexicality (cf. Garfinkel 1967a), he reconstructed the methods and expressions of the formally organized interactions in the counseling centers by referring to the context of the utterances, since the actual meaning of an utterance, its significance, can only be reconstructed through the reaction to it (cf. Bohnsack 1983:171). In this way, Bohnsack distinguished his approach from hermeneutics that problematizes context dependency or even attempts to completely suspend the context (cf. *ibid.*). Accordingly, he considered the interaction itself as *self-referential* as it is also stated in conversation analysis (cf. Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974), to which Bohnsack (1983) referred.<sup>3</sup> Although also referring to other methodological categories of the ethnomethodology-based conversation analysis such as "formulating" practices and

<sup>1</sup> The German Research Foundation rejected the research project entitled "Die Selektionsverfahren der Polizei in ihrer Beziehung zur Handlungskompetenz der Tatverdächtigen" due to legal concerns.

<sup>2</sup> A differentiated comparison of Bohnsack's, Mannheim's and Garfinkel's understandings of the Documentary Method cannot be done here. For a detailed account, see Bohnsack (2017:29ff.; 2018).

<sup>3</sup> Sacks (1995:536) stated already in the 1960s, "[if] one is doing something like a sociology of conversation, what one wants to do is to see what the system itself provides as bases, motives, or what have you, for doing something essential to the system".

"account" (Garfinkel/Sacks 1970:350ff.), which in general aim at the analysis of *formal* structures of practical action (cf. *ibid*), the sequence analysis in Bohnsack's doctoral thesis followed a different approach, which is being depicted in the following.

## 2.2. Sequence analysis, reflection and comparison

In Bohnsack's (1983:173) doctoral thesis, the analysis of text was led by the differentiation of 'what is being said' and 'how it is being said', while the latter aimed at the "latent" (*ibid*:174) structures of meaning and thus went beyond the analysis of merely formal interaction structures. Central to this was the comparison of (topically) similar interaction sequences. This had two implications. The first one concerns the type of comparisons, which – according to Luhmann (1975:74) – are essential for reflection and thus also for interpretation. As Bohnsack (1983:180f.) stated in contrast to hermeneutic methodologies (e.g., Oevermann/Allert/Konau/Krambeck 1979), the premise of the "reflecting interpretation and observation" of the deeper structure of interaction is the use of *empirical* instead of imaginative 'horizons' or cases of comparison. The imaginative 'horizons' of comparison, which we find in Objektive Hermeneutik, are not empirically provable and mainly based on the researcher's own socialization and thus may cause cultural bias. In terms of Luhmann's system theory, "reflexion" "requires a 'horizon' of other possibilities and opens up an orderly access to these possibilities" (Luhmann 1975:74). Second, referring to "grounded theory" by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the comparative analysis was the basis for generating new theories on general processes of interaction by identifying the commonalities and the differences of various cases (cf. Bohnsack 1983:182ff.).<sup>4</sup>

Whereas these methodological aspects were later integrated in the development of the Documentary Method, some of the meta-theoretical assumptions changed profoundly (cf. Bohnsack 1989). While focusing on "subjective intentional action" of "reflective subjects" ("reflexionsfähige Subjekte"; Bohnsack 1983:155) in Bohnsack's doctoral thesis, the meta-theoretical framework was still strongly influenced by Phenomenology (Schütz 1962). Although Bohnsack (1983:155) contrasted the subjective-intentional level of action with "collective processes", he excluded the latter from his work. As he stated, the collective processes, which also should be reconstructed, "prevail relatively independently of the reflection and the 'subjective-intentional representations' of the actors involved" (*ibid*). However, it was not until Bohnsack's habilitation thesis (Bohnsack 1989) that he turned to these empirically.

The later change of perspective towards the collective and pre-reflexive structures of interaction came along with a broader reception of Mannheim's epistemological views in his Sociology of Knowledge (Mannheim 1980), especially his critique of rationalism (cf. *ibid*:97), and his concept of the so-called "conjunctive space of experience" ("konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum"; *ibid*:219). In his concept of Weltanschauung, Mannheim distinguishes between theoretical and atheoretical under-

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<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed account of these methodological principles in the current state of the Documentary Method, see Bohnsack (2014b:85ff., 2017:107).

standing and regards the latter as the primordial level of sociality. It is the atheoretical knowledge that, as conjunctive knowledge, enables immediate understanding between social actors (cf. *ibid.*). Within this meta-theoretical framework, Bohnsack (1989:343ff.) developed a consistent sequence analytical methodology based on the reconstruction of group discussions with juvenile groups in small towns and villages in Bavaria. In later projects, the methodology was used for analyzing group discussions with hooligans in Berlin after the German reunification (cf. Bohnsack/Loos/Schaeffer/Staedtler/Wild 1996), and with young migrants in Berlin at the turn of the century (cf. Bohnsack/Nohl 2001). Today, the Documentary Method is being used in very different fields of research, especially in education science, but also in computer science, medicine, theology, and architecture (cf. Bohnsack 2020a:62). Before discussing the sequence analysis in detail, however, some of the central meta-theoretical and methodological assumptions of the Documentary Method in its present constitution will be portrayed.

### **3. Meta-theoretical und methodological assumptions of the Documentary Method in its present constitution**

The Documentary Method takes a certain perspective on social realities, which Mannheim called "genetic" or "socio-genetic" (Mannheim 1982:80ff.). From this perspective, the observer does not primarily focus on *what* a social reality is but *how* it is being established (cf. Mannheim 1952a:67). If we put it in Garfinkel's terms, the 'how' is about the "practical accomplishment" (Garfinkel 1967a:9). Mannheim (1952a:67) further differentiates between "the objective meaning" and the "documentary meaning" of an expression. The objective meaning corresponds to the 'what', which is the immanent meaning of an expression with its explicit and literal or, as Bohnsack (2017:63, 2018:202) calls it today, its "propositional" character. The documentary meaning on the other hand refers to the 'how' of an expression, which Bohnsack (*ibid.*) synonymously terms the "performative" meaning. Moreover, the change of the analytical perspective from 'what' to 'how' corresponds to what Luhmann (1990:87) has described as "second-order observation".

The distinction between these two meanings or analytical perspectives in the Documentary Method is grounded in Mannheim's distinction between "communicative" and "conjunctive knowledge" (Mannheim 1982:265). Together with Mannheim's notion of the "conjunctive space of experience" (*ibid.*:204), they are of central importance. As Bohnsack (2017:102) points out, the conjunctive space of experience is at the heart of the Documentary Method and its metatheoretical framework.

#### **3.1. Communicative and conjunctive knowledge**

The 'how' is represented in the practice-orientating knowledge of the social actor, which Mannheim (1952a:39) calls "atheoretical" because of its implicit or tacit dimension. Referring to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) on praxeology, Bohnsack (2017:104, 2020a:66) calls the practice-orientating knowledge in its habitualized or incorporated forms the "habitus" or the "frame of orientation", respectively. As

Bohnsack (2020a: 63) argues, not only "everyday practice" but also "scientific practice" is primarily based on implicit or tacit meaning. As a consequence, the atheoretical or implicit meaning ought to be reconstructed on both sides. Bohnsack (2020a:63) calls the empirical reconstruction of the scientific practice a "praxeological epistemology". Accordingly, the methodological and meta-theoretical framework of the Documentary Method, which has been mainly reconstructed on the basis of empirical analysis, is called "Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge" ("Praxeologische Wissenssoziologie"; Bohnsack 2017, 2018).

The term 'reconstruction' in the Documentary Method refers to Schütz' understanding of social scientific constructs as "constructs of second degree" (Schütz 1962:6), e.g., the reconstruction of common sense constructs, which are constructs of "first degree" (ibid). However, as Bohnsack (2020a:64) argues, compared to Mannheim's concept of the atheoretical knowledge of everyday action, Schütz did not go beyond the theoretical, explicit, and intentional dimension of everyday practice with its "utilitarian and rationalistic bias". In contrast, Mannheim (1982:265) speaks of a "duality" of "concepts as well as realities" existing in each individual, which he also describes as the duality of the "communicative" and the "conjunctive knowledge".

### 3.2. Conjunctive space of experience

The tense relation of both kinds of knowledge, which Bohnsack (2017, 2018) almost synonymously calls the "propositional" and the "performative logic", constitutes what Mannheim (1982:204) terms the "conjunctive space of experience". This category describes "collective experiences in the sense of milieus" as Bohnsack (2020a:65) puts it. For example, the communicative knowledge *about* a reality such as a family includes general theoretical knowledge about the identity norms and the role expectations associated with the family as an institution. On the other hand, the conjunctive knowledge results from *existing* in a certain family with its everyday practices and routines, which only the members of the family share. In this respect, the family can be considered a conjunctive space of experience or a milieu because its members have to deal with both kinds of knowledge and their tense relation in everyday practice (cf. ibid).

Bohnsack (2017:103) refers to this as the "double structure of the conjunctive space of experience" ("Doppelstruktur des konjunktiven Erfahrungsraums"; ibid). He differentiates between the frame of orientation in a narrow sense, which he equates with the habitus, and the frame of orientation in a wider sense, which is the habitualized practical processing of the tension between the externally experienced (identity) norms and the habitus (cf. ibid:102ff.). Bohnsack (ibid:104) emphasizes that this is primarily a theoretical-analytical distinction, since in empirical reconstruction we already find the relation between norm and habitus. While earlier work on the Documentary Method focused more on the conjunctive knowledge of actors, some recent analyses also focus more on the significance of (identity) norms in social practice and their complex relations to the habitus (cf. e.g. Geimer 2019). This ultimately reflects in the current basic theoretical development of the Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge with its differentiation between the frame of orientation in a narrow and wider sense as well as the differentiation of implicit or tacit

knowledge, in which, among other things, the identity norms have been elaborated (cf. Bohnsack 2017:143).<sup>5</sup>

As Mannheim (1952b:297) has shown, conjunctive experience is not necessarily bound to face-to-face-interaction like the one we find in families. In Mannheim's essay on the formation of generations in society, generations are constituted by commonalities in the so-called "stratification of experience" ("Erlebnisschichtung"; *ibid.*). "Such commonalities (...) result from the existential involvement in a common practice of historical events, especially but not only in periods of radical development, change, and crisis" (Bohnsack 2020a:67) such as the division of Germany after WWII or its reunification. This shared experience is not necessarily identical but "identical in structure" (*ibid.*). This also applies to milieu, gender, education, or migration-related spaces of conjunctive experience (cf. Bohnsack 1989; Bohnsack/Nohl 2001). In empirical analysis, each single case, for example, a group or an individual, can be differentiated by the reconstruction of different spaces of conjunctive experience. Therefore, a central element of the Documentary Method is the construction of a typology that reflects the multidimensionality of spaces of conjunctive experience based on comparative analysis.

Bohnsack (2017:128ff.) points out that especially in organizations, the complexity of the conjunctive space of experience increases even further, since the members of an organization are confronted not only with the societal milieus and identity norms, but also with the specific role expectations and normative procedural programs of the respective organization. If, under these conditions, habitualized practices form over time, i.e. so-called organizational milieus, Bohnsack (*ibid.*:129) also speaks of the "double double structure" ("doppelte Doppelstruktur"; *ibid.*) of the conjunctive space of experience. An empirical example of such an organizational milieu is depicted in section 6 on the basis of a videographed classroom interaction.

#### **4. Empirical access to the conjunctive space of experience in sequence analysis**

*Which understanding of sequentiality underlies the Documentary Method?* As mentioned before, sequence analysis is based on the sequentiality of the interaction process itself and therefore does not distinguish between empirical and methodological sequentiality. This becomes particularly clear when comparing text and picture. While text is characterized by sequentiality, pictures are characterized by simultaneity (cf. Bohnsack 2009). Nevertheless, sequence analysis, just like the analysis of simultaneity in pictures (see section 5), is closely related to the meta-theoretical categories described earlier.

The empirical access to the habitus, the frame of orientation, or the conjunctive space of experience, respectively, has two bases. The first is the "proposed performance" (Bohnsack 2020a:66), which means the "metaphorical representations" of a specific practice in "narrations and depictions" of the practice by the social actors themselves. The second is the "performative performance" (*ibid.*), which means the practice in situ. Empirical access to the performative performance is gained by "di-

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<sup>5</sup> Identity norms belong to communicative knowledge, since they are related to the *imagination* of practice; however, they often remain implicit (cf. Bohnsack 2017:143).



rect observation of the performance of the interaction or talk and by the representation of bodily movements in the medium of material pictures, that is: photographs or videographs" (ibid). Especially in video analysis, the Documentary Method brings together independent picture and text analysis. This reaches a higher analytical level by interpreting picture and text as independent systems in their relation to each other.

#### 4.1. Formulating and reflecting interpretation

Based on the differentiation of the communicative or propositional meaning on the one hand and the conjunctive or performative meaning on the other, the basic working steps of the Documentary Method are the *formulating interpretation* and the *reflecting interpretation*. The *formulating interpretation* focuses on the explicit and immanent meaning. In the analysis of text, this means that the researcher formulates the explicit topical structure of the text. Here, one can differentiate between "paramount topics (PT), subordinated topics (ST), sub-subordinated topics (SST)" (ibid:68) and so on. For the *reflecting interpretation*, on the other hand, it is essential to transcend the explicit meaning of an expression towards its implicit meaning. In other words, the reflecting interpretation is based on the question on how a topic is being dealt with "performatively" (Bohnsack 2020a:68), or as Bohnsack (ibid) also describes it, in which frame of orientation the topic is being dealt with. The empirically controlled analysis of the frame of orientation or the habitus, respectively, is based on the comparison with other cases such as other group discussions or interviews that deal with a very similar topic (cf. ibid). As mentioned earlier, the methodological principle of (minimum and maximum) contrast is based on the notion that all reflection is dependent on comparative horizons that must be empirically reconstructible.

#### 4.2. Formal discourse analysis

The indexical meaning of an expression, its significance, can only be reconstructed by referring to the reaction(s) that follow(s) the expression (cf. Bohnsack 2014b: 125). Therefore, each text (and picture) is considered as a "self-referential system" (Bohnsack 2020:68; Luhmann 1970). In the analysis of interactions such as group discussions, the interactional or discursive units typically consist of *three* "discursive moves" ("Diskursbewegungen"; Bohnsack 2014b:125). These are the "proposition" of an orientation (A), which is followed by either a "following proposition" ("Anschlussproposition"; ibid), an "opposition", or an "antithesis" (B). Whereas an opposition indicates that a mutual frame of orientation is missing, an antithesis shows that the actors antithetically unfold their concurrent frames of orientation somehow in a manner of competition. However, the identification of collective orientation is only possible if the reaction of A following the reaction of B is taken into account. In case of concurrent frames of orientation, the antithesis (B) is followed by a "synthesis" (A) (ibid).

Bohnsack has called the analysis of this formal structure of interaction or discourse the reconstruction of the "organization of discourse" (ibid; Bohnsack 2020a:

68). By reconstructing different "modes" of the discourse organization in comparative analysis, we can identify "to what extent the participants [of a discourse] share a conjunctive space of experience" (ibid). In the last thirty years, especially in analyses of group discussions, a variety of discursive moves and modes of discursive organization have been reconstructed (e.g., Bohnsack 1989; Przyborski 2004). In video analysis, however, where the interaction includes not only verbal expressions but also bodily movements, the reconstruction of the formal categories of interactional organization has just begun (cf. Wagner-Willi 2005; Asbrand/Martens 2018; Nentwig-Gesemann/Gerstenberg 2018; Wagener 2020:63ff.).

## 5. The analysis of visual data and the relation of sequentiality and simultaneity

This leads to the analysis of visual data. As stated above, not only texts but also pictures are considered as self-referential systems within the meta-theoretical and methodological framework of the Documentary Method. For the interpretation of pictures, the access to self-referentiality is also gained by the reconstruction of the formal structure. However, in contrast to interaction on the basis of text with its sequential structure, the formal structure of a picture is based on its so-called "simultaneous structure" ("Simultanstruktur"; Bohnsack 2009:168f.), referring to German art historian Max Imdahl (1996:23). Whereas the sequence analysis of text has been the dominant approach in qualitative research, the analysis of the formal and simultaneous structure of pictures as self-referential systems, as Bohnsack (2009:169) points out, was a very new step in qualitative analysis.

### 5.1. Pre-iconographic, iconographic and iconological meaning

The shift of the focus from the immanent meaning of a picture to its documentary meaning corresponds to what the German art historian Erwin Panofsky (1955), who explicitly refers to Mannheim's "documentary method of interpretation", has termed the transition from "iconography" to "iconology". The adaptation of the Documentary Method's basic working steps, which are the formulating and the reflecting interpretation, to visual analysis is mainly based on Panofsky's differentiation of "pre-iconographic", "iconographic", and "iconological" meaning (ibid; Bohnsack 2009, 2020a, 2020b).

The formulating interpretation of pictures includes the *pre-iconographic* description of a picture and its *iconographic* interpretation. As Bohnsack (2020a:71) points out, the pre-iconographic dimension of a picture is comparable to connotation in semiotics. The body movements on the pre-iconographic level can be differentiated into "gestures", e.g., "bending the trunk", and so-called "operative actions", e.g., "sitting down" (ibid:407). Whereas operative actions are typically composed of several gestures, the single elements of a gesture can be called "kinemes" (Bohnsack 2020b:406f.) referring to Ray Birdwhistell (1952:19).

The iconographic meaning, on the other side, corresponds to denotation. For example, the gesture of "hat-lifting" is first identified on the pre-iconographic level, whereas the identification of the gesture as "a greeting" of a "gentleman" is based

on its iconographic interpretation (Panofsky 1955:26). The iconographic interpretation is bound to social constructs based on common sense such as the ascription of subjective intentions and other kinds of institutionalized knowledge (cf. Bohnsack 2020b:399). As Bohnsack (ibid:400) frames it, the reconstruction of the iconological meaning, which is the "modus operandi" of a gesture or its "process of formation", and which corresponds to the habitus, is based on the detailed pre-iconographic description of the gesture and requires the suspension of iconographic pre-suppositions.

## 5.2. Two kinds of picture producers

In picture analysis as well as in video analysis, the habitus can be reconstructed in two dimensions. These are the habitus of the producers of the picture or video on the one hand and the habitus of those who are presented in the picture or video on the other (cf. Bohnsack 2020b:400). The reconstruction of the relation of both types of habitus represented in the picture or video is central to the documentary analysis of visual data. As Bohnsack (ibid) points out, "the methodical problems that result from the complex relation between these two different kinds of picture producers can be solved easily as long as both belong to the same milieu, to the same 'conjunctive space of experience'". For example, this is the case when family members took a photo or a video of their own family. However, as Bohnsack states, "all this becomes methodically much more complex when the habitus of the represented picture producer [the ones being presented in the picture or video – BW] is not in correspondence or congruent with that of the representing picture producer [e.g., the camera operator – BW]" (ibid). In the case of incongruities, this can lead to re-framing of the represented picture producers by the representing picture producers in the sense of a power-structured gaze (cf. Bohnsack 2017:191). This means the construction of a (total) identity of the represented that dissents from their own habitual representation (cf. ibid:275ff.).

Elsewhere Bohnsack does not only refer to the habitus of the producers of pictures, but also to a lifestyle propagated through pictures (cf. e.g. Bohnsack/Przyborski 2015; Bohnsack 2017:197ff.). As empirically shown, the concepts of lifestyle or pose, respectively, and the societal identity norms conveyed therein have been mainly relevant in advertising photography (cf. Bohnsack 2017:197ff.) or in videos on lifestyle (cf. Burghardt 2020). In the analysis of videographies for research purposes, which will be focused on in the following, identity norms can also be of significance. However, this is less about the conveying of identity norms through a picture or video by the representing *and* represented picture or video producers, as is the case, for example, in advertising photography, but rather about the way in which the represented picture or video producers carry out the (tense) relationship between norm and habitus in interaction, i.e. their frame of orientation in a wider sense. In videographic research in organizations (cf. Wagener 2020), moreover, not only societal identity norms can become relevant, but also organizational ones, as the empirical example in section 6 shows.

Similar to the sequence analysis of text, the reconstruction of the habitus (in its relation to norms) represented in a picture is mainly based on the reconstruction of the picture's formal organization or structure. In contrast to the sequential structure of a text, the so-called "formal composition" of a picture is based on what Imdahl

(1996:23) has called the "simultaneous structure". Comparable to sequence analysis, the reconstruction of the formal composition of a picture is based on the comparison with other pictures that are similar in topic but different in composition. Referring to Imdahl (1994:302ff.), Bohnsack (2009:168ff.) calls the comparative analysis of pictures the "composition variation" ("Kompositionsvariation").

According to Imdahl (1996:26), the formal compositional structure of a picture consists of three dimensions, which are the "perspective projection" ("perspektivische Projektion"), the "scenic choreography" ("szenische Choreographie"), and the "planimetric composition" ("planimetrische Komposition"). Referring to Imdahl, "*perspectivity*", as Bohnsack (2020b:402) puts it,

has its function primarily in the identification of concrete objects in their spatiality and corporality and is thus orientated to the regularity of the world outside of the picture (as it shall be (re)presented within it). With reference to the *scenic choreography*, the same is true for the social scenes in the world outside. In contrast, the reconstruction of the *planimetric composition*, the picture's formal structure as a plane, leads us to the principles of design and to the inherent laws of the picture *itself*. It is first of all the planimetric composition which leads us to the picture as a 'system, which is designed according to its inherent laws and is evident in its autonomy' (Imdahl 1979:190).

In video analysis, the documentary interpretation focuses on both the sequential structure of a video and its simultaneous structure as well as the relation of both structures. The analysis of the simultaneous structure is based on video stills, which are called "photogrammes" (Bohnsack 2020b:407). For videos or films that were produced by the ones being the subject of the research such as a family or the producers of a TV-show (e.g., Bohnsack 2009, 2020b), the analysis of the simultaneous structure targets all three dimensions of the formal composition (i.e., the perspective, the scenic choreography, and the planimetric composition). In contrast, the analysis of the formal structure of videographs that were exclusively produced for the purpose of research such as videographs of classroom interaction (e.g., Wagener 2020) is usually less extensive since the habitus of the researcher is of less interest. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the researcher's choice of framing, the camera settings, and the camera perspective is essential in order to methodically control the researcher's implicit (and milieu-related) selective perspective and reflect them in interpretation (cf. Fritzsche/Wagner-Willi 2015; Wagener 2020:56ff.). In video analysis, the comparative analysis of successive photogrammes also provides insight into the relation of their simultaneous and sequential orders. However, this is to be distinguished from sequence analysis, in which audiovisual data with its bodily and verbal utterances is interpreted in detail in its sequence structure (cf. Wagener 2020:62f.). In the following, this is exemplified by videographic data.

### 5.3. The analysis of videographic data

Comparable to text analysis, the analysis of videographs (cf. Wagener 2020:82ff.) starts with identifying the topical structure of the sequential interaction process in the verbal dimension and, additionally, with identifying the operative actions in the bodily dimension (1). Subsequently, smaller sequences are being selected for a more detailed interpretation (2). The selection of a sequence is mainly based on the

identification of an increased level of interactive density or on discontinuities of the interaction process. In such moments, the frame of orientation is documented more clearly, which is very similar to group discussions (cf. Nentwig-Gesemann 2006: 28). Once a sequence is selected, it may be differentiated into subsequences and parallel sequences or parallel sub-sequences (3). After that, one or more photogramme(s) are being selected (4). Moreover, a selected photogramme should represent the sequence or the subsequence in its corporeal dimension. On the other hand, it should reflect a so-called "focused moment", e.g., a moment of high interactivity. The selected photogramme is first being analyzed on the pre-iconographic and the iconographic level, both of which constitute the formulating interpretation (4.1). The following reflecting interpretation of the photogramme consists of the reconstruction of the implicit perspective of the presenting picture producer, which is the researcher, and the habitus of the presented picture producers by (partly) reconstructing the formal compositional structure as well as the iconological meaning of the corporal expressions (4.2). After the (comparative) analysis of one or more photogrammes, which Bohnsack (2009:168ff.) calls the "variation of composition" (4.3), the selected sequence or subsequence is analyzed in its sequential dimension (5). The formulating interpretation of the sequential structure is based on a video transcript that integrates both the verbal as well as the corporeal dimension on the pre-/iconographic level (5.1). The following reflecting interpretation of the sequential structure (5.2) is similar to the analysis of talk. It is based on the question of how the social actors presented in the video interactively refer to each other. This also includes the interactional organization. As stated above, the reconstruction of the formal categories of the interactional organization, which is complementary to discursive organization, has just begun (cf. Wagener 2020:63ff.). The final working step is the integration of the results of both the analysis of the photogramme(s) and the sequence analysis (6). Here, we also identify homologies and incongruences especially between the verbal and the corporeal dimension.

## 6. Exemplary analysis of a video recorded classroom interaction

The empirical example consists of a video sequence conducted in a German language class in an urban secondary school in the German speaking part of Switzerland. The video sequence can be divided into one main sequence (ms), two subsequences (ss) and two parallel subsequences (pss):

*07:27-08:35 Instructions for working on the worksheet (ms);*

*07:27-07:41 Instructions (to Fritz) to work on the worksheet (ss);*

*07:41-08:35 Independent work on the worksheet (by Fritz) (pss);*

*07:41-08:35 Tolerating the abbreviation of assignments with the help of 'WhatsApp' because of good grades (ss);*

*08:19-08:31 Quiet conversation between Arda and Fuat (pss).<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>6</sup> All names are pseudonymized.

For a detailed interpretation, the subsequence *07:41-08:35 Tolerating the abbreviation of assignments with the help of 'WhatsApp' because of good grades* was selected because the interaction is characterized by a high interactive density, which culminates in an expressive gesture by the student Emre (see figure 1). The following interpretation of the simultaneous and the sequential dimensions of the interaction will focus mainly on the presented picture or video producers based on the reflecting interpretation. Since the focus of this paper is mainly on sequence analysis, the photogramme analysis does not include composition variation and is only exemplified here. For examples of composition variation in videography analysis see Wagener (2020:89ff.) and in video or film analysis Bohnsack (2009, 2020b).

### 6.1. Photogramme analysis of a classroom interaction

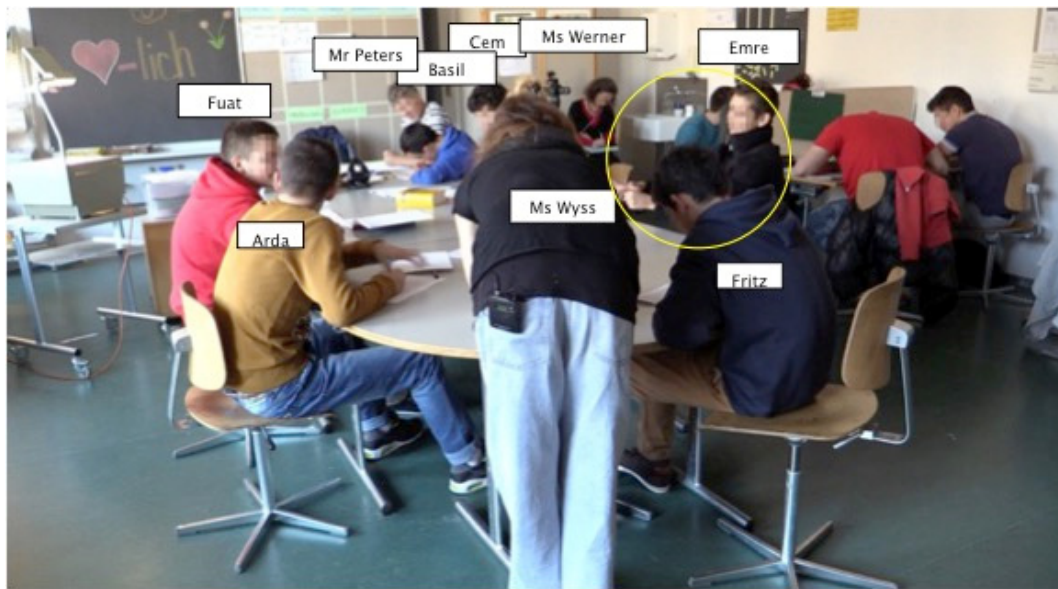


Figure 1: Photogramme 08:16

The photogramme can be considered as representative of the sequence as the positions taken by the actors are typical for the whole sequence. The focused moment is that Emre is performing an atypical, expressive gesture that is also different from all other gestures presented in the photogramme. He is leaning against his chair, has both arms stretched out over the table and has put his right palm on his left fist. He also shows a big smile and seems to be looking at his classmate Fuat.

Emre's gesture cannot be initially identified as an institutionalized act, e.g., raising-hand in order to gain the teacher's attention. It shows, however, that Emre is not facing the subject, i.e., a worksheet on the table, and that he is a bit distanced from the (work) table. Fuat and partly Arda are also turned away from the worksheet, whereas Arda is turned towards Fuat. In contrast, Fritz, who is sitting next to Ms Wyss, the German teacher, as well as Basil and Cem are facing their worksheets. While Ms Wyss takes a position of coming-and-going, Mr Peters, the Mathematics teacher, and Ms Werner, the special education teacher, take a permanent position sitting next to Cem and Basil. The two teachers flank them on both sides, which makes it more difficult for them to take distance from the subject.

The main results of the reflecting interpretation show the students' different degrees of freedom to act or autonomy, which includes the possibility of distancing from the subject or the student role (cf. Goffman 1961), respectively. The differences can be observed for the students sitting at the tables by the wall as they can act without the direct control or observation of a teacher. In a very similar way, this is also true for the students around Ms Wyss. They interact with each other apart from the subject. Ms Wyss' position at the table also seems to be more short-term compared to the other two teachers, who are sitting next to Cem and Basil and addressing them closely.

Referring to the iconographic contextual knowledge, Cem and Basil are assigned special educational needs (SEN), whereas the other students are assigned to tracks based on higher academic achievements. This leads to the conclusion that the very different degrees of freedom or autonomy are related to the formal code of assessment that is the students' attributed ability of academic achievement. This scenic choreography comes along with visibilizing the SEN students inside the classroom. According to Foucault (1977), visibilization can be considered as a central element of subordination in power relations. In terms of Garfinkel (1967b), here we can see a kind of degradation process, which constitutes the construction of a total identity (cf. *ibid*), i.e. the personal identity of the low achiever as the subordinated, and which is central to power structured interaction as described by Bohnsack (2017: 136). This is not about reconstructing the common sense theories of power actors in the sense of "practical theorizing" (Cicourel 1968:123), but about the interactive production of power. In this perspective, power means that "first coding" of an action or practice, such as coding through educational assessment, is followed by "second coding" in the realm of identity construction (Bohnsack 2017:136). Second coding has consequences for the person as a whole as it goes along with "moralizations, pathologizing, or ascriptions of total incompetence" (*ibid*). At the same time, the possibility of meta-communication, or role distance as the equivalent of meta-communication in the bodily dimension, is being suppressed, which results in invisibilization of the construction process (cf. *ibid*). In our comparative research, we could find this kind of pattern in other sequences related to this school class, but also in other classes (cf. Wagener 2020:90ff.).

## 6.2. Sequence analysis of a classroom interaction

The following video transcript is based on the interaction between Ms Wyss, Emre, and Fuat and was translated from Swiss German. Due to presentation limits, the transcript mainly includes the verbal utterances following the rules of "TiQ" ("Talk in Qualitative Research"; Bohnsack 2009:242).<sup>7</sup> It takes into account significant changes at the bodily level, which are described pre/iconographically.

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<sup>7</sup> The complete transcript is published in Swiss German and standard German in Wagener (2020: 98ff.).

Emre: quickly sliding with his upper body down onto the table toward Fuat, who is writing on his worksheet, and whispering something to Fuat.

Meanwhile, Arda turns to the left and leans forward toward Fuat. Fuat then turns to the left with his head tilted, places his bent right forearm between himself and Arda on the table and leans the left side of his head against his right hand.

Ms Wyss: Don't distract him now he has just understood the assignment. then you can also @benefit@ from him later.

Emre: °You know, photos and stuff.°

Fuat: looking up to Emre @(. )@

Ms Wyss: Photos and stuff.

Emre: WhatsApp. °@no@°;

Ms Wyss: @Sure@

Emre: Yea what do you think why we're always done so quickly? °@no@°

Ms Wyss: As long as you're good at the exams, (1) I'll be generous

Emre: [Exactly, as long as I'm goo- when will I get the results of my German exams?

Fuat: You got 5.5.

Ms Wyss: As long as you're stil-

Emre: 5.5?

Ms Wyss: No, he got 5.6. he was even better than the best of the you got 5.5, didn't you?

Fuat: 5.4

Emre: I got 5.6?

Emre: Damn. I was better than you. hits his left fist with his right hand

### Video transcript 1: "WhatsApp"

#### *1-5 propositions and (role) distance by Emre and Arda; proposition in defensive or oppositional mode by Fuat*

First Emre and then Arda (physically) initiate an interaction with Fuat, who in turn is busy working on his worksheet. Emre signals that he is taking action in a subversive or peer-related way that goes beyond the formal student role. In doing so, he distances himself from this role. However, his discreet, unobtrusive behavior indicates that he respects or does not challenge the primary formal framework of instruction. At the same time, he thereby allows Ms Wyss to participate in peer-related activities, exposing them, so to speak. Fuat, on the other hand, does not get involved with the initiation of his two classmates. He shields himself from the physical approach by Arda, while he continues to turn to the worksheet and thus remains in the student role.

#### *6-8 following proposition by Ms Wyss*

Due to the reasons given, the teacher's disciplinary request not to distract Fuat takes on a lecturing character, although its seriousness (the seriousness of the disciplining as well as the lecturing) is relativized by her laughter. This documents the fact that the demarcation between formal classroom and informal peer discourse is not meant so seriously.

*9-13 following proposition or elaboration by Emre; validation by Fuat; following proposition by Ms Wyss; elaboration by Emre; following proposition by Ms Wyss*

Emre's subsequent "Okay" can be interpreted as a confirmation of the non-serious boundary drawing, since he now addresses Fuat again ("You know, photos and stuff"). He thus propounds a shared, presumably peer-specific, knowledge. By expressing this now more openly, he also includes Ms Wyss more strongly in the peer-



related interaction, but without addressing her directly. By picking up on Emre's verbal proposition, Ms Wyss expresses some interest in these 'peer-internal' activities, but without directly asking about them. This documents Emre's 'success' in drawing Ms Wyss into his peer-related activities and thus blurring the formal discourse. With his subsequent statement "What's App", Emre responds to the implicitly expressed interest of the teacher. "What's App" is a digital interactive medium that is usually used with the help of smartphones. Emre's subsequent antithetical retraction documents that he is revealing something that he should not actually reveal, since it is presumably not part of the formal framework of the lesson. His accompanying laughter marks this crossing of the border between peer-cultural and formal discourse. By also laughing and reacting with an ironic remark ("Sure"), Ms Wyss remains in the peer-related frame and thus signals again or further the tolerance of the boundary crossing. Referring to the photogramme, this is also reflected in her posture or bodily positioning, which gives the impression of 'coming and going' (see 6.1).

*14-17 elaboration by Emre in the mode of a rhetorical question; intermediate conclusion in the form of a proposition by Ms Wyss; validation by Emre*

Emre informs Ms Wyss about the seemingly illegal practice of shortening tasks. The peers apparently take photographs of finished assignments and send them to each other via "WhatsApp". At the same time, Emre again relativizes the seriousness of his statement by laughingly recanting it antithetically. However, as long as the students achieve good grades in tests, Ms Wyss gives them the freedom to shorten the processing of the tasks within the scope of what is actually an impermissible way of dealing with them. This output orientation leads to the toleration of indiscipline or peer subversions as long as they are borne by the 'high-performing' students. Thus, the hierarchy constituted on the basis of formal performance assessment (first coding) is transferred unnoticed to other domains, i.e., the domain of communicative negotiation of discipline, of negotiating the boundary between informal peer discourse and the formal role structure of teaching. To be sure, the concession of generous tolerance of cell phone use in class by those who perform well on tests does not remain latent. What remains latent, however, is that the 'high-performing' student can easily ignore the teacher's attempts to discipline him with regard to limiting peer discourse, or that the blurring of the boundary between peer discourse and formal discourse is tolerated among them, and that, conversely, the deviants from the performance norm, in this case the students Cem and Basil, are altogether subjected to a restriction of their scope of action (see 6.1) (second coding). By then validating Ms Wyss' statement about the legitimacy of 'unauthorized work behavior', which she links to the achievement of good grades, Emre documents that the orientation raised by Ms Wyss is shared.

*17-25 following proposition in the mode of a question by Emre; information by Fuat; repetition in the mode of a question by Emre; information and following propositions by Ms Wyss; information by Fuat; following proposition and elaboration by Emre*

By asking for the date of the return of his German test, Emre thematically connects to the previous discourse about (his) good grade(s). In the way Fuat takes up Emre's proposition and names his grade, he takes on the role of the teacher, which also

indicates that the announcement of grades is not a private matter, which is also confirmed in the further course of the interaction: by correcting Emre's grade upward, Ms Wyss speaks about Emre in the third person, thus presumably addressing Fuat. Thereupon, she presents Emre in front of the other students as the one who has been "better" "than the best". By subsequently asking Fuat if he had one grade point less, she implicitly makes a one-to-one comparison with the classmate present. By then framing Emre as the "better" one, she establishes a hierarchical difference between the two students as well as the other classmates. By repeating his grade in the mode of a rhetorical question to Fuat and by proclaiming that he was "better than" him, Emre takes up the frame of comparison. At the same time, he physically stages his proposition in the form of an expressive gesture: slapping the palm on his fist (see figure 1), thereby corporately expressing his 'victory' over Fuat in the contest for the better grade. In the staging of his proposition, he thus places it in the context of peer discourse. While up to now the peer discourse was transgressed in the direction of the formal discourse, the opposite is now the case: the adoption of the formal hierarchization of achievement into the peer discourse, which reaches its dramaturgical climax here.

### 6.3. Summary and further results

In summary, the interpretation of the simultaneous (photogramme analysis) and the sequential (sequence analysis) dimension of the video sequence show a hierarchization according to performance (first coding), which is accompanied by the expansion of autonomy of action for the high performers and its restriction for the low performers (second coding). This goes hand in hand with visibilizing the weakest performers in particular. This power-structured interaction associated with the construction of the total identity of the high-achieving and the low-achieving student is part of this conjunctive space of experience or classroom milieu, indicated in particular by the routinized interaction and shared orientation. Power in this context, however, is not to be attributed to the intentions of the power actors, but to be seen as part of the implicit structure of interaction.

The Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge considers power a typical mode of interaction within "people processing organizations" (Luhmann 1978:248), such as schools, which decide on the identity of their clientele (cf. Bohnsack 2020c). Comparison with other cases drawn from a study of construction of achievement related differences in the classroom (cf. Wagener 2020), from which the sequence presented is taken, led to the reconstruction of other modes of interaction besides power (cf. *ibid*:89ff.). Within the methodological framework of the Documentary Method, these modes of interaction represent the analytical basis for questions of *professionalism* within people processing organizations and its normative evaluation (cf. *ibid*:183ff.; Bohnsack 2020c).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> According to Bohnsack (2020c), professionalism in the analytical sense means the production of a conjunctive space of experience in the interaction with the clientele with reference to the organizational role expectations and programs. The analysis of the formal mode of interaction, in turn, gives insight into the implicit normative or ethical structure inherent in professional practice in terms of "practical discourse ethics" (*ibid*:109). Only based on the reconstructed practical discourse ethics, the social scientist is able to assess the professional practice (cf. *ibid*).

Furthermore, the comparison in the dimensions of school type and subject teaching led to a typology of classroom milieus related to the hierarchization of students by achievement in relation to the construction of students' identities (cf. Wagener 2020:89). The comparison of different school types, i.e., high schools (Gymnasien) and 'inclusive' secondary schools, and school subjects, i.e., mathematics, German, and art, then enabled sociogenetic explanations for the differences in the typology (cf. *ibid.*:153ff.).

## 7. Conclusion and perspectives

The Documentary Method in its present constitution looks back on more than thirty years of development, beginning with Ralf Bohnsack's habilitation thesis. In historical analysis, however, it can be seen that some of its foundations go back to earlier work by Bohnsack in the 1970s, even if central meta-theoretical and methodological aspects have changed fundamentally since then. In this context, the critical examination of Phenomenology and the turn to Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge, which forms the central point of reference of the Documentary Method, are to be mentioned in particular. At the same time, Bohnsack's earlier engagement with Ethnomethodology as well as empirical studies in organizational settings is of central importance to current research on organizations and professionalism.

Closely related to this is the ongoing development of sequence analysis, which is based primarily on the interpretation of texts such as group discussions and interviews, and, more recently, audiovisual data. Its central goal is the reconstruction of implicit or conjunctive knowledge of groups or individuals. In doing so, the data are viewed as self-referential systems. While text is empirically characterized by its sequential structure, visual data, especially pictures, however, are characterized by simultaneity. Along the distinction between the sequentiality of texts and the simultaneity of pictures, different methodological procedures have been developed. In video analysis, the relation of the analysis of sequential and simultaneous structures reaches a higher methodological level with their respective self-referentiality.

Besides the different characteristics of the sequence analysis and the analysis of the simultaneous structure of pictures or photogrammes, the comparison of both shows one comprehensive methodical principle of the Documentary Method, which is the *comparative analysis*. As Bohnsack (1983:180) stated early,

the interpretative approach, which is able to also open up the counter horizon and thus both horizons by means of text exegesis [and compositional variation – BW], [...] is in my opinion the ideal way of interpretation.

Die interpretative Vorgehensweise, welche auch den Gegenhorizont und somit beide Horizonte mittels Textexegese [und der Kompositionsvariation – BW] erschließen und immer wieder überprüfen kann, halte ich für den Königsweg der Interpretation.

Comparative analysis enables the reconstruction of the multidimensionality of conjunctive spaces of experience. While the first empirical reconstructions with the Documentary Method were primarily concerned with the conjunctive spaces of experience in society, such as gender or migration specific milieus, more recently the organizational conjunctive spaces of experience or milieus have been the focus of empirical and meta-theoretical analysis. This is expressed, among other things, in

the differentiation of the meta-theoretical terminologies such as 'power' or 'professionalism'. In this regard, the development is still in its infancy, especially concerning the relationship between the analysis of talk and picture or video, and thus also between the analysis of sequentiality and simultaneity. Concerning the sequence analysis of videographic data in particular, the conceptualization of the analysis of the formal structure based on the bodily constituents of interaction has just begun. Especially the analysis of bodily or incorporated practices relies both on the reconstruction of their simultaneous and their sequential structures and their integration.

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## 9. Appendix: Transcription according to "TiQ" (Bohnsack 2009)

└	start of an overlap or direct connection when the speaker changes
(1)	number of seconds of a pause
°no°	very quietly spoken (in relation to the usual volume of the speaker)
.	sharply decreasing intonation
?	sharply increasing intonation
,	softly increasing intonation
goo-	word termination
@no@	laughingly spoken
@(.)@	short laugh

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