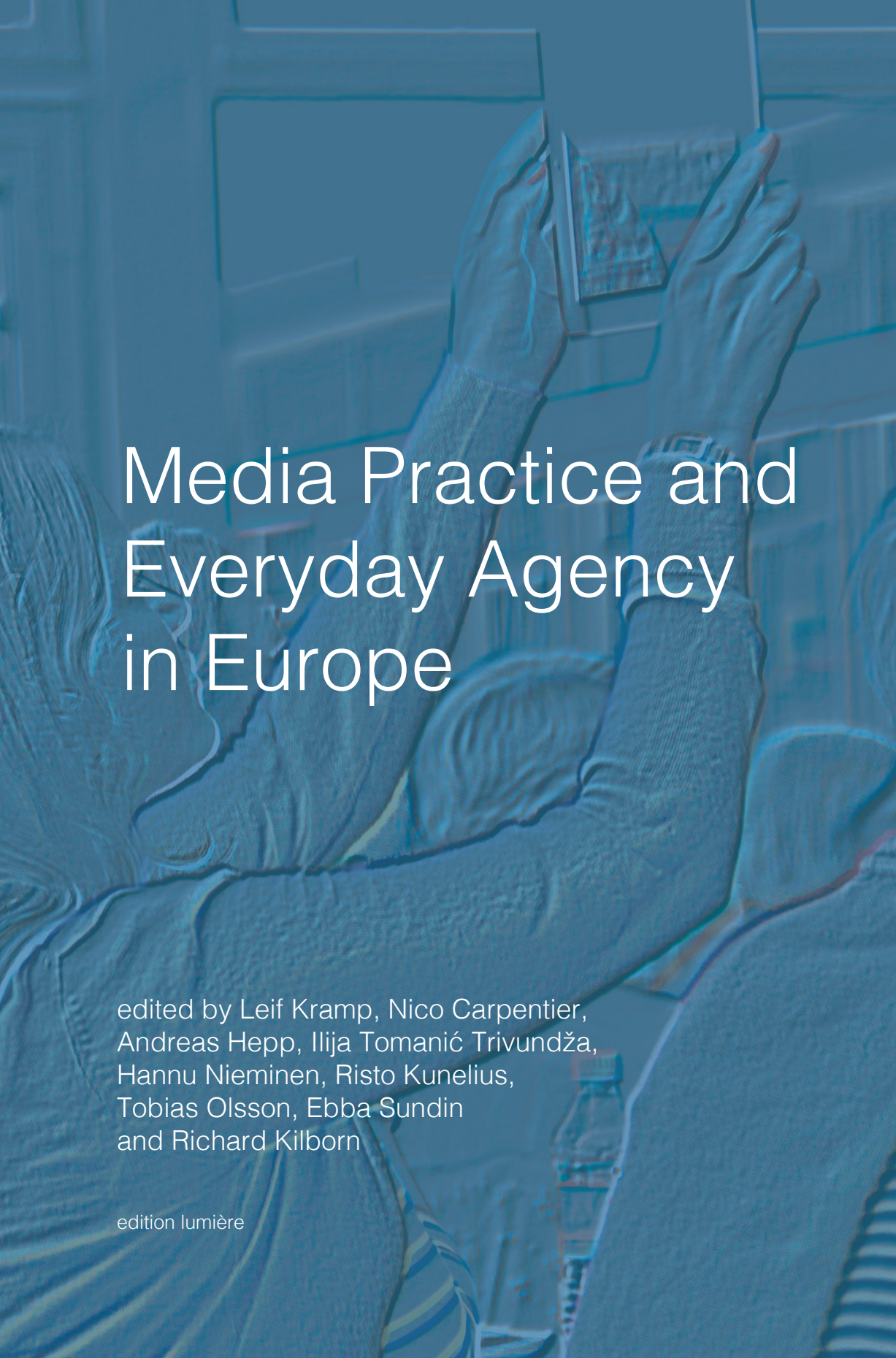

Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe

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The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School 2013 and its Participants

Communicative Figurations: Researching Cultures of Mediatization

Andreas Hepp

1. The necessity of a transmedia perspective within medi-atization research

If we follow the recent discussions about mediatization, one argument is striking: The increasing interest in mediatization is related to the fact that the media has been gaining relevance in all social and cultural spheres. Various metaphors are used to describe this phenomenon. Some authors talk of the "media saturation" (Lundby, 2009a: 14; Friesen/Hug, 2009: 80) of present lives. Other academics use different metaphors, for example the "mediation of everything" (Livingstone, 2009: 1), the media as "integral part" (Hjarvard, 2013: 3) of culture and society, or just "media life" (Deuze, 2012). This increasing relevance of communication media in various spheres of culture and society becomes linked with a certain paradigm shift in media and communication research. As Sonia Livingstone writes, it "seems that we have moved from a social analysis in which the mass media comprise one among many influential but independent institutions whose relations with the media can be usefully analysed to a social analysis in which everything is mediated, the consequence being that all influential institutions in society have themselves been transformed, reconstituted, by contemporary processes of mediation." (Livingstone, 2009: 2). If we follow this line of argument, the original approaches of mass communication research – which had a tendency to understand mass media as separate institutions of their own accord and to ask for their "influence" or "effect" on other spheres of culture and society – fall short. If all parts of culture and society are interwoven with media of various kinds, the main question is a different one: How do we "articulate" or "construct" these spheres of culture and society by our increasingly media-related practices?

Taking a move like this makes it evident that it is not just one medium which has to be considered but various kinds of media. As examples, we can regard different phenomena as "the family" or "the public sphere" to explain

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this. At present, the communication that is part of the process "constructing" (Berger/Luckmann, 1967; Knoblauch, 2013b) families as well as public spheres is not simply based on one medium but by various kinds of media. For families, this might be (mobile) phones and the social web, (digital) photo albums to share pictures, letters and postcards, or watching television together. And if we think about present national or transnational public spheres, we also have to take into account a number of different media to describe them. Among these media are not only traditional media of mass communication but increasingly also digital media like Twitter and blogs.

In media and communication research, we find various concepts to describe this relevance of a variety of different media in our (present) processes of social construction. Just to name some of these concepts: Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller (2012, 2013) use the concept of "polymedia" to analyse "new media as a communicative environment of affordances rather than as a catalogue of ever proliferating but discrete technologies" (Madianou/Miller, 2013: 169). Being sceptical against such a pure emphasis on plurality, Nick Couldry prefers the concept of "media manifold" to describe the "linked configuration of media that is crucial" (Couldry, 2012: 16). Coming more from film and television studies, Elizabeth Evans (2011) introduced the idea of "transmedia television" to explain that even television nowadays has to be understood as reflecting various other digital and non-digital media. And if we go back to medium theory, there we also find the argument not to consider just one single medium but rather the "communication environment" (Meyrowitz, 2009: 520) at a certain moment of time and place.

We can call this an transmedia perspective. The argument behind this perspective is not to say that a certain medium does not have an individual specificity that we have to consider if we want to reflect its role in communication. The argument goes further and says: Even if we want to understand the specificity of any one particular medium, we cannot do this by focusing solely on it, in isolation from other media. We have to grasp its position in the overall media "environment" or "configuration" of various media. And as a consequence, if we want to understand the role of media in the processes of our "communicative construction" (Knoblauch, 2013b) of culture and society – our articulation of family, public spheres etc., – we have to do this by analysing the variety of media within this process.

Such a move to a transmedia perspective is highly helpful for mediatization research. If by mediatization research, we understand a kind of analysis that investigates the interrelation between the change of media and communication on the one hand and culture and society on the other, reflecting the transforming role of media for communication within this interrelation (Couldry/Hepp, 2013; Lundby, 2014a), such a transmedia perspective is necessary: If present life is "media-saturated" (Lundby, 2009a: 2), we must be in a posi-

tion to analyse this "saturation" across a variety of different media. Moreover, the transmedia perspective is linked to a long-standing plea for a "non-media centric" media research (cf. for example Hepp, 2013a; Moores, 2012; Morley, 2009). This is a plea for a kind of media research that doesn't blindly take "the media" as the "driving forces" of every change in society. Rather, it is a kind of research that starts with certain social and cultural phenomena and asks based on this, more openly for the role of media (and communication) within them. A transmedia perspective is linked exactly with this point of departure: As soon as we argue for an investigation into how certain media are altogether related to the processes of constructing certain social phenomena, it makes no sense to take "a medium" as a starting point. Rather, we must investigate the phenomenon as such and then move to an analysis of the role of media communication within that particular context.

However, if we follow these arguments, we are confronted with practical challenges. How can we conceptualise such a research in a transmedia perspective? And how can this be done in practice? As I shall argue within this article, the concept of "communicative figurations" offers a possible starting point to handle these two challenges.

2. Communicative figurations as a starting point

What is a communicative figuration? To answer this question, it is helpful to move back to the two examples already used within this article: families and public spheres. Families can be described as a communicative figuration since various forms of communication sustain them: conversations, communication via (mobile) telephones and the social web, (digital) photo albums, letters and postcards or by watching television together (Hasebrink, 2014). Also (national or transnational) public spheres are a communicative figuration sustained via different kinds of media and confronted with special normative expectations. Among these media are not only the traditional media of mass communication but increasingly also digital media like Twitter and blogs. We are however also dealing with communicative figurations of learning when schools for example use interactive whiteboards, software applications or intra- and internet portals in order to teach in a 'contemporary' manner (Breiter, 2014). Generalising such examples leads to the conclusion that: Communicative figurations are patterns of processes of communicative interweaving that exist across various media and have a "frame" (Goffman, 1974) that orients communicative action and therefore the sense-making practices of this figuration.

Such an approach to communicative figurations picks up reflections as formulated by Norbert Elias but takes them a step further. For Elias, figuration is "a simple conceptual tool" (Elias, 1978: 130) to be used for understanding

social-cultural phenomena in terms of "models of processes of interweaving" (Elias, 1978: 130). For him, figurations are "networks of individuals" (Elias, 1978: 15), which constitute a larger social entity through reciprocal interaction – for example, by joining in a game, or a dance. This could be the family, a group, the state or society. Due to this kind of scalability, his concept of figuration traverses the often static levels of analysis of the micro, meso and macro (Hepp, 2013b).

The figuration as developed by Elias is considered to be one of the basic descriptive concepts of social sciences and cultural studies and was adopted in different ways in theoretical as well as empirical works (for an overview: Bauman, 1979; Esser, 1984; Emirbayer, 1997; Krieken, 2007; Treibel, 2008; Morrow, 2009). The significance of the figuration concept for media and communication research has been increasingly emphasised (Ludes, 1995; Krotz, 2003; Couldry, 2010; Willems, 2010). The relationship between figuration analysis and current media and communication research can be found in the common interest to describe actors and their interweaving which, according to Simmel (1984), can be conceptualised as a common pattern of interdependency or reciprocation. Unlike the also widely discussed current developments of structural network analysis (see, for example, White, 2008), the figuration concept is better suited to enabling the integration into research of not only the dimension of communicative "meaning" but also of historical transformations. The concept of communicative figuration therefore becomes an ideal starting point for investigating communicative interweaving and its change across time.

When claiming that transmedia communicative figurations exist, I mean that a communicative figuration is based on different communication media – hence often on different basic "types of communication" (Hepp, 2013a: 65). Which of these types of communication and, based upon them, which communication media must be taken into consideration when describing a specific communicative figuration depends on their characteristics: The communicative figuration of a political committee is different from that of a national public sphere. The transformation of both communicative figurations is, however, connected and refers back to that of their communication media. Consequently, it can be assumed that the communicative figuration of political commissions changes as soon as the direct communication of everyone involved does not rely only on the documents carried along but also on instantly-accessible online information and the possibility to transmit decision-making "live" (Auslander, 2008) to the national public via their smartphones. Integrating people in the public sphere is, due to the diffusion of digital media, no longer a "two-step flow" (Katz, 1957) from produced or standardised mass communication to direct communication (if it ever has been). These days it is much more a case of creating "public connections" (Couldry et al., 2007) through various

forms of reciprocal media communication on the internet. If we want to grasp these current changes, we must adopt a transmedia approach. The concept of communicative figuration offers this.

Why is the concept of communicative figurations innovative for mediatization research? As argued, the mediatization approach advances the expansion of the traditional perspective of media and communication research analysing media contents, their uses and effects towards an approach that promotes a research focus on the entire transformation of media and communication (for an recent overview cf. Couldry/Hepp, 2013; Hepp, 2013a; Hjarvard, 2013; Lundby, 2014b). At the beginning, mediatization research assumed a growing expansion of a "media logic" (Altheide/Snow, 1979; Asp, 1990; Altheide, 2013) towards which other spheres of culture and society would be "geared" increasingly. The current mediatization research has been able to show that such a thesis does not reach far enough (Couldry, 2012; Esser, 2013; Hepp, 2013a). In compliance with this, calls have been heard to expand the concept of media logic (Hjarvard, 2013; Landerer, 2013), to put an emphasis on the role of different media during the process of interaction (Lundby, 2009b; Hepp/Hasebrink, 2014) or to focus on communication instead of media and, in the latter case, to take into consideration the contextual "moulding forces" of different media as "institutionalizations" and "reifications" of communication (Hepp, 2012; Krotz/Hepp, 2013). This was also the basis to investigate various "mediatized worlds" (Hepp/Krotz, 2014). On the one hand, this research on mediatized worlds demonstrates how mediatization has developed not as a linear process but in different "waves". On the other hand, it becomes clear that mediatization has substantiated itself very differently in the various "life worlds" and "social worlds".

Nevertheless, this research does not yet offer an integrating approach which is able to grasp the significance of mediatization for the ongoing communicative construction of social and cultural realities (Berger/Luckmann, 1967; Knoblauch, 2013b). Consequently, the guiding idea of researching communicative figurations is the assumption that characteristic interrelations between the change of media and communication and culture and society as described by the term mediatization substantiate in specific communicative figurations and their transformation. With the alteration of communicative figurations, processes of communicative constructions of sociocultural reality are changing. This is the transformation process we should focus on.

When viewing change as a sequence of communicative figurations, it is important to avoid simple causality models which assume direct effects of contents or the materiality of individual media. Far more complex models are necessary in order to answer the following question: How significant is the transformation of media and communication for culture and society? Such a statement must not be misunderstood as giving up the perspective of interre-

lating an "interpretative understanding" with a "causal explanation" (Weber, 1978: 4). But we have to think about multi-level and process approaches of explanation here. It is useful to refer back to Norbert Elias, who discusses the "problem of the 'inevitability' of social developments" (Elias, 1978: 158). Elias reminds us that "in studying the flow of figurations there are two possible perspectives on the connection between one figuration chosen from the continuing flow and another, later, figuration" (Elias, 1978: 160). The first perspective regards the earlier figuration from the view of which the later one is one out of many possibilities for change. In the second perspective – that of the later figuration – "the earlier one is usually a necessary condition for the formation of the later" (Elias, 1978: 160). Norbert Elias argues accordingly that the (yet to be empirically proved) fact of one figuration arising from an earlier one "does not assert that the earlier figurations had necessarily to change into the later ones" (Elias, 1978: 161). Describing the transformation of communicative figurations as well as the transformation of communicative constructions of social and cultural realities means to work out multi-layered patterns of transformation, which calls for a more integrated theory on communication change yet to be developed. The term "transformation" then implies a certain position: We can typify certain patterns of this change – beyond a linear explanation of change.

3. How to analyse communicative figurations

But how can we investigate communicative figurations in practice? To answer this question, it is helpful to sum up the arguments developed so far: As argued, we can define communicative figurations as patterns of processes of communicative inter-weaving that exist across various media and have a "thematic framing" that orients communicative action and sense-making. "Thematic framing" here means that there is a certain frame of sense-making which also defines the communicative figuration as a social and cultural "entity". In and through these communicative figurations, we as humans construct our symbolically meaningful social and cultural realities. Consequently, communicative figurations are no static phenomena but must rather be observed in their constant state of motion – as a "process": They are realised in communicative practice, thus re-articulated and, hence, they continuously transform to different degrees. Therefore, we can consider communicative figurations in the sense of sociology of knowledge and a social constructivism (Berger/Luckmann, 1967; Knoblauch, 2013a) as the basis of the communicative construction of social and cultural realities: At the level of their "meaning", the realities of cultures or societies are "constructed" in or through the different communicative figura-

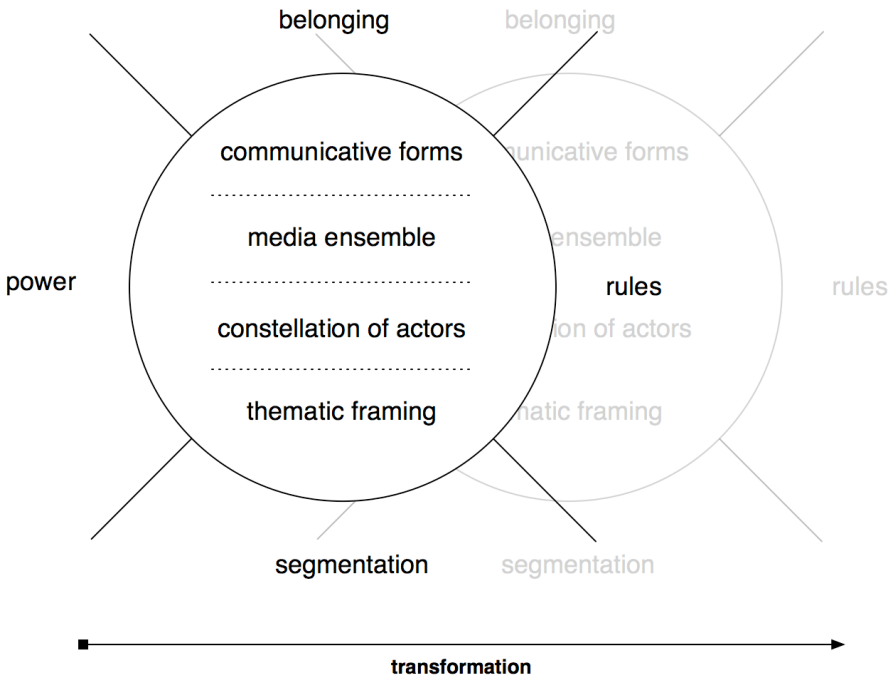

Figure 1: Heuristics on the examination of communicative figurations

tions. A sentence like this does not imply that "everything is communication". The point is rather something different: For the meaning dimension of social and cultural phenomena the dimension of communication is crucial.

This said, we can argue that each communicative figuration has four "features" and four "construction capacities" (for the following see in detail Hepp/Hasebrink, 2014). The features of a communicative figuration are more or less a sum-up of the arguments developed so far:

- First, each communicative figuration is marked by its forms of communication. This is a more general way to describe the different convention-based kinds of "communicative actions" or "practices", which develop into more complex patterns (patterns of communicative networking or discourses, for example).
- Second, in relation with these forms of communication, each communicative figuration has a characteristic media ensemble. This describes the entire media through which a communicative figuration exists.
- Third, a typical constellation of actors can be determined for each communicative figuration which constitutes itself through their communicative action.

- Fourth, every communicative figuration is characterised by a thematic framing; thus there is a certain frame of sensemaking which also defines the communicative figuration as a social and cultural "entity".

To elucidate these four features further, it is helpful to link them to a more general reflection on mediatization and communication. If we take the argument that symbolic interaction is the core anchor to describe mediatization (Lundby, 2009b; Hepp/Hasebrink, 2014), it is helpful to understand "communication" as a first aspect of each communicative figuration. However, if we consider communication as part of figurations, we are less interested in the "individual utterance" but more in the "forms" (Simmel, 1972) of communication as "practice" (Couldry, 2004; Reckwitz, 2002) which are characteristic for a certain communicative figuration. Families as communicative figurations, for example, involve different typical forms of communication than political public spheres.

In addition, each communicative figuration is located in a certain "media environment" (Morley, 2007; Meyrowitz, 2009), here understood as the totality of technical communication media that are accessible within a certain culture and society at a certain time. Characteristic for a communicative figuration is a certain subset of this totality, namely its media ensemble. At this point it becomes possible to integrate media specificity into the analysis of communicative figurations. As outlined, in present mediatized cultures and societies it is not one single medium that shapes the communicative construction of a certain entity but rather a group of (different) media in their entirety. This means we are not analysing one single "media influence" but how the "institutionalizations" and "reifications" of different media altogether "mould" communicative figurations (Hepp, 2013a). Focusing on media ensembles – which correlate in individual perspective with "media repertoires" (Hasebrink/Popp, 2006; Hasebrink/Domeyer, 2012) – seems to be the appropriate way to analyse the complexity of present mediatization.

With reference to constellations of actors, I have in mind that each communicative figuration is also defined by a certain intertwined group of typical actors. These can be either individual actors (humans) or collective actors (organisations of different complexity). The term "constellation of actors," as I use it, is influenced by the theory of social action developed by Uwe Schimank, who in his approach also refers back to Norbert Elias (Schimank, 2010: 211–213). In such a view, we are confronted with a constellation of actors as soon as we have an interference of at least two actors who themselves recognise this interference as being such (Schimank, 2010: 202). The argument at this point is that each communicative figuration has one specific constellation of actors who perceive themselves as part of this communicative figuration. There is no

need that this constellation is "harmonic" or "friendly", it can also be "conflicting" and "struggling". However, the involved communicative actors are aware of each other as being part of this communicative figuration.

Maybe the most complex point about communicative figurations is their thematic framing. Using this term, I refer less to "framing analysis" as it is well known in media and communication content research. The terming is much more grounded in fundamental social theory and "frame analysis" as it was outlined by Erving Goffman (1974: 21-40). Frames in his understanding have an interactionist as well as a cognitive moment: On the one hand, frames orientate our interaction as it becomes understandable for example if we consider a teaching situation in a classroom as a frame: We "produce" this situation by our interaction being aligned to a shared frame of action. On the other hand, recognising "frames" makes it possible for a person who enters a room to understand "what's going on". In such a more general sense, also communicative figurations have a certain thematic framing: Their communicative forms, media ensemble and constellation of actors build up a "unity of meaning", which orientates the ongoing procedure of "producing" as well as the "perception" of this communicative figuration.

By describing the features of the forms of communication, media ensemble, constellation of actors and thematic framing, we can describe a communicative figuration on a fundamental level. However, to gain a deeper understanding of communicative figurations a further contextualisation is necessary. This is the point where the four construction capacities of communicative figurations come in. They can be described in a first approach with the help of four questions: How do communicative figurations construct our different "belongings"? How are certain "rules" created through communicative figurations? How does a communicative figuration produce characteristic "segmentations"? How do communicative figurations create or maintain "power"?

The construction capacity of belonging picks up the work on inclusion, communitization and socialization through processes of media communication. This includes issues of a mediated construction of national communities. Here, the present research presumes that only with continuing mediatization a comprehensive communicative integration into a nation was possible, and an implementation of national culture (cf. Anderson, 1983; Schlesinger, 1987; Billig, 1995; Hjort, 2000; Morley, 2000). From the viewpoint of political communication research, a debate on mediated relationships is about integrating people into national and transnational public spheres, which may also happen through conflicts (Dahlgren, 1995; Gripsrud, 2007; Wessler et al., 2008; Koopmans/Statham, 2010). Especially with an increasing mediatization, the possibilities for relationships in and through media communication have increased; complex forms of "citizenship" are emerging which are much more based on popular culture than on political affiliation (García, Canclini, 2001;

Dahlgren, 2006). Different processes of community-building ("communitizations" in the Weberian sense) and of society-building ("socialisations") should be mentioned which also contribute to the gains of relevancy of media and communication change. This concerns transnational diasporas (Dayan, 1999), fan communities (Jenkins, 2006), religious communities (Hoover, 2006) or new social movements (Bailey et al., 2008). It also concerns commercialised belongings with companies and associations as to be found in or through PR, or changing links on the level of personal networks and groups (Rainie/Wellman, 2012).

The construction capacity of rules does not only concern political and legal regulations of media communication but also social and cultural rules as they are discussed in communication and media ethics. Consequently, this question of perspective is about all processes of setting and changing rules, ranging from a "top-down-regulation" and a "co-" and "self-regulation" to "spontaneous negotiation of rules". In today's communicative figurations, processes of rule-making change as the national frame, which for a long time was the primary vanishing point for regulations, is losing this role as a consequence of the self-transformation of the state (Chakravartty/Zhao, 2008). But not only regulations are constructed in communicative figurations. The same is the case with our everyday rules of action, our habits and ethics (cf. for example Weiß, 2001). On top of this, digital media demonstrate that especially media-ethical and aesthetical rules are reified through "code" – the software-technical or algorithmic architecture of platforms or communication services (Lessig, 2006; Zittrain, 2008; Pariser, 2011). If we are to investigate communicative figurations, we also have to have this construction capacity of rules in mind.

The construction capacity of segmentation is more or less related to the tradition of investigating inequalities in media and communication research. One of the questions of research on "knowledge gaps" is about whether the distribution of certain media increases the difference between the "information-rich" and the "information-poor" (Tichenor et al., 1970). Such a discussion was picked up by the so-called digital-divide research (Norris, 2001), which investigates to what extent, with the expansion of digital media, socially existing segmentations increase in respect of certain criteria like age, gender, education, etc. Issues about media and inequality, however, reach a lot further (Bilandzic et al., 2012). From the point of view of mediatization research such descriptions appear to be problematic if they exclusively depart from the diffusion of an individual medium. Especially in the case of the "digital divide", a transmedia perspective is just as central as the consideration of direct communication because insufficient "access" and "ways of use" of one medium can generally be balanced with other forms of media – while this is, however, not an automatism (Madianou/Miller, 2012). In this sense, the "digital divide […] has to be understood as a dynamic multi-level concept" (Krotz, 2007: 287),

which takes into account the different "equalities" and "inequalities" in their potentially reciprocal enforcement and their possible compensation. From this point of view, the "digital divide" as well as other segmentations in changing communicative figurations refer to the very basic question of the extent to which, according to Pierre Bourdieu (2010), communicative figurations and their growing mediatization increase "economic", "cultural" and "social capital".

Finally, the construction capacity of power is highly import to describe communicative figurations. The change of communicative figurations thus involves a change of the possibilities for "empowerment" and "disempowerment". Manuel Castells discussed this in great detail for the establishment of comprehensively mediatized "network societies", in which social movements are able to unfold a new form of power with the help of their "project identities" (Castells, 1997). Yet, he increasingly refers also to opposing moments due to the roles of companies and governments as "switches" between power-networks (Castells, 2009). In addition, even communicative figurations related to the audio-visual are about power. Thus, hegemonic concepts of "individualised life styles" in consumer societies are communicated through transmedia productions, such as can be found in nomination shows and make-over formats (Ouellette/Hay, 2008; Thomas, 2010): The paradigm of "individualised choice" and "selection" is legitimised through the (e.g. internet-based) voting and the representation of an individually-selectable life in such programmes.

If we take these four construction capacities – belonging, rules, segmentation and power – together it becomes obvious how we have to contextualise our analysis of communicative figurations further: If we are to understand communicative figurations as the structured ways by which the communicative construction of social and cultural realities take place, they are also the means by which power, segmentation, rules and belonging are produced. And therefore we have to consider this in our investigation of communicative figurations.

4. Mediatization research as an analysis of "changing" and "remaining" communicative figurations

To sum up: The idea of communicative figurations outlined so far makes a mediatization research in a transmedia perspective possible. We have a clear unit of analysis: a communicative figuration, where various actors are interwoven by their forms of communication and the related media within the process of constructing certain social and cultural "entities": a family, a public sphere, a certain organisation, or – if we think of intertwined communicative figurations – a whole social field such as politics or religion. To analyse such a figuration, we can start with its features: its forms of communication, media ensemble, constellation of actors and thematic framing. And all this is compatible

with the various methods we have at our disposal in media and communication research, reaching from content and discourse analysis to media ethnography and network analysis.

However, the most striking aspect of such an approach is that we don't blindly take the media to be the "driving force" of change. Beside the media ensemble, we investigate also the other features of a communicative figuration. Therefore, we can describe how far the "change" of certain media results in a "further change" of a communicative figuration or its "remaining" (Elias, 1978: 147). To explain this, I want to refer once more to the example of the communicative figuration of the family: The media ensemble of families obviously changed in the 1980s and early 1990s when the video recorder became part of it (Gray, 1992). However, it is an open question whether the family as a communicative figuration changed as result of that. Looking back, it seems to be quite arguable that the forms of communication, the ensemble of actors and thematic framing of the family remained quite stable (cf. for example Morley, 1986). This said, the media ensemble changed but the communicative figurations only rarely.

Taking this argument further, we can distinguish three basic patterns of transformation in relation to communicative figurations. This is first a "break", that is a total change of existing communicative figurations including their thematic framing. One reason for such a break might be media change, but also other reasons are imaginable. Second, a "new formation" of a communicative figuration might take place, that is the emergence of new communicative figurations by a stepwise change of communicative forms, media ensembles and constellations of actors. And third, we might have a "variation", that is the maintenance of existing communicative figurations with different media, i.e. an alternation of the media ensemble with existing communicative forms, constellation of actors and thematic framing – the "remaining" of a communicative figuration with changing media. This latter type I have discussed on the example of the family.

As I have argued elsewhere (Hepp, 2013b), investigating these patterns of transformation can be done in a "diachronous" way, that is by comparison over time (either by historical studies or repeat studies). But very often we do this kind of research in a "synchronous" way, that is by focusing on a certain moment of time. This is evident if we are interested in certain "breaks", media related or not. In such a case we are investigating an "event" (Sewell, 2005: 197-224) or a (media) "revolution". This might be the case if change transforms communicative figurations in a very dramatic way, which was for example the case with online stock markets (Knorr-Cetina, 2012) or online poker gaming (Hitzler/Möll, 2012). But very often we rather research another "eventfulness" that is when the change of media results (only) in the stepwise "new formation" or even "variation" of communicative figurations.

As I hope this concluding example demonstrates: It is worth to move within mediatization research towards more complex approaches of analysing change. In my view, investigating communicative figurations is a highly promising starting point for this. This concept is able to "ground" mediatization research in very concrete empirical studies.

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Biography

Andreas Hepp is Professor for Media and Communication Studies with the special areas Media Culture and Communication Theory at the ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research. Hepp graduated 1995 from the University of Trier with an MA-degree in German Studies and Political Science, focusing on media communication. Between 1995 and 1997, he was a research associate in the interdisciplinary research project "Talking about Television. The Everyday Appropriation of TV" at the University of Trier (funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG). In 1997, he finished his doctoral thesis on everyday appropriation of television, combining

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