



# Summary

Theories on Communication and Media

SS2021

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## **Behavior – Action – Communication**

Behavior is any action and mannerism made by individuals, organisms, systems or artificial entities in conjunction with themselves or their environment. It is a response of the organism to various stimuli or inputs. It comes to exchange of signals, but the term “communication” is used only metaphorically.

Human behavior is always social action. Social action is (by Weber) always intentional, which means it is done of one’s own will. It is meaningful, which means the action has a purpose. It is reciprocal, so one individual refers to another individual and vice versa. It is oriented towards its course of action, which means it is underlying action-oriented and task-based approaches. The term social means with regard to other humans.

Communication is the transmission of mutually related stimuli (by animals) or symbols (by humans) in the course of behavior. It focuses on information transfer, conveying a message and cognitive aspects / factual content. The “sender” transmits a message by a certain form of communication to the “recipient”. It can be unidirectional and/or bidirectional.

## **Human communication**

Communication among humans is called human communication and it is always social action. Human communication aims to transmit a message, articulate a meaning and to establish mutual understanding and building consensus.

Human communication characteristics:

- referring to other humans
- mostly intentional
- meaningful
- by means of shared symbols
- principally “understandable”
- guided by interests
- dependent on media and media theories

## **Social interaction**

Communication and social interaction are sometimes used interchangeably, but refer to different phenomena. In social interaction people permanently act towards each other and reach/respond to others. In difference to communication, social interaction always includes both acting towards each other and reaction/responses in return. By definition social interaction can be seen as a process of acting and reaction/responding to the fellow human beings around us.

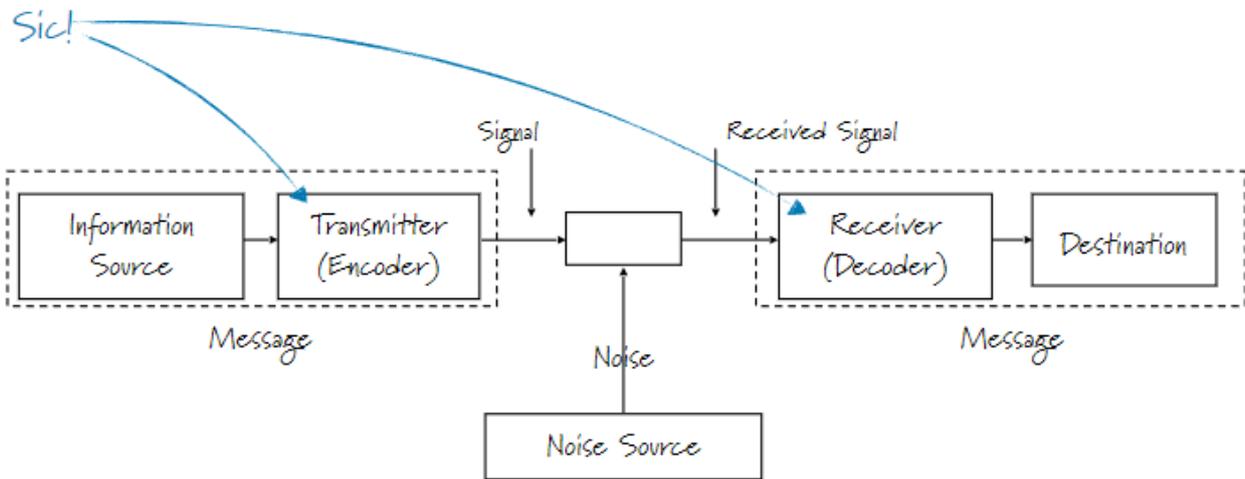
Social interaction is always mediated by the exchange and interpretation of symbols, and is always meaningful action, i.e. owns action is oriented towards the understanding of the interaction partner’s action.

Social interaction characteristics:

- Mutual orientation (reciprocity)
- All senses included (not limited to verbal)
- Meaningful action
- Spatio-temporal contiguity (in time and space, but subject to cultural change)

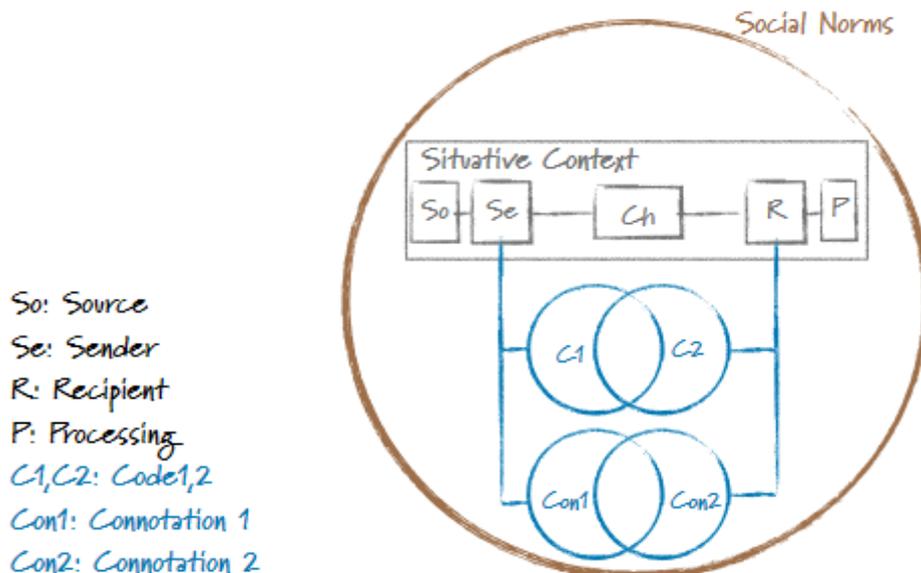
In short: The act of the one is the act of the other one.

**Communication according to Shannon-Weaver**



The Shannon-Weaver model of communication is based on mathematical theory of communication, which means its main focus is how to transmit a signal. It comes with a huge amount of limitations, such as disregarding the content of the message, communication appears to be unidirectional, ignoring context and neglecting humans as acting individuals. Therefore it is lacking reciprocity, motives, situations, norms and encoding/decoding processes.

**Enhanced model of communication by Wodak**



The model by Wodak enhances the Shannon-Weaver model by adding meaning to the complexity of signs. It tries to involve the human as the acting individual, by adding additional elements of social norms.

## Process of communication

The process of communication refers to the transmission or passage of information or message from the sender through a selected channel to the receiver overcoming barriers that affect its pace. The process of communication is a cyclic one as it begins with the sender and ends with the sender in the form of feedback. The process starts with encoding, getting the meaning of signs, to realize the intention of an utterance. The second step is the foundation. It is characterized by the common repertoire of signs and code. The third step is the overcoming of spatio-temporal distance by using media to transport signals. The last step is the decoding step. As in the encoding step, the goal is to interpret the sender's intention connected with their statement.

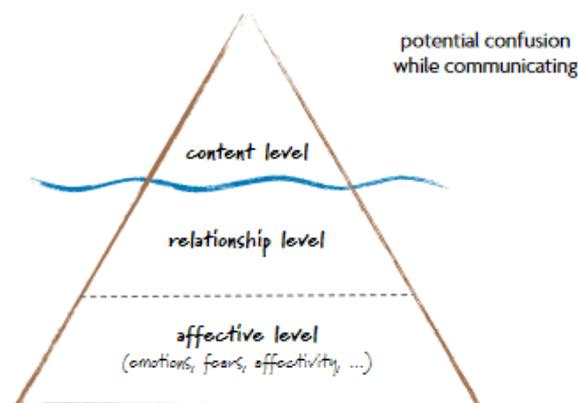
## Meaning

Humans act towards objects (including other individuals) on the basis of the meaning these have for them. These meanings arise out of social interaction. These meanings are not clearly predefined or "essence" of things, but rather context-sensitive and culture-bound. Meanings are appropriated through experiences in social interactions. For example, a clenched fist not always mean the same around the world. Some see it as a fighting threat, some use it as a way to great someone etc.

## Pragmatics of human communication by Watzlawik

1. The impossibility of not communicating: One cannot not communicate, so every action is an action of communication. It is associated with the exchange of shared symbols.
2. Content and relationship aspects of communication: organizes symbolic interaction and the definition of the interaction partner's relation. An interaction is always bond to the content and to the definition of relation (how messages should be understood by others). The term meta-communication arises: it's an aspect of natural language, a concept which explains how language is understood (self-referential usage). In addition the relationship aspect of communication also elucidates the content aspect and this is meta-communication.

### Iceberg-Model



The iceberg model is a systems thinking tool designed to help an individual or group discover the patterns of behavior, supporting structures, and mental models that underlie a particular event.

### 3. Verbal and nonverbal communication:

Verbal communication (discursive symbols) is perhaps the most obvious and understood mode of communication, and it is certainly a powerful tool in your communication toolbox. Put simply, verbal communication is the sharing of information between two individuals using words.

Communication with the active listening skills: nodding, facial expressions, leaning toward the speaker to show interest – all of those are forms of nonverbal communication (presentational symbols).

#### **Connotative - Denotative**

Denotation: meaning of a sign in a narrow sense → core meaning (literal). Refers to the explicitly defined meaning. Direct reference a sign evokes in the sign-user under a given cultural context.

Connotation: meanings connected with a sign → implicit meaning (reasoning). Refers to a meaning beyond its explicit definition. Sum of all semantic content a sign may be connected within a given cultural context.

Examples:

“member of the police forces” (denotative) – “someone who brings help” (connotative)

“dog” (denotative) – “shaggy” (connotative)

#### **Discursive symbols vs. Presentational symbols**

Discursive symbols are units of meaning (combinable into larger units), fixed equivalences (enable definitions and translations), strung together (one after the other) and connotations are general. Examples: language, mathematics...

Presentational symbols are imprecise, ambiguous, close to perception, context-sensitive, must be understood by whole sentence and cannot be broken up into parts without harming their meaning. Examples: images, myths, art..

#### **Signs/symbols and culture**

Culture are everything generated by human practice (not only artworks, lyrics and pictures, but also everyday items). Cultural elements have meaning (provide humans with orientation in everyday actions) and are symbols (have sign character).

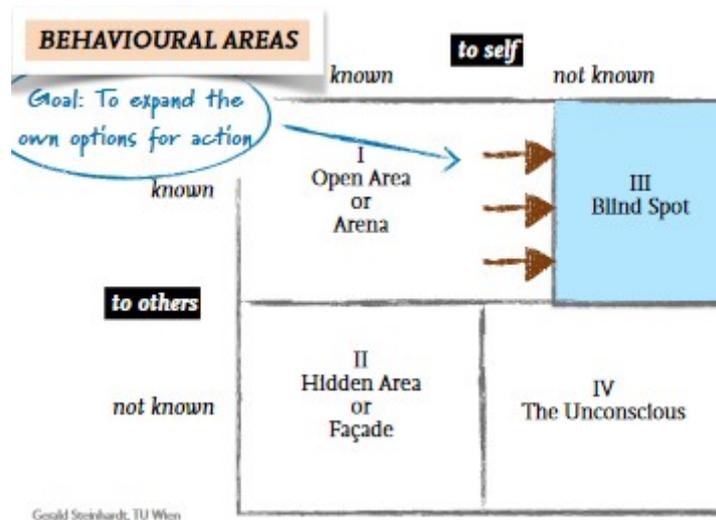
#### **Common sense knowledge and everyday communication**

1. Indexical expressions: meaning depending on personal motives, situational context and textual context. It uses indexical expressions of which meaning is closely tied with the specific context of utterance, i.e. yesterday.

2. Irresolvable vagueness of expressions: everyday communication which is never unambiguous and it can never be unambiguous if everyday communication shall succeed. Example: I love you.

3. Taking-for-granted assumptions: assumptions of the speaker/sender (intended meaning is understood by the listener in the same way the speaker intended to) and assumptions of the listener/recipient (intended meaning of the speaker is corresponding to what the listener understands). Example: Talk in a case, Tic-Tac-Toe.

## Behavioral areas



When someone exhibits behavior that is perceived to be disturbing by their environment, it is good to give them feedback on it. For many, it can be very difficult to confront others on their behavior. People are not always aware of their own behavior, or perhaps they are aware of their behavior, but will not easily admit it. Feedback is a good way to confront someone on their (disturbing) behavior. The Johari window can help with this, as it provides insight into the behavior of yourself and others.

The Johari window or Johari Model is a practical tool to illustrate and improve self-awareness and mutual understanding between individuals. The model can furthermore be used to improve the relationship of one group with another group, group development and group dynamics. Because of this, the model is often used to support team development.

1. Open area (known to you – known to others): this open space is about behavior that is known by you and also seen and acknowledged by others. You can communicate about this. Still, it sometimes happens that there is behavior that is disturbing to the environment, where someone is aware that it is. It isn't always easy to acknowledge when someone is confronted about this by someone else. Patience and caution are important when discussing this behavior with someone.

2. Hidden area (known to yourself – unknown to others): people can keep certain information to themselves and not share it with others. The office clerk can keep hidden from his colleagues that in his free time he is a jazz guitarist. The Hidden Area can also be unknown to a limited number of other people. The same office clerk may have a good colleague with whom he does share his hobby, making it a subject for communication. In that case, this Hidden Area slowly shifts to Open Space.

3. Blind spot (unknown to yourself – known to others): represents things you don't know about yourself, but others do. The Blind Spot or blind area can be very difficult to manage, and can cause others to talk about you. This is because they can see something that you

don't. Perspiration odor, the frequent use of the same word or continuous pulling of the nose are other examples of this.

4. The unconscious: No communication exists about this Unknown Area. Purely because of the fact that both parties are unaware of it, which means it won't become the subject of discussion.

## **Feedback**

Feedback is defined as a message to interaction partners to inform them how their actions are perceived, understood and experienced by others. Feedback can be conscious/unconscious, spontaneous/asked for, verbal/non-verbal and formal/informal. Goal is to diminish the blind spot and increase the open area, which is known to oneself and the others, increasing the area accessible to one's conscious acting and to expand the own options for action. Feedback should be descriptive, concrete, appropriate, useful, requested, at the right time, clearly and precisely formulated, correct.

Additional hints for those who give feedback:

- in a helpful way
- as an offer, do not impose
- no moral assessment or interpretations
- admit that you could be wrong

Additional notes for those who receive feedback:

- do not argue or defend yourself
- listen, ask, clarify

## **Validity claims of communicative action**

Validity claims need to be raised and recognized by everyone who wants to participate in a communication and to succeed in a mutual understanding.

It is characterized by:

- Understandability: speech act is understandable (code)
- Truth: speech act is factually true (facts)
- Truthfulness: speech act is sincere / authentic (intention)
- Rightness: speech act is socially appropriate/right (institutional and situational context)

## **Signs vs. Stimuli**

A sign is something that stands for something else. More precise: something that stands for something else for someone in some way or because of some ability.

Stimulus doesn't stand for something else, but triggers something.

## **Semiotics: The study of signs**

Semiotics are defined in three dimensions: syntactic dimension, semantic dimension, pragmatic dimension. Syntactic dimension relate to the formal relations between signs. Semantic dimension relate to the meanings of signs. Pragmatic dimension relate to the usage of signs.

For example: traffic light

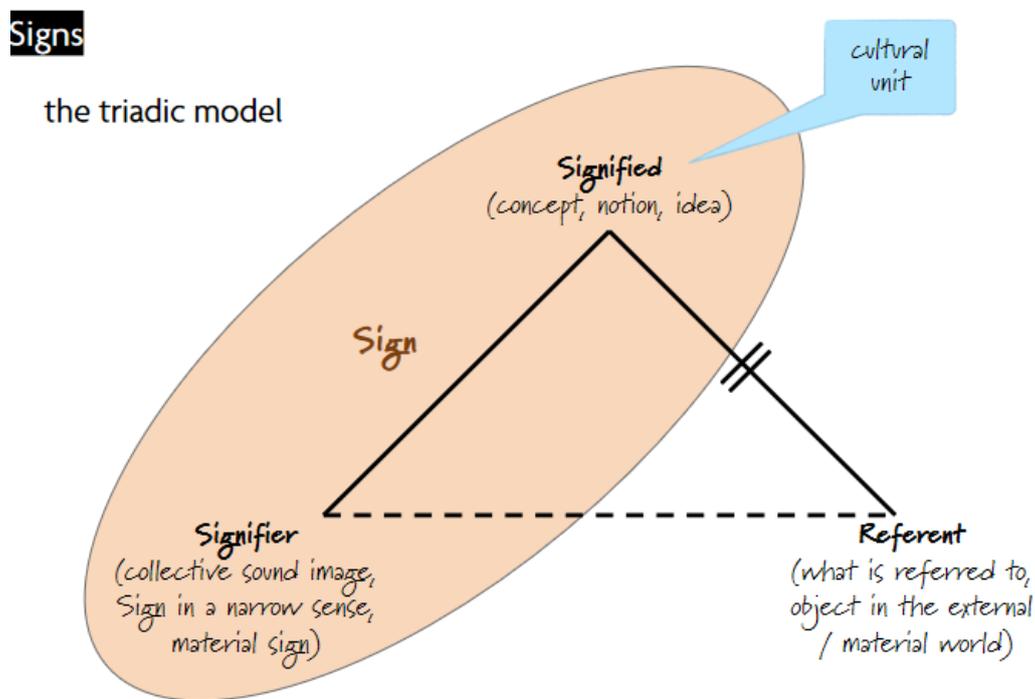
- syntactic dimension
  - allows only certain positions for colors
  - allows only certain combinations of colors
- semantic dimensions
  - the traffic light is still red, but will switch
  - stand still but prepare to drive off
- pragmatic dimensions
  - road users are not yet allowed to drive off and enter the junction. They should prepare, i.e. by engaging first gear.

## Natural and conventional signs

Natural sign is perceived to be connected with something else. They have the same spatio-temporal context, are part of a concrete situation and has no intentional transmitter with source. Example: rabbit and rabbit tracks, smoke and fire, fever and disease...

Conventional signs consists of meanings from social consensus. They are flexible, arbitrary, they interrelate with social groups and languages and also can be used in situations where the signified object is not present. Example: unicorn. They are handed down historically and explicitly agreed.

The triadic model:



## Symbol

A symbol is not a proxy for their objects, but rather vehicles for the conception of objects. To conceive a thing or a situation is not the same thing as to react toward it overtly, or to be aware of its presence. In talking about things we have conceptions of the, not the things

themselves, and it is the conceptions, not the things, that symbols directly “mean”. Example: napoleon, Mr. Smith.

## **Icons**

Iconic signs are not natural and not an exact depiction. The iconic sign don't resemble the object, but are a sum of similar models of perception. They unfold the effect in the perception of the object and the perception of the sign → similarity produced by the sign-using subject.

Whether a sign is perceived as icons depends on.

- perceptual patterns
- conventions of depiction
- experience of the sign producer/user

## **Cultural unit and influences**

Cultural unit is a concept/notion, which evoked by signifiers → cultural units.

Cultural influences means historical, geographical, and familial factors that affect assessment and intervention processes.

## **Semantic field – connotations**

A semantic field is a set of words related in meaning. They share a similar concept, theme or subject. For example, sugar and cyclamate. Restructuring of the code means twisting arguments around (twisting reality).

## **Ideological functions of messages**

Messages become an ideological instrument to obscure certain relationships.. The critical function of language is used to reveal how a signifier can have different signified and to debunk the ideological function of a message → demystifying function of semiotics.

## **Language**

Language is a system of significant symbols (meaningful symbols). Significant symbols evoke similar concepts/notions in both interaction partners. It is necessary and meaningful for the existence and the maintenance of groups/society. It is characterized by the transmission and passing on of knowledge and skills, organization of human groups (formulation of goals, discussion of procedures...) and is a continuity in space and time.

## **Three types of relation of the environment**

1. Heredity: is genetically coded and consists of unconditioned reflexes. Example: plant, language of bees.

2. Adaption: to the concrete conditions of life in individual background. It is individually learned and based on conditioned responses. Example: training of animals, eye-hand coordination (humans).

3. Appropriation: of the environment through symbols and tools. The situatedness of the experience is suspended and experiences can be passed on. Social heritage can be handed down by language. Example: usage of significant symbols (language).

## **Social heritage**

Social heritage is the knowledge of human history until now. It is socially accumulated and handed down, conveyed through meaningful symbols. Language as a system of significant symbols is part of social heritage and enables to pass on social heritage.

## **First and second signal system (Pawlow)**

First order signs are natural signs (a movement, sound, smell..) and are associated with sensory experiences.

Second order signs can refer to first order signs. They are conventional signs and refer to the physical only indirectly. Example: language. The second order signs allows human beings a new way of acquiring experiences and a new way of dealing with external reality.

## **Functions of language**

The functions of language are:

- Think and reflect → enables alternative actions
- Change of perspective → interpersonal understanding
- Self-reflection → development of self awareness and identity
- Passing on the social heritage → not all experience have to be gained first-hand
- Coordination of individuals actions → collaboration

## **Situation**

Situation is the frame of reference for the interpretation of human action. Human actions and social interactions always take place in situations. Human actions and social interactions never take place in an empty space and are always situated within situations (define the situation).

Elements of situation:

- needs of the interaction partners
- mutual expectations
- social interactions
- actions
- social factors
- things and artifacts

## **Defining the situation**

The acting subject define the situation by interpretation of the elements of the situation and structuring the basic meaning trait of the situation. Defining the situation elements of the situation gain their meaning for the acting subject.

Defining the situation is no ration and conscious defining and it is not arbitrary. Previous biographical experiences of the subjects limit possibilities of defining situation. Framing conditions and context limit the possibilities of defining the situation. The definition of the

situation of interaction partners don't have to be complementary. If the definition of the situation of interaction partners is not complementary, then the question of power arises: Who enforces their definition of the situation.

Total institutions are institutions where the definition of the situation are given and enforced in a comprehensive manner by the organization. The definitions of the situation of the respective individuals do not stand out, since the individuals are at the mercy of the power of the organization. Example: military.

## **Language and power**

The power of language can be defined by two terms: restricted code and elaborated code. Restricted code language are characterized by short simple sentences, ritualized style and are of high importance of non-verbal communication fractions. Elaborated code language are characterized by complex sentences, casual relationships and many adjectives (grammatical particle).

Language of power is characterized by two hypothesis:

- deficiency hypothesis: outdated, lower class does not speak elaborately because of compensatory education.
- difference hypothesis: up-to-date, lower class and middle class speak differently, each of the has its rights and advantages/disadvantages.

Differences concerns:

- language behavior
- strategies of perception
- planning strategies
- strategies for mastering all kinds of situations

## **Media**

Media is defined by any "means", which are used by human beings to communicate.

Function of media:

- organization of the communicative exchange
- communication
- social organization of community
- cultural reproduction
- world experience of the people
- formation of the public sphere
- always integrated in the social practice of people

## **Media classification**

Primary media: no device between sender and receiver, so the senses of people are sufficient for production, transport and consumption of messages. Example: face to face communication.

Secondary media: require a device only in the production the message on the part of the sender: Example: book.

Tertiary media: both the production and transmission as well as the reception of a message require technical means. Example: telephone.

## **Technological media of communication**

Generalized forms of communication ease the burden of lifeworld-based communication processes. On the whole: do not replace the lifeworld-based communication processes between people. Continuation of an evolutionary development of innovations allows the release of speech acts from their spatio-temporal limitations. Make language-based interaction available for a variety of contexts.

## **Dual nature of technology**

Technology has two natures:

- technology is a medium (structuring function): technological devices are put between humans and external reality. They serve as media and structure the perception and the action of humans.
- technology is a cultural element (symbolic meaning): technical devices have a "meaning" in a particular cultural context. They are a symbol! A technical device can also have multiple meanings.

Both dimensions are present at the same time, it is always both. Technology therefore always has a symbolic meaning for the acting human as a cultural element and at the same time develops a structuring role as a medium. Some phenomena can be understood by using the concept of technology as a medium, others by using the concept of technology as a cultural element. Clearly all this is also true for technological media of communication.

## **Media analysis**

Media analysis on three levels:

- symbolic meaning of communication media
- structural function of communication media
- content of communication, which is transmitted via communication media

Example: television

- Symbolic meaning: a device
- Structuring function: transmit communication
- content of communication: news

## **Technological media of mass communication vs interpersonal communication**

Mass communication → technical media of mass communication

Personal communication → technical media of interpersonal communication

Differentiation:

- characteristic/feature of communication medium
- consequences of the materiality of technological functionality of the communication medium

## **Media effects research**

Media effects research is based on the Lasswell model: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?”. Usually used with regard to mass media, and corresponds to the Shannon-Weaver model of communication. It is an incorrect theoretical model, unable to comprehend the use and function of the media in a social context in an appropriate way.

Main point of criticism against media effects research:

- Mass media unfold their meaning and their relevance for the action of humans only within an “overall situation”, and
- its use must not be reduced to a simple cause-effect relationship

Amplification hypothesis → mass media don't unfold direct effects, but can only amplify already existing attitudes. This was an intermediary step in media research.

The idea of media effects is still present in more recent approaches:

- usage and gratification theory: media is consumed to gain an expected reward, it is very individualistic
- agenda-setting theory: mass media do not primary control the meanings we attribute to things, phenomena of events. Instead: manipulate what we should think about.

## **Different ways of using media**

Media can be used repressive and emancipatory.

Repressive use of media characteristics:

- centrally controlled programme
- one sender, many recipients
- immobilization of isolated individuals
- passive consumer behavior
- depoliticization
- produced by specialists
- control by owners or bureaucracy

Emancipatory use of media characteristics:

- decentralized programme
- each recipient a potential sender
- mobilization of masses
- interaction of those involved, feedback
- a political learning processes
- collective production
- social control by self-organization

## **Media and the public sphere**

Public sphere is a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Electronic media enables the formation of public spheres, and is a requirement for understanding-oriented action integrated into lifeworld context and verbal consensus building processes.

The structural transformation of the public sphere:

- representative publicness
- bourgeois public sphere
- late modern publicness

Representative publicness: premodern era, sovereign presents himself to the people (public representation of power), no segregation of public and private.

Bourgeois public sphere: modernity, formation of a bourgeois public sphere as a mediator between state, market and the individual. Public opinion became a counter project to the "regency from above". New ways of publicity (newspaper) and new places for publicness: salons, coffee houses. Furthermore, the criticism of government action becomes possible, where the press played a significant role. Publicness as a precondition of the bourgeois society and democracy. Problem: what affects everybody should be discussed and deliberated and talked about by everybody. However: Unequal opportunities of accessing the public responsibility of participating in the public opinion-forming process (depends on wealth, income, education... Public spheres as the area void of governmental action and intervention.

Late modern publicness: increasing blurring and meaning of the spheres of public and private (social media). New forms of publicness through new digital media.

## **Culture industry**

Mass media and mass culture in the broadest sense. Standardization of cultural goods/media content and rationalization of distribution techniques.

Characteristics:

- convergence of cultural form of expression
- making use for commercial exploitation
- offering of the ever same content in similar forms with only slight variations

The menace of culture industry:

- pre-structuring of experience and perception
- "stencils" in the sense of prefabricated experiences

Cultural expression are absorbed and converted into an element of social control. It uses culture to increase standardized lifeworlds, which correspond to the existing social conditions and economic calculations.

Cultural production and reception are reduced to few conventionalized formulas, stereotypes and standardized products. Consequences: manipulated passivity, increased conformism and loss of autonomy and individuality.

Cultural industry has a great impact of the public sphere, it caused decays of critical reasoning and staging. Critical public sphere is converted to advertising and standardization.

Cultural industry is not technology deterministic, because it is communication of (hegemonic) meanings. Contributes to the "negotiation" of meanings, which are relevant for the acting individual. Examples for hegemonic meanings are: beauty ideals, personalization of social facts, stirring up fears, etc.

There are three modes to handle hegemonic meanings:

- acceptance of the hegemonic meaningful
- negotiation/modification of the hegemonic meaning
- oppositional position / decoding

## **Functions of mass media**

The functions of mass media are:

- personalization of social & societal matters of fact, compensation for the experience of abstractness, anonymity, density and complexity in every life and lack of opportunities of participation and self-determination
- intimization and privatization of public affairs (personal involvement, direct control)
- illusionary doubling of reality: not so much conveyance of ideological content, but to a great extent. The social world and the social structures as they currently seem to be, are directly reproduced in the media as pictures: looking deceptively real and thus mystifying at the same time.

Mass media furthermore provides entertainment, depiction of conflicts (possibility of overcoming one's problem inline with established social conditions and power structures) and believes in an illustrious worlds of consumption.

## **Traditional electronic mass media**

Characteristics:

- one way direction of communication
- publicness of utterances
- dispersed audience (no long lasting social structures, inhomogeneous, unstructured...)
- transmission of hegemonic meaning
- indirect
- limited access due to increased commercialization, rising capital expenditure and growing degree of organization

## **Digital media**

Digital media is a new form of technically mediated multi-user-communication. Merging of mass communication and interpersonal communication. Possibility to have various forms of communication, and participation for all (www, email, chat).

Forms of digital media:

1. Traditional provider-user relationship: corresponds to traditional mass media, but everyone can produce and publish.
2. Potentiality of mutual communication and active participation of multiple users: synchronous vs. asynchronous and private vs. Public.

Digital media in theory provides that all participants can actively intervene in the communication process, and have a mutual reference to each other. Also new forms of community building made possible. It promises an emancipatory use of new media, new forms of interactively created public spheres and positive consequences for active participation and democracy. It eases information retrieval, community building, participation in the media and political decision making. This is just partly fulfilled, and some side effects arose: fake-news, hate-speech, shitstorms...

## Characteristics of communication through digital media:

- Validity claims – computer-mediated communication: digital media has a strong bond to validity claims (understandability, truth, truthfulness and rightness). Primacy of the cognitive and expressive over the normative (change of dynamics, weakening the normative, focus on cognitive content that can be verbally formulated, hate speech). There is no longer the change of perspective as a prerequisite for mutual understanding, but instead the expressive utterance of one's own feelings and opinions. Lack of anticipating the consequences of one's own action. Decreasing in awareness of liability for one's own action.
- Empirical findings altered communication behavior within social organizations: Tendency towards a more egalitarian and democratic communication behavior (more open, more even participation, lots of practical suggestions, difference in status became less important). But also disadvantages (decision making more difficult, time needed for making decisions increases, risk of flaming increases, risk of arbitrariness and indifference).
- Delocalization / disembedding: The process of “disembedding” is constitutive for modernity. Delocalization causes the loss of the locatability of information and the loss of the social historical anchorage of information. Removal of local proximity in favor of a media-mediated world experience. Increased difficulties to identify the subjective intended meaning.
- Kaleidoscopic perception- and experience: facets of reality ceaselessly changing in quick succession or offered simultaneously (information, pictures and impressions. Everything equally close and equally distant / relevant and irrelevant. Example: video clips, print media, www... A change of the dimensions of time and space arises (differences between close and far, time dimensions) are repealed, and go over into simultaneousness and accessibility. New identity types (avatars).
- Technical images as a new form of relation to reality
- Arbitrarily semanticizeable signs
- Recommended systems: The following problems arise, loss of meaning, “white noise”, disorientation. Solution to this are recommended systems (recommended algorithms). Used by facebook, amazon, etc. Two consequences:
  - new form of economisation of the everyday life: goals is to keep as many users as possible on the company's own pages, by giving them feedback, rewards, shaped content.
  - compartmentalized public sphere: the content is created to suite the user needs, even when it comes to food shopping (Amazon). There is a website for each user interest, but the problem arises because the users are faced always with the same and the expected and not with the surprising and the unexpected (filter- bubble, echo-chambers). Problematic for the democratic discourse, weakening of the discursive exchange and rational discourse both being important elements of democratic opinion and decision formation processes.
- Interplay of traditional mass media and digital communication: it comes to increased fear based on less economic growth, dislvement of ethnic homogeneity of nation states, fear of loss of privileges and social competition. These fears are instrumentalized. Negative messages receive more attention than positive ones. Used for political calculus to get the attention of the user away from reflection on actual social situations and actual discrimination. Politicians tend to strengthen the fear on one hand, and promise to bring relief on the other hand (promise for security).

Many positive expectations/hopes/promises in relation to the new computer-aided communication media. At the moment it seems that they are not fulfilling to the expected extent or are taking a backseat. In part also ambivalent consequences of use of the new communication technologies, e.g. "release" and "flexibility" of identity structures.

### **Open questions**

Open question currently is a transient phenomena → "flexibilisation" of established communication structures and processes, followed by a new structure. Or, indication for a stabilization of new communication structures and processes (makes democratic decision difficult).