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Martina Löw and Hubert Knoblauch

The Re-Figuration of Spaces

Introducing the Research Programme of the
Collaborative Research Centre „Re-Figuration of
Spaces“

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The Re-Figuration of Spaces

**Introducing the Research Programme of the Collaborative Research
Centre „Re-Figuration of Spaces“**

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About the authors

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Outline

The collaborative research centre 1265 „Re-Figuration of Spaces“ (abbr.: CRC) represents a unique interdisciplinary constellation in Berlin’s scientific landscape, where spatial theory meets communicative constructivism for an in-depth research cooperation between the fields of architecture, planning studies and social sciences, as well as in an unusually close collaboration with geography and spatial sociology. This unique constellation promises both the development of innovative sociological methods and the development of a new transdisciplinary research field for spatial studies instigated by this CRC. The integration of disciplines from applied sciences such as architecture and planning allow to implement our research results directly. Apart from this methodological and practical surplus, our integrated spatial research approach also promises to provide a comprehensive theory of societal development.

This paper is one of the first formulations of the programme written in 2016/17. Its aim is a brief description of the guiding ideas, fundamental methodologies, organisational structure and practical realisation of the CRC 1265 (for more details on the theoretical framework and scientific issues, see Knoblauch/Löw 2017).

I. Idea and concept

The starting point of such a complex joint project is, of course, always a central idea. In our case it was the realisation that the assertion all things social have a spatial frame may be true in its generality (Löw 2001), but it leaves open the question of how (and if) today’s transformations, and the uncertainties and conflicts related to them can be traced back to one underlying, common problem. Our hypothesis is that the current social changes, conflicts and anxieties have to do with how the relation of human beings to spaces, how the spatial structuration of social practice is negotiated. This idea is linked to the assumption that from these changes and conflicts a common pattern emerges, which we call the re-figuration of spaces. It is based on the observation that a large variety of processes lead to establishing new spatial

orders that can no longer be explained by the 'container model' of space. On the other hand, there are fierce battles fought for the protection of traditional spatial structures, be they national borders or particular cultural spaces. In this context it is crucial to understand space as the central medium of transformations in contemporary societies. Analysing space by an integrated approach will allow for an explanation of the current changes in the social world. Equally important is the realisation that the social negotiation of space is increasingly carried out through conflicts and clashes. This might also be the reason why many people feel that they live in turbulent times marked by unpredictability, contradictions, rapid changes and a general lack of security and orientation. Re-figuration can be explained as the result of these dynamic developments.

Other spatially relevant aspects are the worldwide increased interdependencies and connectivities subsumed and debated under the term globalisation. Increased mobility, large numbers of people globally on the move, the accelerated circulation of commodities, technical procedures and highly developed technologies, and internationally coordinated strategies of control are but a few examples. Although globalisation processes are taken for granted, we use the concept of re-figuration to also look at developments working against globalisation, such as Brexit, the cancellation of Free Trade Agreements by the Trump government, but also movements urging to "only eat local products", and so on. These changes in the global political geography articulate themselves in symbolic struggles and concrete battles over spaces and the meaning of space, they shape spatial imaginations of security and insecurity, and they structure opening processes, but more often processes of closure and exclusion, building new walls, borders and frontiers.

Speaking of social change, transnationalisation and globalisation we have, of course, to look at the media revolution and the pervasiveness of digital communication technologies in all spheres of professional and everyday life. A case in point are the radical changes in the spatial knowledge of children and youths who no longer perceive space as something that naturally surrounds them. These changes are held responsible for an observed increase in vandalism and the growing support of populist and extremist movements (Heitmeyer 1996). Ironically, these developments are related to the revitalisation of inner cities, as youths – like the rest of us – are using mobile

devices to navigate their way through the city. Locative media, for instance “Pokémon GO”, play an important role in these contexts.

In recent decades, the spatial order of societies and the social order of spaces have dramatically changed. We therefore ask: What are the spatial orders resulting from these changes? How are different (new) spatial orders connected on a collective as well as individual level? Which spatial orders and logics are in conflict with each other involving which social groups?

In order to find answers to all these questions, we have conceived the collaborative research centre CRC 1265 “Re-Figuration of Spaces” funded by the German Research Foundation since January 2018 on a long-term basis. The long-term character is of considerable benefit for our project, as we will live to see the changes we investigate allowing us first-hand experience and in vivo analyses of current agenda settings and future consequences, at least to a certain extent. If we succeed in our extensive task within the course of the next 12 years and provide successive answers to all the questions dealing with changes in the spatial figurations, this will have (a) synergy effects on the research area itself, since we will ultimately provide a viable framework and suitable methodologies for interdisciplinary spatial research, not least through integrating architecture and planning studies for the first time in a collaborative research centre. Also, we may (b) expect a better understanding of ongoing conflicts and uncertainties by introducing the concept of re-figuration of spaces. Last but not least, we want to (c) develop constructive proposals for action and alternative strategies for designing public spaces where appropriate.

Given the fundamental importance of space for societies, we also nurture the hope that (d) we will ultimately be able to provide a comprehensive theory of the social, based on the concept of re-figuration. Our central hypothesis will be clarified in more detail below.

II. The Re-Figuration Hypothesis

Broadly speaking, there are tensions between the traditional model of a globally prevailing modernity including centralised nation-states, fortified and well-guarded borders containing ‘nations’, and post- or late-modern tendencies towards transnationalisation characterised by a dissolution of boundaries, cross-border mobility and globalising polycentrism. Refiguration – that’s our hypothesis – is the result of these tensions. This does neither imply a rejection of the figuration of modernity, to use Norbert Elias’ (2003) terms, nor a rejection of the figuration of late-modernity or postmodernity, as Zygmunt Bauman (2003) suggests. Rather, it must be seen as conflicting dynamics unfolding between both models and their respective spatial logics.

Refiguration is the key concept used within the framework of our joint project, developed to capture the processual and conflict-laden remodelling and interweaving of spatial orders since the late 1960s (see Knoblauch in press). Western modernity’s centralised figuration of bounded, national-territorial space as the nation’s natural ‘container’ serves as our historical contrast foil against which the concept of *re-figuration* is set. With its strong emphasis on conflict and struggle, the concept goes much further than any idea of (historically primed) progressive globalisation and transnationalisation. We conceive re-figuration as a process resulting from tensions and their ensuing conflicts and social negotiations, a process that does not only bear on the macrostructures of politics and economics, but is mediated through communicative action and technologies. This is why refiguration has an impact on all social scales and strata, transforming the spatial knowledge of individuals and their subjective knowledge stocks, too.

Refiguration may thus be defined as *meta-process*, while re-figuration will address the respective changes in the spatial order of society. In order to specify the re-figuration of space we propose an analytical framework based on three partial hypotheses at the level of *middle-range theories*:

Our first hypothesis is based on the concept of *polycontexturalisation* assuming that bodily spaces, circulations, networks, trajectories or places are connected in novel ways through space-related actions and communications. This implies that spaces become more and more affected by social actions and are, in turn, affecting these. In analogy to Hartmut Rosa’s

social acceleration theory (2005), we assume that human beings must increasingly face the huge challenge to always follow different spatial logics and meaning relations at once. The following example from an educational context might illustrate this fact: 350 out of 477 schools in Hamburg have their schoolyards monitored by CCTV. At the territorial level, students communicate during break-time with other groups in the yard to distinguish or dissociate themselves; at the relational level, they communicate vis-à-vis some (schoolyard-)external control room from which they are observed; and digital media allow them to communicate with friends and family outside school, sometimes outside the country. It is thus the schoolyard, not the surrounding neighbourhood (unfamiliar to most, since they travel to school via the fixed trajectory paths of public transport), which represents the communicative hub within the students' urban network (Löw 2018).

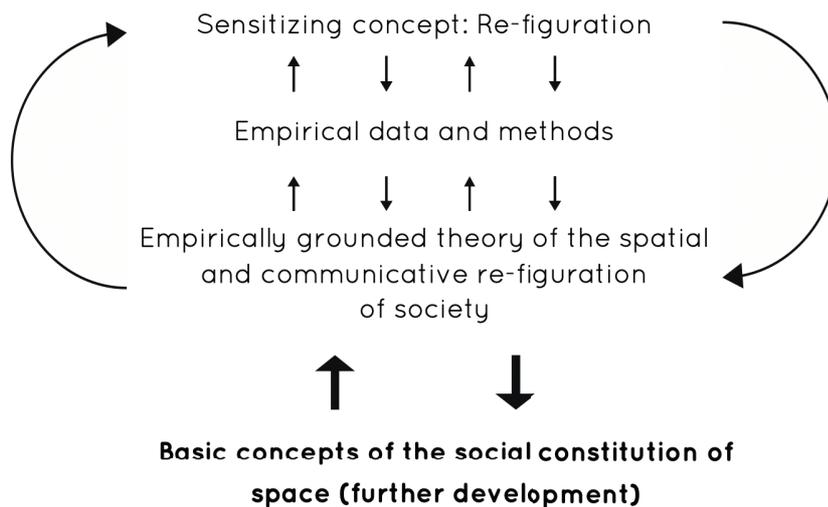
The increased significance of polycontextuality is primarily due to the pervasive *mediatisation* of communicative action – this is our second hypothesis. New forms of communication based on digital technologies lead to human beings interacting constantly under different spatial logics, often at once face-to-face and in the virtual space. Accordingly, a huge variety of different actions and multiple functions from video surveillance of human beings to motion monitoring in traffic systems and global weather developments are coordinated into one spatial setting by digitised, integrated control centres.

The third hypothesis revolves around the concept of *translocalisation* assuming that there are specific couplings between various places leading to the impression that, for instance, Berlin and Jerusalem are much more closely linked than Berlin and the city of Potsdam. At the same time we observe a growing relevance in constructing places, as they are no longer experienced as simple givens.

III. Methodology

On the methodological plane, the CRC 1265 pursues a long-term perspective to observe the re-figuration of spaces in *statu nascendi* over the course of 12 years. Observations will be adapted and synthesised into models over time. A variety of methodologies will be used and (partly) redeveloped; this large variety is triangulated by two conceptual levels. On the conceptual level, our research attends to integrate theory of the constitution of space and the theory of communicative constructivism. It is our aim to develop them over time into a new or at least renewed social theory of space that allows us to capture space as an essentially social phenomenon (see Christmann 2016).

Methodology: Theoretically guided and empirically grounded



Existing theoretical concepts within these frameworks must prove their usefulness in the course of empirically investigating spatial knowledge, communicative action and spatial orders, and may have to be adjusted. On the empirical level, re-figuration and the three major hypotheses linked to it serve as *sensitizing concepts* more clearly fleshed out, defined or modified by future results of our research.

This complex methodology is specifically aimed to identify, by way of empirical research, the *manifestations of our sensitizing concepts on the middle range* (i.e. translocalisation, mediatisation and polycontextuality) and develop more adequate or alternative concepts, if necessary. The control room project, for instance, led by Hubert Knoblauch, is thus designed to trace links between polycontextualisation and a growing variety of control functions made possible by digitisation.

All analytical concepts are part of a comprehensive methodological strategy structuring the long-term project in three phases:

	Methodology (b)	Methods (c)
Phase 1	Determination of qualitative features of the re-figuration of spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainly qualitative methods (apart e.g. C01, B05) • Methodological reflection • Interdisciplinary tool-kit
Phase 2	Model construction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Densification • Comparison • Generalisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration of methods • Mixed methods
Phase 3	Exceptions, conflicting and contrasting, deviant cases	Construction of a process-oriented methodology of social scientific spatial research

During the first phase all fifteen projects will put their focus on the HOW, i.e. on specifying the qualitative features of re-figuration and the theoretical foundation. In this phase, qualitative methods will take centre-stage, a particular challenge for interdisciplinary collaborations, as we will go on to elaborate below.

Analytical specification by means of empirical research, comparison and generalisation to construct models of re-figuration will be the focus of our second phase, expanded by mixed methods and increasingly standardised, quantifying procedures. These models will be tested during the third phase

focusing on minimally contrasting, deviant or seemingly contradictory cases analysed by the specific scientific methods for researching space developed during the CRC's previous phases.

In this way, the partial hypotheses on translocalisation, mediatisation and polycontextuality will contribute to the empirical foundation of our theory of re-figuration. As theory-building not only involves a thorough theoretical review of the shared assumptions and models of social and spatial research, our basic theoretical hypothesis of spatial re-figuration will also stand on trial. The re-figuration of spaces is a globally relevant matter, taking place all over the world, albeit at different speeds and times. We therefore feel that it is crucial to avoid any form of 'methodological nationalism' or Eurocentrism. To counteract Eurocentric tendencies from the start and guarantee a sufficiently (world-)wide perspective, we (a) look at cases from all continents and from the most important cultural and religious traditions. We travel to Kenya and to Canada, to the borders between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and we investigate refugee camps in Jordan. Following (b) a decentred process logic, we look at how, for instance, the South Korean city of Songdo shapes our understanding of a 'smart city' in Germany. And we seek to (c) invite conversation and collaboration with researchers from non-European and non-Western backgrounds, taking their methodological and theoretical positions seriously to put our own theoretical and social-scientific assumptions and hypotheses into perspective.

Against this background of methodological and theoretical considerations, the empirical investigations of our 15 projects are divided into three topical areas, plus one separate public-relations project. The studies are conducted by researchers from six different fields in the engineering and social sciences on an interdisciplinary basis.

Topical Areas

Knowledge of Space	Project Area A	Subjective experience and knowledge of space, representations of space, imaginations, emotions and affects
Spaces of Communication	Project Area B	Forms and structures of communicative action, including bodily mediation
Circulation and Order	Project Area C	Circulation of things, signs, technologies which establish relations and contribute to the constitution of order

Each project examines one or more of our partial hypotheses while keeping the focus on one central analytical area. Based on a processual conception of re-figuration, we aim to understand, first, major aspects of spatial knowledge: the subjective or individual experiences and perceptions of space, imaginations, emotions and affective reactions related to space. This is the focus of project area A, and the priority of all the projects forming part of this area. Project area B focuses on changes and transformations in the realm of communicative action as intermediary between subjective knowledge and objective figurations - with an emphasis on digital mediatisation. Project area C focuses on objectified processes we subsume under the heading of circulation, which includes commodities, technologies, and also human beings. We believe that this analytical division has a high potential for innovation, since robust knowledge and sound research on the level of, for instance, people's sense of disorientation, re-orientation or uprootedness in relation to the economic and political social re-figuration are still greatly lacking.

Overview of the 15 Subprojects of the CRC

//// KNOWLEDGE OF SPACE

- A01 Geographic Imaginations:** People's Sense of Security and Insecurity in a Cross-generational Comparison
Ilse Helbrecht, Institute of Geography, HU Berlin
- A02 Education:** The Spatial Knowledge of Children and Young Adults (and its Application) in Planning Contexts
Angela Million, Institute of Urban Planning, TU Berlin
- A03 Knowledge and Goods:** Consumers' and Producers' Spatial Knowledge
Nina Baur, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin / Elmar Kulke, Institute of Geography, HU Berlin
- A04 Architectures of Asylum:** Appropriation Processes in Refugee Accommodation
Philipp Misselwitz, Institute of Architecture, TU Berlin
- A05 Biographies of the Middle Classes:** Spatial Experience and Meaning in the Life Course Narrative
Gunter Weidenhaus, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin

//// SPACES OF COMMUNICATION

- B01 Digital Urban Planning:** Planning Practices and Physical Arrangements
Gabriela B. Christmann, Leibniz-Institute for Research on Society and Space Erkner
- B02 Centres of Coordination:** The Polycontextualisation of Power in Control Rooms
Hubert Knoblauch, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin
- B03 Smart Cities:** Everyday Life in Digitalised Spaces
Martina Löw, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin / Jörg Stollmann, Institute of Architecture, TU Berlin
- B04 Locative Media:** Inclusion and Exclusion in Urban Spaces
Ingo Schulz-Schaeffer, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin
- B05 Translocal Networks:** Public Sphere in the Social Web
Barbara Pfetsch, Institute for Media and Communication Studies, FU Berlin
Annie Waldherr, Institute of Communication, WWU Münster

//// CIRCULATION AND ORDER

- C01 The Borders of the World:** Processes of De- and Rebordering in a Global Perspective
Steffen Mau, Institute of Social Sciences, HU Berlin
- C02 Non-governmental Organisations:** Strategies of Spatial Order Formation
Johanna Hoerning, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin
- C03 Doing Mini-publics:** The Translocalisation of Politics
Jan-Peter Voß, Institute of Sociology, TU Berlin
- C04 The World Down My Street:** Resources and Networks Used by City Dwellers
Talja Blokland, Institute of Social Sciences, HU Berlin

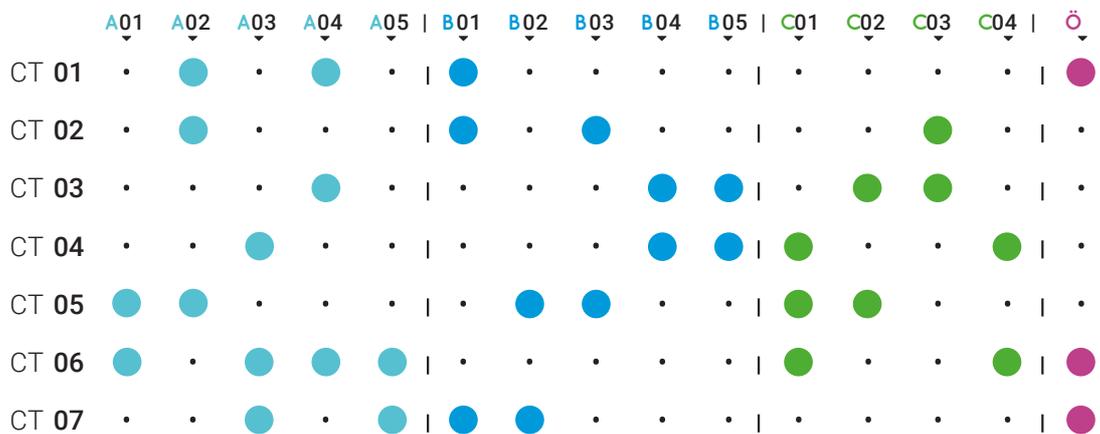
//// ART RESEARCH

- Ö Migrating Spaces and Tourism**
Stefanie Bürkle, Institute of Architecture, TU Berlin

IV. Research Formats / Integrating the Joint Research

From these methodological considerations and topical areas specific organisational formats arise to ensure integration of our joint research. The project areas themselves have a distinct research format consisting in joint working sessions, workshops, shared online platforms, and theory tandems. Although the projects are grouped into different topical sections, they may intersect on relevant cross-sectional topics such as security, gender coding, migration, social inequality and power:

Cross-sectional Teams



CT01 Planned space – appropriated space | CT02 Planning processes & procedures | CT03 Public sphere | CT04 Social inequalities, inclusion & exclusion | CT05 Security, power & control | CT06 Migration & mobility | CT07 Interconnection of time & space

These cross-sectional topics will also be explored across the CRC’s key project areas over the next few years. For example, the relationship between planned and appropriated space to which several projects are dedicated, is thoroughly investigated cross-sectionally to bypass the traditional approach of assigning the issue to one separate discipline. The topic of ‘gender’ is also a case in point, as a general issue in all the projects it represents a secondary, cross-sectional focus. It is intentionally left open which forms and activities are chosen for joint cross-sectional research. There is a range of formats at hand from regular meetings to joint conferences,

from lecture series to anthologies and other forms of joint publication. The key theoretical and methodological investigations will have more rigidly structured formats, though.

Formats of Collaboration

CRC Plenaries

- On methods and theory
- Annual international conferences
- Internal conferences

Theory Tandems on

- 1 - Constitution of space
- 2 - Polycontexturalisation
- 3 - Translocalisation
- 4 - Re-figuration

Workshops

- Research areas
- Cross sections
- Single research projects

Public Communication

- Artistic research
- Knowledge transfer
- Innovative presentations of re-figuration

Integrated Graduate School (MGK)

Method Lab/Ethnography of (social) science

- Method-Knowledge-Transfer
 - Coordination of interdisciplinary research
 - Method innovation (integrated methodology of spatial research)
 - New methods of archiving social scientific data
-

These include established forms such as plenaries, annual international conferences, smaller internal conferences and topical workshops, as well as a graduate school / research training group. In order to achieve our exceptional goals we have developed a few more innovations. For instance, the public relations project “Migration of Spaces and Tourism” will form part of our research on and development of the concept of re-figuration to contribute through artistic research to the key issues of the CRC. It is also tasked with presenting the results of our projects in an aesthetic form to allow the general public access to our findings through the more sensual experience of art.

To achieve our decisive goal of developing scientifically sound methods of researching space in an interdisciplinary network, we have also designed two CRC-specific formats. The biggest challenge, as indicated above, is the wide variety of disciplines contributing to our CRC ranging from architecture, geography, planning studies to sociology, media studies and communication studies with entirely different approaches and methodologies. Yet this variety carries a tremendous potential for innovation and for the creation of independent scientific methods of researching space across disciplines and differences between qualitative or quantitative methods, applied or fundamental theoretical studies, numerical, linguistic, or visually-cartographic approaches. Our CRC's unique method lab is a new format created to develop and elaborate novel, integrated approaches and methods of spatial research, building on the work of an already existing, very active methods group around Nina Baur (see Baur et al. 2014). The method lab is coordinated by an experienced sociologist of science and knowledge, who practices a special version of the ethnography of science: Observing and monitoring the different methods applied in our various projects and disciplines, she will at once encourage and advance the development of a shared methodology ensuring a methodical, systematic transfer of knowledge to and between projects. The systematic integration of different empirical methodologies in researching space thus defines the collaborative research centre's most important surplus value. It will, we expect, also provide the basis of a new, interdisciplinary sociological approach to research on space.

We have assimilated another innovative format, the theory tandem, to advance the central task of probing our key hypotheses. The tandem consists in two principal investigators jointly monitoring, theoretically scrutinising and developing the projects' empirical findings on polycontextuality, translocalisation and re-figuration over the course of one year.

V. Conclusion

In recent decades many researchers around the globe have given considerable thought to the question whether it is still appropriate to conceive time in terms of developmental logics implied in concepts such as 'developing countries' or 'linearity'. Our CRC might help to contribute to equally radical changes in thinking space: Instead of narrowly conceiving space as a fixed, homogenous entity that is just there, hanging around, ready to be conquered or protected, it now seems more appropriate to understand space as a complex constitutional process that has taken on particular importance and a new form we analyse as re-figuration. We cannot guarantee that the world will become a better and fairer place through our collaborative research (although we anticipate it). But we can certainly create untapped theoretical and empirical potential from spatial analyses that were considered to be the speciality of separate disciplines so far. With re-figuration as an umbrella concept, spatial analyses may allow an answer to the question: In what kind of society are we living?

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