

A photograph of a person's hands holding a smartphone up to take a picture of a small, patterned object on a table. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent blue filter. The person's arms and hands are visible, and the background shows a table and some other objects, though they are out of focus.

Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe

edited by Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier,
Andreas Hepp, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža,
Hannu Nieminen, Risto Kunelius,
Tobias Olsson, Ebba Sundin
and Richard Kilborn

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Edited by: Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier, Andreas Hepp, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Hannu Nieminen, Risto Kunelius, Tobias Olsson, Ebba Sundin and Richard Kilborn.

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Introduction: Investigating the Everyday Presence of Media

Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier and Andreas Hepp

1. About the book

Media practice has evolved from taking fleeting looks at the work of media professionals to an everyday experience for everybody. We experience every day that the transformation of culture and society is related to the change of media communication: being almost constantly available by mobile phone impacts on our habits and lives. Our social relationships are organized in new ways through the use of the Internet. The way politics is performed has been transformed as digital media exert a structural impact on political communication, strategies and organizational matters. Furthermore, entire industries are undergoing change as media technologies become increasingly important for the production and distribution of commodities, not to forget the dynamic development of the ‘creative industries’.

Recent research has shown that it is not simply a matter of individual media contents: for instance, mediatization research demonstrates that the growing significance of technical communication media as a whole and the resulting change of the ‘production’ of our reality are core moments of this transformation. Communication and media research – especially in Europe – has consequently picked up the fundamental question: How is this transformation of media related to the everyday agency and sense making practices of people in Europe? With increasing mediatization, more and more kinds of human action are related to the media. For example, nowadays an increasing number of people manage their relations via social media, organise the flow of daily life with their smart phones, play in their spare time with computers instead of face-to-face games, do their daily work using IT systems and various kinds of office software etc. Therefore, the distinction between “everyday practice” and “media practice” becomes blurred, presenting a major challenge for media and communication research as well as for culture and society (Livingstone, 2009; Lundby, 2009; Couldry, 2012). Of course at the same time, the strong

Kramp, L./Carpentier, N./Hepp, A. (2014) ‘Introduction: Investigating the Everyday Presence of Media’, pp. 9-21 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

emphasis on cultural and societal change, intimately connected to the use of a variety of media technologies, should not blind us for the stabilities and continuities that also characterise the contemporary configuration with its dominant (and further encroaching) capitalist model and its many equalities driven by clustered elite hegemonies. This book focuses on the role of media within this cultural and societal configuration, promoting a dialogue between different approaches that aim to analyse the interrelated transformations and stabilities of communication and media, as well as of society and culture.

This book can be understood as a distillate of a broad commitment to excellence in research on media and communication, generated in affiliation with the annual European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, and organised, promoted and invigorated by both junior and senior researchers from all over Europe and beyond. Likewise, the book is much more than a reflection of the intellectual outcome of the summer school and cannot be reduced to conference proceedings: most of the chapters reach significantly beyond the work presented at the Summer School. The book picks up on the underlying idea of promoting pluralism of theoretical and methodological approaches for studying contemporary (mediated and mediatized) communication and establishing transnational dialogue(s) with these diverse and often still culturally enclosed approaches. As part of the *Researching and Teaching Communication Series*, this edited volume occupies a liminal position in the field of academic books as it presents both conceptual insights of ongoing research as well as results of completed research. “Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe” is a thoroughly peer reviewed book, a result of collective endeavour of its many editors, who paid particular attention to supporting the five chapters provided by emerging scholars, all of whom were Summer School participants.

The first part of the book is structured into four main thematic focuses – “Dynamics of Mediatization”, “Transformations”, “Methods”, and “The Social” – however most of the chapters published in this volume cut across various disciplines and consequently reveal not only the richness of contemporary perspectives on media and communication. At the same time, they also highlight the growing need for a more thorough theoretical understanding of the analysed phenomena and clear definitions of theoretical frameworks and concepts.

The seven chapters of the first section focus on the “dynamics of mediatization”. Nick Couldry (LSE) opens the section with a close up problem-centred chapter and asks the basic questions: “Mediatization: What is it?” Couldry assesses the resiliency of the mediatization concept, relates it to its alternatives, and illustrates the challenges and opportunities that the concept is facing. Knut Lundby (U Oslo) focuses on the interrelationship between the (meta-) process of mediatization and social interaction, questioning the appropriateness of the conceptual orientation towards distinct ‘logics’ of the media. Following the

theoretical discourses on symbolic, institutional and networked interaction, Lundby pleads for an orientation towards an understanding of how the concept of mediatization can be filled with an understanding of 'meaningful interaction'. Sonia Livingstone (LSE) addresses this plea in a way by presenting results of insights into the mediatization of classroom and family interaction based on studying the habits of children in the United Kingdom. Friedrich Krotz (U Bremen) puts an emphasis on the concept of 'mediatized worlds' for building upon and developing mediatization research even further, referring to the social world concept of the symbolic interaction theory as it was created by Tamotsu Shibutani and frequently used and further developed by Anselm Strauss and his colleagues. Andreas Hepp (U Bremen) introduces a transmedia perspective that makes it possible to analyse actors and their interdependencies by their communicative figurations, i.e. "patterns of processes of communicative interweaving that exist across different forms of media and have a 'thematic framing' that orients communicative action and sense-making." Risto Kunelius (U Tampere) searches for underlying versus outspoken tendencies of lamentation about the media within mediatization research and debunks it as a symptom of a rationalization of discourse and not necessarily justified critique. With these differentiated yet intertwined theoretical and conceptual propositions and outlines, the section rounds off with Dorothee Meier's (U Bremen) investigation of the presumed mediatization of the doctor-patient relationship, offering relevant insights from the emerging field of health communication.

The second section presents five chapters that centre on the "transformations" of media, communication, and everyday life. Ebba Sundin (U Jönköping) deals with the role of the media in everyday life, one of the core questions in media and communication studies. In her chapter, two classic assumptions of media's content are in focus: the first one is about media content related to individuals' experiences and how this content confirms and assures the 'state of reality'. The second assumption is about media content related to how individuals can experience 'reality' beyond their own reach. Minna Saariketo (U Helsinki) approaches the implications of digitisation for media education that has to consider (invisible) techno-structures, technologically mediated power relations as well as software and algorithm experiences and also new possibilities of agency for individuals and society as a whole. Aukšė Balčytienė (U Kaunas) argues that media structures in the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe can be examined as specific social systems where various controversies of contemporary life, such as increasing individualisation and mounting (political) consumerism, can be observed and tested. She introduces the concept of the 'alchemy of media transformations', addressing the effects of distinctive politico-economic and social changes that have notably affected the development of media and communications in the region. Irena Reifová (Charles U in Prague) contributes to this book with a theoretical framework

that helps to understand the interrelationships between new media, the use of new media by elderly people, and the management of (accompanying) social risks. Reifová's interest is centred on generational aspects of the transformation of intentional media use by elderly recipients. In her chapter, Svenja Ottovordemgentschenfelde (LSE) asks how the nature of professionalism in journalism is being changed in the wake of social and technological transformations. She explores how the BBC's engagement with Twitter points towards changing journalistic practices and argues that, while the study of practices is useful, it is only the point of entry for understanding the more complex, non-observable dimensions of professionalism in journalism.

In the third section, seven chapters thematise methodological questions, issues and perspectives that are highly relevant for communication and media studies, especially when researching media practice and everyday agency: Bertrand Cabedoche (U Stendhal-Grenoble 3) argues that textual or content analysis does not suffice for the investigation of tactical and strategic considerations among social actors, especially when it comes to the concept of cultural diversity. Rosa Franquet (UAB) explains the complexity of organisational structures that researchers face when they want to analyse the creation, production and distribution of content at the heart of broadcasting companies. This contribution is based on the problems arising from the choice of a particular case study and the advantages and limitations that the ethnographic method offers for the study of multiplatform production. Erik Knudsen (U Bergen) compares theories and research in two areas of communication studies – framing and agenda setting – to find his way into the methodological challenges that arise while studying media effects. Knudsen describes it as a two-sided field, dealing with the attributes of both agenda setting and framing theory, demanding the integration of different approaches in media effects research. Ilja Tomanić Trivundža (U Ljubljana) asks whether photographic images incorporate factuality or whether they are mere records of mystification. He advocates the 'surplus value' of photography for the study of visual communication, stressing that the photographic image has experienced a steep increase in popularity because of the processes related to digitization. Leif Kramp (U Bremen) turns towards moving images as a source for media and communication research, especially television programmes that – once aired – in many countries become locked-up archival treasures virtually beyond the reach of members of the public or researchers. Kramp emphasizes the necessity of access models, reliable structures and regulations to pave the way to what is understood not only as media but also cultural heritage. Maria Murumaa-Mengel and Andra Siibak (U Kaunas) analyse the different roles and relationships researchers might have with the participants involved in a study when doing research on a sensitive topic. They describe experiences from a qualitative case study that looked at how Estonian teenagers perceive a person whose sexual

online behaviour is regarded as abnormal and unacceptable. This case study is used in order to deliberate on the relationship between the interviewer and interviewees. By way of scrutinizing the researchers' experiences in an auto-ethnographical approach, the authors discuss two different researcher roles that emerged during the course of the study: the 'researcher-friend(ly adult)' and the 'researcher-confidant'. Reacting to the growing economic pressure and imminent casualization of academic labour at many European universities, Francois Heinderyckx (ULB) addresses the changing working conditions and expectations (e.g. of public authorities and the labour market) that affect both established researchers and students trying to find their way into the academic world. The author cannot present an effective method to ease the resulting academic schizophrenia but enough reasons to look for one.

Section Four consists of five chapters that investigate "The Social" as an area of research that is traditionally a source of uncertainty, controversy and challenges for media actors and researchers: Riitta Perälä (Aalto U) analyses how teenagers and middle-agers engage with media in a cross-media environment, especially in relation to magazines. In this chapter, Perälä understands 'engagement' as the readers' experiences with media titles – such as relaxing or seeking practical tips. For her, this also includes spatial and actual media practices as a part of the media experiences. Hannu Nieminen and Anna-Laura Markkanen (U Helsinki) explore how user rights have changed with regards to analogue (printed books) and digital media (e-books). The main claim is that the balance between the rights of the copyright holder and the user has changed since the advent of the electronic book, restricting the efficiency of copyright limitations in respect of user rights – and social sharing of cultural commodities – in many ways. Fausto Colombo (U Sacred Heart Milan) takes a look into the blogosphere and carves out paradoxes of authenticity, oscillating between private articulation and self mass communication as public acting. Building on a single case study, Colombo substantiates the complexity of the blogosphere as a contested space between conflict and discourse, trust and identity for both bloggers and readers. Tobias Olsson (U Jönköping) takes a critical look at the commodification of the social in social media, questioning the so-called 'communitization' function of social phenomena on the Internet based on digital media technology. The business emphasis of the sociality of social network services makes it hard to believe that the expectations of users and operators can meet. Nico Carpentier (VUB and Charles U Prague) expresses also doubts on the participation potential of the social web and the mediascape but follows a different theoretical path. By elaborating the notion of the 'participatory fantasy', Carpentier uses the psychoanalytical concept of fantasy as an instrument to strengthen the theoretical foundation of the term and concept of participation, something which is very much needed to understand the social practices with and in the media that we often simplistically label 'participation'. Finally,

Ane Möller Gabrielsen and Ingvild Kvale Sörenssen invite the reader to participate in a melodic, yet academically inspired performance: “Reassembling the Social”.

The second part of the book contains the abstracts of the doctoral projects of all 41 students that participated in the 2013 Summer School. Throughout the book, a series of photographs taken during the programme are also included. Our special thanks goes to François Heinderyckx, Leif Kramp and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža for the photographic material.

2. The Background of the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School

The Summer School was established in the early 1990s by a consortium of ten (Western) European universities, initiated by the Universities of Stendhal-Grenoble 3 (Grenoble, France) and Westminster (UK). From then on, these participating universities have organised annual summer schools for media and communication studies PhD students, which lasted for one or two weeks and took place in a wide range of locations, including Grenoble, Lund, Barcelona, London, Helsinki, Tartu and Ljubljana. In 2013, the Summer School moved for the first time to the ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research at the University of Bremen, Germany, where it took place from August 11 to 24.

Including the University of Bremen, 22 universities participate in the consortium: Autonomous University of Barcelona (ES), Charles University in Prague (CZ), Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) (HU), Jönköping University (SE), London School of Economics & Political Science (UK), Lund University (SE), University of Ankara (TR), University of Bergen (NO), University of Ljubljana (SI), University of Erfurt (DE), University of Roskilde (DK), University of Sacred Heart Milan (IT), University of Stirling (UK), University of Tampere (FI), University of Tartu (EE), University of Westminster (UK), University of Helsinki (FI), University Stendhal-Grenoble 3 (FR), Vrije Universiteit Brussel (BE), Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) (LT), and Loughborough University (UK). In 2013, affiliated partners of the programme were the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), the Finnish National Research School, and the COST Action ISO906 Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies. The main funding institution was the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) with additional support from the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), the Graduate Centre of the University of Bremen, and the Otto-Brenner-Foundation (OBS).

The central goals of the Summer School are:

- a. to provide innovative mutual support for doctoral studies in the field of media and communication with additional support of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA),
- b. to stimulate bilateral and multilateral cooperation between consortium partner universities in the areas of doctoral studies, teaching and research,
- c. to provide critical dialogue between academics on the cultural and technological challenges posed by media globalisation and convergence, focusing on socio-political as well as cultural implication of these challenges,
- d. to promote a respectful but critical dialogue between academic researchers and representatives of civil society, the media industry and government institutions.

The Summer School follows a number of principles, of which student-orientedness is the most important one. The PhD projects of the participating students are at the centre of the Summer School, and its main aim is to enhance the academic quality of each individual project. In contrast to many other summer schools, the main task of the instructional staff is not to lecture but to provide support to the participants in their PhD trajectories.

The Summer School provides this support through structured, high-quality and multi-voiced feedback on the work of each individual PhD student combined with numerous opportunities for informal dialogues. The feedback consists of a series of extensively elaborated analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the PhD projects, which allow PhD students to structurally improve the quality of their academic work. Although the feedback is provided by experts in the field of media and communication studies, these authoritative voices never become authoritarian, and the autonomy of the participants is never ignored. Moreover, feedback is always multi-voiced: different lecturers and participants contribute to the analysis of each individual PhD project, which enhancing the richness of the feedback and allowing a diversity of perspectives to become articulated.

The Summer School combines a constructive-supportive nature with a critical perspective. During the feedback sessions, the evaluation consists of a balanced overview of the qualities and problems of a doctoral research and publication project in combination with the options that can be used to overcome these problems. Moreover, the workshops and the lectures are aimed to support the future academic careers of the participants by allowing them to acquire very necessary academic and self-management skills. The atmosphere of the Summer School is fundamentally non-competitive, as the talents of all participants will be acknowledged, and participants and lecturers act as peers, cherishing academic collegiality and collaborative work.

The Summer School also expresses the utmost respect for academic diversity. We recognize the existence of a plurality of schools, approaches, theories, paradigms, methods and cultures in academia, which makes the Summer School predestined for conversation and dialogue and not for conversion and conflict. Its commitment to diversity in approaches can only be made possible through an equally strong commitment to academic rigueur, thoroughness, responsibility, honesty and quality.

Finally, the Summer School aims to stimulate connectedness. First of all, the Summer School is aimed at the building of long-term academic networks, enabling future collaborations at the international/European level. We recognize the necessary nature of intellectual exchange for academia and the importance of transcending frontiers. But the Summer School also wants to remain respectful towards the localized context in which it operates, at the urban and national level of the hosting city, avoiding disconnections with civil society, business and state.

In order to realise these principles, the fourteen-day 2013 Summer School was based on a combination of lectures, training workshops, student-workshops and working visits. The core format of the Summer School is based on the so-called feedback-workshops, which are oriented towards providing the doctoral students with the structured, high-quality and multi-voiced feedback mentioned above. For this purpose, the following specific procedure was used: After their application is approved, participating doctoral students each upload their 10-page papers onto the intranet of the Summer School website. On the basis of the papers, the doctoral students are then divided into three groups ('flows') and each student is attributed a lecturer-respondent and a fellow participant-respondent. Moreover, a so-called 'flow-manager' (a member of the academic Summer School staff) is also attributed to each of the flows. These flow-managers coordinate the activities of the feedback-workshops' flows for the entire duration of the Summer School.

During the feedback-workshops, each doctoral student presents his or her project, which is then commented upon by the fellow participant-respondent, the lecturer-respondent and the flow-manager and finally discussed by all participants. At the end of the series of feedback-workshops, a joint workshop is organised, where the diversity of paradigmatic, theoretical and methodological approaches is discussed, combined with the intellectual lessons learned at the Summer School.

In addition, the training workshops are a crucial pedagogical tool for the Summer School. These workshops provide the doctoral students with practical training on issues related to making posters, publishing, abstract-writing, comparative research, literature review, oral presentation skills, communication of scientific topics to lay audiences, interactive teaching to larger groups, interrogating sources and creative online writing. They are combined with a number

of lectures which aim to deal with specific content, focussing on specific theories or concepts. Finally, the working visits give the participants more insights into Germany's media structures, politics, cultures and histories.

3. The scholars involved in the Summer School

In 2013, 41 doctoral students participated in the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, originating from 20 countries: Belgium (2), Bulgaria (1), Canada (1), Cyprus (2), Czech Republic (1), Denmark (1), Estonia (1), Finland (6), France (2), Germany (7), Hungary (1), Italy (1), Latvia (1), Norway (2), Poland (1), Slovenia (1), Spain (1), Sweden (1), Switzerland (2) and the United Kingdom (6). All of their abstracts and a selection of five chapters based on their work are included in this book.

The blue flow consisted of Ilze Berzina, Roman Hájek, Lisette Johnston, Erik Knudsen, Cassandre Molinari, Anne Mollen, Svenja Ottovordemgentschenfelde, Sanne Margrethe de Fine Licht Raith, Dana Schurmans, Katarzyna Sobieraj, Neil Stevenson, Mariola Tarrega, Irene Sarrano Vázquez and Wenyao Zhao.

The yellow flow was joined by Gabor Bernath, Erna Bodström, Yiannis Christidis, Michael Cotter, Joanna Doona, Nele Heise, Slavka Karakusheva, Tatyana Muzyukina, Gina Plana, Miia Rantala, Minna Saariketo (née Vigren), Nanna Särkkä, Melodine Sommer and Khaël Velders.

The green flow grouped Jan Babnik, Victoria Estevez, Katharina Fritsche, Dorothee Christina Meier, Venia Papa, Mari-Liisa Parder, Riitta Perälä, Cindy Roitsch, Ulrike Roth, Natalie Schwarz, Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen, Zhan Zhang and Elisabetta Zuvorac.

The number of lecturers was 25, including 22 permanent lecturers from partner institutions and three guest lecturers from Norway and the UK. The permanent lecturers from the partner universities were: Michael Bruun Andersen, Stephanie Averbeck-Lietz, Auksė Balčytienė, Bertrand Cabedoche, Nico Carpentier, Fausto Colombo, Rosa Franquet, François Heinderyckx, Maria Heller, Andreas Hepp, Anastasia Kavada, Richard Kilborn, Friedrich Krotz, Risto Kunelius, Ole Mjøs, Hannu Nieminen, Irena Reifová, Tobias Olsson, Heiner Stahl, Ebba Sundin, Burcu Sümer and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža.

Additionally, three guest lectures took centre stage with:

- Nick Couldry on “Mediatization: What is it?”
- Sonia Livingstone on the “Mediatization of the childhood”
- Knut Lundby on “Mediatization and interaction”

In addition to the activities of the Summer School lecturers, the programme also included a study visit to the public broadcaster Radio Bremen (www.radiobremen.de). During this extended study visit, Radio Bremen programme director Jan Weyrauch welcomed the summer school participants, followed by Helge Haas, head of the unit “Digital Garage”, as well as Karsten Binder, head of the programme “Funkhaus Europa”, entering into constructive discussions about broadcast innovations and European dimensions when planning contemporary programmes. The conceptual idea of this initiative was also to build a bridge between the doctoral research and media practice.

Andreas Hepp was the local director of the Summer School, Leif Kramp the local organizer, both supported by the international director Nico Carpentier. In addition, François Heinderyckx acted as the ECREA liaison. Hannu Nieminen, Nico Carpentier, Richard Kilborn, Risto Kunelius, Ebba Sundin and Tobias Olsson acted as the Summer School’s flow-managers.

4. Assessment and perspectives

The evaluation was conducted in the form of a workshop including a half-standardised, anonymous survey at the end of the Summer School. All participants filled out an evaluation form to give a grade to and comment on the lectures and workshops held during the previous two weeks. Additionally, the participants formed four evaluation groups and discussed as well as presented feedback on: lectures, workshops and student-workshops; individual discussions with lecturers, discussions and networking opportunities with other students; scheduling of the programme, composition of the programme; accommodation, food and coffee (during breaks); visits in Bremen, social activities; website, pre-summer school communication, summer school book; the flow-managers / summer school staff.

The evaluation generated very positive feedback and constructive suggestions for improving some of the conceptual and scheduling aspects for future summer schools: The reputation and experience of lecturers present at the summer school 2013 as well as their approachability was appreciated a lot by the participants. Also, the summer school management was given high marks. It was further highly appreciated that the lectures were prepared especially for the summer school. In the view of the participants, the mixture of workshops and lectures in the summer school programme was very well-balanced. The interactivity of workshops was appreciated; the organisers were encouraged to even extend it next year. The workshops should also occupy more time in the programme in the eyes of most of the participants. One of the conceptual changes grounded in this evaluation is the organisation of a series of roundtable discussions instead of only using individual lectures. Therefore, the program-

me will be complemented by a further discourse-centred and highly interactive element, which offers the participants even more options to discuss questions which crop up while working on their doctoral projects. Additionally, as of 2014, the summer school will offer scholarships for participants from Southern Europe that cover the registration fees. This is very necessary because of the continuing economic crisis in countries like Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Portugal and Spain and aims to provide access to more participants from these parts of Europe who would otherwise not be able attend and to benefit from the learning and networking opportunities of the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School.

The overall positive and encouraging feedback was complemented by numerous comments on the social network platforms that were used together with the Summer School website as complementary discussion and networking instruments. The “SuSo13” Facebook group, which is available exclusively to the participants and instructional staff of the Summer School of 2013, has 53 members that consist of nearly all participants and some of the Summer School staff. From June 7 – two months before the Summer School started – to October 10, 245 posts and much more than 1,000 comments were published in this group. On average, 45 members saw each post. After the Summer School, many participants left (positive) comments on the website of the summer school Facebook group, e.g.:

“Finally an opportunity to sit at my computer. Thank you all so much for making the summer school one of the best experiences I’ve had. I hope you all got home safely and that I’ll see you in the future. Much love x”

“Thanks once again for every-every-everything. For all these small things and details you did (probably most of them invisible for us) to make it feel like home in Bremen.”

“Dear all, came back home to Copenhagen last night, already missing you all very much! Looking forward to seeing you all again (I wonder if it will be possible to get funding to go on an academic, European interrail?). Thanks so much for these past two weeks!!!”

“The sunflower in the early morning of the last day in Lidice Haus ...it was so beautiful to know you all this summer, I will carry you all with me in my heart, like Nico said, from now on..... A big hug!”

“Thank you so much to everyone. Coming to Bremen was the best thing I could possibly have done. Please visit me in London for a BBC tour! x”

“Well, just woke up after an epic 11 hour sleep. I felt really melancholic last night coming home, which was odd. Thanks for a phenomenal experience. You guys and girls rocked my world and gave me some much needed rejuvenation. If anyone is ever London, look me up! Cheers.”

“It was weird coming home to an empty apartment last night and being alone for the first time in two weeks... You are already missed! Thank you all for such a wonderful experience that leaves me with so much inspiration and new friends.”

5. Final acknowledgments

The Summer School is supported by a wide range of individuals and institutions. The consortium partners, ECREA and the DAAD all provided invaluable support to this long-standing initiative. Over the past years, lecturers and flow managers have invested a lot of energy in lecturing and providing support. The doctoral students themselves have shown a tremendous eagerness, which can only be admired and applauded. The organisers also wish to thank Susanne Mindermann and Heide Pawlik from the secretariat of the ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research, Dr. Diana Ebersberger from the Graduate Centre and Barbara Hasenmüller from the International Office of the University of Bremen, for their strategic and operational support. Additional thanks goes to the executive team of the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, to the ‘Communicative Figurations’ research network and to the Otto-Brenner-Foundation for ancillary support. We are also grateful for the smooth cooperation with Radio Bremen, especially to Michael Glöckner from public relations, Helge Haas from the innovation incubator “Digitale Garage” as well as Karsten Binder and Dorothea Hartz from the intercultural radio programme “Funkhaus Europa”.

This edited volume investigates how media and social transformations are intertwined (and how to deal with them research-wise) but also provides insight into the richness of approaches in European media and communication research, and the high potentials for research cooperation, especially among young scholars, pursuing excellence in their doctoral projects. This is it what makes the Summer School a unique learning and networking experience, bringing together the less experienced and the more experienced from all over Europe and even beyond in order to discuss what is on their research agendas. To preserve this experience, remember (in many of the Summer School languages): stay connected, rester connecté, bleibt in Kontakt, останете във връзка, 保持联系, zůstat ve spojení, forblive tilsluttet, peatada ühendatud, pysy yhteydessä, μείνετε συνδεδεμένοι, maradjon kapcsolatban, resta connesso, palikt sa-vienotas, palaikyti ryšį, holde kontakten, bądź w kontakcie, ostanejo povezani, permanezca conectado, hålla kontakten, bağlı kalmak, blijf verbonden – and drive forth collaborative research.

Websites

The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School
<http://www.comsummerschool.org/>

The Researching and Teaching Communication Book Series
<http://www.researchingcommunication.eu/>

The European Communication Research and Education Association
<http://www.ecrea.eu/>

The ECREA Young Scholars Network
<http://yecrea.eu/>

The ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research
<http://www.zemki.uni-bremen.de>

The 'Communicative Figurations' research network
<http://www.communicative-figurations.org>

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Navigating “Academia Incognita”: The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School and ECREA’s Young Scholars Network

Anne Kaun, Benjamin De Cleen and Christian Schwarzenegger

1. Introduction

In ancient maps, unknown territory, the terra incognita, would often be signified by warnings of perils held by the unknown and that might lurk in the midst of an unclear future. Many of us, young scholars, walk into the unknown world of academia without much prior knowledge of the grammar of the field or of its implicit rules. What is clear is that on a journey into academia one needs more than merely excellent research skills. However, there seems to be no checklist of steps to accomplish on this route: every researcher’s path and context will be different. In line with that academic careers are often shrouded in legends of passion and coincidence when it comes to how success was actually achieved. The myth of the dedicated academic, sole genius makes it hard for newcomers to develop an understanding of what the essentials for a successful career are. This myth also potentially precludes the sense of collective experience and criticism of problematic conditions and therefore of collective organization. Consequently, on a more structural level individualism and dedication on a 24/7 basis fits well into the environment of the neoliberal university (Crary, 2013). The outlined myth needs, hence, to be critically examined and deconstructed. Young scholars need to acquire an understanding of the field within which they operate in order to be able to function as academics and to critically examine the academic world and position themselves within it.

Early career scholars face a number of common challenges, uncertainties, and experiences, and thus they can learn from each other, from other young scholars who are in similar situations, as well as from senior scholars. Furthermore, the ever more competitive academic environment demands broad solidarity among scholars to secure academia’s capacity to be critical about

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developments in society at large but also about academia and the conditions of those working in it. The summer school and the YECREA network aim to provide a space for this.

On our expedition into academia incognita, we need people who travel with us, show us the way, help us avoid the potential threats of the unknown, and remind us that we are not the only ones facing problems, doubts and insecurities as well as help to identify structural inequalities and constraints that are only resolvable through collective organisation. The myth of the successful scholar as the heroic survivor of perilous conditions – the passionate workaholic who sacrifices his or her private life for academia – stabilises the alleged normality of the sometimes structurally problematic conditions of academic work. Such a view hampers the critical interrogation or deconstruction of what it takes to make a career in academia today by focusing on the individual skills and personality traits needed to make it and by formulating handy survival guides that tell you how to effectively function as a 21st century scholar. We, writing as the management team of the Young Scholars Network of ECREA, believe that such stories of total dedication as well as magic formulas, cookbook recipes, and the pocket guides to academic success serve false aspirations and hopes as well as hinder a critical attitude towards academic work. Still, we can build on and learn from others who are experiencing or have experienced similar situations, issues, and insecurities. Young scholars can find people in their departments or in their personal network that might provide them with some of the support they need. However, we believe it is valuable for early career scholars to have access to structures and networks of support that go beyond their own university.

In times of decreasing membership in traditional unions that channel collective organisation, new community formations gain importance. This chapter looks at the strategies and experiences of two initiatives that are aimed at helping young scholars find their ways in academia as well as providing spaces of solidarity beyond individual career planning: the annual European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School and YECREA, the Young Scholars Network of ECREA. One being a summer school and the other a network, what they offer is different, but they have similar goals, share some basic premises, and have partly been driven and inspired by the same people.

While being two independent support infrastructures, the summer school and YECREA are interlinked, institutionally, through ECREA, especially in terms of the people involved. Furthermore, the summer school and YECREA share some history. It is common for summer school participants to become actively involved in YECREA; and the YECREA network helps summer school participants to maintain the international network of peers they establish during the summer school. Additionally, YECREA has regularly found inspiration in topics dealt with at, and formats used by, the summer school. This is not a

coincidence, as they share the aim to provide a supportive infrastructure where young scholars can meet and learn from each other and from senior scholars. Both initiatives focus on young scholars and their specific needs in the field of media and communication studies, without compartmentalising them, i.e. disconnecting them from their senior colleagues. Both initiatives also take the structural constraints and specific needs of young scholars seriously.

2. The European Media and Communication Summer School

The European Media and Communication Summer School has been running successfully since the early 1990s. It was originally organised by a consortium of ten universities that steadily grew to 22 universities by 2012. ECREA joined the consortium in 2001 (back then still as the ECCR, one of ECREA’s predecessors). The main aims of the summer school are to build a network for young scholars across Europe and to engage PhD students, as well as established lecturers, in a critical dialogue and intellectual exchange (Carpentier, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Carpentier/Trivundža, 2010; Parés i Maicas, 2008). The formats that constitute the summer school are centred on the PhD students and their work. They encompass workshops of a more general character focused on, for example, abstract writing, presenting, publishing and research ethics, lectures on contemporary issues in the field of media and communication studies, and excursions that link the summer school to the cultural and socio-political context of the hosting country. At the heart of the summer school, however, are the student workshops in which the PhD candidates present and discuss their individual projects. The feedback is always multi-voiced in the sense that several assigned respondents and a number of summer school participants engage with the work (Trivundža/Carpentier, 2012, 2013). The combination of comments by both young and established scholars is a conscious choice in order to provide multiple perspectives and diminish borders between the two groups, seeing them as equal members of the same community. As of 2006, the intellectual outcome of the summer school is documented in a summer school book including full chapters from a selection of PhD students and the lecturers as well as abstracts of all the PhD projects presented and discussed at the summer school.

Since the 1990s the summer school has developed into an important resource and platform for European PhD students in media and communication studies. A survey conducted in 2008 among summer school attendees of different generations shows that participants highly value the social network that the summer school provides. The survey revealed that over 90 per cent of former participants are still in touch with other summer school attendees. They were able to build a sustainable and lasting network beyond the summer school ex-

perience (De Cleen, Garcia-Blanco/Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, 2009). Providing the infrastructure for connectivity and peer support between its members, including former summer school participants, is also a primary aim of YECREA.

3. The Young Scholars Network of ECREA

The objective of the Young Scholars Network of the European Communication Research and Education Association (YECREA), is to give a voice to and provide a network for the young generation of European media and communication scholars. YECREA provides a forum for doctoral students and post-doctoral researchers to inform, assist, share ideas, get peer support, and reflect on life as an early-stage academic.

In order to do so, YECREA, established in 2006, has progressively built a successful infrastructure of country and section representatives. The former connect the network to national environments for media and communication studies. The latter give a voice to young scholars in ECREA's sections and temporary working groups and play an important role in bringing young scholars with similar research interests together. Both forms of representation are aimed at making visible the specific issues and concerns of young scholars within ECREA without disconnecting them from the general membership of ECREA. The YECREA management team provides the infrastructure and ensures continuity. The representatives and members play a crucial role in giving flesh to the bones of the formal structure of YECREA.

The section and country representatives are at the heart of YECREA's most important activities: information dissemination and the organisation of workshops as well as social events. Country and section representatives disseminate information to the YECREA membership via the YECREA website (yecrea.eu) and the YECREA Facebook group (more than 500 members in January 2014). The Facebook group, especially, allows for organic and community-based ways of sharing and discussing information, by YECREA representatives as well YECREA members.

Besides information dissemination, YECREA organises workshops and social gatherings at the biannual European Communication Conference (ECC), at the off-conference events organised by the ECREA sections and temporary working groups, and at a number of other study days and conferences in which ECREA was involved. As the network of YECREA representatives has grown, the number of workshops organised by YECREA representatives and members has increased throughout the years, with 2013-14 seeing a total of eleven young scholars' workshops. These workshops are fundamental in providing a space for critical discussion of the currents of the academic community facing severe challenges of tightened budgets and increasing workloads. Of course,

the workshops offer counsel on how to cope with the demands of our profession, but they also aim to analytically identify and challenge the structural conditions that make life and work in academia the way it is today.

The belief guiding YECREA policy is that young scholars have particular needs as a group with a particular position within the academic world, while being an integral part of the research community. Hence, YECREA aims to bridge the gaps between senior scholars and the young generation as much as possible by putting them in a cross-generational dialogue. YECREA therefore organises workshops that cater for issues that are specific to the career stages of young scholars, but it does not host paper panels specifically for young scholars. We believe that, when it comes to presenting and discussing their research, young scholars benefit most from being part and parcel of the research community of scholars of all ages and career stages and not a separate group.

PhD students are faced with numerous challenges that are not always directly related to their research efforts, but to the profession and the logic of the academic field. Across the sub-disciplines of media and communication studies, and across the wide variety of research conducted by young scholars, there are competences and skills that are crucial to all young scholars. YECREA has organised a range of workshops – of the type also found at the summer school – that foster an understanding of the implicit grammar of the field and that deal with essential academic skills and competences. Recurring topics have included the system of conferences and peer-reviewed journals, writing abstracts and publishing articles, methodology, establishing an academic network, and procuring funding for research at home and abroad. One thing that all YECREA workshops have shown is that young scholars are all in the same boat – whatever their subject, wherever their department. Sharing experiences of setbacks at a workshop can moderate frustration, for example, about rejection by a journal. These setbacks are an integral part of the academic game and should not result in major discouragement. The workshops also serve as resources to prevent typical mistakes by providing best-practice examples.

Despite significant differences in personality, institutional, and national context – for example in terms of employment conditions and teaching load – young scholars also share similar professional experiences. All of us have to juggle demands in terms of research, teaching and administrative tasks, deal with the requirement for international mobility, as well as to find a healthy balance between work and private life. YECREA has brought researchers in different stages of their career together, had them discuss how they have dealt with conflicting demands, time pressure, and work-life balance, and has provided young scholars with the opportunity to ask established and less established scholars what their strategies have been. One of the most important lessons learned is that the discomforts of academia are not exclusively faced by young scholars. The pressures are not a temporary stage of deprivation that

must be completed on the way to redemption in senior scholar haven. It is thus important to adopt work and life routines early, which are fit to last and not to set a pace that can only be briefly endured. Another recurring lesson has been that in order to succeed and feel good about one's academic career, it is crucial to work on a topic that one is genuinely interested in. At the same time, working on a topic and in a field that has personal significance should not imply a total identification of personal life with the academic career, nor lead to an acceptance or even romanticising of what are in fact sometimes unacceptable working conditions.

4. Concluding remarks

Throughout their endeavours, YECREA and the European Media and Communication Summer School aim to create an infrastructure for young scholars to develop a critical understanding of how academia works, to build and maintain a network of contacts as well as create an environment of support and solidarity. These have always been crucial elements of successful and satisfying careers, but this is ever more important in an increasingly competitive academic environment with institutions governed by neoliberal principles, resulting, in some European countries more than in others, in the growth of what Guy Standing (2011) has called the (academic) precariat. In the academic field, young scholars are among those most affected by insecure and low paid employment. This contributes to an overly competitive environment and the detriment of the quality of academic work as well as the quality of life of those working in it. The development towards ever more competition and insecurity makes support networks more important than ever. Both the summer school and YECREA are aimed at establishing supportive spaces for young scholars, and connect them with each other and the wider academic field in order to develop the solidarity and sense of community that is crucial to secure the quality of academia, and to secure reasonable working conditions.

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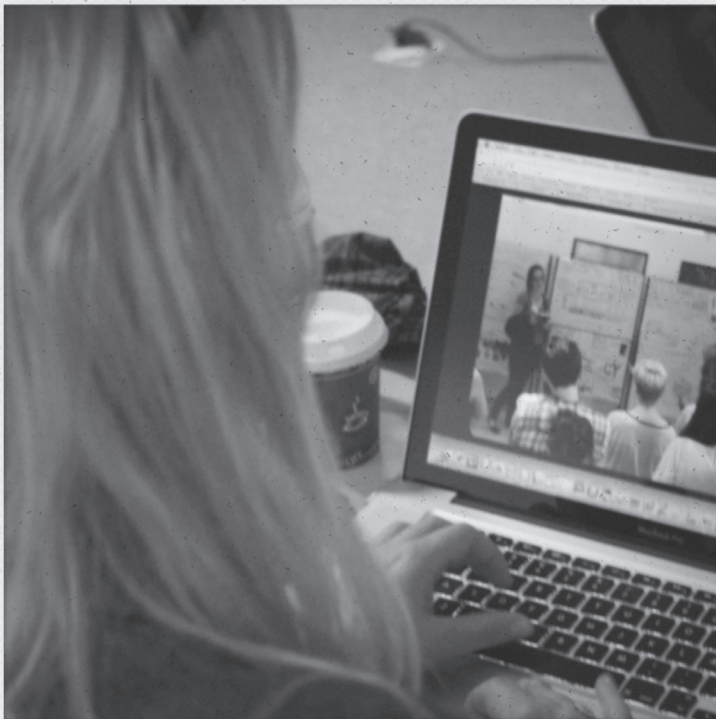
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Research



Part I

Photo: François Heynderickx

Section One



Dynamics of
Mediatization

Photo: François Heynderickx

Mediatization: What Is It?

Nick Couldry

In this short paper, I want to broaden out from the discussions so far in this summer school to take in the question of what is at stake in doing mediatization research, as opposed to the many other ways in which can research contemporary media. Why does mediatization research matter, and to which types of media and communications researchers in particular?

1. Mediatization research and its alternatives

There are after all alternatives to researching mediatization. One alternative would be focus one's research about media at the level of media themselves, studying the phenomenology of direct uses of media; or pursuing one of the two options that dominated the early decades of media research, the political economy of media production and distribution, or textual analysis (the analysis of media texts and, as was emphasised from the 1980s, their reception). But mediatization research does not do any of those things, not at least as its principal focus.

Another alternative would be to turn one's research towards the wider transformations beyond media in which media are somehow involved. There are also many varieties of this approach. There is a so-called 'medium' approach, and here too there are variants of which the most fashionable today is perhaps 'media archaeology': this approach is explicitly not interested in social dynamics, a position most trenchantly represented by the late Friedrich Kittler. Here is Kittler in a passage quoted by a current advocate of media archaeology, the Finnish media theorist Jussi Parikka : '[I am interested in] not meaning, not representation, not any imaginary of media that is conditioned by the social but [in] the act of communication in its physical distributing and effective channelling of signals (Parikka, 2012: 68-69). Elsewhere, Friedrich Kittler (1999: 44) wrote of 'forgetting humans, language and sense' in the conduct of communications research: this is approach which relishes the comparison to engineering, and rejects other interpretivist approaches to media entirely.

Couldry, N. (2014) 'Mediatization: What is it?', pp. 33-39 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

One could also consider the wider transformations in which media are involved by pursuing a non-representational theory, for example by following questions of ‘affect’. This has been advocated by the geographer and social theorist Nigel Thrift (2008). In effect this suggests a radicalization of medium theory which insists that ‘there is no stable “human” experience’ and the human ‘sensorium’ is continually being extended (2008: 2), so researchers must turn instead to affect. However, it does not abandon an account of the subject of media, in the way Kittler appears to. There is also a third alternative, also newly fashionable, which is software-based research interested in the shift to ‘computationalism’ (Berry, 2011: 27). This approach draws its obvious strength and importance from what one advocate calls the ‘double mediation’ via software (at the level of both input and output) of every process (2011: 16). But the advocates of this position can also at times sound rather more strident than they perhaps need to, claiming that to pursue this approach is to celebrate the ‘radical decentring’ of ‘the Humboldtian subject filled with culture’ and its replacement with ‘a just-in-time cultural subject’ (22). Luckily there are alternative formulations of the serious study of software which still allow for interpretative agency (McKenzie, 2006).

There then a number of different ways on offer of doing media research which we have inherited today, or which have newly emerged. Set against them, mediatization research is clearly distinctive. It follows a different path. How would we define that different path? I would propose it has three distinctive features. First, it is interested in media contents (ie representations), or at least their consequences when circulated, rather than prioritizing the non-representational. Second, it is primarily interested in the social (both as input to media and as a domain affected by media), not relegating this, as Kittler does and implicitly computationalism does, to the explanatory sidelines. Third, it is interested in the possibility of interpreting media’s relation to the social; in this sense it is explicitly a hermeneutic approach, and so in sharp contrast with the technology-based anti-hermeneutic of a writer such as Kittler.

Indeed, we could go further. Mediatization research, through its concern for how the social unfolds – and how its unfolding may be affected by the deep weaving within it of media technologies, their contents and their uses, implicitly has a view of human development and education (*Bildung*) that is based in the continuous (materially grounded) human practice of interpreting the world, rather than just ‘programming’ it (as Parikka puts it 2012: 71). So ‘Mediatization’ is a distinctive type of approach to contemporary Transformations.

This remains true, notwithstanding the differences between mediatization researchers, which are well-known. Differences about what sort of concept mediatization is: is it a ‘meta-process’ (Krotz, 2009: 24-25) that refers to how ‘media in the long run increasingly become relevant for the social construction of everyday life, society and culture as a whole’, what elsewhere I have called

the ‘changed dimensionality of the social world’ (Couldry, 2012: 137), or is it a specific form of logic, derived from me, that is let loose in the world? There are of course differences over how to name the concept, whatever it means: whereas ‘mediatization’ is now generally the preferred term in international comparative research, the term ‘mediation’ for a long time had its followers in the UK, Latin America, and early on the USA. and of course mediatization researchers differ in what field they want to apply the concept to: is it politics (as in much early mediatization research), or other, perhaps more remote fields such as education, religion, art, government?

Exploring these differences within, but also fundamental commonality across, approaches to mediatization research implies a further question: can we draw any principle(s) from the type(s) of approach that mediatization is/are, that might or should shape how we would want to conduct mediatization research in the future? Is there in other words an implicit methodology of mediatization research? Let me try to explore this further question by thinking about the differences that emerge between how accounts of mediatization play out in different domains. I will talk briefly about three areas (popular culture, religion and art), and then in a little more detail about the case of politics.

2. What doing Mediatization research means: Some field-based examples

If, as I prefer to argue, following Friedrich Krotz (see above), mediatization is a meta-concept for the way social order now works, not an account of a specific ordering principle based in media, then it is compatible with many different accounts of transformation. We would also expect it to encompass widely varied accounts of how media are involved in the transformation of different fields of action and competition. I do not have time to develop here my argument made elsewhere that Bourdieu’s field theory is perhaps the most productive area of social theory with which mediatization research can interface in order to develop its core ideas.

Let me explore this in a few areas, so that you get a sense of how differently things can play out within mediatization research, depending on which area one chooses.

If we start with general popular culture, imagine an attempt within mediatization research to explain the significance of something like the Pop Idol/American Idol format. Its significance must involve more than people copying the Pop Idol format and its rhythms and styles in everyday life (a ‘media logic’ approach). What form of influence might this be? First, we could look at how the authority within the show of Simon Cowell (the judge of X-Factor, American Idol and Britain’s Got Talent, one of the best paid performers in

global television) is based in his capital within the broad media and creative industries field. But we can't stop there; the very idea that a television show is a plausible way of judging singing talent derives from media's growing meta-capital, that is, the growing influence of media institutions over what counts as symbolic capital in many specific areas of competition. Also the culture of support and legitimacy around the format derives from media representations and categories that circulate generally in social space. Media institutions' ability to consecrate value in a field such as popular music is naturalised through ritual formats such as *American Idol*. But the key causal mechanism in all of this is not the format itself but the conferring and confirming of authority and category membership enacted within the format.

What are the implications of this example for how we understand mediatisation? It shows that mediatisation can work in a very tight, almost 'logic'-like way if, as in the popular music industry, the interdependencies with the broader media production field are intense. But even in such a case the explanation of how the influence works depends on detailed understanding of the dynamics of the social processes involved, and dynamics of the particular field of which they are part. Which implies that when we turn to other fields, other less 'logic'-like outcomes remain possible. In many fields other than popular music, where interdependencies with the media field are less direct, more subtle forms of mutual influence are possible.

To pursue this, let's take the case of religion. An increasing number of researchers see media as a key dynamic in shaping not merely how religion is represented, but the very practices and beliefs that today count as 'religious' (Hoover, 2006). Both religious and media institutions draw on a very general form of symbolic power to represent the world: that is why many scholars, but surely too simply, have claimed that media in the 20th century became the 'new religion'. In principle we could see religion's ability to describe the world and consecrate important types of authority as a distinctive type of meta-capital to set alongside that of the state and the media, but the plausibility of this varies between which countries. In some countries with very strong and authoritative religious institutions - Iran, the Philippines, perhaps the USA - this is plausible: while in a few countries religious authority (Tibet) is in direct conflict over the constitution of the state. But even in Iran, religious institutions are themselves increasingly reliant on media to represent their actions and aims, and increasingly vulnerable to media-based scandal, while the Catholic church with all its global reach and power showed itself both vulnerable to media scandal and capable of taking control of the media agenda before and during the Pope's visit to UK in 2010.

Religious institutions' ability to use media to enhance attention to, and awareness of, ritual events is well documented and flows directly from media's general reserves of symbolic power. It is unclear yet whether prestige in the

religious field routinely intersects with media capital so that the latter automatically increases the former, but there are clear cases of charismatic religious leaders whose symbolic capital encompasses both media prowess and spiritual qualities, from US televangelists (Billy Graham) to Islamic preachers (Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, Sharif Ousmane Haidera). Indeed, building one's own media channel or media distribution facility is a critical tool in building alternative religious authority. Blogging, for example, is increasingly a general tool for reflecting publicly on one's spirituality. Indeed religion and entertainment's shared occupation of many of the same media is a key factor in transforming religious discourse. As a result the sources of religious authority are now contested and, possibly, misrecognized (Thomas, 2008: 95). Quite clearly there is no magic formula which could summarised how religion in general is mediatized.

The art field is in one respect more straightforward in that, although there is no inherent reason why art field should have close relation to media (after art can use anything object or process as its material, not necessarily 'media'), there have been movements in modern art, where the relationship between art production and media production has been very close. I am thinking for example here of the Young British Artists (YBA) for whom in the 1990s media exposure and media-related capital became very important, even central, to art process and art production. While some would like to claim that this was a universal phenomenon deriving from the art field's changed relation to market communications and advertising, (Lash/Lury, 2007), I am sceptical that this captures the variety of relations and non-relations that artistic practice has to media.

Turning, finally and in a little more detail, to the political field, this is the area where the arguments for media logic transforming a domain in a singular direction have been strongest. No one would doubt that 'the media' are decisive in political process, in shaping 'public opinion and decision-making' (Meyer, 2003). Certainly politics today cannot be conducted without media. But when we look, is there a single mechanism (even process) of transformation here?

Media-related capital and skills are now always instrumental in politics, but how this works out depends on complex and varied feedback-loops. Think on the one hand of how the space of political values has been reshaped, or flattened by the necessity of keeping media coverage at all times (has this limited the range of topics that can emerge as topics of political debate?). Think of politicians' constant exposure to media pressures, every minute of the day, changes the Sorts of people they are able to be, and the ways they are able to reflect. Here is a senior UK civil servant reflecting on his timing working closely with UK former Prime Minister Tony Blair: 'We no longer had ... the time ... to explain to ourselves, to Parliament and the public just what we were attempting.' (Foster, 2005: 1-2). More work in fact is needed on mediatiza-

tion of government at every level: not just speech-writing and direct political communication, but also processes of policy formation, implementation, adjustment.

Media's saturation of the political field in other words goes far beyond politics' adoption of 'media format'. The transformations under way are not reducible to single mechanism/logic. But this is not to say that the pressure of media, in the way it weights down on political actors, particularly less powerful ones, does not sometimes feel like a 'logic', a fixed necessity. This can happen then actors' strategies (for example actors who are engaged in a struggle with government over the development of particular legislation or a change of policy) are continuously motivated by what Dutch political sociologists Justus Uitermark and Anne-Jolie Gielen call 'their actual or anticipated representations in the media' (1340). In such cases a feedback loop – between political actors and media actors – can acquire a momentum which makes it logic-like, in certain respects at least. But this cannot be assumed, and it is open to resistance and challenge, as well as complex variations and unevenness.

3. Conclusion: challenges and opportunities

Let me conclude by reflecting on where this leaves mediatization research as it moves from being a minority pursuit to being a major dimension of contemporary research at the interface of media and social theory.

First, it is important to keep open mind on how mediatization operates in different fields/domains and to avoid adopting any mid-range descriptive language that would suggest it happens in one single way across all fields/domains. Mediatization is not that kind of process: in fact it is not a single process at all, but the word we can use to point to an open set of transformations in the nature of contemporary social order linked to the affordances and uses of media.

Second, and to mention a theme that I have implied but not had a chance to develop in detail, it is useful in thinking about the future of mediatization research . to draw critically on, while also helping to reconfigure for the digital age, the tradition of social theory. If you are interested in that, then possible reference-points for consideration might include: Bourdieu on fields; Boltanski and Thévenot on regimes of evaluation; Durkheim and Bowker/Star on classification; Elias on interdependence and figurations. Your list of social theory references might however, quite legitimately, be different from mine.

Thirdly, in developing that deeper engagement by mediatization research with social theory it will be important to develop mid-range theoretical concepts for grasping the types of 'ordering' that may be at work in mediatization. Here are a few that you might want to consider that I have found useful in my own work (see Couldry, 2012): media-related capital and media 'meta-capital'

(from field theory); norms that are embedded in media forms, such as ‘make-over media’ or reality TV more generally; categories (as developed in work on media rituals); and figurations (that is, embodied ‘solutions’ to material problems of interdependence). All that can be developed to the benefit of mediatization research if we make our priority the development of open theoretical debate within a distinctive and fully international field of research. That, at least, is the type of mediatization research that I have proposed to you all of us need to be focussed upon.

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Biography

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Notes on Interaction and Mediatization

Knut Lundby

I want to approach the broad topic of Interaction and Mediatization via a de-tour through modern painting and early sociology, before I reach recent writings on the matter. I start this essay with a History and a Scream.

1. Ambivalence of modernity

The Norwegian painter Edvard Munch (1863–1944) was an early observer of emerging modernity¹ with the ambivalences that the new times carried for people (Berman et al. 2006), sharply depicted in his famous *Scream*.² One hundred years ago Munch had to fight to get his ideas accepted for the decoration of the University of Oslo aula. One of the big murals in this festive room is *History*, showing an old man in interaction with a young boy.³ Munch said it depicts ‘a remote and historically resonant landscape. In it, an old man from the fjords, having struggled for many years, now sits steeped in rich memories, recounting them to a fascinated little boy.’⁴ The old man mediates history in storytelling. The boy is a modern, young man who came to experience the media innovations and the following mediatization of the 20th century. Later, the *History* itself became slightly mediatized through re-mediation, even in small instances as powerpoint headings from my university. However, the *Scream* has been much more radically transformed, in posters, advertisements and adaptations – most famously the *Scream* has been echoed and twisted by Andy Warhol.⁵

How does this connect to the topic of ‘Interaction and Mediatization’? As noted, the old man and the young boy interact in the painting, but otherwise belong to centuries apart that are marked by radically different media environments. The old man may even be from a generation interacting and communicating primarily out of a primary orality, while the young man is becoming immersed in a modern society of literacy with its secondary orality in broadcasting, still basically depending on writing and print (Ong 1982). That young man, coming ‘alive’ on the canvas around the outbreak of World War I in 1914, was too early in history to experience the extension of secondary orality later claimed with the digital media (Ess 2010). *History* further reminds us of the changing forms of media in storytelling and how closely knit they are

Lundby, K. (2014) ‘Notes on Interaction and Mediatization’, pp. 41-53 in L. Kramp/N. Carpenter/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

to the forms of interaction. The painting itself becomes a medium between the face-to-face interaction it depicts and the histories of *History* that are shared and amended in communication with technical media, hence open to the transformations inherent in processes of mediatization (Lundby 2009a: 11). This is even more the case with the digital technologies and their capacity for multi-modality, remixing and reshaping. Larry Friedlander (2011) shows this with examples from the old art of portrait painting as a 'prehistory' of Facebook. A portrait is not a 'realistic' depiction of the person. Rather, portraits prefigure strategies employed in self-representation on social networking sites, as he argues.

2. Conductors of interaction

The *Scream* – the iconic painting itself became an object in the modern symbolic circulation. As an object it reminds us of the material dimension of all human interaction. This resonates with the theorizing by Pitirim Sorokin, the Russian who became the first professor of sociology at Harvard. He regards 'meaningful human interaction' as 'the generic social phenomenon' (1947: 39) and introduces 'material vehicles' as a 'universal component of sociocultural phenomena' (1947: 51).

In *Society, Culture and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (1947) Sorokin draws up the context and material preconditions for human interaction. Although the book in some respects seems out-dated, because of its pre-Second World War flavour and examples, it nevertheless offers some basic insights for the discussion of interaction and mediatization. Sorokin does not stress the communicative aspect but is aware of communication as the flip-coin of human interaction (1947: 578).

In Sorokin's thinking: 'material vehicles' of all sorts work as 'conductors' in communication and interaction. He explains: 'Since pure meanings, values, and norms are immaterial, spaceless, and timeless, they cannot be transmitted directly from mind to mind' (1947: 51). Meanings, then, have to be externalized, objectified, and socialized through vehicles. Such vehicles could be overt actions, material objects, or natural processes that are used in social interaction (1947: 52).

There is a distinction between physical and symbolic conductors, although they may be connected. Symbolic conductors 'exert an influence not so much through their physical properties as by virtue of the symbolic meaning attached to them' (1947: 53). Physical conductors work in gestures and body movements, in sound waves, light and colour, in thermal and mechanical forms of energy. Sorokin also lists 'electrical and radio conductors' (1947: 52–53) and would obviously have included digital vehicles and conductors if he had lived today. Different vehicles may combine into chains of conductors (1947: 53–57).

Sorokin acknowledges the vehicles as media. He states that interaction across time and space is possible ‘only through the *media* of vehicles as conductors’ of meaningful interaction (1947: 52, my emphasis). This is another terminology for processes of mediation.

While mediation is part of all communication processes (Hepp 2013, Hjarvard 2013), ‘mediatization’ points to transformations of relationships, institutions, social and cultural fields due to the role of the media. Sorokin is concerned with the transformation of cultural phenomena. He formulates ‘The Laws of Transformation’: When the difference between the ‘culture of departure’ and that of ‘infiltration’ remains constant, the extent of the transformation of the migrating phenomenon depends upon its own nature, he argues. The more complex, refined and intricate the phenomenon, and the greater the training required for its use, the more profoundly it changes in the culture of infiltration, Sorokin explains (1947: 573). Modern, technical media are such complex phenomena. Sorokin termed them ‘*a more developed system of communication and interaction*’ as they make interaction possible across physical distance (1947: 578).

Most ‘migrating cultural phenomena undergo a transformation’, he observes.

These transformations depend on the ‘conductors of interaction’ – the media – that are at hand. If they are ‘mechanically standardized, like the printing press, thousands of cultural meanings can be conveyed clearly to all who know and read the language’ (1947: 573). Sorokin concludes that modern, technical media may reach more people and thus accelerate the transformations. We, here, could discern a basic understanding of interaction and mediatization in Sorokin’s writings. (Cf. Lundby 2013: 193-195).

3. Symbolic circulation

In *The Media and Modernity* (1995), John B. Thompson carries such an approach to interaction and mediatization⁶ further, focusing on symbolic forms and their modes of production and circulation in the interaction and communication. In the contemporary, networked society the formation and circulation of shared ‘social imaginaries’ has taken on new speed and complexity. Valaskivi and Sumiala (2013) define shared social imaginaries as symbolic matrixes within which people imagine their collective social worlds – shaped and transformed in mediatization processes, I will argue.

Although Thompson wrote his book before web facilities stirred up symbolic cascades of presentation and representation on the Internet, he catches the core of mediatization processes: a systematic cultural transformation as part of emerging modernity. The printing press and later electronic media paved the way. With these, then new media, symbolic forms were produced, re-

produced and circulated on a scale that was unprecedented. Hence, patterns of communication and interaction began to change in profound and irreversible ways, Thompson argues.

Human or social interaction is symbolic interaction, in any case with the symbolic capacities of languages. With 'material vehicles' in technical media as 'conductors', to speak with Sorokin, the potential for symbolic circulation across time and space expands. The affordances (Hutchby 2003) of technical media offer additional range for communication and interaction, hence also a larger potential for the transformations inherent in mediatization.

The transformations are acted in inter-action. As long as the symbolic circulation is part of social interaction, there are actors and agency involved. Hence, social interaction consists of communication and action. I stick to a sociological perspective, not going into details as ethnomethodologists or other micro-processes oriented scholars would do. Still, in this essay I mostly stay with daily interaction in various settings where transforming processes of mediatization may be identified.

4. Critique and counter-critique

I may have been challenged on this topic of 'Interaction and Mediatization' because I wrote a critique of the quick and easy use of 'media logic' as a key in mediatization studies, where the complexity is covered under a general, often linear logic (Lundby 2009b). Instead, I suggested looking for social interaction. I turned to the German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918). His focus on 'social forms' leads to frames of social interaction by means of which to grasp dynamics of mediatization. Simmel underlines that 'society' is continuously shaped through social interaction. So are mediatization processes. However, those I criticised for a simple, linear use of 'media logic' as an explanation of mediatization, in particular Stig Hjarvard and David L. Altheide & Robert P. Snow, were themselves referring to Simmel. The latter held that 'media logic' is a social form, a form of communication that has a particular logic of its own (Altheide & Snow 1979).

To check out the present status in the discussion I went to check what two recent special journal issues have to say about interaction and mediatization in general and social interaction versus media logic in particular? The two are *Communication Theory* (CT) 23(3) from August 2013 on 'Conceptualizing Mediatization' and the Danish *MedieKultur: Journal of media and communication research* (MK) 29(54) from summer 2013 on 'Mediatization and Cultural Change'. There are seven articles in English in each special issue, including editorials. I tracked all paragraphs with the word 'interaction'.

David Altheide contributes in CT on 'Media Logic, Social Control and Fear.' This article forces me to reconsider my criticism on 'media logic' in Altheide & Snow's classic (1979). Stig Hjarvard also nuances the take on 'media logic' that I criticized.

5. Media logic and social interaction

I argued in my 2009-chapter that media logic could not constitute a 'form'. A social form is constituted through continuous patterns of social interaction, while 'logic' refers to the rule of the game. However, in his CT article Altheide anchors 'media logic' with interaction. He offers suggestions for 'continued investigation and mapping of media logic across information technologies in order to clarify the reflexive relationship between communication, social interaction, and institutional orders' (2013: 223). Altheide had turned towards symbolic interactionism with his 1995 book on *An Ecology of Communication: Cultural Formats of Control* – but then with wider 'cultural logics' in plural and focus on processes and practices in relation to formats in journalistic production (Sandstrom 2008). In 2013 he is back to 'media logic' – with social interactionism – to understand mediatization. Networked computer-based digital media had Altheide revising his early ideas of media logic, from a general logic to social interaction within an 'ecology of communication'. His 1995 book on media ecology came right after the launch of the first web-browsers (Lundby 2009b: 114–115).

Stig Hjarvard has made a similar move to defend 'media logic'. In a co-authored editorial in the MK special issue, he holds that the logics (now in plural!) of the media (now specified to the 'mainstream' media) still help explain mediatization (Hjarvard & Petersen 2013: 3). Nearly a decade earlier 'form' was at the fore, when he stated that 'mediatization implies a process through which core elements of a social and cultural activity (like work, leisure, play etc.) assume media form' (Hjarvard 2004: 48). 'Social interaction' became more and more prominent in his reasoning about mediatization in general, and about media logic in particular. He considers media as means of interaction. He holds that mediatization affects society through the many ways that the media intervene in the social interaction between individuals within a given institution, between institutions, and in society at large (Hjarvard 2008: 120).

Still, Hjarvard keeps the concept of ‘media logic’ and counters the critique, by stating that it

does not suggest that there is a universal, linear, or single rationality behind all the media. It is to be understood as a conceptual shorthand for the various institutional, aesthetic, and technological *modus operandi* of the media, including the ways in which the media distribute material and symbolic resources, and operate with the help of formal and informal rules. (2013: 17)

In conclusion, Hjarvard now connects media logic and social interaction by stating that the ‘logic of the media influences the social forms of interaction and communication.’ The media logic is the *modus operandi* in these interactions, specified according to the media that are in operation (2013: 17). My suggestion would be to rather start with the concrete interactions, and then see how the media in each case are taken on board as part of the interactions and how this may turn into transforming mediatization. How is this done in the remaining articles in the two special issues?

With his piece in *Communication Theory* Nino Landerer (2013) aims at ‘Rethinking the Logics’. He suggests a new conceptual framework for the mediatization of politics, thus challenging the area of mediatization research where the media logic concept may seem most apt.⁷ However, Landerer sticks with the concept of ‘logic’. He just wants to substitute the common analytical terms of ‘media logic’ and ‘political logic’ with ‘normative logics’ and ‘market logic’, as he observes that media companies are mainly driven by an audience-oriented commercial logic and a normatively oriented public logic as two competing logics. Landerer finds these concepts more appropriate for the theoretical understanding and empirical analysis of how mass media and political actors behave.

Could we manage with ‘interaction’ without any of these ‘logics’ in mediatization studies? In my 2009-chapter I argue that we could do without the concept of media logic. Various media capabilities are applied in patterns of social interaction. To focus on media logic hides these patterns of interaction, I argue (Lundby 2009: 117). So, what’s more in the special issues on interaction and mediatization?

6. Culture – society – world

I see three distinct approaches in the material (although this is not exhaustive). The distinctions are partly between levels of analysis, partly between type of agents, and partly on the context. First, there are the articles on mediatization and symbolic interaction, tending towards ‘culture’ as perspective or setting. Second, there are entries on mediatization and institutional interaction, making

‘society’ the context. Third, articles on mediatization and network interaction have a ‘world’ setting. The three types may overlap, e.g. symbolic communication takes place in networks. Each term characterizes a main form of interaction. ‘Culture’, ‘society’ and ‘world’, on the other side, are rough labels for the aspect of the sociocultural environment in networked, modern settings that the types of interaction point to or correspond most closely to.

This exercise is risky, not just with the said typology, but as well when I connect each of the 14 articles to the one form of interaction where it may contribute the most. Of course, the authors’ works are more nuanced, but let me try. I look at the three forms of interaction, one by one.

7. Symbolic interaction

Hubert Knoblauch discusses ‘Communicative Constructivism and Mediatization’, untying the knot I made above between interaction and communication. With ‘symbolic interactionism’ the crucial role of communication was sacrificed in favour of ‘interaction’, Knoblauch holds. He regards the study of mediatization as the study of the changing structure of communicative action, and proposes ‘communicative constructivism’ as a theoretical framework to conceptualize mediatization. Communicative constructivism elaborates social constructivism from Berger & Luckmann onwards, he argues. Thus, he studies social interaction but avoids the stress on the symbolic part of it. Knoblauch rather connects with Habermas’ theory of communicative action, linking actions and objects – or ‘material vehicles’ to use Sorokin’s term again. Mediatization is a general feature of communicative action with media as extensions of action, Knoblauch (2013: 309) concludes.

Although Knoblauch relates in negative to ‘symbolic interaction’ by avoiding that analytical perspective, Couldry & Hepp use the term. However, in their CT editorial they relate communication as symbolic interaction to ‘mediation’, while mediatization, by contrast ‘refers more specifically to the role of particular media in emergent processes of socio cultural change’ (Couldry & Hepp 2013: 197). The two see in mediatization overall consequences of multiple processes of mediation. Through processes of mediation, then, mediatization relate to symbolic interaction.

Other authors also touch upon symbolic interaction in relation to mediatization. David Altheide (2013), as noted above, is among them. However, in the CT article he mostly uses the terms ‘social interaction’ within a larger ‘ecology’.

Elena Block (2013), arguing for ‘A Culturalist Approach to Mediatization of Politics’ in an ‘Age of “Media Hegemony”’, is concerned with hegemonic symbolic interaction. She uses Hugo Chávez’ politically mediatized Venezuela as example. Kameliya Encheva, Olivier Driessens and Hans Verstraeten

(2013) study interaction with the symbolic environment of media in their piece on 'The mediatization of deviant subcultures'. They do 'an analysis of the media-related practices of graffiti writers and skaters'. Kim Sawchuk (2013) has researched a group of activist elders in Canada. He analyses how they use symbols in 'tactical mediatization' with small-scale media in their interaction and activist communication for respect and rights.

Symbolic interaction is a key feature of mediated communication. However, this approach to interaction may not be able to grasp the wider implications of social change and transformation in mediatization. It may easily become too micro oriented, concerned with the performed symbols and the meaningful interaction over these symbols. The symbolic approach to interaction relates to 'culture' with its focus on symbols and meanings. The wider social context may fall out of sight. 'There may well be symbolic interaction, but' there may be 'lack of observable [social] reciprocation from others' (Sullivan et al. 1990). There are cultural and symbolic aspects to mediatization, but as long-term processes of change it has to be understood in a wider social context.

8. Institutional interaction

Stig Hjarvard is a key theorist on an institutional approach to mediatization. He is focusing on how various institutions in society rely more and more on the media, where the media themselves are gaining a stronger position (e.g. Hjarvard 2008, 2013). As noted above, he observes the variety of interaction processes, in relation to institutions, within institutions and between institutions. In the editorial to the special issue on 'Mediatization and cultural change' Hjarvard and his co-author break the narrow cage of culture that may be read from the above section on symbolic interaction. Hjarvard & Petersen (2013) bring culture into society, so to say, by pointing to the cultural transformations that follow with globalization, commercialization – and mediatization. Institutional interaction and cultural change are brought together. 'Social and material conditions of culture are important as a context for explaining cultural phenomena, yet culture has – also due to the media – experienced integration into new social and material practices as well' (Hjarvard & Petersen (2013: 2). Media institutions have become cultural institutions and the media have affordances for various forms of interaction, they hold.

Klaus Bruhn Jensen (2013) challenges some of the premises his colleague Stig Hjarvard – and others – are operating in mediatization research. Jensen looks to Herbert Blumer's distinction between 'Definitive and Sensitizing Conceptualizations of Mediatization'. While a definitive concept refers to what is common to a class of phenomena, a sensitizing concept gives a more general

sense of reference and guidance on how to understand the empirical phenomena. Hjarvard's explication of mediatization as institutionalization, with certain defined characteristics and the media as an emerging institution, applies a definitive approach, Jensen argues. In contrast, a sensitizing conceptualization could, for example, have played more openly with the role of the media and the consequential mediatization within the 'duality of structure' that seeks to overcome the dichotomy between structure and agency. This would have had consequences for the perception of interaction, Jensen maintains.

Landerer's attempt (2013) to rethink the logics at work in the mediatization of politics also fits in with institutional interaction. The institution of politics and the interactions that are transformed in this institution is the most researched within mediatization studies. However, his proposal to let normative and market logics substitute media logic and political logic as guides to understand political action in mediatized settings would not stand the test by Klaus Bruhn Jensen.

Mikkel Eskjær (2013) goes into the interaction between media and the economic system, and also studies consumption as interaction in a mediatization perspective. He concludes that mediatization represents modernization in a way in which the relationships between consumption, market and politics – i.e. the interactions in and between the institutions in these areas – are reconfigured.

Allison Cavanagh (2013) tries out the usefulness of mediatization theories in historical studies of the media, with the museum institution as example. She observes, through a case study, how mediatization processes change interaction patterns between the institutions of social and cultural power that were involved.

Institutional interaction has 'society' as setting, as modern societies are constructed upon institutions. The institutional perspective on interaction offers a relevant take on mediatization as a process of societal change. However, this aspect of interaction is not sensitive enough – to play with one of Klaus Bruhn Jensen's categories – to capture all forms of emerging mediatization. Jensen indicates (2013) that mediatization research would benefit from greater attention to the ongoing digitalization of the contemporary media environment.

9. Networked interaction

A few of the special issue articles inform of emerging practices with digital, networked media. Aske Kammer (2013) analyses the affordances of new websites in journalism and the transformations of the profession that follows. Iben Have & Birgitte Stougaard Pedersen (2013) study the specific affordances of the audiobook, resulting in what they call a 'sonic mediatization' of the book as a medium, changing the act of reading by moving it into arenas and practices where reading did not take place before, like the gym or the bicycle ride.

Both articles describe virtual interaction in digital networks that influence the cultural and social activities at stake. Networked interaction that moves into an established face-to-face arena creates a 'world' of its own: being there and not being there at the same time. The 'Mediatized Worlds' programme in Germany⁸ gives flesh to this conceptualization of mediatization.

André Jansson (2013), inspired by theoretical works on social space, contributes a more theoretical article on networked interaction and mediatization. He actually reconstructs mediatization as a sociospatial concept, focusing on how networked media, or 'transmedia' with the 'increasingly interconnected and open-ended circulation of media content between various platforms' (2013: 287), change social environments and social practices by providing new spaces on the Internet and at the border of the online/offline realm. Hubert Knoblauch (2013) adds to this perspective by suggesting Actor-Network-Theory as a 'radical reaction to the mediating role of technologies' (2013: 308), where technologies are accepted as 'actors' in the interaction alongside humans.

With the expanding digital networks, an approach to mediatization through networked interaction seems more and more relevant. However, the easy circulation, remix and reformulation in digital networks makes it necessary to keep an open eye on the symbolic interaction involved in the networking. We also need to keep an institutional perspective, as power in society to a great extent is exerted by them, and hence in institutional interaction.

10. Conclusion

A full-fledged analysis of interaction and mediatization, then, needs all three aspects of interaction discussed briefly here. The combined social-constructivist and institutional approach to mediatization that Couldry & Hepp (2013: 196) argue, meet in a focus on social interaction. I recognize mediatization when various media impact people's life horizons and form a basis for a significant part of the social interaction within a certain domain, thus becoming a 'mediatized world'.

We need to understand mediatization and interaction in the span between agency and structure, between acts and the format or setting they relate to. This is easy to say, but difficult to carry out in empirical studies. Pitirim Sorokin and John B. Thompson paved some of the way, pointing to the material vehicles as conductors of meaningful interaction. But we have to proceed. We have to go into details, to study specific interactions, in different settings, by specific agents/actors and media. We have to learn how the transformations actually take place. And we need a historical perspective in theory and on the material we study to grasp the before and the after in mediatization.

Edvard Munch created paintings that have been shared so widely that they have become ‘social imaginaries’ (Valaskivi & Sumiala 2013) to many people trying to handle life in contemporary society. What Munch pointed to – or painted – was actually the ambivalent interactions in a mediatized, modern world.

Notes

- 1 www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/munch/
- 2 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Scream.jpg
- 3 <https://www.google.com/search?q=Munch+History>
- 4 www.uio.no/om/kultur/kunst/kunstsamlingen/utsmynkninger/Munchbrosjyre-aulamaleriene.pdf
- 5 <https://www.google.com/search?q=Warhol+Scream> and www.amscan.org/pdf/SR_Spring13_MunchWarhol.pdf
- 6 Although Thompson applies the term ‘mediatization’.
- 7 Landerer (2013) thus challenges the defence for ‘media logic’ given by Frank Esser (2013). Esser considers a specific logic of appropriateness within the institutional media sphere, that is media logic, which should be understood as shaped by the combined forces of three dimensions: professionalism, commercialism, and media technology. Esser is not concerned with the concept of ‘interaction’, neither are Jesper Strömback in their joint writings on media logic versus political logic (eg. forthcoming 2015).
- 8 www.mediatizedworlds.net

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Biography

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The Mediatization of Childhood and Education: Reflections on The Class¹

Sonia Livingstone

1. Introduction

Walk into any classroom today and you'll find a mix of smart phones, tablet computers and smart boards – for reading, viewing, searching and connecting. Walk into any family home today and here too you cannot fail to observe the plethora of screens and other digital paraphernalia – personally and collectively owned – again, for reading, viewing, communicating and connecting.

At school, pedagogic and policy debates have seized upon the ubiquity of new digital devices and contents to speculate about changes far wider than the mere import of technologies into the classroom, transformations in the nature of learning and literacy, the relation between students and teacher, and the positioning of curricular knowledge and pedagogic practices in the wider community. In the home, public and policy debates are often more pessimistic – bemoaning the loss of authority between parent and child, the array of risks associated with screen and networked cultures, the sense of changes happening too fast for social and ethical norms to keep pace. Yet in the home too, there are excited predictions about new informal opportunities for children and young people to learn, participate, create and connect.

Indeed, in the early twenty first century, it seems that a core societal value is that of connection. In our public and private lives, at micro and macro levels, getting more connected is called for, planned for and celebrated. Connections are heterarchical, agentic, creative. They can overcome barriers and blockages to facilitate interaction, hybridity, flexibility and flow.

Connection has been an important idea in many programmes of institutional reform, including in education, especially given the groundswell of opinion that schools are broken or that a twentieth century education is no longer fit to provide for twenty first century jobs (Selwyn, 2013) – i.e. that the

Livingstone, S. (2014) 'The Mediatization of Childhood and Education. Reflections on The Class', pp. 55-68 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

structures of society no longer serve. It's also an important idea for childhood studies, since the sequestration of children in late modernity (James/Jenks/Prout, 1998) – the cultivation of innocence as an indicator of affluence – is being taken to such a degree in the global north that it's becoming a problem.

Given parallel claims that families too are broken, communities dissolving and the workplace highly uncertain, efforts to build bridges across these sites of learning and socialisation abound. By implication, the barriers that prevent the flow of ideas, knowledge and interest across institutional and everyday sites are, it is feared, holding children back, and undermining their potential.

Now that digital networks underpin and enable social networks, it seems that the logic of the digital age dictates that connection is good and, therefore, disconnection is bad. In relation to young people, the hope is that the affordances of digital, networked technologies can be harnessed to connect disaffected youth with exciting learning opportunities, or disillusioned teachers with new ways of engaging their students, or marginalised families with forms of knowledge usually available only to the privileged.

Inspired by this idea, the Digital Media Learning initiative,² funded by the MacArthur Foundation, is exploring possible solutions to the various ills of public education in the Global North, building on young people's interests in digital media to find new connections between home, school, community and workplace. A multitude of projects, including digital media learning centres in schools, libraries, after school and online, reveals the benefits when kids get together as fans and storytellers, as makers and creators, as coders and geeks, as community builders and civic campaigners.

As part of this initiative, the Connected Learning Research Network, led by Mimi Ito at the University of California, Irvine, has taken this agenda of problems and possible solutions as its test bed for examining the realities of children's learning across diverse contexts and domains of knowledge (Ito et al., 2013). What's emerging is a structuration approach (Giddens, 1984) that places its hopes in children's spontaneous agency and interests, and seeks to reshape societal structures from their current offer of overly narrow paths and unequal opportunities. This means putting a lot of effort not only into designing digital media learning opportunities but also rethinking learning, teaching, institutions, literacies, pathways – in short, reshaping the social, pedagogic and economic infrastructures of children's lives.

However, much of this work so far as focused on the experience of those at the leading edge – youthful digital creators, hackers, civic participators, activists and budding entrepreneurs – for these actualise the vision of the digital media learning community. Yet as surveys repeatedly show, they remain a small minority, with most youth viewing but rarely creating, downloading not uploading, following rather than setting the trend (e.g. see Livingstone/Helsper, 2007).

For this reason, *The Class* was an ethnographic study of one year in the lives of a class of ordinary 13-14 year olds living in a socio-economically and ethnically diverse London suburb. Conducted at LSE by me and Julian Sefton-Green, the project asked the following questions:

- How are children's digital media activities embedded in daily practices and regimes of learning and leisure?
- Do digitally mediated activities and networks enable or impede young people's connected learning or opportunities in society?
- How do / could the wider opportunity structures of peers, school, family and community enable engagement, expertise and efficacy?

We hope to offer insight into how social, digital and learning networks enable or disempower, answering the often-asked question – what's changing now that our lives are full of digital technologies - not by offering any simple or dramatic answers, but by tracing the contextually-meaningful but often small shifts in the meanings, practices and values people take for granted or try actively to reshape in their everyday lives.

The wider purpose is to capture the texture of the social and digital worlds of young people living and learning through the heightened anxieties and uncertainties of what Ulrich Beck calls the "risk society" (Beck, 1986/2005) or, as others dub it, late or reflexive modernity (see Giddens, 1991; see also Bauman, 2001), or the network society (Castells, 2009; see also Appadurai, 1996); a society in which established structures are fading in importance, individuals are disembedded from tradition, collectivities are crumbling and new uncertainties and indeterminacies assail us on all sides.

The school we studied was perfectly ordinary and in many ways could be described as successful. Yet in terms of the young people's learning, we found that experiences of narrow aspirations and blocked pathways were far more common than those of creative connections and new opportunities, and that digital technology uses had become part of a largely pragmatic and instrumental culture of learning. At home and elsewhere, we did find that some young people were exploring their identities, relationships and networks more creatively but still, the expectations of civility, the limits of interface design, and the ubiquity of surveillance by anxious adults proved constraining.

To make sense of these and other observations from the fieldwork, I shall draw on the theories of mediation and mediatization to frame the analysis and to help us understand, in particular, the question of media-related social change.

2. Theoretical framework

In media and communications research, we are no longer just concerned to examine what I might call ‘media and’ – media and politics, media and religion, media and education, etc. Today, developments in both the academy and, indeed, in the world demand that we rethink more fundamentally what it means to live in a thoroughly mediated world (Livingstone, 2009). Taking a step even beyond this focus on mediation, a growing number of scholars is working with the notion of mediatization, to understand not only processes of mediation but also how changes in mediation have consequences for almost any and every field of society (Hepp, 2013; Lundby, 2009; Hjarvard, 2013).

Mediatization theory promises to draw together scholarship on the history of the media in particular (from, say, books to tablets in the classroom) with wider accounts of the history of mediation in any particular field (say, how the shift from books and tablets intersects with changing conceptions of teacher authority, the specification of the curriculum or the boundaries of the classroom) in order to grasp the changing role and significance of what we might call ‘media-as-a-whole’ (i.e. simultaneously as infrastructure, culture and ecology) on the many fields in society that, historically, have been largely separate (politics, family, religion, education, etc.).

In the field of education, for instance, Shaun Rawolle and Bob Lingard argue that digital technologies afford ‘new means of organising teaching and learning, and challenges to and effects on multiple practices in education, including pedagogy, curriculum and assessment.’ (Rawolle/Lingard, 2014) But they do not interpret such changes simply or solely to the introduction of technologies. Rather, they contextualise the evolution of the education field in a longer history of modernity, whose key processes include standardization (consider the growing internal competition over status, as evidenced in the rise of league tables, standard testing and metrics for external audits) and commercialisation (witness the now-endemic language of consumerism within education, with schools as service providers and students as consumers).

Some of these mediatization effects have been unfolding over half a century or more, not least in response to parallel changes in other fields of society. Thus rather than advocating a single linear process of historical change, Rawolle and Lingard conclude that ‘the solidity of meaning implied by the singular term mediatization collects together a plurality of overlapping processes, and suggests a complex interplay of media forces on and in education.’

This is to eschew claims of a radical break but not to tell a monolithic or straightforwardly linear story of historical continuity either. Rather, it is to recognise both how media in modernity have been part of the shaping of those institutions of family, school, state, etc. and, also, how they have played a part in their unravelling and reshaping in late modernity, as we shift from what

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim calls a logic of structures to a logic of flows (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). And it is to recognise that today's media are not merely the means of communicating on a grander scale than ever before humanly possible but they are also the infrastructure, the ecology and the culture that we live within. In this they have been shaped by the other '-izations' of modernity, namely standardization and marketization – although, also, more optimistically, democratization and, more ambiguous perhaps, rationalization.

So what does this feel like, as a young person today? What is the experience of living and learning in the digital age?

3. Fieldwork

As the project title suggests, we have conducted an ethnographic study of one class in an ordinary school, over a full academic year, following them through a range of experiences and watching them change. Living in a very mixed neighbourhood, the class was aged 13-14 years – 'the lost year' in the UK system since it comes just before the year in which begin preparation for formal examinations (but, therefore, a year in which their educational decisions really matter, one in which, evidence suggests, some boys learn to lose and many girls lose their voice). Thirteen year olds are famously the despair of their parents, with their hormones raging, their many and conflictual bids for independence and, of course, mad about their smart phones and being on Facebook.

To trace their various paths out from school and home into their wider networks and activities, lots of methodological choices had to be made and lots of ethical dilemmas resolved. But essentially, we mapped the main spheres of their lives onto the three terms of the academic year – spending the first term observing and interviewing students and teachers in the classroom, spending the second term visiting their homes and bedrooms, talking to their parents, doing a media tour of the home and going online with the young people, and spending the third term – insofar as we could – joining some out-of-school activities or spending time with the peer group.

Making no judgments, our method was to uncover everyday processes of mediation, learning and networking, attending to the young people's experiences – as they told them to us and also as we observed them. However, while the project purpose was to understand the pathways to connected learning, it was not this vision that gained us such in-depth access to the school and home environments. Rather – and recalling the anxieties of the risk society popularly catalysed by the combination of youth, technology and change – it was the risk and safety agenda that got us in. Teachers were worried, parents were worried, and as a result, put simply, the digital media that we had hoped could connect spheres of learning were banned from school and often restricted at home.

As we shall see, the result was not only that many forms of connection that could benefit young people were little in evidence but also that there was a lot invested in disconnection. This came in part from the young people, their families and teachers, and for good reason given their perceptions of the risks surrounding them. It also came from the standardised, commercial products provided to mediate and manage their learning and communication. In the next section, I will discuss two of these that may surprise you to see discussed together: one is the School Information Management System (SIMS); the other is Facebook.

4. SIMS

I found it an interesting experience to return to the classroom, after some decades, and get a feel for what was familiar and what had changed. The black-board of my youth had become a smart board, the teacher had gained a PC on her desk. But while much else felt familiar, the way everyone talked was startling. Consider an early fieldnote, from the start of a typical day:

Teacher to the class: “Did you meet your behaviour-for-learning target last week? If so, think of something else you can do to enhance your learning. Think carefully.” She checks SIMS [the school information management system] and announces who has a detention for lateness. As ‘Progress Day’ is coming up, she checks her computer for parent appointments and reminds the class. Then she returns to the computer to take the register, before turning back to the class to say, “Thank you for being good about litter,” and reads out a lengthy text on the smart board about cleaning up the litter at school.

This moment packed in several features of school life that became clearer as we got deeper into the fieldwork:

- Teachers and students spoke a highly reflexive language that bound together matters of discipline, attainment, and what Stanton Wortham, a classroom ethnographer, called ‘learning identity’ (Wortham, 2006). This language made sense to them but was somewhat excluding to outsiders including many parents, as we saw at Progress Day (when parents had their annual meeting with the class teacher).
- The School Information Management System was used routinely – checked constantly by nearly all teachers in most lessons, for its record of attendance, behaviour (good and bad) and grades – or, as they were called in the UK National Curriculum, ‘levels’.

- The Smart Board, present in every classroom and constantly in use, was predominantly used as a means of one-way communication – whether for print, as here, or for video, often accessed via YouTube. Rarely were its interactive features employed – for student input, collaborative work, blogs or remixing of curriculum materials – though we saw a few quizzes.
- Indeed, various forms of mass communication were ubiquitous – with Hollywood films used to illustrate history or geography, sporting events providing examples in mathematics, or BBC news as a point of discussion in tutor time. In each case, these seemed to be used to provide a point of common knowledge, a way of referring to their lives outside school by emphasising what students shared rather than what divided them.
- Indeed, given the many differences of class, ethnicity and family background, by focusing tightly on the curriculum, scattered with some references to popular culture, the teachers sought to uphold the ideal of the democratic classroom, maintaining an atmosphere of civility, and a vision of everyone together following the same path, albeit at different paces. To give one example, we observed a series of lessons on the slave trade that ignored the evident diversity of ethnicity and poverty in the class and, instead, had everyone face the front to watch *Roots*.
- You won't be surprised to learn, however, that when we followed the young people out of school, home and elsewhere, or even when we looked beneath the surface of social relations at school, differences of gender, class and ethnicity were strongly present.

All of this was made possible – or, at least, made efficient – by SIMS, a piece of expensive proprietary software in use in around four in five British schools.³

While we saw little interactive use of the Smart Board, then, along with few other forms of interactivity – a rather ineffective effort to institute teacher blogging, an underused intranet platform, and few if any forms of digital connectivity between school and home – SIMS showed that the school could use technology in a highly competent manner when so desired. SIMS represented a complex, heavily used, digital, networked system of surveillance for close monitoring of attendance, behaviour, achievement, backed up by the shared teacher-learner discourse of performance management.

In lessons, the task of recording data into SIMS was demanding, with teachers entering data live into the computer or recording it on the white board and entering it later. Thus at the start and end of each day, the students' data could be read out to the class, making progress or failure visible, and inviting constant reflection on their learning trajectory. Behind the scenes, then, both attainment and behaviour are measured, standardised, available for manipulation. Since class time was heavily occupied in data collection, and since a pan-

opticon-like punishment room awaited those whose record showed too many bad marks, we initially thought the system would be hugely unpopular with the students. But we were wrong, as both youth and parents explained to us:

Nick: “if you got three concerns on the class sheet in a week, you would get a detention. Then it would be one thing on SIMS. But now you would get four, because you would get the detention plus the three concerns.”

Salma: “It’s quite good because they keep what track, like, if you’re going on track. All your levels, they know all your levels and they know if you have to boost it or you’re doing good. So I think it’s good that they have all that.”

Gideon: “In Year 7, I just didn’t care. Every lesson, I’d just be getting in trouble, and sometimes I’d get, like, a concern in every lesson, and then Year 8, I became a bit better. But I’d still probably get one or two concerns in a day, and regularly, every Thursday after school, I’d have detention.”

Adriana’s dad: “Given the kind of school it is and the kind of intake it has... you know, they have to be fair and they can’t just sort of selectively be disciplinarians for the people who they think might be trouble and let the others do what they like.”

Here Nick relishes explaining the system to us. Salma appreciates the sense that the school is in control of her learning. Gideon measures his personal development in the language of the system. And Adriana’s father speaks for many parents when he explains that so standardized a system seems to offer a kind of fairness to the students.

5. Facebook

Nearly all the class had a profile on Facebook, since for thirteen year olds in 2011-12, being on Facebook was the norm. Within the class, offline, friendship groupings tended to stratify by gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status. But such groupings were masked on Facebook, at least superficially, in the sense that there, nearly everyone was friends with everyone else.

So, rather like when they were all together in school, Facebook is a place where everyone is together. And contrary to media panics, most of the class did not want trouble, did not wish to navigate genuine differences among them. Rather, they wanted to hang out, to get on, and to keep an eye out for what was happening, for anything new or cool. Two typical comments from the young people were:

“I usually go on it to see what’s happening. I don’t really chat to people because it’s, kind of, I can’t really be arsed. It’s kind of long as well, but if I want to meet someone, I usually just Facebook them to see what they’re doing. But if they’re not online, I’ll just text them.”

“I don’t really put much on Facebook. Usually I use Facebook just for like say if I’m going to ask someone to do something, if they’ve got a contact.”

Indeed, while hugely useful to them, so they retain their profiles, we could also see young people withdrawing their emotional investment from Facebook book, the more it became a civil space to monitor their peers and to be monitored themselves.

There’s a fascinating contrast between this present use of Facebook and that of just a few years ago. In 2007, I was interviewing teens just at the moment when, it turned out, they were migrating en masse from MySpace to Facebook. While MySpace had been hugely enjoyed for its expressive affordances – fancy wallpaper, glittery fonts, mix of image, music and chat – so that a whole cohort of teens had become absorbed in customising their online self, experimenting with identity and transforming their self-portrait frequently – this activity suddenly faded (Livingstone, 2008).

Facebook, with its clean, standardized, blue-and-white format looked mature, adult, desirable. And this became the new norm. But users transform platforms, and in response to its extraordinary popularity, Facebook changed (Boyd/Hargittai, 2010). On the one hand, it became the focus of huge anxiety about risk – bullying, sexting, pornography, harassment – so it introduced privacy features, reporting buttons, help services, safety guidance. On the other hand, it sought to monetize its new success – collecting personal data, and insisting on a single identity to facilitate targeted marketing (van Dijck, 2013).

The consequence – and perhaps young people would have changed anyway – is a new move, this time not to a single site but to a diversity of sites (Lilley/Ball, 2013). These are often riskier, parental anxieties are rising again, new companies stand to make money, but young people are having fun – the new sites are edgy again, social networking is more experimental, identities can be remixed, and new kinds of reflexivity about the project of the self have become possible.

But all of this is back under the radar. While Facebook rolls out its ‘Facebook for education’ programme,⁴ potentially to underpin connected learning across sites, and schools begin to think of using Facebook for group projects or civic efforts that span home, school and community, the kids are elsewhere, keeping their lives private from sensible adult visions, learning who knows what.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, I will return first to the theory of mediatization, and then to the theory of connected learning.

Currently, three ideal typical accounts of mediatization can be discerned, each with a different focus and timescale (Livingstone/Lunt, 2014). First, on a timescale of millennia, there have been many and varied roles for mediation throughout the long *durée* of cultural evolution. For instance, children have always learned with and through technologies, defined broadly, long before the birth of the school, and those technologies have shaped what they could know. This is what I meant when I argued, a few years ago, that everything was mediated (Livingstone, 2009) – not only by media technologies but also by the many other material conditions that shape communication, exchange, space and time. While telling the story of how children have learned with media in different times and cultures is a bigger story than I can attempt here, it is a story that many have contributed to. Perhaps, despite many necessary qualifications and complications, some underlying processes that we might call the mediatization of learning or childhood is waiting to be described. But until they are, recognising the manifold contexts of mediation does not help us much in understanding what is changing, what's new now.

The pressing sense that everything is newly in flux is what drives the second account of mediatization. Focused just on the last few decades, this examines the interdependencies between digital and networked transformations and other societal transformations (globalisation, individualisation, commercialisation, etc.) which together have been reshaping, perhaps deconstructing the familiar structures of society, including the nation state, the polity, the family, social class, unions, the market, the social contract, and more. Sidestepping the strongly contested opposition between historical continuities or radical breaks, and that between varieties of hyperbolic techno-optimism or pessimism, we have to acknowledge that any account of a process we might term mediatization (or, perhaps, digitalization or network-ization) - based on assessing socio-technological transformations in the digital age - can only be, at best, an account of history-in-the-making. We are simply too embedded in present developments to attain the wisdom that hindsight will one day bring.

As a theory of mediatization, then, I prefer the third account. This operates neither over millennia or decades but, rather, over centuries – specifically, the past few centuries that have taken us from what we can call high modernity through to late modernity (or, for some, post-modernity). It centres on how the forces of modernity have converged to produce the dominant corporate media sector that John Corner (1995: 5) described when he commented on “the powerful capacity of television [and, we can now add, ‘the internet’] to draw towards itself and incorporate (in the process, transforming) broader aspects of the culture” and also to project its images, character types, catch-phrases and latest creations to the widest edges of the culture, permeating if not dominating the conduct of other cultural affairs” (Corner, 1995). Or as Stig Hjarvard (2012: 30) puts it, mediatization is the ‘double-sided development in which

media emerge as semi-autonomous institutions in society at the same time as they become integrated into the very fabric of human interaction in various social institutions like politics, business, or family.’ (Hjarvard, 2012)

But in my fieldwork, I see value in all three forms of mediation, on all three timescales of media and societal change.

The first account is helpful as a reminder of the diverse and nonlinear nature of change over the long *durée*. For instance, in the UK, just as we ended our fieldwork, the Government abolished measuring attainment on the national curriculum in terms of levels. What this means for SIMS or, more broadly, for the discursive relation between teachers and students, remains to be seen. It seems astonishing for the generation of teachers and young people who had learned to organise their shared discourse of learning and learning identity in these terms. Then, reminding us of the many and convoluted paths of cultural evolution, the heavy focus on quantifying learning that we saw in our UK class has few echoes in the Danish classroom, and seems differently managed also in the American classroom.

Another reversal is evident in the way that, even five years ago, kids were flocking to Facebook as the cool and grown up place to conduct their relationships; yet its very popularity required Facebook to change - becoming more safe and sensible. The result is that it is no longer edgy and so, rather than everyone congregated on the one, standardised site, young people are diversifying in how they network and explore their identities.

The second account attunes us to the most recent developments – potentially transformative if scaled up and sustained – in, for instance, teachers’ (variably successful) efforts to blog, providing a digital bridge between teacher enthusiasm to pursue their subject and student engagement in creative ways, outside the formalities of the curriculum and classroom. It reminds us that while our fieldwork site, like many, had banned portable digital devices of any kinds from being used on the premises, other schools are experimenting with providing tablets or laptops, or permitting students to use their mobile phones, to facilitate collaborative and cross-site learning. In my colleague Craig Watkins’ fieldwork, for instance, an enterprising teacher is using his afterschool computer club to legitimate the creative musical knowledge of ethnically marginalised youth, inviting a reconceptualization within the school, home and workplace of traditional valuations of young people’s literacy and expertise.²⁶

The third account, however, positions both the above as subject to – and in a sense outsmarted by – the rationalizing forces of modernity. For the fieldwork material presented here shows that while people can see the opportunities of connection, nonetheless at times of anxiety and heightened risk such as we are living through today, they prefer safe structures and pathways. Standardization is seen not as the enemy of creativity and individuality but as offering a fair chance to all, a civil space that avoids the clashes of (risky) difference.

And in a context where traditional institutions are ever less able to guarantee desired outcomes (valued learning, secure jobs, meaningful friendships, embedded social capital, a foothold in a successful future), a gap has opened up where big business is stepping in to promise particular kinds of connection, particular forms of support. These do, doubtless, deliver some benefit, but they rule out other benefits along the way, particularly those within the vision of connected learning – collaborative, flexible, creative, interest-driven. An added irony is that, to sustain their hold on people's imagination, they have to be in the avant garde, becoming the early adopters of 'our' new visions of connected and participatory opportunities, which they then package, monetise and sell back to the 'late majority' public, building in strategies for risk management, data collection and marketing along the way.

And yet the challenges for families and schools are indeed significant in the risk society. The claims of radical reform movements, including that of connected learning, remain unproven, making it risky to place too much hope in them. And much of the force of what I have here theorised as mediatization is essentially rationalization – yes, including standardization and marketization, but also democratization.

So shall we give up on the digital media learning vision? On pursuing how digital media technologies can be designed and contextualised so as to contribute to new forms of living and learning in the digital age? On bringing children's outside interests and expertise into school, validating and extending it? No, there's too much research on the benefits – albeit in highly resource intensive and distinctively flexible settings – for us to give up on it. Instead, I suggest, we should ask not only how to enable connections, where these can be productive, but also what's motivating disconnection – we should see this as an act, sensible in its particular context, rather than merely an impediment. And rather than simply blaming teachers, parents or young people for failing to rise to the occasion, we should think more deeply about the entrenched commitments, anxieties and aspirations that make people so seemingly conservative in the digital age. This may involve us in a longer process, and a larger struggle, than we initially envisaged.

Notes

- 1 This chapter draws on the work of *The Class*, conducted with Julian Sefton-Green as part of the Connected Learning Research Network, led by Mimi Ito and funded by The MacArthur Foundation. Thanks to the network for discussing the ideas in this chapter and to Rafal Zaborowski for his work with us on *The Class*. See <http://clrn.dmlhub.net/projects/the-class>
- 2 <http://dmlhub.net/>
- 3 <http://www.capita-sims.co.uk/>
- 4 See <http://clrn.dmlhub.net/projects/the-digital-edge>

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Biography

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From a Social Worlds Perspective to the Analysis of Mediatized Worlds

Friedrich Krotz

1. Mediatization: A long term process of change of everyday life, culture and society.

Mediatization is a concept that came up in the last decade of the last century to become a “key” (Lundby, 2009) to describe and to grasp theoretically the changing media landscape and the related change in the daily lives of people, of organizations and institutions, and of culture and society as a whole. The word “mediatization” itself has a surprisingly long history in communication studies, as Stefanie Auerbeck-Lietz (2014) has shown. Nevertheless, it is not before the second half of the 1990s that one finds the first attempts to develop the concept systematically as being fundamental for communication studies (Krotz, 1995; 2001). In this sense, “mediatization” was the response of the scientific community and especially of communication and media scholars to the growing importance of digital and computer directed media, which was accompanied by a change of old media. Of course, mediatization research in general is inspired by ideas of the so-called Medium Theory, following Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan, but tries to avoid the one-sided technological orientation and other problems of that approach (Krotz, 2001).

In general, the main question of mediatization research is the following: How are the everyday lives, social relations and people’s identity, organizations and institutions, and culture and society as a whole changing in the context of the development of the media system? As a starting point to systematically develop answers to this question by doing empirical research and by developing theoretical insights, today there exist different notions of how to define mediatization (cf. Krotz/Hepp, 2013, Hepp, 2012). Some researchers refer to the media logic concept of Altheide and Snow (1979), others like Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) look for sub-processes in modernity or concentrate only on changing power relations by upcoming institutions in the field of politics (c.f. for all cases: Lundby, 2009). Others again reduce the media development

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to the development of the former mass media, try to extend Innis' system of media dominated phases of human development, or reduce mediatization to a development only in the area of digitalization (For an overview: Lundby, 2009, Hepp/Krotz, 2014).

In this paper, mediatization is conceptualized in a broader way following Krotz (2009). It is seen as a so-called meta process, just like globalization, individualization or commercialization, which are studied for example in sociology. From this perspective, "mediatization" should not be used as a synonym for "digitalization", as there were a lot of mediatization processes in history long before digitalization. As media history has shown, media (for example: pictures) have existed since human beings began to communicate and they and their developments have always accompanied human development (c.f. Horerisch, 2004). There have been 'human media' telling us about religion. There was the invention of writing in different cultures and societies, and the slow process of whole cultures and societies becoming literate, lasting hundreds or even thousands of years. There was the growing importance of pictures under different cultural or religious conditions, the invention of the printing press and its different forms of use in different cultures, the development of media of interpersonal and institutional communication like the letter and later the telephone and the cell, or computer games as an example for media of interactive communication. Today, mediatization mostly refers to the digitalization of old media and the invention of computer based new ones. A specific topic is the fact that media can also disappear (which may be called "demediatization"), if for example by pressure of the church pictures may disappear from religious buildings, as was the case in the European middle age. And it may be the case that upcoming media are used quite differently in the same society – for example, we as members of society are using the digital infrastructure as a net for communication, for conversation and for mutual understanding, while enterprises and secret services use the same net as a data net in a strategic interest to sell us things and to control us. Of course, this cannot be discussed in more detail here.

If one talks about mediatization, it is important to make clear what precisely is understood to be a medium. We here use a concept of media referring to semiotics (Saussure, 1998) and also to Raymond Williams' understanding of media as technology and cultural form (Williams, 1990). In such a view, a medium is an instrument for communication that at the same time has a structural and a situational existence: As a structure, a medium is a societal institution and a technology. As a situational instrument, it works as a producer and distributor of cultural forms, content and aesthetical forms of representation, and as a space of experience for the users (Krotz, 2011). Compared with face-to-face-communication, today more and more different forms of mediated communication are coming into existence and being used by people. In

a social constructivist perspective, following George Herbert Mead, Alfred Schütz and Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, culture and society are socially constructed by the activities of people, especially by the communicative actions of us all. But under conditions of ongoing media change, and as more and more media are coming up and being used, communication takes place differently, compared with before. More and more communicative activities for more and more intentions and goals are taking place as mediated and media related communication. Thus media become more and more relevant for what happens, which meaning that has, and how society is working.

Thus, social reality by media development is constructed more and more on the basis of mediated communication and of media related communication. This is what we call the meta process of mediatization, and sub-processes of this overall process may be observed in everyday life, thinking, knowledge, learning, growing up, social relations, political participation, economy, and so on: We then call the results mediatized, when everything depends on media: For example, universities are places of teaching and learning. They started as institutions of handwritten papers and notes and vocal lectures in the 13th century, then became mediatized institutions of printed matter, and today are again mediatized as institutions of handwritten papers, printed matter and electronic media. These repeated sub-processes can be understood to be recursive steps of mediatization.

Today, there is a growing and internationally directed literature, growing empirical work, and a theoretically driven discussion surrounding mediatization (Livingstone, 2008; Krotz, 2011; 2012; 2014; Couldry, 2008; Lundby, 2009; 2014; Hepp, 2011; Hjarvard, 2013; Krotz/Hepp, 2014, and a special issue and the ongoing publication of articles in the *European Journal of Communication Research*).

Finally in this introductory chapter, let us say what makes the concept of mediatization special and why we recommend its use. It is the aim of communication and media studies to describe communication and media and the cultural and social roles they play for human beings, as well as to analyze the results to gain theoretical concepts which can help to understand and explain what is happening. Now, this has been rather difficult for some decades, and will remain difficult probably for several to come, for we are living in a time of rapid and fundamental development of media and communication, as is well known. In such a situation, the mediatization approach offers four helpful basic ideas.

First of all, mediatization researchers do not start by studying the development of any one single media or specific areas of culture and society: Mediatization research is not media centred. Instead, they start with the communicating individuals and how their communication is changing by using a new medium in a specific area of life. As we said above, changing media

and media systems are changing communication and the social construction of reality as people use them for communication and for orientation in culture and society. Thus, in order to understand changing everyday life, culture, and society in the context of media development, we have to look at what people are doing and how their communicative actions are changing in the case that they use different media in a specific area of life: We do not concentrate on media, but on the social reality. We also know by observation and by prior research that mediatization is not a linear and continually ongoing process, but rather develops intermittently and in different steps in different areas of social life: The mediatization of a household is different from the mediatization of a fan group or the school. We thus must study the different areas of social life in different ways – to do so, we introduce in the next part of this text the concept of social and mediatized worlds. If we find out how these developments work in different social worlds, our results can be ordered theoretically. Using concepts like this, we are able to systematically develop an overview of the consequences of media change in culture and society and the surrounding academic research, which today is studied in quite a lot different disciplines and with very different questions and methodologies – this is what communication and media studies can contribute to development today.

Secondly, we thus try to do research with reference to the fact that we need process oriented research and theory if we want to describe these developments and understand them theoretically. It is not really helpful to think of society and culture as stable entities or to say that the media development of today will end in an information, a network or a media society, as nobody today can say what exactly this should be and what are the characteristic features of such a type of society – in addition, it is not clear whether such a society finally would be stable over time. In contrast to this, by using a mediatization approach, one can reconstruct the process of changing media, changing communication, and changing culture and society, and thus follow the historical and present development, but also on the basis of this make plausible suppositions for the future.

Thirdly, we understand the mediatization process as a long-term process in history, as the development of media already took place in the past with the upcoming of written language and books, the printing press, the invention of the camera, the movie, the radio, and so on. Together with all these developments, new institutions and new aesthetics in culture and society, new knowledge and new experiences of the people came into existence, as in relation to these inventions communication and communicatively constructed entities have been changing too. By reconstructing the past, we can try to learn from history in order to better understand present developments, as there may be prior experiences of media developments which can be helpful to avoid mistakes today. For example, 100 years ago the upcoming radio was used to

announce revolutions, and the working class tried to have its own broadcasting facilities. But kings and emperors, governments, bureaucracy and economy have won this fight and installed a government driven or economically driven radio everywhere in the world. Could it be that the same is taking place today with the internet?

Fourthly, the mediatization approach includes both historical and current research, in order to construct a theory to understand what is happening in the field of media, cultural and societal change. In addition, this approach may serve as an approach to critical research. Learning from history also means that we can find out what can happen with democracy if media are controlled by government, secret services, or are economically dominated by huge giants like Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon, without the control and influence of civil society. In the perspective of the Frankfurt School, critical research consists of confronting the real developments with the possible ones – and this is what a mediatization approach can help to do by analyzing developments in detail and comparing the results with what could be possible under different conditions. For example, in a mediatization approach we can compare the role of the internet under the conditions of net neutrality with an internet with a lot of privileges for the commercial transport of data – this is not only a question of what works better, but a question of power and hegemony.

2. Taking a social world perspective on media use and media development

The central question related to mediatization is how to study it empirically and to grasp it theoretically. A key element for understanding is to ask how people introduce new media technologies into their everyday lives, how they appropriate these media and integrate them into their lives, and what consequences will arise from that, as they communicate and act differently on the basis of these newly introduced media. Here, the domestication approach developed by Silverstone and Haddon (1996), and similar approaches of technologically oriented research are helpful; but here we have a broader interest as we ask for the media related consequences for culture and society.

As stated above: In so doing, it is important to have in mind that in different areas of everyday life different media and different forms of mediated communication may play a role, and that in each of these areas different rules may apply as to what people do with media and how they use them. For example, there is a lot of information about gardening in the internet; but when you are working in the garden you usually do not have a laptop or a tablet at hand. This may change, if some time in future we have home and gardening robots so that that we no longer do the work but tell them what to do. For the

social world of gardening, therefore, mediated interpersonal communication and mass media and internet related communication are of course relevant, but mostly before and after the work in the garden. Thus, although this social world takes place mediated and media related, it is not completely determined by media relations and influences.

This is different if a person is interested in participating in political work, which today is mainly a communicative activity with the use of a lot of media: reading blogs and newspapers, listening to news, watching TV, discussing with others, face-to-face or via media, and so on: the social world of political communication today is much more shaped by the media than the world of gardening. Moreover, if we look at the political happenings in society as a whole, we can say that political participation and political communication are broadly determined by the role of the media – it is not only a social world of mediated and media related communication, it is a mediatized social world. Although somewhat different, similar differences are the result when we look at media use and the mediatization process in a family, or if we compare the use and role of media in religious communities with the world of computer games – some include mediated and media related communications, others depend more or less totally on media and thus may be called mediatized. Hence, we can conclude that different areas of everyday life in the perspective of an individual today demand different access to and different experiences with media, as different rules apply and people operate with different expectations – and thus also different forms of media literacy may become relevant. This means that mediatization is a complicated, long-term process that takes place in different areas in different ways. We can thus conclude that we cannot study a long-term meta process in general; instead it makes sense to examine and analyze in detail what happens in the particular individual areas of life.

This is the reason why in the following we refer to the concept of social worlds. The concept stems from symbolic interactionism (George Herbert Mead, 1969; 1973) and was created by Tamotsu Shibutani as early as 1955. Later it was used and developed by Anselm Strauss and his collaborators (e.g. Clarke, 1990; Strübing, 2007). In this view, a “social world” is a “set of common or joint activities or concerns bound together by a network of communication.” (Strauss, 1984: 123; cf. also Strauss, 1978). A social world thus describes a specific societal and cultural entity of communication, which we call a “world” because it includes all communicative activities related to the common activities that constitute that world. A social world thus is “not bounded by geography or formal membership, but by the limits of effective communication” (Shibutani, 1955: 566). In this perspective, we do not live in a society as a whole, but in a huge amount of different social worlds, in which we are active and in which we communicate with others. In each such social world, different rules and conditions may hold, especially for communication:

Families and households may be analyzed as social worlds, but also enterprises and departments of a university or fan communities of music styles or sports disciplines. And in such social worlds, the mediatization of which we can study, analyse and describe, typical developments, typical ways of use and habits may be observed.

In the context of mediatization, we thus understand social worlds as the social entities in which people become acquainted with new media by using them for specific interests and purposes, and study and develop the common rules and conditions which hold in such a social world. For example, if we look at the mobile phone, parents want to control their children or to stay in contact with them, while children want to have their own channel for communication with their friends. Football fans use their mobile phones to organize events, and enterprises use them for internal communication or the acquisition of new customers – all these are indicators for specific mediatization processes. In each such social world the respective relevant mediatization sub-processes take place by following the specific communicational norms and habits of that social world.

Mediatization thus takes place as a lot of different mediatization sub-processes of different social worlds. Such a social world perspective on people's thematically centred fields of communication is thus not only helpful for an analysis of the everyday lives of people in a mediatized culture and society, which we understand to be constructed socially and by communication of the people. It is also useful if we want to understand the changing forms of cultural and social life by changing forms of media (Krotz, 2014a). In contrast to this, empirical research in the frame of communication studies is often concentrated on single media. As a consequence, communication studies traditionally situate people as part of the audience of solely this particular media. This may result in interesting outcomes, but communication studies would much benefit from a complementary view by starting with the perspective of the individuals in a social and cultural world, as suggested by the concept of "social worlds".¹

If we assume the perspective of the acting subjects and start research with reference to their social realities, things may look different. This is because the usual knowledge, habits and interests of people become central for the analysis of media, cultural and social change. We also have to take into consideration the reasons why people introduce new media into their everyday lives, how they appropriate media, and with which consequences they use them in the given social world. For example, if a person buys a mobile phone, then this person can be interested in an easier organization of everyday life, to be in more contact with friends, or to get more and current information via the internet. This has been shown for example by studies that have asked people why they do not use certain media and whether or not they plan to do so in the future: therefore, it is the concrete aims and expectations that are relevant,

not the general and abstract interest to use a technical device or any specific technical feature (Gerhards/Mende, 2006). Thus, this paper emphasizes the assumption that people are not generally interested in media. Rather, their interest and their participation is particularly directed into specific areas of life, and these interests motivate them to explore and use new or changing media. This, for example, is also shown by the impressive empirical studies of Maria Bacardjeva (2005), who very carefully accompanied people in their first steps in the internet—and showed that usually people are not interested in the net, but in specific intentions and purposes.

3. The social worlds of computer games, of football and football fans

In order to illustrate and explain the concept of social worlds and its relations to mediatization research we now give two more detailed examples: The social world of computer gaming and the social worlds of football and football fans.

Becoming a computer gamer does not simply mean that a person happens to play a computer game. Instead, it means that she or he is playing computer games again and again, has a biography as a gamer, has a broader knowledge about computer games than other persons, informs himself/herself about games, their development and the public discourse about them – in other words, that playing computer games is a relevant concern for her or him. Becoming a gamer thus implies that a person must have access, at least from time to time, to the discourse surrounding the computer gaming culture. This necessitates not only that this person owns a computer, but also that they have access to a broad selection of computer generated media like the internet, the mobile phone, the platforms for computer games. And it means that such persons inform themselves about games by reading blogs, journals, websites or other relevant material, and of course is also talking, mailing, chatting with others, or is using further forms of mediated interpersonal communication in respect of gaming, for example being in contact with other gamers within the context of this or that game. To sum up: We expect that such persons in their everyday lives are oriented to living and acting as computer game players – not exclusively and the whole day, but again and again, and that they are committed to doing so. In such a case, we may say that this person is a member of the social world of computer gamers. In addition it is evident that this social world is a mediatized world, as the computer games themselves need digital media, and most activities of the members of this world are communicated by digital media. It is a social world that only exists because of the existence of digital media. Some interesting consequences of participating in this mediatized social world are for example described by Graeme Kirkpatrick (2013).

Another obvious example is the social world of football and football fans. The central thematic concern of people engaged in football is the club and the games. Persons, places and institutions that relate to that are the football players, the stadium, the different football leagues, and the other clubs in these leagues, the referees, the staff of the club, and all the organizations that care for football in general. In addition, we have events and activities and whatever belongs to that: football matches, people coming to watch the matches, the technology in the stadium, the screens where goals or other situations are shown or replayed, the police and the video cameras which observe the participants outside and inside the stadium, the people selling beer and sausages or whatever is allowed. Of course, there is also the press and the TV and other media institutions that observe the play and what is happening, and the people sitting at home watching TV and so on. The stadium, the statements, and especially the TV transmissions are in addition full of marketing activities of enterprises. All this all and a lot more – for example a regional meeting of the fans – is the material basis of the social world of football and football fandom. As a whole it consists of all the communicative activities that refer to this area of life, which we can call a social world that already existed before the emergence of digital computer related media. The fans – or the people who call themselves fans – visit their stadium frequently or at least from time to time, some behaving in specific ways and wearing specific clothes, at least on certain occasions, and thus presenting themselves as football fans of a particular club. They usually read special interest journals, specific blogs, from time to time have meetings in specific restaurants or pubs with others who also would call themselves football fans. They usually know a lot about football and have a specific biography or socialization and career with reference to football.

Now let us look at the forms of communication that are taking place in this social world of football and football fans: There has always been highly important face-to-face-communication in the stadium during matches or when football fans meet for a beer or move on to the stadium or go home or to a pub when the play is over. There is interactive communication², as people acting in this social world use tablets and computers, and fans often play computer games concerned with football. In addition, everybody uses phones or mobile phones and similar devices for mediated interpersonal communication – in Germany, for example, even the referees are connected by walkie-talkies. Today the stadium itself is not only a place for a football match but at the same time a stage for press, radio and TV, who are always present to report about what happens, with the players and the coach as the stars. There are also mass media, for example screens in the arena to inform the spectators and to screen ads, there are further moving animated advertisements, and the club and the players offer information on their websites. Besides all these forms of mediated communication, there is also in a broader sense media related communica-

tion: Most things and facts that people know or experience with reference to their preferred football club and about the whole league, they have experienced through media or at places strongly controlled by media – e.g. the stadium, the club restaurant, or other places where people committed to this football club will meet.

Thus, there is more and more mediated communication and media related communication taking place in this world of football and football fans and it is becoming more and more relevant. As a consequence we would call this social world a mediatized (social) world. We do so because more or less all that happens in this social world is influenced and shaped by the media. Media are crucial for the image and the financial income of the club, they help to control and organize the people in the stadium, and they are responsible for a high degree of name recognition. The media can set the whole club under pressure, and the value of the players and the income of the club depend on the media. For decades, there have also been discussions to change the rules of the game such that it would become of higher interest or offer more excitement – this has happened with a lot of other sport disciplines as well.

4. Mediatization research as the study of the mediatization of social worlds

Social worlds are thus a helpful and logical concept for studying the societal and cultural meaning of media in the everyday lives of people, institutions and organizations, and also the world of economy and politics, socialization, school, religion, and so on. It is an important unit of investigation for what is happening in culture and society in the perspective of the members and participants: As reported above, society and culture can be understood as a (changing and developing) net of social worlds. The concept “social world” is moreover an important instrument for studying the changing roles and meanings of media in the changing world of today in order to learn about the consequences of media change for culture and society and thus about the long-term meta process of mediatization, which describes the relation between media change and societal and cultural change.

In this regard, the overall meta process of mediatization can be described as a process of changing social worlds. As explained above, mediatization comes into existence due to the fact that people communicate and interact by using emerging or changing media. So with reference to mediatization each social world is developing under its own special conditions and as a result of the changing forms of communication which are relevant for this particular social world: For example, new mediated interpersonal forms of communication may take place or new mass media and other forms of standardized media or inter-

active media may become relevant. This then results in new ways of organizing cooperation and activities in these social worlds and in communication and discourse. Thus, the everyday lives of the people concerned may change, new ways to shape and live social relations, and changing forms of socialization and growing up may emerge. If such developments happen with reference to a lot of social worlds, also the organization and the aims and goals of enterprises, political parties and other institutions may change. Finally, all this will lead to changes in democracy and economy, culture and society. Hence, an understanding of mediatization as the ongoing mediatization of different social worlds in different ways, as shown for the world of football and the new world of computer gaming, may be helpful to describe and to understand mediatization.

Such an approach is in addition helpful for understanding the special features and qualities of mediatization. As in the case of globalization, modernization and other long-term meta processes, (which are meta processes as they cannot be described merely by different states at different points of time), mediatization in such a view is evidently taking place in a nonlinear way, not simultaneously in different social worlds, and in each phase it includes a complex and cultural diversity of developments. There are always different sub-developments, and they all depend on social, cultural, and historical conditions. Even inside a given culture and society, there are different developments in the different fields and segments, how upcoming media are used and what for, which rules and norms will be accepted, and this at least today takes place in the midst of an ongoing media change – we have given examples for this above. We can also analyse which social worlds are impacted by new media and via which paths a new media develops in a given society – which may be different in different cultures or social groups. We may also find out what it means when some media are used at first in economy and school, and others in the private sphere; and also whether the use of media is related to power or to interest on the part of the social subjects.

As a consequence, mediatization research has three different branches:

- There is current research trying to reconstruct empirically and grasp theoretically the developments of today and, for example, to bring the different, mostly single-media studies together,
- There is historical research trying to understand the developments of the past and learning from them, also to be able to understand the current developments,
- There is critical research, as the development today is driven by technological, economic and bureaucratic developments and institutions like Facebook, Google or Amazon and by governments and their bureaucracy, as this can be reconstructed by using for example the concept of so-

cial worlds. Such research becomes critical if one, in the tradition of the Frankfurt school, contrasts the reality with what is possible under the given conditions.

Especially the latter type of research has to be promoted, as mediatization research is showing how fundamental the changes of media are and how relevant they are for the development of culture and society. Today, the whole media development is driven by enterprises and industry, and more and more parts and forms of use of the digital media are controlled by great enterprises and losing their aspects as spaces of freedom and democratic participation. In addition, and as is well known, nearly all important industries, all economic branches, and all enterprises collect and analyze all the data on people they can get, and the above mentioned internet giants together with the secret services try to control whatever happens in the whole net. As all this leads to more control and power and makes the net more and more to an instrument of ongoing hegemony, this must be countermanded: Fundamental areas of life must be under democratic control. We thus need more critical research to look for other developments controlled by civil society and not by industry and government, and helpful concluding proposals as to what has to be done to get the net back for civil society and the individuals.

Notes

- 1 Such a social world perspective is adopted and developed by some projects of the German priority program "Mediatized Worlds", cf. www.mediatizedworlds.net
- 2 interactive communication should not be confused with interaction – while interaction in sociology stands for social actions between persons, interactive communication designates a human-computer activity, where the hardware/software system gives the user seemingly individual answers.

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Biography

Since October 2010, Professor of Communications and Media Studies with a focus on social communication and mediatization research. Friedrich Krotz has a Diplom in Mathematics (University of Karlsruhe) and in Sociology (University of Hamburg), he holds a doctorate in sociology and qualified as a professor in Communication and Journalism. He worked at the University of the Saarland as a mathematician, at the University of Hamburg as a sociologist, and at the University of Berlin in the field of policy research. He taught and researched computer science and sociology at the College of Public Administration in Hamburg. From 1989 until 2001 he was a research fellow at the Hans Bredow Institute for Media Research at the University of Hamburg. He has represented professorships at the Universities of Jena, Potsdam and Zurich and he held a professorship in Media Sociology and Psychology at the University of Muenster before he followed Peter Glotz as professor of Communication Studies and Social Communication in 2003 at the University of Erfurt. There in 2004 he founded the Research Centre COMDIGMED and was also its speaker until 2010. Since 1st October 2010 Friedrich Krotz teaches and researches at the University of Bremen.

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Communicative Figurations: Researching Cultures of Mediatization

Andreas Hepp

1. The necessity of a transmedia perspective within mediatization 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

Hepp, A. (2014) ‘Communicative Figurations. Research Cultures of Mediatization’, pp. 83-99 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

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 reciprocity. 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-

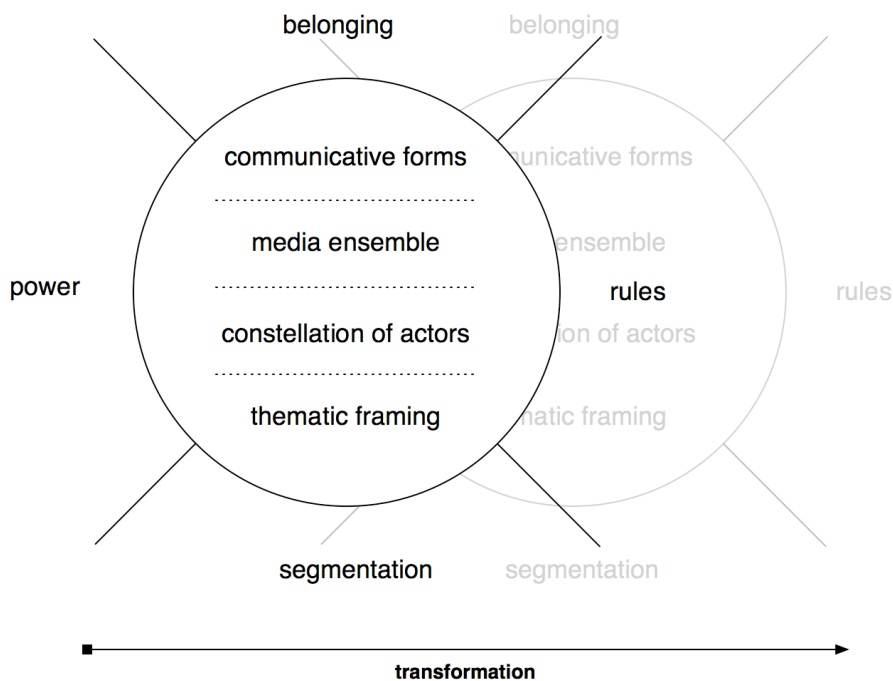


Figure 1: Heuristics on the examination of communicative figurations

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 (Chakravarty/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

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Lessons of the Lament: Footnotes on the Mediatization Discourse

Risto Kunelius

Socrates: Writing, Phaedrus, has this strange quality, and is very much like painting; for the creatures of painting stand like living beings, but if one asks them a question, they preserve a solemn silence. And so it is with written words; you might think they spoke as if they had intelligence, but if you question them, wishing to know about their sayings, they always say only one and the same thing. And every word, when once it is written, is bandied about, alike among those who understand and those who have no interest in it, and it knows not to whom to speak or not to speak; when ill-treated or unjustly reviled it always needs its father to help it; for it has no power to protect or help itself.

Phaedrus: You are quite right about that, too. (Plato, Phaedrus, 275d-e)

The trouble about the changing media landscape is not new, as Plato's Socrates from Phaedrus reminds us. In it, the philosopher of dialogue and irony scorns the appearance of the written word for destroying the authentic, contextually anchored face-to-face encounters of communication. For Socrates, writing spells potential trouble for philosophy, teaching and distribution of knowledge. Words, once written down, become a bit like orphans with "no power to protect or help" themselves. As John Durham Peters (1999, 6) points out, in Phaedrus communication becomes defined both as an ideal (the true dialogic relationship) and as a perversion (manipulation, rhetoric and technologically biased by writing): "Miscommunication is the scandal that motivates the very concept of communication in the first place".

Theoretizations about mediatization most often think about mediatization as a modern phenomenon related to historically more recent changes in institutional relations. This is mostly a useful and practical view that helps us to develop a more coherent view what we mean by mediatization. Starting from Plato here, however, serves to underline a particular feature about social commentary on changing media landscape. I will call it here the *mediatization*

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lament. In Plato we can see the first well recorded formulations of this genre of criticism where new tools, forms and techniques of communication often provoke conservative cultural resistance. The history of innovations in communication is saturated with this trope. It can be told as a long narrative of (elite) attempts to complain and control the social change potentials of emerging “new media”. The story of suspicious innovations can be told through technology (writing, printing, broadcasting, television, internet) or through emerging practices of communication (pamphleteering, shorthand political reporting from parliaments, newspapering for masses, the invention interviewing, invention of tabloids, blogging, etc.).

Such concerns are often articulated as a worry about what the new forms of communication will do to the public. This is also a major part of Plato’s concern: he was, after all, a philosopher who famously thought that poets and playwrights should be politely evicted from the ideal state. But Socrates’ lament is also an example of a worry about the changing rules of entry: the expected skills needed to belong to a particular field of proper practice (of philosophy). For Socrates, and mostly for Plato too, philosophy was about dialogue and talk, about lessons, about encounters between people. This aspect of mediatization lament shows us how people in particular positions and groups (a domain, an institution, a field) see their old values, ways and routines threatened by changing media landscape, usually because the entry to their field becomes re-defined. Writing, for instance, may help almost anyone (for a while, in front of a crowd) perform as if he or she was in charge of an idea or argument. Thus, the basic form of mediatization lament pits the inner valuable logic of a domain against an emerging, “alien” forces and logics.

In this essay, I will take the lament as my starting point and ask: What can we learn from this aspect of lament in mediatization discourse? Without any claims to conduct coherent theory building here, I follow a trail of four themes. They are (i) the idea and value of differentiation, (ii) the question of the base of that differentiation and the “medium” of the media, (iii) the notion of networks and translations between domains and (iv) the question of rationalization. These overlapping remarks also link the debate about mediatization to various strands of some recent social theory.

1. Mediatization and the tacit value of differentiation

In a preface to the English version of his controversial attack on French media, *On Television*, Pierre Bourdieu (1998) writes about the reaction of the press to his initial criticism of journalism. First, he quotes his original analysis.

It should go without saying that to reveal the hidden constraints of journalists, which they in turn bring to bear on all cultural producers, is not to denounce those in charge or to point a finger at the guilty parties. Rather, it is an attempt to offer to all sides a possibility of liberation, through a conscious effort, from the hold of these mechanisms, and to propose, perhaps, a program for concerted action by artists, writers, scholars, and journalists – that is, by the holders of the (quasi) monopoly of the instruments of diffusion. Only through such collaboration will it be possible to work effectively to share the most universal achievements of research and to begin, in practical terms, to universalize the conditions of access to the universal. (Bourdieu, 1998)

This is Bourdieu's basic call for arms to protect the production of knowledge in the realm of science and culture. A moment later, reflecting on the public reception of this diagnosis Bourdieu offers more concrete examples of his frustration.

.... After the publication of *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, the result and summing up of ten years of my research, I remember vividly a journalist who proposed a debate on the *Grandes Écoles*: the president of the alumni association would speak “for” and I would speak “against”. And he hadn't a clue as to why I refused. In just the same way, the journalistic “big guns” who went after my book [*On Television—RK*] simply bracketed my method (in particular the analysis of journalism as a field); without even being aware of what they were doing, they reduced the book to a series of utterly hackneyed positions punctuated by a smattering of polemical outbursts. (Bourdieu 1998, 2)

Bourdieu's criticism of journalism and his lament on the rise of the “heteronomous” journalistic field (see also Bourdieu, 2005) points to a basic category underneath the mediatization discourse, particularly in its institutionally focused variant: the value of differentiation. The talk about mediatization (whether use the word or not) comes with a taste of loss (of the rational, the authentic, the real, of healthy diversity, or – as for Bourdieu – the chance for a “universal” perspective). Guardians of different domains – parents, teachers, priests, politicians and so on – complain about mediatization when changes of communication cause problems to the border and order control of their differentiated domains, be it about politics, science, religion, family – or even “individuality”. At the root of such mediatization discourse (both academic and popular), then, is the imagination of a modern, functionalistic, institutionally differentiated society – and a tacit recognition of its value. Mediatization critique is based on an assumption that at a constitutive level, societies are and must be made of sub-systems (domains, fields, spheres, institutions) with their designated tasks, values systems, particular practices and certain level of autonomy.

This hints at a conservative twist in the whole mediatization discourse. The lament articulates (sometimes perhaps against the intention of those who lament) the threat to the existing order and the functionality of power in a given field and between fields. No wonder then that mediatization of politics has been a major theme. The abstract normative value invested in the notions

of differentiation and diversity, the associated de-centralization of power and the ideal of “balance” between different domains helps the lament to construct an opposition to the penetrating, “alien” force. No wonder then that in popular mediatization discourse, there is a strong tendency to “black box” the media, to speak of “the media” and its “logic” as a homogenous, monolith institution, as a pejorative shorthand standing for something alien penetrating these fundamental spheres of life and the categories we think by. Mediatization – sometimes with not much empirical evidence at all – spells loss of the diversity of the modern society.

As Bourdieu’s case shows, academics are not immune to this popular form of lament, even if Bourdieu perhaps was not at his sharpest as a sociologist in his analysis of the journalistic field. His narrative of the journalistic field suffers from the tendency to see mediatization only as the growing power of the economic field. The “weak” autonomy of the journalistic field, and the all-pervasive idea of the economy also resonates strongly with the strong positive value of the differentiation vocabulary. As valuable as this explanation is, it turns mediatization questions into a kind of shadow debate of commercialization. This is not to say that the academic debate about the “media logic” has not been a useful one. It has helped and is helping us to create a more nuanced understanding of what “media logic” actually might mean and how useful a concept that ultimately it. (e.g. Lundby, 2009; Strömbäck, 2008; Kunelius/Reunanen, 2012a; Hjarvard 2013).

But in the case of Bourdieu, the lament also reveals potential complications. After all, he developed a complex theory of differentiation and social stratification as a way of critically exposing how the social domains and institutions patrol their boundaries and their inner order. He also linked these fields to each other and the broader, dynamic power structures of modern societies in a way that still commands much respect and carries considerable explanatory power. But as a sociologist – a key guardian of the academic field – he felt furious and frustrated about the boundaries and autonomy – of sociology. Hence, the rather blunt anger against the media – and through the heteronomy of the journalistic field, mostly against the force of money and the economic field.

2. The “medium” of mediatization

Suppose then, that there is something else than the increasing pressure of commercialization behind our experience of mediatization? What might that be? One way of sketching an answer is to follow another trail of differentiation theory: systems theory.

In Talcott Parsons paradigmatic work we encounter an abstract and technical definition of “media”. At first, it seems alien to communication researchers and the concern about media “proper” (such as television, social media etc.). For Parsons, a “medium” refers to the dominant internal tools of coordination in the main social subsystems of modern societies. Functional social systems all have a designated principal, symbolically generalized “steering media” which differentiates them from other sub-systems. “Money” is the medium of the economic system (tasked with Adaptation), “power” is the medium of the political system (taking care of Goal attainment), “influence” is the medium of the sub-system of societal community (that secures Integration), and “value-commitment” the medium of the pattern-maintenance system (that cultivates Latency). By enabling actors to symbolically represent how much of the key resources a given system they can mobilize, these such “media” help the systems to work effectively. Thus, there is an important analytical distinction between the *resources* of “power”, for instance, and the way these are represented in the relationships between political actors. By enabling the generalized power estimations between political actors, “power” generalized medium lubricates the political system. This is the famous AGIL-model of functionalist society. It has, of course, been criticized severely (for a recent inventory, see Joas/Knöbl, 2010: 76-80). But in the context of mediatization theory, two paths of this theoretical terrain – one from Parsons himself and one from Niklas Luhmann – are worth walking at least for length.

For Parsons, the key idea of steering media in functionalism is that by translating various action resources into exchangeable “currency” between actors, different steering media secure the effectiveness of sub-systems. Economy is “effective” because money helps it to suppress value-maintenance issues and because it partly translates values and traditions into questions of money (and de-values them). While differentiated steering media separate subsystems from each other, they are also the means by which the subsystems communicate with each other. Thus, all subsystems (such as “politics”) have their internal AGIL-structure (political system has traditions and integration patterns as well). But each of them is characterized by the dominance of one particular system media: thus steering media work across the boundaries of subsystems, but they become less effective when operating outside their specific realm or subsystem. Religious value-commitments play a role in political decision-making, but they will not – in a modern, differentiated social system – outperform power calculations in the political system. In this respect, “mediatization” of one system by another can be understood as disturbance of the existing internal balance in a given domain: an alien steering medium gaining in importance in a given sub-system.

Parsons' idea of the steering media is evolutionary: he sees institutional differentiation as the cause for the historical appearance of different generalized media. Niklas Luhmann, however, turns this upside down by arguing that the specific media of subsystems are the cause of differentiation (cf. Chernilo 2002: 436-8). He also claims that operations subsystems are self-referential, i.e. the medium from one subsystem does not circulate to other domains. A subsystem can feel the "pressure" of another system or it can "irritate" other systems, but the only way for a system to adapt to its surroundings is to function via its own medium (or code, as Luhmann prefers to say). Thus, if the system of politics "feels the pressure" from the system of religion, it will not become more "religious", but instead, it will use religion as one resource of power, thus turning religion (in the political system) into a calculation factor in the power game. From a Parsonsian perspective then, "mediatization" refers to a process where a "medium" of one institution or subsystem penetrates or forces its influence outside its core field. Hence, the complaints about the increasing "juridification" of life would be an instance of general "mediatization." For Luhmann, the same phenomenon indicates not penetration but "irritation". The lament about journalism influencing politics too much is evidence of both this irritation and the interpretation work by political institutions of readjusting themselves. This is a perspective that Frank Marcinkowski and Adrian Steiner (2014) have recently elaborate usefully.

In the complaint that media – as a separate institution – "mediatizes" other institutions or domains we must, from a systems theory perspective, assume that the media are in some sense "independent". Here, systems theory opens the next question. What is the "medium" (or, in Luhmann's wording, the code) of the (mass) media?

Luhmann's (2000) reply to this question is worth following. Historically, he locates this moment of institutional closure – the moment the mass media becomes autonomous – in the arrival of the printing press. This is a moment when "the volume of written material multiplied to the extent that oral interaction among all participants in communication is effectively and visibly rendered impossible" (ibid: 16). From this point on the media interprets its audience mostly in quantitative terms, as "sales figures" and "ratings", not "via communication": it has created an internal interpretation of its most important outside relation. Hence an "operational closure" occurs, and the particular "code" of mass media (the "medium" or specific task that differentiates it from other institutions) begins to emerge. Luhmann is not terribly clear on this, but his definition consists at least of suggesting that the "code of the system of the mass media is the distinction of information and non-information" (ibid: 17) and that "the most important characteristic of the information/non-information code is its relationship to time" (ibid: 19). Hence:

It might be said, then, that the mass media keep society on its toes. They generate a constantly renewed willingness for surprises, disruptions even. In this respect, the mass media ‘fit’ the accelerated auto-dynamic of other systems such as the economy, science and politics, which constantly confront society with new problems. (Luhmann, 2000: 22)

We can take his train of thought to suggest that what makes mass media distinctive is the way it constructs public attention. By treating its audiences (non-communicatively) as quantities, by deciding what is (worthy) information and what is not, and by accentuating the constant present (between past and future) as the context of this decision, mass media are a key modern institution in the management of public attention. The fundamental symbolically generalized medium that the mass media functions with, from this perspective, would be “attention” a representation of the imagined public whose eyes and ears are turned to the topic at hand. Its “fit” with other modern institutions refers to the functional interplay of directing attention (and thus public opinion) in ways that can be useful for other institutions. In its moments of superficial “unfit” with other institutions, the “irritation” media causes would then refer to moments when the attention control of media has – from the point of view of other institutions – escaped this fit. Unlike in the case of Bourdieu’, who rebels against the loss attention control of academics, for Luhmann’s cool functionalist discourse itself this is not an explicit cause for lament (albeit he too struggles to sustain a specific place for sociology).

A systems theory interpretation of mediatization lamentpoints to at least three interesting directions. First, it offers a theoretical dimension to the argument by claiming that the lament is caused the emergence of an institutional structure of the media with its “own” generalized medium (attention) and the consequent problems of other modern institutions to manage and control public attention control and public visibility (see in particular the work of Thompson; 1995, 2005). The heightened tension between issues such as free speech and privacy, or such as security and transparency are important signs of this. Second, it allows us to see the recent lament about the “end of journalism” as a variant of mediatization discourse, only now as lament about the mediation of journalism. The crisis of professional journalism or the struggle to redefine it (e.g. Lewis 2012, Waisbord 2013) can be partly explained as an attempt by journalists to adapt to the loss of monopoly in attention control (the monopoly that Luhmann saw as a key factor in producing mass media’s operational closure). Third, this offers new food for thought in thinking what is – or should be – the “medium” of journalism in future of conditions “hybrid media” (Chadwick, 2013) or “networked journalism” (Beckett, 2012).

3. Mediatization of networks

In the opening passage of his recent book “An Inquiry into the Modes of Existence the French”, sociologist Bruno Latour starts with anecdote of a climate scientist faced with a question from an “industrialist”. “But why should we believe you, any more than the others” a member of the audience asks. Latour continues, in the now familiar genre of mediatization lament: “Has the controversy really degenerated to the point where people can talk about the fate of the planet as if they were on stage televised jousting match, pretending that the two opposing positions [climatologists and “sceptics” – RK] are of equal merit?” But in addition, Latour identifies another “scandal”: the climatologist defense. Instead of claiming that science has the answer, the scientist launches into a complicated description of how the evidence is collected, how models and tests are constructed and so on, and says: “If people do not trust the institution of science we’re in serious trouble”. (Latour 2013: 2-3)

Latour’s point emerging from his own spontaneous outrage is that he accepts the claim that indeed, institutions and their values are a key thing to be defended. (This again follows the tacit acceptance of the “value of differentiation”). But order to do this, he claims, we should first investigate institutions for what they are. This provokes him to imagine an anthropologist whose task is to reconstitute the value system of the ‘Western societies’.

She is a true anthropologist: she knows that only a prolonged, in-depth analysis of courses of action can allow her to discover the real value system of the informants among whom she lives, who have agreed to welcome her and, whose account for this system in terms to which she must avoid giving too much weight. This much is obvious: it is the most ordinary ethnographic method imaginable” (...) the Moderns present themselves to her in the form of domains, (...) A metaphor often used in her presence involves geographical maps, with territories circumscribed by borders and marked in contrasting colours. When one is “in Science”, she is assured, one is not “in Politics” and when one is “in Politics”, one is not “in Law”, and so forth.” (...) “Although her informants are obviously attached to these distinctions, she comes to understand very quickly (a few weeks spent doing fieldwork, or even just reading newspapers, will have sufficed to convince her) that with these stories about domains she is being taken for a ride (...) In short, she sees that she will not be able to orient her research according to the Moderns’ domains. (Latour, 2013: 28-9)

To simplify, Latour suggests that the attachment of social actors to their domains is something that we need to – gently, but firmly – overcome. The aim must be to identify the networks of relationships in which their action really takes place and the modes of interpretations (“prepositions”) that operate in such networks. The “real” work of institutions (and hence, the points of struggle for trust), he claims, does not take place in domains but is located in a configuration of modes and networks. In this constellation a particular mode of interpretation (law, religion, science, politics, etc.) with its particular ways

of verifying what is relevant and true is connected to particular networks of actors. In this regard, climate science cannot be justified and defended as merely “science”, but as a network of argumentations, and complicated moments of translations (or passes) from making field findings, to modeling them in computers, to defending them in scientific publications, to debating them with “industrialists” and politicians – and to defending them against “sceptics”.

This is not the place to dwell on the consequent details and not always helpful language of Latour’s vision (which will no doubt be highly controversial and much criticized) about the anatomy of modern thinking. What is useful here is to note that his version of lament is explicitly not based on the value of autonomous “domains”. Instead, it is a complaint about the language of autonomous domains and the way this language and its “category mistakes” are an obstacle for seeing what “actually” happens. For mediatization research, this can open some worthwhile horizons.

First, this can help to construct a new object of research which is not this or that “institution” but the network in which actors are involved and active in. In a sense, this parallels (in a metaphorical sense, anyway) with Hepp’s (2013) argument about “de-territorialization” of mediatization research, but studying such “figurations” in an institutional level and across them. It might help to open a new way of looking what actually takes place in the “institutional level” of mediatization that Hjarvard (2008; 2013) has emphasized.

Second, inside this focus on network constellations, this means focusing on the relationships between actors. We should not only be interested on how the media (say increasingly aggressive journalism) mediatizes “politics” but also on how it affects the (power) relations between politicians, between politicians and economic actors, between politicians and scientists, etc. In this regard, mediatization of “power” or “politics” would look at how the new media environment and its attention economy affects the resources of power and the consequent power bargaining in the actor relations of decision making networks (see Kunelius/Reunanen, 2012a, b). This would also mean that methodologically, an important starting point would be the experiences of mediatization of the actors in these networks (see also Davis, 2007).

Third, in order to understand such actor relationships where different kinds of power resources are drawn from, we should consider focusing on how such configurations are mobilized around particular issues and problems. This would mean looking at issues of mediatization through a lense provided not by a language of domains but through issue or policy networks and their actor-relations. Instead on mediatization of politics, economy or the academy, then, we would have mediatization of immigration policy, elderly care – or climate change. (see Reunanen et al 2010; Kunelius 2014).

4. Mediatization discourse as/and rationalization

Trying to make sense of the interface between the “public sphere” and religious experience, Jürgen Habermas (2010) recently captured our already familiar genre of complaint particularly strongly.

Today, under conditions of globalized capitalism, the political capacities for protecting social integration are becoming dangerously restricted. As economic globalization progresses, the picture that systems theory sketched of social modernization is acquiring ever sharper contours in reality. Autopoietic functional subsystems conform to logics of their own; they constitute environments for one another, and have long since become independent from the under complex networks of the various lifeworlds of the population. “The political” has been transformed into the code of self-maintaining administrative subsystem, so that democracy is in danger of becoming a mere façade, which the executive agencies turn toward their helpless clients. System integration responds to functional imperatives and leaves social social integration behind as far too cumbersome a mechanism. Because the latter still proceeds via the minds of actors, its operation would have to rely upon the normative structures of lifeworlds that are, however, more and more marginalized. (Habermas, 2010: 15-16).

This complaint about the growing “independence” of self-maintaining administrative systems, grows out the key distinction in Habermas’ thinking, between systems and life-world. For mediatization research, this distinction offers an early definition of what mediatization is. Again, it partly comes in the form of lament. In his “Theory of Communicative Action” (1987), Habermas speaks of “mediatization” as a process in which:

... a progressively rationalized lifeworld is both uncoupled from and made dependent upon increasingly complex, formally organized domains of action, like the economy and the state administration. This dependency, resulting from the mediatization of the lifeworld by system imperatives, assumes the sociopathological form of an internal colonization when critical disequilibria in material reproduction – that is, systemic crises amenable to systems-theoretical analysis – can be avoided only at the cost of disturbances in the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld – that is, of ‘subjectively’ experienced, identity-threatening crises or pathologies.” (Habermas 1987, 305, emphasis original.)

As is now evident this “mediatization” is drawn from Habermas’ encounter with systems theory, his dialogue with Parsons and the controversy with Luhmann. It is the generalized system media of “power” and “money” that here colonize the lifeworld. But Habermas’ aim is also a critique of systems theory (or “functionalist reason”, as the subtitle of the book clarifies), and for this he builds an analysis of the particular potentials inscribed in the “medium” of the lifeworld: natural (propositional) language and the potential communicative competence and possibilities of learning imbedded in it.

There is no space here to open the nuances and problems of this claim. Instead, I will conclude with a shortcut to three implications it offers.

First, by opening the horizon of intersubjectivity, this “medium” is the key to social integration – instead of system integration. Hence, from the point of view of lifeworlds it suggests that also they are or can be mediatized. In Habermas’ original claim this “colonialization” is done by money and power (the Parsonsian symbolically generalized system “media” *par excellence*), but – if we continue the thought a bit further – this also can apply to “media” proper. This can be and has been a background of much media research focusing on the “mediatization” of everyday life (not always with this vocabulary, of course). It is inspired by a lament about how “the media” penetrates everyday level of social integration – say how mobile, internet technology reorders family life – and how it both breaks up and opens new pattern of social integration (see Hepp, 2013, also Hjarvard 2013: 103-152).

Second, the social integration capacity of (linguistic) communication also relies on the idea that this capacity is not differentiated in the same way as the more institutionally and strategically operating system steering media. Hence, Habermas’ fierce confrontation with Luhmann and insistence that the institutions or networks whose “mediatization” we study are not completely driven by system integration interaction but that they, too, need some kind of integration devices. This means claiming that also systems (or power networks) need lifeworld resources to function, both inside their respective “domains” or “networks” – and in their relationship with the messy “everyday life”: at some level, even power and money have to be legitimated and must build some kind of consent.

Hence, thirdly, the idea of communicative rationality – as a diffuse horizon incorporated into language and functioning at a primary level of social integration – opens yet another perspective to the theme of lament. Briefly put, we could argue that the very genre of mediatization lament takes place at the moment when lifeworlds – either the “everyday” ones or the ones we find inside institutions – feel themselves threatened. Indeed, lifeworlds are articulated or become visible (largely) at such very moments of colonialization. In this respect, popular mediatization discourse is can be seen evidence of the existence of a diffuse communicative “surplus”, “residue” or “resource or resistance” incorporated in language. Thus Socrates – lamenting the decline of the face-to-face communication infra-structure – is worried about the fate of knowledge and reason (logos). Bourdieu is infuriated by the disrespect of journalists towards sociological reason, but makes a plea for uniting the “cultural producers” in a fight to protect chances of “universalism”. Latour wants the Moderns to see themselves for what they are to prepare them for “diplomatic” encounters and negotiations with their Others (including nature). Habermas constructs communicative rationality as something that resists colonization of the system. And so on. “Miscommunication is the scandal that motivates the very concept of communication in the first place”, as Peters suggested.

The lesson here perhaps is that lament is a symptom of rationalization, in the full complexity of the term. Any standard reference teaches you that rationalization has two interrelated meanings. It refers to the “act of making something intelligible” as well as to the attempt to provide justifications for behavior by making it appear rational or socially acceptable, often by “(sub-consciously) ignoring, concealing, or glossing over its real motive; an act of making such a justification” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008). This brings me to the short version of this footnote to mediatization debates: Our love of the lament about the media should teach us to analyze both the academic and popular fuss about mediatization as rationalization discourse in both senses of the term, and appreciate it in this double sense.

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Biography

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Doctor-Patient Relationship in a Digitalised World

Dorothee Christiane Meier

1. Introduction

The current wave of “mediatization” (cf. Hepp, 2013; Krotz, 2001; 2007; 2009) – the establishment of digital internet-based services and the related overall transformation of our media environment – has the potential to shape the doctor-patient relationship through changes in role models and communication. In the past, patients could either gain a (first) impression of their doctor through recommendations and experiences of acquaintances, friends, and family members, or through a direct visit to the doctor’s office. Nowadays, patients can use personal or institutional websites to inform themselves prior to treatment or after consultations in order to gain a deeper impression of the physician and/or their reputation. Examples of this are doctor rating sites such as RateMDs.com, DoctorsDig, and vitals.

Instead of having to visit the doctor’s office or calling by telephone, patients can now use both synchronous and asynchronous internet-based communication technologies such as instant messaging or e-mail to contact their doctor. Specialised websites offer online consultations to patients that include diagnosis, advice, writing of prescriptions, and the delivery of drugs. Examples are DrEd, DrThom and netdoctor.

Moreover, the internet enables simplified access to specialised knowledge for patients. Expertise no longer just resides in the minds of doctors and in expensive books, but can be found through search engines and health information websites. There are many websites containing health information (e.g. healthfinder.gov, MedlinePlus, FamilyDoctor.org), some of which contain information certified or created by doctors. Patients also share their personal experiences of illnesses in discussion forums (e.g. patientslikeme). These services offer patients the possibility to inform themselves prior to, during, or after a visit to the doctor’s office.

Finally, the internet and especially the availability of (mobile) internet-enabled devices allow the use of technologies that can take over some of the functions doctors otherwise perform, such as forming a diagnosis (e.g. myS-

Meier, D. (2014) ‘Doctor-Patient Relationship in a Digitalised World’, pp. 115-126 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

ugr, iHealth Log, and iHeadache). They can accompany patients in their daily routine in the form of health coaches and they support learning processes related to health information. If doctors have continuous access to the same app as their patients do, they are able to monitor their patients' progress and can contact them when necessary.

On the one hand, these examples demonstrate to health-related online services open up new ways of communication that build up or maintain relationships between doctors and patients. On the other hand, they show that health-related online services have the potential to shake up traditional role models, for example the role of the doctor as an expert. They allow patients to gather and exchange information on health issues by themselves and to come up with their own diagnosis. Patients can thereby become experts for their own illness or complaint and take over some tasks that usually rested with the doctor's ability.

The following chapter deals with this increasing mediatization of the doctor-patient relationship. It begins with a description of the relationship on the basis of doctor-patient communication and the traditional role of the doctor and the patient. In a next step the shift from direct communication between doctor and patient towards a variety of different forms of mediated communication is shown. This development is exemplified by describing the increase in the use of health-related online services according to current surveys, as well as through a visualization of the variety of such services. The chapter concludes by pointing out the importance of qualitative research, focusing on the actual changes in doctor-patient communication, and therefore in role models and relationships.

2. The doctor-patient relationship

The following arguments are based on the assumption that reality – and therefore social relationships such as the doctor-patient relationship – is constructed communicatively (cf. Berger, Luckmann, 1967). Luckmann (2006: 24) states that all social realities are formed, maintained, and transmitted through and in communication. Similarly, Krotz (2007: 210) argues: "Identity, the structure of man, his relationships, his every-day experiences, are primarily based on his communication [...]" (translated by the author). Communication, meaning symbolic interaction (cf. Krotz, 2001: 48), between partners in the relationship can happen verbally, non-verbally, or even in the form of an inner dialogue in the other's absence. Krotz (2007: 204) suggests that as long as people have an inner picture of their counterpart they can always return to it while communicating with this person in an inner dialogue or in actual face-to-face communication. This inner picture is always cross-situational in a social relationship¹

(cf. *ibid.*). Hence, expectations and orientations that accompany the inner picture are not just present in the current situation but predominantly outside of it (cf. Krotz, 2004: 40).

Another aspect of social relationships is that they exist between people and between the social roles that these people assume within a relationship – for example between employee and employer, policeman and criminal, or between doctor and patient (cf. Krotz, 2004: 39). These specific roles are acquired, developed, and updated through communication (cf. *ibid.*: 35). At the same time, one learns about one's counterparts and their specific social role through communication (cf. Krotz, 2004: 35).

Mediated communication² represents a large share of today's communication. The current wave of mediatization, the advance of digital media, enables new ways to create new relationships and to maintain and intensify existing ones (cf. Krotz, 2007: 205).

In order to be able to describe the mediatization of doctor-patient communication and therefore the mediatization of roles and relationships in section 3, the following section will outline conventional doctor-patient communication and successively the traditional role of the doctor and the patient.

2.1. Doctor-patient communication

The communication between doctor and patient takes place in a situational context that defines the goals of the communication as well as the expectations and perceptions of the conversational partners (cf. Meyer, Löwe, 2010: 21). Nevertheless, one can generalise overarching phases of the doctor-patient communication with distinct tasks and goals (cf. *ibid.*). These phases of communication could form a heuristic basis for understanding changes in the communication between doctors and patients caused by the integration of media. Accordingly, Duesberg et al. (2009) divide the process of treatment into three phases. The first phase includes the patient's decision for a specific doctor, contacting the doctor's office, and making an appointment. The patient can already receive some information on treatments during this phase. The second phase deals with the treatment and care of the patient on the doctor's behalf. The last phase includes medical findings, medical certificates, medical estimates, as well as the arrangement of follow-up appointments and referrals. A further distinction can be found in the Calgary-Cambridge Guide, which concentrates on the direct face-to-face communication in the doctor's office. It prototypically names five primary phases: (1) Initiating the Session, (2) Gathering Information, (3) Physical Examination, (4) Explanation/ Planning, (5) Closing the Session (cf. Silverman et al., 2005: 16ff, 117ff). The doctor, who takes the role of the communication guide, is also in charge of structuring the session

and keeping up the communication through appropriate verbal and non-verbal behaviour (cf. *ibid.*). This guideline is used in medical education and is commonly used by doctors for orientation during a treatment.

2.2. *The role of the doctor and the role of the patient*

A social relationship always exists between individuals and between their respective social roles as defined above. Parsons (1951: 439-454) was among the first sociologists to define the social roles³ of doctor and patient, and with that also the concept of the doctor-patient relationship. Following Parsons, the role of the doctor is characterized by the following properties (cf. *ibid.*): an absolute willingness to help (universalism), independent of patient characteristics such as race or social background, a professional expertise corresponding to current medical knowledge (functional specificity), rational behaviour, restraint of negative emotions and positive attention to the patient (affective-neutrality), and disregard of personal (economic) interests (collective-oriented). Key properties of the patient's role are that the sick persons are exempt from daily responsibilities (mainly professional responsibilities, but also family commitments) through a diagnosis by the doctor, that they seek the support of a doctor, contribute to a quick recovery, and that they did not get into the problematic situation by their own doing.

The doctor-patient relationship as a social entity has seen drastic changes since Parsons' time. The roles of the doctor and the patient have gained in complexity and can no longer be partitioned as rigidly as described above. Various medical textbooks and many articles dealing with the changes in doctor-patient relationships base their description of changes of these role models on Parsons' historical or traditional idealized characterisation. This change in roles is mostly discussed in the context of related economic, political and legal changes⁴. As roles and relationships are constructed through communication, the change in roles, and therefore the changes in the doctor-patient relationship, cannot – from a media and communication studies perspective – be described without a discussion of communicative change itself.

3. The mediatization of the doctor-patient relationship

Krotz (2007: 38) defines mediatization as a metaprocess of social and cultural change. This metaprocess is a long-lasting, overarching change of media, their meanings, and the opportunities and problems resulting thereof. The process is asynchronous and diversely expressed in different cultures and historical phases. Mediatization describes changes in culture, society, daily routines, social

relationships and identities (cf. Krotz, 2012: 38). Mediatization deals with the continuous expansion of media and mediated communications. It includes (at least) three dimensions of dissolving media boundaries (cf. Krotz, 2001: 22): An increasing amount of media is available at all times (temporal dimension) and can be used in and connect to an increasing amount of localities (spatial dimension). Furthermore, media are used in an increasing number of contexts and situations for more and more purposes (social dimension). In a long-term perspective, mediatization therefore means that direct, reciprocal communication increasingly happens through different forms of mediated communication (Hepp, Krotz, forthcoming). The increase of mediated communication is not linear, but happens in “waves” or “leaps” (Hepp, 2013: 54). Krotz (2007: 44) exemplarily names the establishment of books, newspapers, radio as well as digital networking through PCs and the internet – the current wave of mediatization. These waves have modified the communication of man as a “basis of social and cultural reality” (ibid.; translated by the author) and continue to do so. Based on these theoretical concepts, one can argue that these waves of mediatization have also shaped and continue to shape the doctor-patient relationship. The current change in the doctor-patient relationship is mostly driven by the wave of mediatization⁵ that is characterized by the establishment of new health-related online services (see Fig. 1).

The rapid increase in the use of online health information is an indicator for mediatization through digital media and the accompanying shift from direct communication to mediated communication. According to a survey by the Pew Research Center, for example, 72 percent of US American internet users search for health information online (cf. Fox/Duggan, 2013). A third of them diagnose themselves based on online information (cf. ibid.). German usage numbers grew from 15 percent to 45 percent between 2002 and 2012 (cf. Schneller, 2012: 28). Furthermore, mobile search for information has increased as well (cf. Fox/Duggan 2012). The internet is, however, not just used by patients but also by doctors (cf. Stadler et al., 2009: 256). Nevertheless, direct doctor-patient communication is still the most important source of medical information (cf. Lausen et al., 2008).

There is not just an increase in usage of online health information but also in the amount and variety of available health-related online services (cf. Rossmann, 2010: 356). The range of online services as well as their offline variants (journals such as the *Apotheken Umschau*⁶, TV-Shows such as *Grey’s Anatomy*) can be classified according to Hepp’s (2013: 64f.) systematisation⁷ of communication as four basic types:

- “direct communication” (meaning direct face-to-face conversation with other people),

- “reciprocal media communication” (meaning mediated personal communication with other persons; for instance, through the use of a telephone),
- “produced media communication” (meaning the area of mediated communication that is classically associated with the concept of mass communication – newspapers, radio, television), and
- “virtualized media communication” (meaning communication with interactive systems – e.g. computer games and robots).

These four types are not mutually exclusive as there are forms of mediated communication that show characteristics of more than one type. Fig. 1 illustrates paradigmatic health-related services for each type.

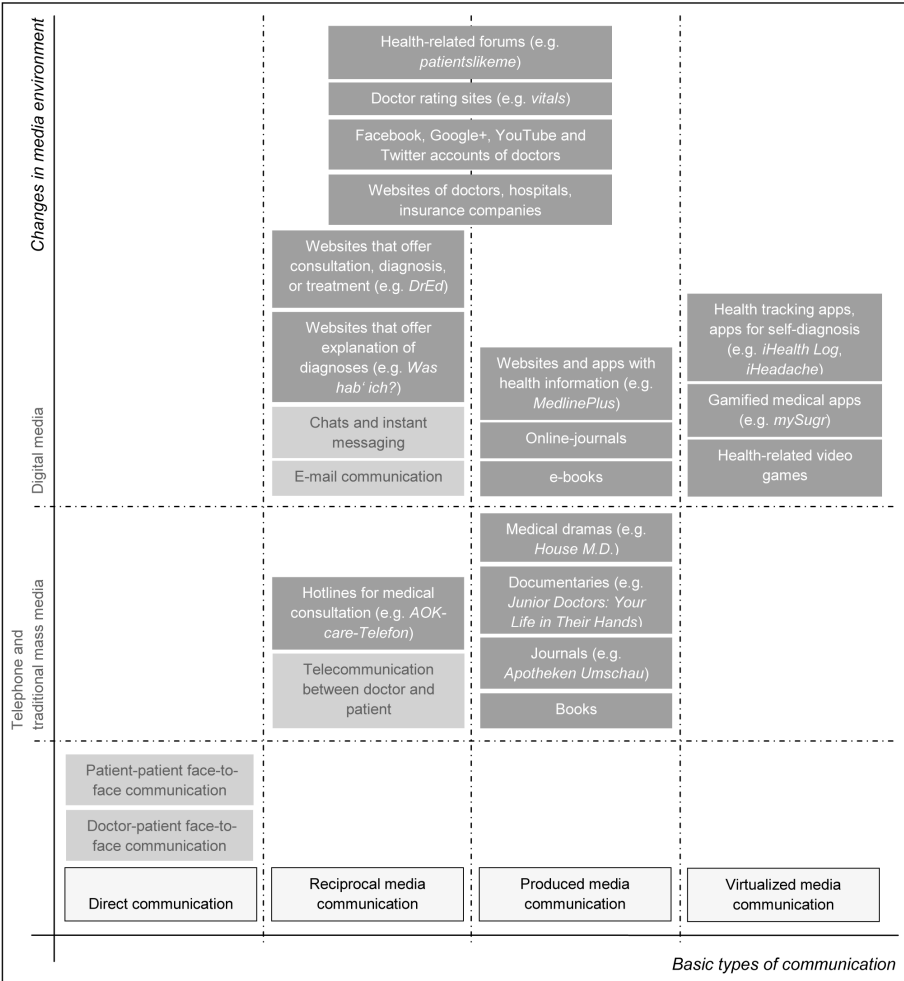


Fig. 1: Mediatization of the doctor-patient relationship

The first type of communication includes “direct communication” between doctor and patient. It still has a central role, especially in countries like Germany that do not allow exclusively mediated consultation, diagnosis, and therapy. Furthermore, this type comprises the communication between patients, such as recommendations for a new doctor or an exchange of experiences with sickness.

The second type, “reciprocal media communication”, does not only include phone calls (independent of the technology used – be it mobile phones, landlines, or voice over IP) but all other services that allow synchronous (e.g. chat) or asynchronous (e.g. e-mail) communication. An example of a website that focuses on reciprocal mediated communication is Was hab’ ich?/washa-bich.de, which was created by German medical students and students of computer science. It translates doctors’ diagnoses into readable language, thereby enabling an asynchronous communication between (future) doctors and patients. The website DrEd also belongs to this type as it allows individual medical consultation online.

Next to these examples, there are services that mainly belong to the third type, “produced media communication”, but often contain specialised functions (such as commentaries or e-mail functions) that also include the potential for mediated interpersonal communication. Examples for these mixed types are social media services, such as YouTube, Facebook, Google+, and Twitter. Many professional Facebook pages of doctors, for example, are mostly used for advertising or as a source of information for (future) patients. However, due to the functionality of the platform used they also offer the potential for communication between the doctor and the (future) patient. Traditional websites of hospitals and doctors as well as doctor rating portals (e.g. vitals) also often offer functions for mediated communication between doctor and patient. In order for these services to be assigned to the second type, the opportunity for reciprocal communication must be seized. There can only be a dialogue between doctor and patient if the doctor actually responds to queries posted by patients. A further subtype that has to be assigned to both the second and the third type are the various forums dealing with health issues. Depending on the usage pattern of the individual user, these are either used solely for passive information retrieval or for the exchange with like-minded individuals or even doctors.

In addition, there are internet services whose primary role is one-sided communication. They purely provide information in form of an app or website. These are part of the third type, “produced media communication”. Examples are websites of medical insurance providers, online journals, and eBooks. Even documentaries (e.g. Junior Doctors: Your Life in Their Hands) and medical dramas (e.g. House M.D. and Emergency Room) belong to this type.

The last type, “virtualized media communication”, includes services that allow for communication with interactive systems. A characteristic example is

software that enables self-diagnosis. Medical expertise plays an important role in the conceptualization of such applications. Examples are health tracking apps like iHealth Log, iHeadache, and apps like the patient diary *Wie geht's* (for patients with clinical depression). This type also includes video games, used in rehabilitation after a stroke, for example, and gamified applications, such as mySugr.

This systematisation does not aim to fully visualize all possible services, but shows and conceptualizes their variety. Furthermore, it depicts that central parts of the doctor-patient communication (e.g. consultation or diagnosis) can also happen through mediated communication. The availability of these services does not shape the doctor-patient relationship per se. Their individual usage and adoption open up specific opportunities for action, they have the potential to shape the role (model) of their counterpart, and therefore also the doctor-patient relationship.

The scientific literature often refers to the internet as having a strong influence (cf. e.g. Kardorff, 2008: 249), but does not differentiate between different online services and their specific moulding potentials. Anderson et al. (2003: 69) report that the influence of the internet is especially strong regarding the role of the patient, for example changing the patient's self-perception from that of a passive receiver of medical care to an active consumer of medical services. Hattermer (2012: 78) states, accordingly, that the previously dominant paternalistic doctor-patient relationship is no longer valid and the evolving eye-level relationship contains new challenges for both doctor and patient (cf. *ibid.*). Some authors also write about the patient's role changing from being an amateur to becoming an expert (cf. e.g. Kardorff, 2008: 249). This also creates further challenges for the (traditional) role of the doctor, since the effort of dealing with incorrect information obtained from the internet is very high (cf. Hoppe, 2009: 4).

4. Conclusion

This chapter has described the increase in volume and variety of health-related online services, and proposes a preliminary systematisation of these different services. The question of the exact ways in which individual services shape communication and role expectations and therefore the doctor-patient relationship has not been answered here. Likewise, their individual adoption and integration into the everyday lives of doctors and patients have not been discussed. This shows that further empirical research is necessary. In this regard, answers to the following questions seem interesting: "How do internet-based services and different types of mediated communication shape existing doctor-patient relationships?" and "How does direct communication between doctor

and patient (during a consultation) change with the increasing use of mediated communication?”. Patients could, for example, refer to the content of or experiences with various health-related online services and question the doctor’s competence based on information taken from the internet. This leads to the question whether there are new forms of doctor-patient relationships emerging that do not even require face-to-face communication. The changing roles of the doctor and the patient caused by the current wave of mediatization need to be examined in order to be able to sufficiently describe the moulding potential, leading to the following question: “How do health-related online services shape the role expectations of the doctor and the patient?” This is especially interesting for the growing field of interactive health-related applications. The doctor becomes essentially invisible in these applications and patients form their own diagnosis. The doctor could, for example, become irrelevant or less trustworthy in the eyes of patients, since the latter are now able to form their own diagnosis. Depending on the adoption of these interactive systems, new practices arise that have to be evaluated empirically.

In order to identify the moulding potential of individual forms of mediated communication, one has to analyse the applications themselves (taking infrastructure, hardware, and software interfaces into account). More importantly, the corresponding practices have to be investigated. Ethnographic studies are especially well-suited for this. One could observe doctors and patients in general practitioners’ offices during the consultation as well as interview them beforehand. Additional interviews or observations in the daily life of patients could be very useful to evaluate the usage and adoption of specific services.

Notes

- 1 Krotz follows Max Weber (1978) in this. Weber argued: “The social relationship thus consists entirely and exclusively in the existence of a probability that there will be a meaningful course of social action – irrespective, for the time being, of the basis for his probability” (Weber, 1978: 26f.).
- 2 Mediated communication is a modification of the basic form of communication, face-to-face communication, with and through media (cf. Krotz, 2007: 19; 85ff.). Media, in this context, are understood as technical instruments of human communication including all related forms of institutionalization and (symbolic) practices (Hepp, Hartmann, 2010: 11). This definition includes traditional mass media, the internet, computer games, as well as other interactive media (cf. *ibid.*).
- 3 Parsons (1951:24ff) defines a social role as a rigid set of behavioural expectations that are targeted at the holder of a certain social position. Since this chapter follows the paradigm of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969), as opposed to structural functionalism, social roles will be defined differently. Within symbolic interactionism, role-taking is seen as an active and dynamic process. Therein, norms and values of society are adopted through the role-taking of a “generalised other” (Mead 1973) while the individual stays the subject of the action (cf. Abels,

- 2010: 30ff.). Essential characteristics of the role of the doctor and the patient as described by Parsons shall nevertheless be considered in the following, always keeping in mind that the characteristics are negotiated individually and depending on the situation.
- 4 Increasing economisation (cf. Siegrist, 2012: 1102, Hoppe, 2009: 3), legislative and regulatory changes (cf. Katzenmeier, 2012: 1093, Bundesministerium für Gesundheit, 2013), and the fast progress in medicine and medical technologies as well as the correlated improvement of diagnostic and therapeutic possibilities (cf. Hess, 2009: 117) are seen as essential drivers of change in the role of the doctor and the patient.
 - 5 Depending on context, waves of mediatization can be subdivided in much more detail than shown in Fig. 1. Especially the wave “telephone and traditional mass media” could be differentiated further into the wave associated with the telephone and those associated with individual mass media.
 - 6 The Apotheken Umschau is a German health care magazine that customers can acquire for free in almost all German pharmacies. Founded in 1955, the Apotheken Umschau has a circulation of 7.2 million. 80 percent of Germans know the magazine and it has become a staple in the German media landscape (cf. Kanzler, 2005: 205).
 - 7 Hepp (2013: 64) combines the typologies of Krotz (2007: 90) and Thompson (1995: 82-87) in his systematisation.

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Biography

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Section Two



Trans-
formations

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Imagining Alternative Agency in Techno-Society: Outlining the Basis of Critical Technology Education

Minna Saariketo

The habitat in the Western world is defined by ubiquitous technology. Over the past thirty years, the practices of everyday life have become increasingly infused with and mediated by software. Databases, water, electricity and banking services, household appliances, media usage, health care, shopping, travelling and transport all rely on digital code (Kitchin/Dodge, 2011: vii, 3.). Furthermore, digital and networked mobile devices have in recent years become an inseparable part of people's lives especially in the Western world. Smart phones, tablets, navigators and other devices are carried along and used daily by an increasing number of people. For example in Finland, according to a recent survey, almost two thirds of Finns have a smart phone (Digitoday, 2013) and almost every Finn under 45 years old uses the internet (Suomen vi-rallinen tilasto, 2012). Computerisation and softwarisation (Manovich, 2013: 5) keep expanding in more and more imaginative ways into new areas. We live literally in a techno-environment.

The changes in people's everyday technological environment have set new challenges for media education. Agency is chosen as a central concept to discuss these challenges in this chapter, even though the anthropocentric understanding of agency has been contested within critical technology studies. By concentrating on agency, it is possible to look at how an individual's action and its conditions have been and can be understood within media education. The concept of agency also seems to capture the most essential hopes and fears of a technologically mediated society. In general, by agency I refer to the capacity of individuals for independent and free choice (Carpentier, 2012: 6).

This chapter explores how the questions of agency and changing technological society have been tackled in media education. The notion of critical technology education is introduced as a way to discuss technology's role in societies and in people's everyday lives as part of media education. It is suggested that critical technology education is needed to provide tools to imagine alternative agency in a society of ubiquitous technology-mediation.

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1. Media and digital literacy fostering agency in the changing society

Over recent decades, media education has become more visible and prominent as a pedagogic practice and an academic field, generating experimental studies, policies and debates. There are various approaches, some of which are in discord with each other: some voices stress the need to protect children and youth from the dangers of media, while others emphasise the positive aspects of mediated experiences, pleasures, self-expression and participation. Yet another discourse suggests that a basic level of media skills is civics in our society as well as a necessary step in gaining access to employment.

The concept of media literacy is used when the outcomes of the media education process are described. This process is understood as a set of competencies that enables us to interpret media texts and institutions, to recognise and engage with the social and political influence of media in everyday life, and to produce our own media texts (Hoechsmann/Poyntz, 2012: 1). According to the current, widely shared skills-based definition, media literacy includes the ability to access and use, understand and analyse, evaluate and critically assess media, as well as to create content (Borg/Lauri, 2011; Erstad 2010; Livingstone, 2004; see also Ofcom 2004).

Media education and media literacy have been and continue to be in constant flux, and they are changing in step with technological development. Openness and engagement with evolving circles has been considered the very culture of practice to which media education adheres (Hoechsmann/Poyntz, 2012: 9). In the late 1980s and 1990s, media education focused primarily on the power and influence of the broadcast media and on questions about what was being communicated (the texts), by whom (the media industry) and for whom (the audience) (Hoechsmann/Poyntz, 2012: 2-3). In recent decades, media education has been preoccupied with active citizenship, youth empowerment and fostering skills that support participation in society. This emphasis ties in with the development in technologies. Media educators have widely celebrated the new experiences of agency enabled by increased access to technologies, possibilities of participation, collaboration and co-operation, forms of cultural expression that were previously unimaginable, the opportunities of nurturing silenced voices that otherwise go unheard and the promises of meaningfulness that new media brings to learning environments (see e.g. Hoechsmann/Poyntz 2012; Lankshear/Knobel 2008; Suoranta/Vadén, 2008). Furthermore, it is believed that new digital technologies also enable sharing, production and distribution in new ways for amateur users, creating ethically empowering possibilities (Kupiainen/Sintonen, 2010: 65). In other words, in mainstream media education, it is thought that technological innovations open new possibilities of agency for individuals and all of society.

The question of what kind of media education is needed in a digital age has been answered by introducing several new literacies, including digital literacy, ICT/computer literacy, information literacy, technological literacy, network literacy, e-literacy and game literacy. UNESCO has adopted the term “media and information literacy” to describe what they consider “an important prerequisite for fostering equitable access to information and knowledge and building inclusive knowledge societies” (UNESCO, 2011).

In this chapter, I take a closer look at digital literacy, which subsumes a number of other literacies mentioned above and is widely adopted in the language of research and policy making. The concept of digital literacy has been defined with varying emphases by scholars, school authorities, information society strategists and ICT companies since 1990s. The concept was introduced in a book entitled *Digital Literacy* (Gilster, 1997). It was regarded simply as literacy in the digital age and is therefore the current form of the traditional idea of literacy per se, that is, the ability to read, write and otherwise deal with information using the technologies and formats of the time (Bawden, 2008: 18). In a European Union digital literacy project, DigEuLit, digital literacy was defined as

the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to appropriately use digital tools and facilities to identify, access, manage, integrate, evaluate, analyse and synthesise digital resources, construct new knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others, in the context of specific life situations, in order to enable constructive social action; and to reflect upon this process (Martin, 2005: 135-136).

Buckingham (2008) has identified three approaches that have dominated understandings of digital literacy. First, it has been understood as an extension to computer literacy. This is essentially a functional definition and does not go far beyond specifying skills that are required to undertake particular operations. The second approach is in relation to online safety, including educating youngsters to protect themselves against harmful content, being more aware of the risks of online encounters, and discouraging them from harassing one another online. Third, Buckingham takes notice of how most discussions on digital literacy remain primarily preoccupied with information, and therefore tend to neglect some of the broader cultural uses of the internet. The focus has been on improving information searching skills and providing guidance on evaluating the relevance of online sources. As Buckingham points out, there is little recognition here of the symbolic or persuasive aspects of digital media, of the emotional dimensions of its uses and interpretations, or aspects of digital media that exceed mere information (Buckingham, 2008: 76-77). Bawden (2008: 28) has contributed to the criticisms of understanding digital literacy by adding that it is not sensible to suggest that one specific model of digital

literacy will be appropriate for all people and that it would suit different phases in life. He agrees with Martin (2006 in Bawden, 2008; 28) that digital literacy is “a condition, not a threshold”.

Even with these reservations to the understandings to digital literacy, I perceive that something essential is missing. If digital literacy really is considered as a survival skill in the digital era (e.g. Eshet-Alkalai, 2004) and digital agency something to be fostered, it needs to be complemented with an understanding of how the digital society functions and whose interests steer it. Next, I will take a closer look at the increasingly code-based nature of contemporary digitalised society.

2. Agency in the society of software-supported infrastructures

Discussions of post-industrial society, the information society, and the network society have all been ways of attempting to understand how social change is inseparable from technological development (Thacker, 2004: xii). Increasingly, the discourse of digital futures is used as proof that we have changed, socially and culturally, and the idea of technological revolution has become normative (Hoechsmann/Poyntz, 2012: 143).

Manovich (2013: 33, 39), among other scholars in the field of software studies, has contended that we live in a software society – that is, in a society where the production, distribution, and reception of most content is mediated by software. Software, in the shape of embedded algorithmic systems and protocols, is now so widespread that we can no longer be sure of its exact extent (Thrift/French, 2002: 320). Manovich (2013: 21) has compared software to combustion engines and electricity in term of its social effects, Thrift and French (2002: 330) juxtaposed it with ubiquitous small but crucial technologies that go largely unnoticed such as pencil and screw, and Kitchin and Dodge (2011: 3) stated that it has become the lifeblood of today’s emerging information society in the same way as steam was at the start of the industrial age.

Yet, aspects other than the use of software-enabled devices are rarely discussed within media and digital literacy studies and related practices. With the development of technologies, media education is ever more occupied with young people’s agency and empowerment, but it seems that the conditions of agency in the digital age cannot be understood without taking the code-based structural affordances into account. If we limit our discussion of digital culture to the notions of networks, social media, participatory culture and peer production, it is not possible to grasp what is behind the new representational and communication media. If software itself is not addressed, there is a danger of

always dealing only with the output that appears on a computer screen rather than the programmes and social cultures that afford, that is, enable and shape, the outputs (Manovich, 2013: 9).

Software is deeply woven into contemporary life, economically, culturally, creatively and politically, yet it very often goes unnoticed. In fact, it seems that it is precisely because software has come to intervene in nearly all aspects of everyday life that it has begun to sink into a taken-for-granted background of everyday life (Thrift/French, 2002: 309.) Thrift and French (*ibid*: 311) have identified four reasons for what they call the “absent presence” of software in society. First, software is easily ignored because it takes up little physical space, and generally occupies micro-spaces. Second, software is deferred, and it expresses the co-presence of different times. Third, software is a space that is constantly in-between. Last, and most importantly with regards to media education, we are schooled in ignoring software, in the same way we are schooled in ignoring standards and classifications (Bowker/Star, 1999).

Thus, the techno-structures have become invisible in drastically new ways, and the increasingly computerised production of space becomes automatic as people accommodate the use of new technologies as part of their everyday routines (Ridell, 2010: 12). They are no longer perceivable in the same way analogic (media) technological infrastructures (phone lines and electric cables etc.) were. Simultaneously, technologically mediated power relations are more difficult to see. In general code, the set of procedures, actions and practices designed to achieve particular ends (Thacker, 2004: xii), is inside machines and hidden. Yet, as Kitchin and Dogde (2011: 3-4) emphasise, the effects it produces are both visible and tangible. Thrift and French (2002: 312) for their part, point out that software is a dimension of the technological unconscious – a means of sustaining presence which we cannot access but which clearly has effects (see also Beer, 2009).

The software-enabled web architecture sets conditions for how people communicate, interact and act online in general and on social network sites (SNSs) in particular, that is, in spaces that have been theorised to create a new participatory architecture (O'Reilly, 2005) which hosts the new participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006). With all the excitement about the new virtual public sphere (Papacharissi, 2002), media literacy scholars have paid little attention to the technical mediation and affordances of SNSs. The presumption that new networked technologies lead to enhanced involvement of users and active cultural citizenship ignores the substantial role that a site's interface plays in manoeuvring individual users and communities (Dijck, 2009: 45). The political economic perspective, with reflections on the governance and power in the Web 2.0 (e.g. Fuchs, 2009; Terranova, 2004), has been bypassed many times. Many of the platforms enabling participatory culture and active citizenship are automated, commercial systems which aim to commoditise the activities

they host. To make apparent how the social network sites function in terms of shaping user agency, José van Dijck (2013: 12) wants to replace the term social media with connective media. In her view (*ibid.*: 23), the latter notion exposes the profit-driven automated logic of the SNSs and helps to elucidate how these online platforms have become central forces in the construction of human sociality, not merely hosting it. Moreover, the notion of connective media directs attention to how owners and users are both helping to shape and being themselves shaped by this construction. She emphasises that the same algorithms that aim to offer a “frictionless online experience” also make the same experience manipulable and saleable as data is collected and sold and code-based mechanisms steer users of SNSs towards particular companies and products (*ibid.*: 157).

Media educational discussions of active (technologically mediated) citizenship have thus far ignored the influence of software-sustained structures on agency, and there is little reflection on the relationship between these structures and our abilities to influence, shape and take action in the world. The internet is not free from economical and sociocultural power relations nor is it a sphere for any types of agency. The internet is a material structure affording the forms of agency that are possible in network environments (compare McLuhan, 1964). As Giddens (1984) has argued, questions of structure are not separate from questions of human agency, and they need to be understood in terms of interdependence (Parker, 2000). Critical technology education, presented next, will suggest how these issues could be tackled in the contemporary condition.

3. Critical technology education: A means to foster alternative agency

Manovich (2013: 4) asks in *Software takes command* what happens to the idea of a medium after previously media-specific tools have been simulated and extended in software. Is it still meaningful to talk about different mediums? These questions can be extended by asking how this affects media education and what it should be like in a digital (software) society.

I suggest media education be expanded via an approach that can be called critical technology education. By education I refer to fostering thinking and opening new ideas, not just for children and youngsters, as is often the case in media education, but for all ages. The object of the education, technology, refers to the need to understand the often inconspicuous ways in which technology shapes and conditions societies as well as plays a crucial infrastructural role in people’s everyday lives. Given that software has taken on the status of background (Thrift/French, 2002: 312), special attention needs to be directed to understanding how it works in enabling and constraining agency. Software

should therefore be made the focus rather than just the enabled technologies or the uses they are put to (Kitchin/Dogde, 2011: 3). Furthermore, to understand the power relations in digital society, it is not enough to only consider how technology works, but also whom it works for (Thacker, 2004: xii). In other words, critical technology education is much broader than just the skills of using devices, programming or writing code. Critical is needed as an attribute, because technology education has long been part of the curricula. Its aim has been to make the processes and knowledge related to technology familiar, but it has been mostly preoccupied with indirectly making people conform to the demands of new technologies. Moreover, in the name of national economic competitiveness, young people have been equipped with the skills and knowledge to be a productive workforce. All in all, critical orientation enables an alternative view and also a means of relating differently to our technologies (See also Petrina, 2000).

Joshua Meyrowitz's (1999) three metaphors for media help to illustrate how critical technology education opens up a fresh perspective to media education. Until now, for the most part, the ways media have been addressed in media education, can be described with Meyrowitz's metaphors of medium-as-vessel/conduit and medium-as-language. In other words, media education has been looking at media either as holding or sending messages with the aim of developing skills in analysing media content, or it has focused on the unique range of expressive potential of each medium to understand particular grammar choices or production variables.

Critical technology education focuses on elements of Meyrowitz's third metaphor, medium-as-environment – an approach that has so far received scant if any attention within media education. In critical technology education, media and technology are perceived as active shapers and organisers of our perceptions and thinking, instead of taking them as pre-given external matters, devices that are simply used, or channels that convey information. Here, in a McLuhanian (1964) sense, media as technologies are taken as a starting point.

One of media education's aims has been to raise awareness of the diverse effects media have in people's lives. I agree with media anthropologist Elizabeth Bird (2003: 1) in that although people recognise the all-embracing impact of media in our society, they deny these impacts in their own lives. That holds for technology as well. Even if everyday life is saturated with technology, and in fact exactly because of it, it is difficult to perceive its impacts. By better understanding the technological nature of our society and the way software constitutes and shapes it, it is possible to imagine alternatives. Without the suggested understanding, one can only accept the ready-made devices and software applications with the limitations and value agendas built into them (Rushkoff, 2012). Critical technology education can provide us with a chance to reflect upon, challenge and resist the kind of oblivion that can blind

us to the possibility that things might be different. As Andrejevic (2009) has observed, despite technological developments, power relations remain largely unaltered. Critical technology education is needed to consider the ways in which the deployment of networked digital media contribute to and reinforce the contemporary exercise of power, and to imagine how it could be otherwise. This constitutes the grounds on which dreams of alternatives might be born (see also Hoechsmann/Poyntz, 2012: 197). In a Freirean (2000) sense, the aim of critical technology education is to nurture agency which not only survives and adapts to existing conditions, but seeks to influence them in providing a fairer and more equal society.

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Biography

Minna Saariketo is a PhD student at the University of Tampere, Finland. Her research concerns agency in technologically mediated society, the discursive production of agency in different spheres and the ways of adopting agency in a digital society. The aim of her dissertation is to outline the basis of critical technology education which she considers as a crucial expansion and challenge to media education as it is currently understood. She has earlier worked as a media educator in a local newspaper and as a research assistant in a project interested in spaces of Web 2.0 as a public sphere.

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The Alchemy of Central and East European Media Transformations: Historical Pathways, Cultures and Consequences

Auksė Balčytienė

1. Introduction: Histories of development, and traditions of CEE media research

Comparative studies in media and politics have been prized for some decades. Some scholars have identified the comparative approach as the only enquiry allowing the detection and identification of invisible social features. Others stress that academic thinking without comparative elements is unthinkable. As seen from today's media analyses, it indeed seems appropriate to place the examination of contemporary media developments in international (European) contexts and frameworks since such placements highlight historical tendencies, allowing the identification of commonalities and differences in the development of contemporary social institutions.

In media studies, and particularly in CEE media developments and professionalisation research, there has been a dominant trend to describe those contexts and societies as vulnerable and imperfect – as displaying more fragile and uncertain institutional legitimacy and trust, weaker media professionalism and accountability, as well as vaguer public service ethos (Trappel et al., 2011). Despite the fact that this can be seen to varying degree in all countries around Europe, such features have predominantly contributed to the assignment of CEE countries and their political and media arrangements into a specific (fourth) model of European media and politics (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

In recent years, in spite of the still dominant voices of the CEE region's relative homogeneity, another group of scholars emerged who emphasise the importance of looking at CEE transformations as incorporating multilateral – pre-communist, communist, and post-communist – attributes and legacies found in their political cultures (Gross and Jakubowicz, 2012). In succeeding arguments the historical perspective sounds particularly significant, empha-

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sising that the communist decades in those countries were in many ways as diverse as those of the new democracies turned out to be. The communist-ruled states in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe resembled various ways of life and of self-organisation and, quite analogously, today's Central and Eastern Europe is nothing more nor less than a heterogeneous constituency of political and media cultures where the patterns of today's politics (dominating discourses, policy choices, regime stability) and economic development correlate with patterns of politics and institutional choices in the region made in the critical times of the past century (EHDR, 2011; Norkus, 2011; Ekiert and Ziblatt, 2013). Analysis recognises at least three historical phases as significant in institutional development in those countries, particularly the point of nation building and modernisation which followed the founding of new nation states in the early twentieth century (1918), regime changes after 1945, and the democratic transformations and emancipation following the 1989-1991 revolutions (Ekiert and Ziblatt, 2013; Perusko, 2013).

In democratisation studies it is customary to claim that among those most significant constraints contributing to change in CEE are the countries' (political) elites and the choices made in various phases of political and economic transition (Davis, 2007; Sparks, 2010; Jakubowicz, 2010; Norkus, 2011). The historical perspective does not exclude the role of elites, but also calls for consideration of historical legacies as manifested in values and behaviours as well as the feeling of 'the right timing' (Hoyer, 2001) of evolving events. The latter approach specifically emphasises that all decisions are made by people (or groups of people and organisations) and thus enduring traditions, norms, values and ways of life shouldn't be neglected or underestimated. Geographic particularities, such as location and the territorial changes experienced by many CEE countries in the twentieth century, seem to be significant too – especially as seen from the Balkan region of today's South Eastern Europe; despite decades of life in changed conditions many of the cultural and social transformations which accompanied those have not been made obsolete and strongly influence their present institutional existence.

All things considered, the above observations, discussions and findings suggest that history and anthropology, in addition to other academic disciplines (political science, media sociology), appear to be two most appealing scholarly approaches, creatively highlighting the most obvious 'white spots' still found on the map of European media cultures. The summary perspective and its complexities are beautifully reviewed and clarified by Ekiert and Ziblatt (2013):

"The standard argument, however, emphasizes the unique nature of communist rule and specific legacies that communist regimes left behind. In contrast, our claim is that post-communist political transformations (outside of the former Soviet Union but including the Baltic states) should be conceptualized as a part of an ongoing and long-term historical democratization process across the gradient of Europe's continent, from which the communist rule was but almost a temporary diversion. Moreover, being a constitutive part of

the European democratization process means that the contours and mechanisms of political transformations exhibit dynamics common to earlier European instances of democratization as well as reflect the changing constitution of Europe” (p. 91-92).

2. Democratisation and non-democratisation in today's CEE: Hopes, constraints, and achievements

Mounting political and economic liberalisation, increasing disagreements and conflicts and the struggle for competitiveness in all spheres of human activity in CEE could have been perceived as a natural factor, metaphorically defined as the ‘Return to the West’, already guiding the thinking of the elites and masses of those countries for two decades. The Central East European narrative of a ‘Return to Europe’ may seem unimportant for the countries that believe that they have never disappeared from the European continent, but for others (especially the Baltic States) it was a crucial factor defining their choices. At the same time, as can be seen from the still ongoing transformations, such universally dominant post-communist ideology was not immune to the complex interplay between various contextual and circumstantial factors, particularly the economic opinions of both ordinary people and elites.

It is quite correct to claim that all CEE revolutions have taken place in economically much weaker European contexts. Two decades later, still, this factor is as strong as it was previously, separating the Western and the Central Eastern parts of the same continent. Hence, unsurprisingly, the (political) thinking of elites in those countries is predominantly shaped through attempts to increase political control of economic capital and resources. As vividly shown with illustrations from Romania and Hungary, the dominant culture of political and media elites in those countries leads to developments which in academic circles are quite commonly labelled as state ‘politisation’, as the capture of the state by various political powers and interests. In such operations the media is viewed as an instrumental player, an actor which has a mission of skilfully managing public opinion, thus its subsequent occupation and colonisation of its logics and operations by political or business interests seem to be an everyday reality vitally important for elites in those countries. In the case of Hungary, for example, the government tends to keep its media under great pressure, whereas in other CEE states (Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia) oligarchs instrumentalise media organisations ensuring positive political coverage which should lead to political and economic gains (Bajomi-Lazar, 2013; Stetka, 2013). But the media itself, is not without sin either – it is prone to heavy manipulation, populism, sensationalism, and political consumerism. Briefly, media becomes a governing player and dominating actor, orchestrating society's social and political life. With secularisation on the rise as ideology and formal group

identifications (e.g., party, union, church, or class) fade as the mechanisms for organising civic life, individuals increasingly code their political attachments through personal lifestyle values, and these are exposed, articulated and made public through the media and other public communication channels. All such practices have serious effects on the professionalization of CEE journalism, particularly its independence, which is seen through media freedom indicators being much lower in CEE countries if compared to those in Western Europe.

Thus among the most striking conclusions emerging from a significant number of available research studies is the finding that CEE (political and media) elites are very polarised, very divided. They also have fragile and uncertain legitimacy – as seen in public opinion polls, public support to political and social institutions in CEE is amongst the lowest across all European states. Its low (political and social) legitimacy is manifested through low institutional trust, low public engagement, low party memberships, low funding, and so forth.

At the same time, quite paradoxically, the overall impression arises that political parties in CEE are powerful and relatively strong institutions able to assemble the necessary resources to gain adequate status and thus visible power, for example by mobilising public opinion (through group interests and clientelist media) during elections. Among those most evident inconsistencies of social life in today's CEE, however, is the fact that other political and societal components and structures that should instigate public control, awareness and associational participation, such as trade unions, civil society, professional independent media and others, are exceptionally weak or marginal. Such a dichotomy, finally, leads to a critical condition. As a result of rising professionalization of political communication schemes and strategies, which goes in parallel with dominant group interests instrumentalising news media, the public communications sphere in most of CEE countries becomes saturated with controversial, polarised, conflictual, and divergent issues. Citizens, correspondingly, find themselves as deliberately and permanently uninformed, manipulated, and misrepresented voters. Conflict, disagreement, volatility and flux (and, therefore, the lack and absence of long-term political thinking and public policy visions) thus appears to be amongst the most striking features of today's political and social life in most of CEE.

No matter how gloomy this picture may look, alternative possibilities are on the rise. As seen from Estonian examples, one of the plausible explanations of the country's contemporary advances in terms of its media's democratic institutionalisation and its professionalisation appears to be its historical continuities from both communist and pre-communist cultures, and capacity to cultivate, within reasonable limits, a potential for moral choice and democratically useful experiences leading to the formation of counter-elite cultures. As shown through examples (Bennich-Bjorkman, 2007), such a mentality had already grown, earlier in the twentieth century. The liberal idea of equal opportunities

and a profound respect for individuality (rather than the notion of equal outcome) also aptly characterises the predominant mentality of this small nation in the present times. It is not the individualism as ruthless self-interest that was seen in inter-war Estonia, but rather individualism combined with respect for the actions of others, and for communal practices, which has endured throughout the twentieth into the twenty first century.

The Estonian case analysis indeed provides one possible explanation of specific attributes contributing to the overall social climate in that particular country. Other attributes could also be considered significant, for example as discussed in earlier comparative studies which emphasised the importance of the state size or dominant religion (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Mancini, 2012).

In addition to those politico-economic contextual issues and historic-cultural legacies shaping social cultures and media development conditions, another crucial factor contributing to dramatic changes in CEE media markets is the current global economic crisis. While media privatisation and economic liberalisation were the most important processes shaping the first two decades of evolution of the media markets in CEE, the last few years have seen times change, with new economic and social challenges. The economic crisis has seriously affected media markets in all CEE countries – in small and large states, in weak and stronger economies. The media was among those economic sectors affected in its own way. Journalists were laid off, many media outlets changed owners or disappeared from the market, advertising shrunk to critical conditions, and media instrumentalisation and corruption increased, particularly in those countries (Romania, Latvia, to some extent also Lithuania and Slovenia) where dominant social structures could be defined through politico-economic cohabitation of their elites (Bajomi-Lazar, 2013; Stetka, 2013). As traditional in such contexts, other – non-political – social structures are portrayed as only marginal and weak, or non-existent.

It is of course important to also pay attention to developments of a more global nature, particularly the internetisation and audience changes, which, as seen from various European countries and international contexts, result in media usage as well as political socialisation changes of various groups. Although the penetration of the internet and the subsequent rise of online media was notably slower in most CEE countries in comparison to the West, in the past few years this difference has disappeared. As can be seen from the most recent online information usage data, in many CEE countries the internet media has indeed turned into the dominant mainstream news media, beating the use of dailies and newspapers (but not television), and for many young Europeans the internet has become their first, and in most cases their only, news source.

The media development tendencies and cultural appearances described above suggest that CEE countries have indeed skipped several phases of societal organisation (such as mass-participation, mass-party formations and growths stage so emblematic to the earlier decades of the previous century) and jumped directly to the media-driven and media-logic saturated communications epoch. It appears that CEE societies have skipped the stage of political and moral individualisation of the industrial age. These countries have found themselves in the era of new modernity with all its downsides, such as intensity, consumption, egocentricity and self-absorption. It seems that in the past two decades CEE political parties have naturally grown into professional campaign organisations reliant more on finances than member support. Respectively, as seen in the latest audience studies in CEE, citizen involvement with politics has also changed from what was seen in the years of the Signing Revolutions of the early 1990s. Instead of being closely involved in politics through more accustomed (Western) participatory forms, such as associational participation (or party membership), it switched its focus to admiration of political representation mainly through TV-saturated political scandals and populism.

Among several exceptional things contributing to these issues in CEE is the fact that those countries had to simultaneously deal with both the factors and causes of transformations. In addition to the urgent need to solve their internal political and economic makeovers and system changes, they had to face the external pressures of increasing globalisation, internetisation, Europeanisation, and cultural diffusion among other things. Those countries had to approach and adapt to all these changes in a very short period of time. Hence all these (also universally identified) developments and social trends, taking place in historically and culturally diverse conditions, significantly contribute to increasing social and political divergence and fragmentation, constructing a heterogeneous and socially polarised picture of the media and politics in young CEE democracies.

3. The alchemic process of CEE media transformations: The effects of history, time and place

As argued in the introductory section of this chapter, the significance of historical perspective in contemporary contemplations of the cultural variations in the paths of CEE democratisation should not be underestimated. Metaphorically speaking, politico-economic and socio-cultural CEE transformations could be analysed as if looking through the lenses of ancient medieval alchemists who, by delving into experiments with precious metals, believed that, under the 'correct' contextual (astrological) conditions, metals could be 'perfected' into gold. Thus it seems justified to ask: by taking into the account all the visions,

imaginaries and hopes of the past two decades in the CEE what such a 'perfect combination of contextual transformations' in terms of CEE democratisation would be? Have all expectations been met? What are the main reasons for the non-democratisation of Central and Eastern Europe? Which of the cultural specifics of CEE media makes its appearance so contextually and historically exclusive? In what ways are these features similar to, or different from, what is observed in other countries in Europe?

Although all these questions seem to be justified, there is one fundamental puzzle of CEE media life: why have some CEE countries (Estonia) succeeded and others (Slovenia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czech Republic) not been very successful or even failed (Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary) in consolidating and emancipating their media's democratic performance?

One attempt to address these questions would be through both institutional and cultural analysis. Institutionally speaking, many things (codes of ethics, institutions of media self-regulation) in the fields of CEE media seem to be in place. However, although established as democratic institutions with all the necessary and recognised attributes, the mainstream media in CEE do not meet most of the conventional prerequisites for professional performance. Liberalisation of markets, and privatisation, accompanied by other rapid developments such as technological diffusion and cultural globalisation have indeed sped diversification of media structures and pluralised content, these developments, however, disclose only one side of the coin. As shown in media democratic performance studies, specifically in those where media performance was examined regarding its inclusivity, impartiality and watchdog characteristics, the CEE media most often scored lowest among all countries assessed (Trappel and Meier, 2011; Trappel et al., 2011). When compared to professional journalism traditions and performance in most Western countries, the media in CEE are generally speaking, assessed as lacking autonomy and specifically as clientelist institutions (Roudakova, 2008; Ornebring, 2012); their professional identities and journalistic ideals are also identified as weak (Lauk, 2008). Obviously, such performances could be discussed only as generalisations since there are so many variations in CEE media developments and applications. The question remaining unanswered is why?

In relation to society's democratisation, its culture – or the cultural ways of doing things – seems to be crucial. If formal conduct could be studied through legal frameworks, regulation and document studies (by looking at explicitly defined rules and norms in documents and available policies) and comparative historical connections could be found in moments of political thinking, then informal conduct (such as all patterns of interest formation and of influencing decision-making) does not allow such transparency of research.

The culture of democratic institutions (media inclusive) is particularly significant since they must become the medium through which society attempts to process and solve its problems. As a matter of fact this idea forms the basis of this chapter, since it views democratisation as a social and thus historical (and not only a political) ideal. Democratisation and citizenship presumes some determinate community or civil society with connections and networks between people and norms and values that provide meaning to their lives. Such a perspective puts a very strong stress on collaborations between individuals and community, and in the feeling of the achieved (common) good of acting together. However, it is seen across CEE that individual consumption, and the increasing individualisation supported by both governing cultural particularities of the region (the dominant political thinking and values of their elites, weaker economic conditions, dispersed professional characteristics of media) and more general social trends (technological diffusion, audience changes), destroys all this. Particularism, which is observed in many transitional societies in the region, goes hand in hand with increasing liberalisation, marketisation and, consequently, individualisation.

It seems to be true that in transitional societies all changes and transformations, and the severe consequences of increasing individualisation, are occurring more freely. As identified earlier, this may be caused by several factors, particularly by those contributing to the rising individualism, to social ignorance, to the weakening of the idea of what a good community is. Although variations are seen in different countries, Central and Eastern Europe, generally, manifests relatively heterogeneous, weak associational and civic cultures. Journalistic professionalism in CEE countries is also described as low – as argued, in most of CEE the mainstream media is attached to and closely integrated with webs of complex social relations and partnerships with dominating elites. Public service media has a weaker position in CEE (both economically and culturally). Surely, alternative and non-mainstream media forms, however, are extensively used as new hotbeds for meaning making and (political) socialisation. They indeed contribute significantly to pluralisation in CEE – although some of those new forms score low in terms of professional journalistic ideals of impartiality and objectivity. Thus it needs to be said again that the threats to democratisation (also to media freedom, its autonomy and independence) in the region, stem not from a lack of adequate institutions and appropriate legislation (i.e. formal institutions), but rather local practices shaped through a complex variety of cultural and contextually-bound features and processes (such as oligarchisation and politisation, the rise of life-style politics, clientelism and favouritism, but also others, such as extreme individualism, ignorance, and loss of sensitivity).

Generally, the new social settings and social conditions of life of those ‘people having only very little in common’ are exceptionally appealingly visualised by Leonidas Donskis:

“Perhaps we are trapped in the new barbarianism which is still on its way in the West – capitalism without democracy (...), a free market without freedom, the strengthening of economic dictatorship and the accompanying disappearance of political thinking, and the final transformation of politics into a part of mass culture and show business, with the real power and governance falling into the hands not of publicly elected representative but of someone chosen by the most powerful segment of society, lying outside public control – the heads of the central bureaucracy, business and the media?” (Bauman and Donskis, 2013: 128).

Similarly, in recent years, as seen from most recent enquiries by Western scholars, many social trends and consequences previously exclusively identified with the younger democracies and transitional societies of CEE, appear to be an everyday reality in many countries around the world. As expertly argued in a number of studies (Nieminen, 2010; Bennet, 2012), since the last century alone numerous public policies in Western European states have undergone significant transformations. As a result of liberalisation, many of the ideals of the previously dominant logic of the social contract were marginalised or entirely disregarded. While transferring certain activities that were previously taken care of by the government (such as education or health care) to the market could have seemed reasonable in certain cases, the predominant optimism that was primarily committed to such an idea is seriously scrutinised today. As Starr (2012) succinctly shows, the primary mistake under such thinking in the media field was its ignorance of the fact that journalistic product (such as news) is a public good and that public goods tend to be systematically under-produced in purely market-driven circumstances.

Naturally, in such a situation it seems plausible to ask what could be done, by whom and, if possible, how to change this circle of relationships and affairs. According to the classical visions of country’s democratisation, the effect of socio-economic modernisation appears to be especially significant (Roberts, 2010), namely the extent to which society consists of educated, urbanised, middle-class citizens. This perspective, although clearly having strong connections with media performance and economic conditions, does not seem to be sufficient in the case of contemporary CEE. As discussed, increasing communication opportunities, the growth of new alternative online spaces and the public migration of those predominantly educated classes to these alternative (and individual-interest focused) media sites further contributes to social polarisation and the weakening of the idea of the common good (which in CEE countries is already weaker because of well-rooted and very strong particularism and reliance on group or individual interest-focused and clientelist networks and social relations). As imagined, the situation can improve only through changes in the overall culture of both the ruling elites and the masses.

4. Conclusion and a way forward

It seems that economy is still a strong determinant of a healthy media climate, particularly its independence – according to Freedom House data, higher GDP scores correlate with higher media freedom results. As argued here, the political thinking of elites appears to be important too, predominantly in the design of economic policies (such as subsidies, VAT exemption etc.) which also define and determine the condition of media markets (Stetka, 2013) – a country's openness to international investors, and various types of media public support obviously contribute to the creation of more favourable conditions for the media to perform its democratic functions. These conditions, as can be imagined, need to be supported by certain ideals and norms of life. As briefly mentioned here with the Estonian example, although with varying consequences and outcomes, individualisation seems to be crucial.

There is a mounting rhetoric of frustration maintained by an increasing number of scholars who, by emphasising all consequences of contemporary life (loss of community feeling, increasing commercialisation and consumerism), warn about the growing downsides of the new modernity and capitalism. Various such features can be detected in many countries around Europe, not just the transitional societies of CEE. Although it may seem that many of the latest social arrangements and consequences, particularly liquidity, individualisation and marketisation, are charged with novelty, many have resulted from the complex social developments and transformations of various CEE countries for quite some time. The erosion of the idea of the common good and the decline of moral and public interest-focused thinking, the weakening of public connectedness and decreasing support for the ideals of public service as well as other developments tending towards individualisation, marketisation and personified consumption, are among the most collectively recognised social and cultural features paralleled with the spirit of change, transformation and other particularities of the second modernity (Bauman, 2000; Beck, 2007).

Going back to the argument at the beginning of this chapter, that CEE countries and their media could be envisioned as perfect laboratories of European change, a comment by Zygmunt Bauman seems particularly timely and significant. In the words of one of the most influential thinkers and visionaries of our times, all outcomes, worries, uncertainties and crises which challenge people and organisations and that they are constantly talking about, can be regarded as emblematic characteristics of contemporary life (Bauman, 2000). In the condition of new modernity and liquidity no social forms (routines, individual choices, patterns of acceptable behaviour) can keep up their behaviour for any length of time. They decompose, melt and disappear faster than the time it takes to get used to them, than the time it takes to develop and adjust to routines and lifestyles. Similarly, the past two decades of changes in CEE could be

considered as particularly distinctive in studies of their society's adaptations, for their multi-facetedness and all-encompassing character that transformed not only the selected fields of politics and economy (and media as well), but dramatically touched the social and cultural lives of ordinary people. The unparalleled and extreme acceleration of political, economic and social transformations left no chance for Central and Eastern Europeans to slow down, to think, to contemplate and to react. Consequently, the price those countries had to pay is the necessity of getting accustomed to the hurried life. In many ways, the dominating trend in such adaptations can be described as extreme individualisation.

All post-communist societies already have historical experience of approaching, dealing with and assigning meaning to very rapid change. It could, therefore, be imagined that these countries possess a certain expertise, knowledge and understanding which comes from their unique (cultural) dynamism, and which could be applied in further enquiries about the continuing fragmentation, diversification and polarisation of contemporary European life. Thus it could also be disputed that the overwhelming nature of contemporary change and the complex and many-sided social transformations that are leading to a questioning of the new identity of Central and Eastern Europe, also pose serious questions about the future and the political, economic and cultural fate of the European Union. The latter in particular could turn CEE into a fascinating area for intellectual analysis and social research.

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Biography

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Ontological Security in the Digital Age: The Case of Elderly People Using New Media

Irena Reifová

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to set up a theoretical framework that will enable us to see two inter-related phenomena: new media and the way in which they are used by elderly people, and the management of new social risks. Elderly people and the generational aspects of their use of new media – the way they deploy them to deal with new risks – are at the centre of our interest here. There are no doubts that new media has the potential to increase quality of life in old age. We will argue that both use of new media and the treatment of new risks bring about an accumulation of individualisation and that this kind of parallelism eventually presents a massive threat to “ontological security” (Giddens, 1990).

How is the decrease of ontological security experienced by elderly people? Old age is often regarded as a period of “frailty”, general vulnerability in physical and psychological terms. From this perspective, whatever is difficult in life is even more difficult in old age, when one is enfeebled by dying or by unavoidable death coming closer. Nicholson perceives frailty as a state of “in-betweenness”, when people lose some connections, try to sustain others and perhaps even create new ones (Nicholson, 2009 as quoted in Nicholson/Hockley, 2011: 103). This argument allows us to assume that the further shattering of ontological security experienced in old age adds damage to the already damaged quality of life. This chapter, therefore, represents an enquiry into the experiences of potential threats to ontological security (brought about by the individualised use of new media in dealing with the individualised new risks) in the context of frailty in old age.

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2. Generations and the media experience

The inclusion of age as a category refining the way we consider media audiences or users, implies a generational perspective. There are two basic views of generations in sociology. In terms of chronological definitions, generations are seen purely as age cohorts, i.e. people who were born and happen to be alive at about the same time. In terms of cultural definition, generations refer to people who share the experience of the same formative events (or processes) and collective memory. The latter approach was first outlined by Karl Mannheim (1964) in his essay "On the Problem of Generations"¹ and then adopted by, for example, Ron Eyerman and Bryan S. Turner, who define generation as "a cohort of persons passing through time who come to share a common habitus, hexis and culture, a function of which is to provide them with a collective memory that serves to integrate the cohort over a finite period of time" (Eyerman and Turner, 1998: 93).

Some authors emphasise that the events which have the potential to form generations must be of radical, for example, traumatic, nature (Wyatt, 1993). The scholars who speak of media generations – which is the specific application of a cultural approach to generations that takes into account the "potential role of media and technology in construction and self-construction of generations" (Buckingham, 2006: 4) – however, emphasise continuous processes more than radical events. Also, June Edmunds' and Bryan S. Turner's (2002) concept of "global generation" takes into account the role of media. According to the authors, it is possible to argue that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a period of international generations, which communicated mostly through printed media. This period was followed by the transnational generations of the mid-twentieth century, which had access to new broadcast communications. These movements remained nationally focused. From the 1960s onwards, generations have been globalised because television and particularly the internet allow a shared experience to transcend time and space (Edmunds and Turner, 2002: 566).

In media generation scholarship, there is a strong bias towards the focus on media profiles of the contemporary young generation. Marc Prensky (2001: 1) says that contemporary students "are all 'native speakers' of the digital language of computers, video games and the internet". We can argue that it was mainly the age cohort of people already born into the digital condition that inspired all the ado about media generations. Although some more utopian renditions of the digitally-grounded creativity² of the young generation have been rightfully criticised for their technological determinism, it remains clear that people who were fully socialised in the new media environment simply do things online differently to older generations. As Mannheim admits, the older generations experience certain historical processes together with young gener-

ations, but make different meanings out of them due to the “different stratification of their lives” (Mannheim, 1964: 298). Older people tend to perceive the world as it used to be when they were young and compare the contemporary world to the time past. Mannheim adds that “in estimating the biographical significance of a particular experience, it is important to know whether it is undergone by an individual as a decisive childhood experience, or later in life, superimposed upon other basic and early impressions; early impressions tend to coalesce into a natural view of the world” (Mannheim, 1964: 298). We focus on the generational use of new media by the age group of people whose personality had been completely formed when they used computers and the internet for the very first time and for whom the new media environment is not their “second nature”. Eyerman and Turner use the perspective of political economy and argue that, apart from collective memory, generations also exercise “a strategic access to collective resources” together with exclusion of “other generational cohorts from access to cultural capital and material resources generally” (Eyerman and Turner, 1998: 93). Provided that some generations practice exclusion, other generations must be the object of it. Structural exclusion is, of course, not a part of people’s agency, and nobody can be blamed for it. In spite of that, exclusion is a concept that describes the impaired access of the elderly people to new media in comparison with those who are less disadvantaged by age. Age, then, becomes a factor of digital divide.

3. Double individualisation: new media as a threat to ontological security in old age

3.1 Individualisation and new risks

The second principal element of our conceptual triangle – the management of new risks – is borrowed from Ulrich Beck’s theory of the risk society, one of the most authoritative explanations of the modernisation process and its consequences (Beck, 1992). Beck’s new risks, which constitute risk society, are not any random hazards or threats – they are side effects of the process of modernisation, especially (but not exclusively) of its industrialisation dimension. On the one hand, the new risks are invisible, elusive and deterritorialised. On the other hand, there are constant attempts to objectify them by recognising them, insuring against them, and minimising their impacts. The new risks mostly do not have a clear material existence. We cannot taste any genetic manipulation in the corn while eating our morning cereals, nor do we feel anything when free radicals supposedly attack our cells. Otherwise intangible new risks exist

only to the extent to which we register, acknowledge, and confirm them by our decision to take precautions. The underlying dynamics of the risk society involve the ongoing transformation of indeterminacy and fuzziness into provisional determinateness, a process that is fuelled by delimitation of the risks. According to Beck, the risk society cherishes the illusion of having control over something that cannot be controlled at all (Beck, 2004: 400). Some discourses – e.g. science and the media – specialise more than the others in isolating the new risks from a cloud of indeterminacy. They function as lenses that enable us to see what is otherwise unobservable – and we will never find out if they only magnify what is already out there or give rise to an entirely new, manufactured reality. The discourses of science and the media delimit the new risks from above. The new risks, however, can also be delimited by practices coming from below – by people’s agency, which involves the interpretation of the media and science production, and the final resolution to act on the basis of an assumption that the risk really exists (or not).

The determination of the new risks from below, by people’s decisions to take them for real and act accordingly, has been a sore spot in the ultimate individualisation of the process of decision-making. In Beck’s opinion, the process of individualisation is one of the most typical parameters of the risk society (1992: 90). The path from the first to the second modernity is metaphorically paved with growing individualisation³. Beck’s concept of individualisation does not refer to individualism in the sense of egoism or self-centeredness. It is much more closely related to the isolation of the individual in modern society from larger, super-individual collectivities. The process of individualisation encompasses a weakening of the systems of previous collective guarantees, solidarities, and determinations. Religion lost its power on the way from tradition to the first modernity. The shift from the first to the second modernity witnessed the dissolution of class identity. All these processes of the erosion of belonging to various collective systems resulted in the inevitable individualisation of responsibility that frustrates contemporary citizens in risk societies. Life steps and acts which were kept outside of decision-making or planning – being understood as a given destiny, or through class-based determinations – have been turned into a series of personal options. Fate has been replaced by a fabricated lifestyle.

“In the welfare states of the West reflexive modernization dissolves traditional parameters: class culture and consciousness, gender and family roles. It dissolves these forms of the conscience collective, on which depend, and to which refer the social and political organizations and institutions in industrial society. These detraditionalizations happen in the social surge of individualization.” (Beck, 1992: 87)

Decision-making is a fundamental form of agency in the risk society, and it fully applies to the management of new risks as well. People's willingness to accept certain risks as objects of their decision-making process confirms and solidifies the position of these risks, their social existence, and emergence from the field of indeterminacy. The new risks are crossroads that cannot be bypassed. They are the types of options that are open when the only thing that is not an option is to not take any option. The new risks manoeuvre people into situations where making a decision is inevitable. People have to decide, and they have to do it under informational conditions of the "chaotic paradigm" (McNair, 2006), grounded in an unstable, context-based verification of truth-claims, and the rhizomatic and contingent nature of information gathering. This condition makes a decision between "incommensurable varieties" (Lyotard, 1993: 99) almost impossible. Zinn adds: "People have notoriously to decide without having the time and knowledge for carefully weighing their decisions [...]" (Zinn, 2008: 34). People disentangling information rhizomes weaved around the new risks are left alone with nothing more than their own individual responsibility for approving or denying the existence of a risk. The individualised responsibility related to the new risk management assumes even more relevance when we perceive it as an effort to be taken up in the old age, as will be clarified later.

3.2 Individualisation and the new media

Our enquiry into the management of new risks via new media in old age is inspired by a homology between the new risks and new media. The principle of individualisation was identified not only in dealing with the new risks but also in the ways in which one navigates oneself through cyberspace. If the new risks are treated via the new media, the principle of addition is put to work, and the individualisation of the management of new risks is synchronised with the individualisation embedded in new media use. Their relationship is one of the logics of equivalence. We will show that this kind of "double individualisation" has consequences that may be especially challenging when the users are older.

There are numerous works confirming that the use of new media is a highly individualised practice. The areas of user-generated content, or "produsage" (Bruns, 2007), can be seen as prime examples of individualisation, because in these cases decisions to produce and provide media content are generated outside collective professional organisations and stem from individuals. Vincent Miller (2010) disentangles a paradoxical double bind of the individualisation of blogging. Traditional solidarity-based relationships were, in his opinion, destroyed by individualisation. The blogosphere today functions as a substitute

for traditional relationships and, simultaneously, it is constituted of the individualisation that killed them. Miller claims that blogging and related virtual communities represent purely voluntaristic relationships based on nothing more than decisions, tastes, and private inclinations (2010: 536).

For that matter, individualisation, seen as a series of individual options without any external driver, is the constitutive logic of hypertext, i.e. the underlying syntax of the entire internet. Hypertext is a non-sequential, non-linear text composed of particular blocks of text that are mutually interconnected by links or hyperlinks. Hypertext is thus more precisely defined as a method for generating texts rather than as a textual entity. It is a nomadic text, which is always “under construction” and has no fixed form, as users constantly “re-write” it by developing new and new routes through the links. George P. Landow (2006: 13) stresses that “this reconfiguration of text introduces three entirely new elements: associative indexing (or links), trails of such links and sets or webs composed of such trails. These new elements in turn produce the conception of a flexible, customizable text, one that is open – and perhaps vulnerable – to each reader”.

Setting a trajectory that takes one through the syntactic level of the new media language (hypertext) is not dissimilar to the management of new risks in the risk society. Both sets of practices evolve around privatised responsibility and individualised decision-making, lacking any external assurance. Questions arise regarding the consequences of this synergy between the two individualisations. How do people experience the parallelism of social and technological individualisation? How do they put up with the double individualisation of the responsibility for: a) their decisions to grant existence to the risks which cannot be taken for granted, and b) the decisions to follow the trails through the hypertext which were invented solely by them? Dealing with the new risks via the internet is like dealing with the invisible via the intangible. The reverse side of the expanding individualisation is a decline of available recourses to collective systems of trust and the ensuing decrease of certainty and feelings of security. The pre-internet media had the potential to impose some structure and regularity on people’s everyday life through the spatial and temporal characteristics of their distribution. This potential was famously theorised by Roger Silverstone, who referred to it using Anthony Giddens’s concept of ontological security (Giddens, 1990). Silverstone (2004: 167) argued that the media, especially television, “provide in their narratives and in the formalities of their delivery within ritual or on neo-ritualised occasions, a framework for the creation and sustenance of ontological security”. The online environment empowers audiences so that the media narratives or formalities of media delivery no longer steadfastly set the frameworks. The users were given considerably broader access to “the steering wheel” of the entire communication engine. They gained significant autonomy, but its dark side was individual responsibility followed

by the absence of any external assurance. Reflection on the combination of individualised practices (such as the delimitation of new risks by navigation through the new media environment) eventually raises a simple question: what happened to ontological security in the time of the new media and double (and perhaps multiple) individualisation?

4. Conclusion

Scholars have looked at how the deficit of ontological security and expansion of uncertainty combines with other social disadvantages, and the point has been raised that old age radicalises the experience of fluidity, uncertainty, and insecurity. Ontological security, according to Giddens, “sustains trust in continuity of past, present, and future, and connects such trust to routinised social practices” (Giddens, 1990: 105). In the concept of ontological security, there is an inbuilt assumption that it is an essentially good thing. It provides stability to everyday life by means of the repetition of routines and rituals, which have their origins beyond a present individual creation. Not least, it protects people from a direct confrontation with the contingent and fluid nature of social contracts. Practices symptomatic of postmodern and globalised society, however, tend to expose fluidity and contingency rather than deflect them, which is also the case for the individualisation of the new risk management and new media use. The unmasked threats to ontological security may become a source of social or cultural anxieties, which affect trust and the feelings of certainty. The stress generated by individualisation impacts all generations, nevertheless there are two arguments for emphasising that older people are more disadvantaged in individualised conditions via their (already mentioned) frailty and their memory. Elderly people developed their expectations of what it means to be old when they were still young – and these expectations are very different from what it means to be old today, in the era of individualised responsibility and privatised security management.

The gerontological literature confirms that experience of security and predictability is an extremely relevant value in old age and that elderly people painfully sense any damage to these domains. It is mainly critical gerontology that takes up this point and voices discontent over transformations of aging in the second modernity, i.e. exactly the same phenomena which we tackle in this chapter.

“Debates in gerontology have implicated globalization processes in the move from defining ageing as a collective to an individual responsibility. [...] the pressures associated with the achievement of security are themselves generating fresh anxieties across all generations. Risks once carried by social institutions are now displaced onto the shoulders of individuals and/or their families.” (Phillipson, 2009: 620)

Critical gerontology points to the dark side of the second modernity and shows that the fluid transitions of identity, multiplicity of choices, decision-based relationships, and privatisation of responsibility may be a marketplace of options for some groups but insecurity and anxiety for many others, including older people. Chris Phillipson urges critical gerontology to theorise issues such as the ways older people will maintain a sense of security and identity in what Beck (2000) describes as a “runaway world“, or how they can avoid experiencing the more fluid identity as psychological disintegration. Reflection on the intricacies of growing old in the globalised society is of particular relevance to our study of elderly people, the new media, and the new risks. It provides an abstract, macro-sociological context for the use of new media in the management of new risks – including the accumulation of the individualisation of responsibility within this process - by the elderly and others who may be too vulnerable to withstand the side-effects of this transformation.

Notes

- 1 The essay was published for the first time in 1928 as “Das Problem der Generationen”.
- 2 The best example here is Donald Tapscott and his concept of the “net generation” (Tapscott, 1998).
- 3 The second modernity is a specific stage in the development of modern society. In the second modernity, the societal backbone rests in solving problems generated by boom and progress in the period of the first modernity (Beck, 2004, p.15). The second modernity functions as a kind of convex mirror which reflects the first modernity – in other words, the triumphs of the first modernity are projected into the second modernity as the latter’s new risks. Therefore, Beck also speaks of a “reflexive modernization” (2004: .5-6).

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Biography

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Reconfiguring Practices, Identities and Ideologies: Towards Understanding Professionalism in an Age of Post-Industrial Journalism

Svenja Ottovordemgentschenfelde

1. Introduction

The “burning red-hot” (Farhi, 2009) relationship between journalism and social media platforms challenges the broad and established assumptions of traditional news making. In the digital age, many scholars have focused on the interplay between old and new modes and routines of production, the convergence and innovation of products themselves, and the dynamics between producers and users just as much as those between professionals and amateurs. At the core of this research are often questions regarding how journalists use social media and how they are appropriating these platforms into their journalistic practices. These are relevant questions, as the study of a profession must always start with the study of actual practice (Abbott, 1988).

Many popular social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube or Google+, operate beyond the classic publication structures of news organizations. The professional practices of journalists have visibly changed and are adjusting to the affordances of social media and to the content these respective platforms offer. What we do not yet comprehend, however, is the underlying journalistic logic of how social media stories, supporting footage and sources are chosen. We also lack a detailed understanding of how normative values such as objectivity, neutrality and processes of verification, which have been deeply engrained in journalists’ occupational ideologies, are reflected and exercised in these spaces.

There is an ongoing tension between the traditional journalistic claim of control over content and an emerging culture of participation (Lewis, 2012). The notion of collective intelligence or the “wisdom of crowds” (Surowiecki, 2004) in the form of user generated content and citizen journalism are opening up the process of news production to non-elite actors. However, this openness does not imply transparency. Journalistic professionalism, more than ever be-

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fore, appears to be a field of negotiation which reconfigures the boundaries that traditionally legitimise journalism. We need to take a closer look at these shifts when attempting to understand the nature of journalistic professional imagination, identity and its occupational ideology.

2. The Professional Paradigm of Journalism

Traditionally, research into the routines and culture of everyday journalism has been framed through the sociology of news production (Schudson, 1989) or the sociological organisation of news work¹. These approaches examine organisational structures and workplace practices, and focus on the “middle ground” between the economic determinations of the marketplace and the cultural discourses within media representations (Cottle, 2003: 4). To better understand the journalist who operates as a central agent within the media space and contributes to shaping it, another approach appears useful which combines journalism studies and the theory of professions (Schudson/Anderson, 2008). The application of the so-called sociology of professions to journalism (cf. Lewis, 2012; Gravengaard, 2012) not only offers a nuanced understanding of a journalist’s everyday work, but also of the broader ideological forces underlying and shaping their practices and vice versa.

But what does “professional journalism” mean? For some, it implies a “minimal” (Waisbord, 2013:4) understanding of journalism as a profession, in terms of an occupation, a career and paid jobs. In this sense, Jeremy Tunstall (1976) once argued that a professional journalist is simply someone who works in the news media. While there may be a bit more to it, this common “trait approach” (Lewis, 2012:839) largely reflects a structural division of labour and specialisation (Nerone/Barnhurst, 2003), granting journalists the exclusive right to engage in a particular task for society (Abbott, 1988). Even though journalism has never matched the archetypical models of a profession such as medicine, law or academia, it successfully fulfilled the critical condition for any profession to claim jurisdictional control over a particular area in society (Lewis, 2012). Historically, journalism has monopolised the provision of a social need: news (Waisbord, 2013). This functional understanding of professional journalism largely refers to what journalism does vis-à-vis other areas of activity in society.

But professional journalism can also be seen as a model of quality reporting, encompassing a set of desirable virtues, principles and beliefs. Journalistic professionalism is commonly used as shorthand for various, separate ethical standards and values relating to ideals such as fairness and neutrality, objectivity, autonomy and social responsibility (Waisbord, 2013). Professionalism in this sense has a strong normative dimension which is largely rooted

in journalism's ascribed role for democracy. It is viewed as representing one of the crucial institutions that supports a citizen's capacity to participate in society. As Blekesaune (2012:113) argues, "democracy functions best when its citizens are politically informed" and with the advent of industrialisation, professional journalism claimed it was taking on that task by producing "hard news", "accountability journalism" or "the iron core of news" (cf. Anderson et al., 2012:7). This led to the emergence of what Aldridge and Evetts (2003:549) call the "occupational ideology" of journalism, which is highly ritual in nature and has manifested itself in a professional identity of fulfilling the classic liberal and normative watchdog function:

"Journalism exposes corruption, draws attention to injustice, holds politicians and businesses accountable for their promises and duties. It informs citizens and consumers, helps organize public opinion, explains complex issues and clarifies essential disagreements. Journalism plays an irreplaceable role in both democratic politics and market economics" (Anderson et al., 2012:7)

Whether or not professional journalism successfully lives up to this ideal is a different question. The aim of this article is not to identify desirable guidelines for occupational practice or to spell out what "good journalism" is or should be, but to understand the implications of journalistic change. Yet journalists appear to continue to hold on to particular self-representations and identities, a phenomenon Kunelius and Ruusonoksa (2008:662) call the journalistic "professional imagination". Idealised understandings of the press also persist in the public mind, as "[d]epictions in popular fiction, theatre, and film reiterate the ideal and disseminate it among audiences who never set foot inside a newspaper office" (Nerone/Barnhurst, 2003:435).

3. The Struggle over Boundaries

There is no universal way to identify and classify journalistic professionalism, as it "lacks the 'science' that the grand professions [...] use to justify their autonomy and independence, as well as the concrete entry into the profession – licensing and schooling, for example" (Nerone/Barnhurst, 2003:447). However, journalism has successfully claimed legitimacy and the jurisdiction to govern a body of knowledge as well as the practice of that expertise (Abbott, 1988). As a result, threats to the profession are primarily struggles over boundaries (Gieryn, 1983). These boundaries determine, for example, what practices are acceptable and which ethical standards journalists need to adhere to. It ultimately separates insiders from outsiders, i.e. the professional journalist and the non-professional amateur. Retaining control is a key objective and like all professions, journalism engages in boundary maintenance to some de-

gree or other – through jurisdictional disputes with neighbouring professions or through tactics aimed at stopping non-professionals who attempt to invade its territory (Abbott, 1988; Lewis, 2012). It is the latter strategy in particular that has gained increasing relevance in the digital age.

For much of the twentieth century, both the business model and the professional routines of journalism in Western democracies were highly stable and successful enterprises because they took advantage of scarcity, exclusivity and control (Lewis, 2012). Professional journalism derived much of its sense of purpose and prestige through its control of information, sets of “strategic rituals” (Tuchman, 1972), and its normative roles. Lewis (2012:845) argues that traditionally, news workers “take for granted the idea that society needs them as journalists – and journalists alone – to fulfill the functions of watchdog publishing, truth-telling, independence, timeliness, and ethical adherence in the context of news and public affairs.” This assumption may no longer persist in light of the current hyper-saturated media and communication environment.

The media has always been a site of change, and transitional shifts are not unusual in journalism. As a product of modernity, “journalism has been historically situated amidst social transformations” (Waisbord, 2013:5). The context of journalism currently seems more volatile than ever. Journalism is deeply intertwined with the subversive shifts overarching the whole media industry. Narratives of journalism as a “profession under pressure” (Witschge/Nygren, 2009), “in crisis” (Young, 2010) and “coming to an end” (Deuze, 2007) have become commonplace in the academic literature.

4. Reconfiguring Structure and Agency in News Production

Scholars in the field mostly agree on the principal viewpoint that the creation of news used to be a tightly-held, closely monitored, top-down process that involved the interactions and interventions of only a small elite (Chadwick, 2011). Recently, both the relationship between producers and consumers, as well as professionals and amateurs has changed. Digital technologies enable and encourage end-user participation, very much in the sense of Jenkin’s (2006) “convergence culture” or “participatory culture”, Deuze’s (2006) “digital culture” and Bruns’ (2008) notion of “produsage”. The emergence of user generated content (UGC) has particularly gained increased attention and salience in journalism, most notably in the form of “citizen journalism” (Allan/Thorsen, 2009) – which is termed “open-source” (Deuze, 2001), “participatory” (Bowman/Willis, 2003) or “grassroots” (Gillmore, 2004) journalism elsewhere in the literature. All of a sudden, the digitally literate user could

become a “parajournalist threatening the jurisdictional claims of professionals by fulfilling some of the functions of publishing, filtering, and sharing information” (Lewis, 2012:850).

The media has become a multi-way network which causes unease centred around who controls which spaces and information in the so-called “network society” (Castells, 2006). In this context, Lewis (2012:836) identifies an “ongoing tension between professional control and open participation in the news process” which questions journalism’s traditional “logic of control over content”. This fundamentally challenges the one-way publishing model and reconfigures the public service role of the media which entails encouraging civic participation and active deliberation (Williams et al., 2011). In light of these developments, many scholars have already claimed a transition from the journalist’s gatekeeping role to “gatewaching” (Bruns, 2005) and a shift from actual news production to the aggregation or curation of already existing content (Bruns/Highfield, 2012). All this points to clear threats to journalism’s occupational ideology and its professional boundary maintenance.

Social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Google+ thrive on the idea of participatory cultures and UGC. Their continually growing prominence and salience in people’s lives, and the ever-increasing amount of information shared in these online spaces have turned social media networks into an increasingly relevant tool for journalists. Chadwick (2011) observes that journalists are now tapping into the viral circulation of these online contents, embedding them into their news coverage and associated production techniques. News stories often first break online now and are picked up by journalists who obsessively follow their email, Twitter and blog feeds, hunting for new leads and sources. Most recently, scholars have been trying to make sense of the impact of social media platforms on journalism and a number of buzzwords have emerged: ranging from “networked journalism” (e.g. Beckett/Mansell, 2008), to “liquid journalism” (Deuze, 2009), “social news” (Goode, 2009), “ambient journalism” (Hermida, 2010) and “social journalism” (Hermida, 2012), they all attempt to capture that same phenomenon.

5. The Impact on Professional Practice

In this context, Anderson et al. (2012) argue that the current state of the news media indicates a new era: the age of post-industrial journalism. The broader shifts in the media landscape and the restructuring of the current media ecology as discussed above “will mean rethinking every organizational aspect of news production – increased openness to partnerships; increased reliance on publicly available data; increased use of individuals, crowds and machines to produce raw material” (Anderson et al., 2012:13). On a structural level, many

news organisations have tried to catch up and keep up with these developments, from the creation of positions such as social media editors to senior management decreeing that social media use is now part of each journalist's occupational responsibilities (Hamilton, 2011; Hermida, 2013). At the same time, individual news organisations started to publish guidelines and training programmes on how to embrace these new formats (Newman et al., 2011).

As a global media organisation, the BBC has been recognised for its innovative efforts in creating the so-called *UGC Hub*. This was started in 2005 so as to sift through unsolicited, non-professional contributions e-mailed to the BBC. With the increasing popularity of social media platforms, people have become more prone to distributing material themselves through Twitter, YouTube and Facebook (Turner, 2012). As a result, the UGC Hub's task "has moved toward semi-conventional newsgathering with a Web 2.0 twist [...], staffers now use search terms [and] see what's trending on Twitter" (Turner, 2012:np). But the BBC not only monitors what others are doing on Twitter, it also actively engages with the platform and its users through numerous of its own accounts.

Such new interfaces of journalistic work offer an inspiring chance to look at the emerging rituals and practices of "post-industrial" journalism. A deductive exploration² of a selected number of accounts hosted by or associated with the BBC (e.g. a particular news program or show, the BBC's dedicated account for breaking news, BBC journalist accounts, etc.) suggests at least five forms of journalistic engagement with Twitter:

1. **Interactivity.** Refers to direct communication with other non-journalistic Twitter users such as further discussion of news and broader commentary;
2. **Content dissemination.** Refers to links to articles, broadcast pieces, pictures and videos that are hosted outside the Twitter environment on the BBC homepage or BBC iPlayer;
3. **Sourcing.** Indicates concrete efforts undertaken for "fact finding", such as asking for eye-witness accounts, pictures, video footage or interview partners;
4. **Professional interaction.** Means interaction with other journalists and news outlets, mostly in the form of an @reply or retweet;
5. **Promotion.** Refers to personal branding, non-news related content, possibly even personal information that includes photos, links to personal websites, blogs and other material.

These five categories claim to be neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. Instead, they offer a practice-oriented starting point that can help us to approach the more complex, non-observable dimensions of professional transformations. Practices are visibly shifting towards capitalising on the affordances

of citizen journalism and crowdsourcing, as illustrated by the above example of the BBC. The deeper question for journalism is: how does this impact the professional imaginations, identities and occupational ideologies of journalists? And where are the old and potentially new boundaries then to be located, that legitimise journalism and its jurisdictional claim over the production of news? If the traditional model of journalistic work reflected ideals such as objectivity and neutrality through the technical quoting of primary definers, then what do these new forms of journalistic practices and rituals associated with social media stand for? This must be a key element on the agenda for journalism research of the future.

6. Recommendations for Future Research

As Hermida (2013) argues, it has long become pedestrian for journalists to engage with social media and gather material from these platforms. But what happens from the point of sourcing to the finished news product is somewhat of a black box. We do not yet understand the professional logic which underlies and guides the inclusion of citizen journalism in professional journalistic output. What kind of information and footage do journalists take and what do they leave, from whom, when and for which purposes? When do journalists consider their interaction with both the wider civic and professional community on these platforms valuable or necessary? And most importantly, we need to ask how the classic journalistic normative value system, based on objectivity, neutrality, verification and fact checking, translates into professional engagement with platforms like Twitter. Deconstructing this black box is a prerequisite and a gateway for understanding the changing nature of the professional self-understanding and self-representation of journalists.

On an analytical level, it may be useful to cluster journalism and its surrounding environment into three functional layers: 1) the micro level of the individual journalist operating within their professional production setting and the respective relationships with colleagues, audiences, and sources; 2) the meso level of organisational cultures, corporate strategy and editorial policies that facilitate and encourage certain production practices; and 3) the macro level of national/global regulatory, legal, technological and competitive forces that govern and condition journalistic operations and behaviour. In doing so, we may be able to identify and determine both internal and external forces that actively contribute to shaping journalistic behaviour, which may in turn impact the professional imaginations, identities and occupational ideologies of journalists.

Finally, future research may also require new methodologies. Traditional methods such as newsroom ethnographies may have to be extended via the alternative approaches that account for the many currently splintering forms of journalism (Lewis, 2012). Journalism has become increasingly precarious and contingent, detached from the stability that institutions once provided (Deuze, 2007) and the physical locale of the newsroom is now only one of the many sites of journalistic activity. These alternative approaches could involve research designs that account for the socio-technological affordances and constraints of social media platforms (Hermida, 2013) or might include an actor-network analysis of news production (cf. Schmitz et al., 2010; Anderson, 2011).

7. Conclusion

It is inherent in the evolutionary nature of professions that professional imaginations, identities and occupational ideologies change over time. This change could point to the exclusion or marginalisation of certain professional ideas or values just as much as it codifies or adds salience to others (Deuze, 2007). Many scholars argue that in the digital era, the boundaries of who is a producer or a consumer, a professional or an amateur, are becoming increasingly amorphous, and it is hard to argue against this. The persistence of a professional imagination and an occupational ideology, however, means that boundaries are still actively sustained and maintained. They may simply be modified, adapted to new circumstances and environments. As the dynamics and relationships within the journalistic sphere continue to change, our understanding of professionalism needs to evolve as well. How do the affordances and associated cultures around digital technologies and social media platforms fit in, clash or alter professional journalistic ideologies? How does this impact the professional imagination of journalists and their roles in society or, to use Jay Rosen's (2013:np) words: "journalism, what is it good for?" Finally, to decode the nuanced and evolving meaning of professionalism in journalism might also require a different understanding of news as a product altogether. Perhaps we need to revisit the traditional idea of news as new, but instead think about the idea that news is "no longer what's new but what matters" (Anderson, 2013:np). It may be here, on the contextual level, where professional journalism could reposition itself in society and resolve the tension between its claim for journalistic control over content and cultures of open participation in the news process.

Notes

- 1 For a review of these traditions see Cottle (2003).
- 2 This deductive exploration was part of a pilot study, undertaken within the scope of the author's PhD research during the summer months of 2013. See project abstract also published in this book for further information.

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Biography

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Section Three

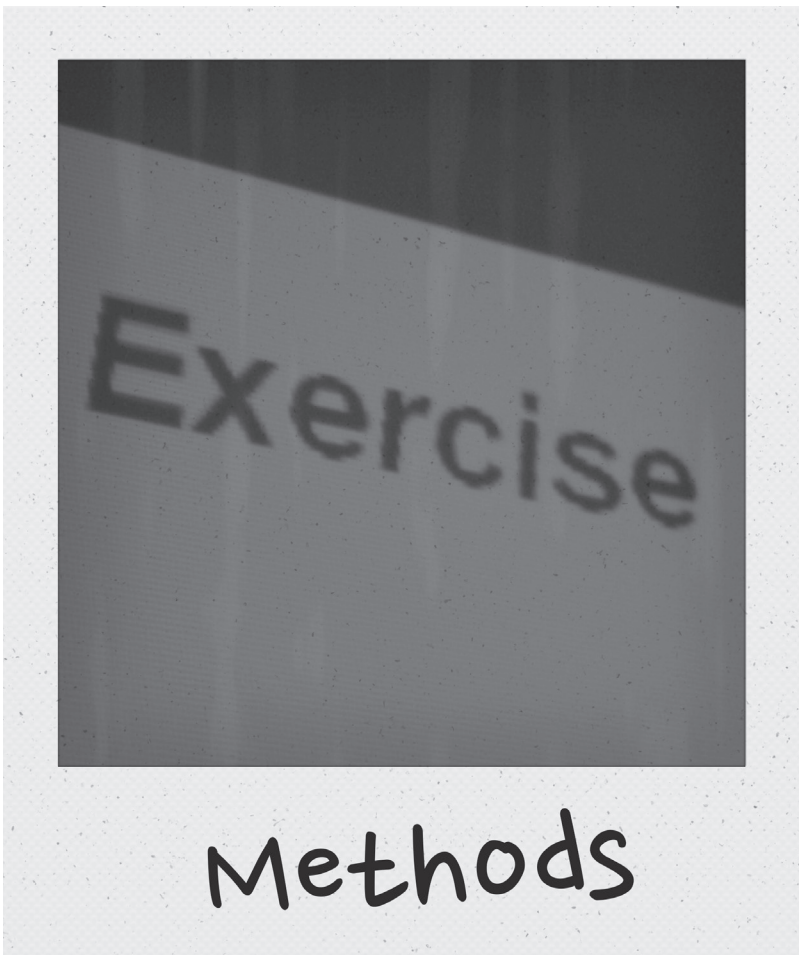


Photo: Leif Kramp

Advantages and Limitations of a Text Analysis to Reveal the Strategic Action of Social Actors: The Example of Cultural Diversity

Bertrand Cabedoche

Among the variety of available methodological tools, the techniques for the analysis of written documents figure prominently. However, the demand for these techniques was not always so obvious in Information and Communication Sciences. Certainly, the period of the origins of the discipline, in the second half of twentieth century - thanks to a return to the original texts and discourses of social actors – provided us with opportunities to move beyond the excesses of structuralism, in its most radical versions of the 1960s. During the 1960s, some leaders of the structuralist school neglected some of its inherent problems in order to emphasise the importance of structure, regardless of the intentions and actions of individuals (Althusser, 1965; Althusser and Balibar, 1968). Some of structuralism's critics formulated this problem as follows: 'la subjectivité remplace le respect pour l'écrit, parce qu'elle se prétend rigoureuse, parce qu'elle s'affirme 'décodage parfait'. Autant de prétentions abusives'¹ (Lefebvre, 1969: 3-37).

With the evolution towards theories that considered the human being as a whole subject, textual analysis was recognised again: In its present form, it is no longer limited to questioning how the use of words and the structure of discourses is infused with politics and ideology. Instead of reducing the discourses of social actors to an expression of ideological illusion, this method now seriously considers the claims and skills of ordinary people, and helps us to distinguish the different logics of social actors, thanks to the comprehensive sociology approach inspired by Max Weber, and at the same time, ethnomethodology and interactionism, born in the United States (Bonnaïfous, 2006: 213-227). These approaches allow to increase the emphasis on agency and subjectivity. To use de Certeau's words: If environments are defined by strategies linked to structuring systems and totalising discourses, social actors and individuals work to positively transform their own situation by using tactics (de Certeau, 1980: 62-63).

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Because Information and Communication Sciences are in principle refractory to a general theory which could explain everything, the discipline finally encourages researchers to consider these thankless but necessary ways of doing research *in situ* and *pro tempore*, directly referring back to the original texts of the actors and at the same time, to the context of their discourses and actions. This approach has proven its relevance, and moves far beyond the first functionalist restrictive definitions of content analysis, simply as a quantitative analysis of the manifest content (Berelson and Lazarsfeld, 1948). Rehabilitated today, and widely expanded and improved, providing access to the ‘other side of the mirror’ and moving beyond the first, quick, reading level, and producing a critical distance from the illusion of transparency, the range of tools for textual analysis is, however, not enough to scientifically understand the persuasive action of the social actors. Here we, should keep in mind that these textual methods simply offer clues, and need to be accompanied by survey methods and the perspectives of authors, to deal with hypotheses and research questions in a more fundamental way. This is especially the situation when a (PhD) researcher is trying to progressively integrate concepts into everyday language and, even more, when these concepts have been previously validated as diplomatic languages, e.g. legal texts, like international conventions proposed by the United Nations.

In some of our earlier work, we have already evaluated the political limits of social actor discourses in reference to the Tangible and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which brought a majority of the UNESCO member states to ratify both the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (in November 1972) and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (in October 2003) (Cabedoche, 2012a). On the one hand, references to common heritage create obligations for states in dealing with a common property. But on the other hand, the approach reintroduces, in parallel, a nationalist closure and competition between countries and governments (e.g. Thailand and Cambodia fighting for the possession of a site on their common border) or exclusion and stigmatisation (e.g. in the belief of a supposed clash of civilisations (Huttington, 1997)). We also did the same deconstructive work for UNESCO, in analysing the concept interculturality (Cabedoche, 2013a: 55-64), and this year, we are finalising our research into the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, offered by UNESCO for ratification by the member states in October 2005 (Cabedoche, 2013b and 2013c). This research should be useful for PhD researchers who seek to identify how social actors tactically play with the term cultural diversity, to defend their own interests.

First, this chapter will review the conclusions from an analysis of social actor discourses using the term diversity, e.g. France Telecom (now called Orange in the telecommunications global markets), during 2005-2010, to il-

lustrate how a particular concept is used by social actors. We will begin our analysis of this company's discourses, also by looking at its omissions and contradictions. We will then put this result in perspective through the general context of France Telecom's human resource management. Finally, we will extend the analysis to enrich it with theoretical frameworks that discuss cultural diversity, shifting beyond the limits of the methods of content analysis.

1. An instrumentalising humanist discourse of diversity

In 2005, France Telecom (FT) became one of the first signatories of the French Diversity Charter promoted by the Institut Montaigne, ensuring itself of excellent mainstream media coverage. This media interest was caused by the institutional links between this telecommunications operator and media groups, and the rather awesome pressure maintained by FT's own public relations offices. This adherence to diversity was linked to the position that media are required to perform as economic organisations on the orders of the CSA², even though the term and its uses have already revealed ambiguities (Alemanno and Cabedoche, 2011, Cabedoche, 2012b). As a starting point, we would like to emphasise the existence of institutional variations in the value of diversity triggered by the concepts transfer into managerial and media discourses. Moreover, we should also point to the context of the public exposure of FT work-related suicides (around sixty FT employees in three years), which increasingly produced a media stigma, focussing on the deadly dimension of the FT management and a growing loss of (internal) status of the company at the end of the decade.

The Charter of Diversity of the Institut Montaigne was directly the result of the French Bébéar report (Bébéar, 2004), itself the result of a broader reflection at the European Union level, to make the labour market more responsive and also more open to the employment of marginalised or excluded people. Analysing the first reports of signatory companies, authors find the term diversity as 'le mot phare de ce cru 2005'³ (Point, 2006); others are speaking in terms of 'fashion effects' about diversity management, which is encouraged, in parallel with, and guaranteed by, a state of hyper-mediatisation, particularly since 1999 (Barth, 2007: 287). To give one piece of statistical data: In 2007, 42% of respondents to a European survey reported having implemented policies to promote diversity for over 5 years, 27% since 2002 (Féron, 2008).

A Performance & Cultural Diversity project was launched for FT, managed by its Direction of Communication. The 2007 FT report confirmed their promotion of diversity, which discourse reflected the 'social responsibility' of the company, fighting against every kind of discrimination. As such, the FT discourse introduced FT to job applicants as an 'involved [human-size company] for Diversity and Equality'. Later, the new 2008-2010 Employees

Agreement showed a strong commitment discourse for the inclusion of people with disabilities. Similarly, FT management discourse included a 'responsible consideration of religions' and declared a fight against homophobia. FT prided itself on being quoted in managerial circles and professional media for its internal promotion of gender diversity.

Promoted like this, the FT discourse of diversity seems to be part of the humanist impulse that deeply inspired the 2005 UNESCO Convention (Yacoub, 2012), although we must also consider this reference in terms of cultural diversity as a part of a business strategy. Neo-institutionalist theories of organisations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) have argued that a better performance is realised when employees learn to deal with differences directly in the workplace (Ely and Thomas, 1996), in particular, when they are located in multinational market places (Rosenzweig, 1998, Dass and Parker, 1999). Whereas previously theoreticians of globalization thought of the capitalist system in terms of the homogenization by an increasing levelling of consumption (Fukuyama, 1993), now, the Theory of resources leads on-going globalised companies to value what individuals learn from other perspectives, even more than to assimilate differences or to merely evaluate them (Dass and Parker, 1999).

The discourse of diversity in the workplace was very quickly described as a 'social embellishment' (Kirby, Erika and Harter, 2003). As a research method, discourse analysis of FT helped us to test this hypothesis, focussing on both the Said and the Unsaid. First, we noted that this diversity promotion never referred to the legally binding dimension of policies implemented in the name of diversity, suggesting FT's totally voluntary and generous commitment, while for some of its aspects, comminatory legal injunctions⁴ did exist. Obviously, the management of diversity can even anticipate binding legal devices (Fredriks, 1994), but here the existing legal framework remained unmentioned.

FT was also almost completely silent about the issue of its purely economic interest in internally developing diversity. Perhaps this is because the argumentation for diversity, from a business perspective, is not fully developed (Bergen, Soper and Foster, 2002; Jones and Stablein, 2002). But surely, in FT's employees' minds, the difficulties of interculturalism combined with a previous merger with the British Orange company, were more closely related to the threshold effect theory, which emphasises mental blocks as the grounds for failure (Steinman, 2006), or for the existence of a hasty discourse on diversity (from a business perspective) (Féron, 2008). On both sides of the Channel, people had built the same stereotyped nationalist critiques on the supposed performance of the Other, and consequently, lived diversity more as a vector of confrontation, rather than an opportunity for cooperation and synergy (Dameron and Joffre, 2005). This psychological barrier could have been extended to operational managers too, entangled in terminological confusion between

difference, discrimination and diversity from hazardous empirical approaches to resolving daily difficulties in managing diversity (Delattre and Morin, 2006; Féron, 2008: 57-71), ultimately resulting in increased stress (Semache, 2006). While reports spoke about these difficulties to manage diversity - suggesting progressions, stagnations and regressions – the FT discourse was a dithyrambic valorisation of a bold operational policy.

Meanwhile, this official FT communicative action on diversity was accompanied an inflexible management policy, which did not seem to consider human beings other than as an adjustment variable, which explains the court appearance of FT CEO Didier Lombard for moral harassment (in 2005-2010).

2. A polysemic discourse on diversity, in an oppressive internal management context

During this 2005-2010 period, a NEXT plan (New Experience in Telecommunications) was effectively established by the executive board, both to compensate for the previous abyssal financial losses related to, on the one hand, the costly acquisition of Orange and, on the other hand, risky investments in the digital economy, but also to face up to a triple big bang in the world telecommunications market, i.e. a sudden deregulation, fierce competition, and constant technological ruptures. This FT policy ordered managers to encourage, induce, and even force the departure of more than 20,000 employees, through a relentless and powerful management that was impacting on workers and led to the brutal elimination of the ‘porteurs de signaux faibles’⁵: those who, physically or psychologically, could not endure the rapid pace multi-specialisation management policy of a ‘time to move’ injunction⁶; but also those who, politically, could not accept to fire large numbers of people without any qualms. When this inhuman managerial policy became headlines in the media, via a macabre count of work-related suicides, the response of FT’s CEO was at first a total denial of human suffering. But in 2010, cornered by journalists demanding a public inquiry, the FT executive board finally admitted an institutional link with the human dramas. They immediately used diversity as a response to the risk of a progressive ‘desublimation’ of FT: ‘Yes, the 22,000 expected departures were stimulated with bonuses to managers who succeeded in their objective to reduce the size of their teams. But the departures were compensated by a bold recruitment policy (7,000), focusing on cultural diversity, integration and development of the person’⁷.

In fact, once again, content analysis reveals the ambiguities of the usage of the word diversity. Our own research confirm conclusions from previous analyses of company reports, whose production was based on the requirements of the Diversity Charter, which denounced the ‘wooden tongue’ of the notices

(Point, 2006). The managerial discourse on diversity at FT was never demonstrated by precise figures (except when related to gender diversity), making verification impossible. Its assertions remained developed in isolation, as a distended, decontextualised patchwork, without any monitoring (Féron, 2008). These conclusions have not been corrected since 2006, when it was clear that this period was just ‘l’orée d’une harmonisation sociale, assez loin de favoriser une véritable „culture de l’inclusion”⁸ (Point, 2006). Later, in fact, it was still referred to as the demagoguery of companies speaking of diversity, which gave the public just what it wanted to hear, but without necessarily translating the discourse into action: ‘On est dans la cosmétique, le travestissement, l’alibi’⁹ (Bath, 2007: 281).

To this first critical conclusion, we must add that we found the hyperbolic use of the diversity notion: from 2005 to 2010, FT used to stamp the label on any of its decisions. The observation of managerial discourse in other companies in this decade was in line with the same use of multiple, floating, and often un-identifiable objects, without clear reference to a comprehensive measure of its induced effects (Barth: 2007: 274; Féron, 2008: 57). At this stage, beyond a sense of familiarity, ‘le lecteur ne [savait] finalement pas bien de quelle diversité il s’agit : des métiers, des minorités, des cultures...?’¹⁰ (Point, 2006: 61 -85).

Among numerous unexpected examples, the affirmation of diversity in FT discourse has been associated with, for example, technological drivers: The development of technological applications (IP, broadband, fixed-mobile convergence) would work ‘...[pour faire] reculer les frontières entre les métiers traditionnels [et créer] un champ d’intervention ouvert, celui d’un monde numérique universel et doué d’ubiquité’¹¹ (Serveille and Friedel, 2007: 259-268). Such a boldness in interpreting diversity is not rare: the reference was even turned against FT when competitors in global markets felt offended by an exclusive arrangement obtained by FT to distribute pop star Madonna’s new single: Such an agreement would deprive consumers of their choice of distributor, that is to say ... ‘a deprivation of diversity’¹².

This rhetorical shift is classic: While in the eighties the arguments called for a deregulation of telecommunications, now we can find an amalgam between on the one hand, individual aspirations for autonomy and decentralisation which meet social uses of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and on the other hand, the need for transnational Capital to disconnect societies from their solidarity structures (Mattelart, Mattelart and Delcourt, 1983: 59; Mattelart, 2007). In the sector of organisational communication analyses, critical literature has noted the CNPF proposal in 1981,¹³ which called on its members to produce a social imaginary about ‘a corporate citizenship’, when at the same time, the imaginary produced by labour organisations should be weakened, in combination with their representation (Le Moëgne, 1995). Beyond the specificity of the French case, actions for diversity in the name of

social responsibility have been analysed as a public relations exercise (Hon and Brunner, 2000). Recontextualised in this way, the discourse no longer appears to be proof of any politically correct action, but as a strategic necessity for the corporate image (Kirby and Harter, 2003). Since 2001, the research conclusion could be that: If entrepreneurial discourses emphasised the proliferation of initiatives and actions for a better integration of minorities and for diversity, it was mainly ‘pour créer ou maintenir une image d’une entreprise responsable, au lieu de décliner de véritables arguments sur l’impact d’une bonne gestion de la diversité sur la performance organisationnelle’¹⁴ (Bellard and Rüling, 2001). In 2007, improving the brand image was recognised as a priority by 37% of European companies engaged in a policy of diversity in recruitment (Féron, 2007).

This simple and unique displacement of perspectives perfectly demonstrates why researchers must go beyond content analysis to understand all possible levels of the actors’ tactics, as well as the theoretically contradictory debates of academic authors. In other words, it is not enough to denounce the amalgams (Miège, 2006).

3. The need of schools of theory to enlarge their perspective

In one previous research project on FT, we began our research by analysing the content, before structuring our thinking in relation to French pragmatic sociology (Cabedoche, 2012c). Such a shift from content to theory is particularly required when, for example, a lexical analysis reports a recurring polysemous syntagm such as diversity, even restricted to cultural diversity (as it is in this case framed by the Charter of Diversity proposed by the Institut Montaigne (Barth, 2007 : 280)).

Diversity featured in the anthropological, linguistic and historical approaches of many researchers (Laulan, 2013; Lenoble-Bart and Mathien, 2011; Mathien, 2013; Oustonoff, 2013, ...). For example, Joseph Yacoub (2012) inspired the ‘new humanism’ reference of UNESCO Director-General of UNESCO Irina Bokova. His perspective was grounded in three surveys, organised from 1947 to 1951, which were initiated by the first Director-General of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, to expand the scope of the debate on the foundations of human rights and the recognition of diversity beyond Europe. Sometimes taking a ‘relative relativism’ philosophical path in favour of cultural hybridization (interculturality) (Yacoub, 2012), these works illustrate their documentary wealth and militant advocacy in promoting diversity as a principle. For this reason, we should regret the weakening of UNESCO’s original intellectual legitimacy by the dominant member states and private institutions, to the benefit of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Cassen, 2003; Dijan, 2005;

Maurel, 2009), or UNESCO's futility in terms of political influence (Courrier, 2005: 55-56). On a theoretical level, these works are seen as a lament, especially when ICTs do not realise their alleged promise about diversity (Delmas, 2013), or are limited to developing a compassion with those social actors who promote diversity 'with a great courage' in response to discrimination (Barth, 2007: 281). Works also sometimes contain the perilous way of prophecy when, for example, ICTs appear as magic tools, capable of strengthening a linguistic sphere (Oustonoff, 2013), or a social one (Albertini, 2013) by themselves, disconnected from society. Finally, lyrical conclusions are sometimes systematically limited to a pious wish, a principle petition, with aspects of evidence and a desperate run for consensus beyond the terminological ambiguities and taboos (Mathien, 2013). This process we have already identified when UNESCO went through a reflexive sequestration during (and after) the New World Information and Communication Order period (Cabedoche, 2011). In fact, these publications prove how dramatically insufficient they are, to a reader waiting for a richer theoretical implementation of diversity and a conceptual clarification of challenges and plural strategies mobilising social actors. Even when it is justified, in the case of organisations whose financial logic amplifies the need for contemporary public shows (Barth, 2007: 280), an analysis based only on content remains unsatisfying, disconnected from both its conceptual, theoretical and epistemological foundations, but also from understanding ideological and normative policy issues (whose discourses are also mediated).

Conditions for the adoption of legal texts governing diversity, as promoted by UNESCO, as well as circumventions to concretely implement diversity and later, difficulties to really assess their operational capability (Courrier, 2005: 54, Dijan, 2005) are already significant issues. Even when the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was unanimously adopted by the Paris 31st Session of UNESCO General Assembly, on November 2, 2001, which was still at a time when the United States had not yet returned to this United Nations' specialized Agency, it is only by looking beyond the contents of the texts, and by introducing a historical (and theoretical) perspective that one can understand the subsequent refusal of the U.S.A (together with Israel and Great Britain), to ratify the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, going against the current of all other member states, as a continuation of their traditional rejection of any supranational regulatory authority (Frau-Meigs, 2004).

To give a terminological perspective of the other references used in the analysis: The replacement of cultural exception - as a more constraining concept claimed by states such as France and Canada - by cultural diversity was more than a semantic shift, or an encouraging progression from one concept to another, as some authors believed far too quickly (Mathien, 2013). Because the respective genealogy of these concepts is fundamentally different (Miège,

2006), others even speak in terms of a Copernician Revolution (Musitelli, 2006, Lăulan, 2008). This once again shows the importance of a theoretical framework, whatever the inspiration is - liberal economics (Pool, 1977, Cowen, 1998 and 2002), Cultural Studies (Fiske, 1987), or critical theory (Mattenlart, 2007) - to understand the removal from the Convention's text of some principles of action that cultural diversity could also refer to (for instance, media pluralism, the protection of journalists, and the definition of specific monitoring and constraints mechanisms).

Of course, the adoption of the Convention represents a major step in the emergence of an international cultural legal framework, as was quickly mentioned (Anghel, 2008: 65). But beyond the signatories' declarations, the text becomes significant only if it is matched with the recognition of a merchant vision and business culture, particularly in favour of the WTO, to which, in producing the Convention, UNESCO conceded to, under pressure from the United States, Australia and Japan. This was made in total contradiction to the declared objective (Mattenlart, 2005). To extend the understanding to the practical application of the text, it is once again necessary to refer to critical economics and to a cultural industries theory in which one can fully identify the plurality of strategies that allow to move (both relation to these industries, and to public policy) beyond self-celebratory discourses (D'Almeida and Al-leman, 2004: 69).

It is absolutely with theoretical - not only methodological - tools, that a researcher can (hopefully) also understand the ideological resonance of diversity in the discourse of actors, for example an economic actor such as FT, when we know that emerging issues about intercultural practices have been distributed in three areas: immigration, international relations and intercultural management (Stoiciu, 2008). The researcher could do so, in Tristan Mattenlart's (2008) way, first by generating preliminary findings, based on a semi-descriptive reading, (also) in line with David Harvey's (1989) proposal. The British anthropologist analysed a paradigm shift from a Fordist accumulation regime, which corresponds with a standardised cultural order, to a regime of flexible accumulation, which requires a cultural order that mobilises the creative potential of diversity. The researcher could then accept the recommendation of Tristan Mattenlart for a return to the critical tradition, avoiding the overly enthusiastic versions of Cultural Studies that celebrate the development of a mass culture that carries heterogeneity (Hall, 1997) and the anthropology of syncretism (Clifford, 1988), creolisation (Hannerz, 1989) or hybridisation (Appadurai, 1990), and the sociology of self-identity construction, in relation to the plurality of choices resulting from the evolution of the global market logic (High Modernity - Giddens, 1991) as it is mainly supported by global media and communication technologies (Tomlinson, 1999). All of these theoretical proposals underestimate the significance of the hegemonic flow animating the

transnational flows (Mattelart, 2008). We share Mattelart's call for a return to critical reasoning, adding – on a personal note - the theoretical perspective of French pragmatic sociology, which allows to reveal 'the new spirit of capitalism' (Boltanski, Chiapello, 1999). With this contribution, the researcher has the project-based city as a key concept to explain the inflation of diversity discourses. From that meliorative label, each social actor can expect an honorary award, despite a questionable, even hateful, human resources policy, as with FT (Cabedoche, 2012c), or Renault and Disneyland (Møglin, 2013).

As was already concluded in a collective synthesis (Bouquillion and Combès, 2011: 10): When defining culture in an anthropological sense, including cultural products and practices, information and communication, and even corporate culture, a social discourse of diversity works as a metaphorically naturalising 'discourse of truth'. However, such objectifying appellations remain inseparable from the power systems that promote these regimes of truth, and from the political and economic issues that characterise these terminological constructions (Bouquillion, 2008). Worse - they sometimes succeed in entering scientific places when academia hosts interdisciplinary confrontations, bringing in, for instance, neo-Fordist engineers (Rasse, 2013) and researchers promoting a General Systems Theory with the same arrogance (Møglin, 2013).

4. Conclusion

To elevate the debate beyond texts, a researcher should hesitate to shift their deconstruction in the direction of more moral or political, rather than scientific positions, for example, if they intend advocating diversity in terms of economic alternatives without further distinction, as has been identified in some works (Dacheux, 2013). At least, we may expect, together with Pierre Møglin, that researchers take into account the concrete forms in which diversity is involved - the 'enlightened thinking': conflictual phenomena, multiple ideological issues, uncertainty of their genesis, ... This is indispensable when diversity today provides such a hyperbolic dimension in the discourses of social actors.

The effects, even the gains, arising from the practical implementation on March 18th, 2007, of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, are real. Probably just because of this, to some extent, it is sometimes argued that there no longer a need to demonstrate the irrationality of the diversity concept, which carries (together with its mediation) a systematic range of imaginaries - in a combinatorial sense of the term¹⁵ - and conceptual and ideological bricolages, e.g. questionable and debatable diversity criteria (Benhamou and Peltier, 2006, Moreau and Peltier, 2011 Denieul, 2012: 123-157). Now, this discussion is no longer sufficient, even if it

was ever helpful. No longer satisfied by the replacement of diversity by the term fragmentation, some authors (Kiyindou, 2013) prefer to deny any conceptual claim to diversity, even if it is defined as a creative and digital diversity.

Certainly, it is regrettable to note that applying this reassuring picture has now become a necessary condition for the entry of social actors in a fundamentally adversarial public debate, especially for the managers of organisations (Barth, 2007), but even for a few authors who position themselves in the field of academic deconstruction (Albertini, 2013). On behalf of the 'false pretense' (Miège, 2006) of this constructed diversity as a totem of modernity, in response to the requirements of pragmatic, moral and cognitive powers, the most diverse and variable geometry of argumentative ruses is rationally performed, based on an assessment by social actors driven by their own interests¹⁶, sometimes deciphered by Information and Communication Sciences projects¹⁷.

But beyond the work of the experts of inclusion and the pamphleteers against discrimination, the scientific challenge now is to develop a consistent theory, which would be able to provide a relevant framework on three 'negative' aspects of multiculturalism: differences, inequalities, and disconnection, which are usually explored separately (García Canelini, 2004: 314). Although it sometimes might be fashionable to refer to diversity, for instance, in the field of organisational management, references to diversity are no transitory phenomenon, as some authors have reported (Novicki, Oustinoff and Wolton, 2008: 9). As governments, international authorities and social actors demonstrate, everyone is now giving extreme attention to this theme (Bouquillion, 2008: 251).

Notes

- 1 *Subjectivity replaces respect for the written word, because it claims to be rigorous, because it describes itself as 'perfect' decoding. But there are so many abusive claims!* [our translation].
- 2 Conseil Supérieur de l'audiovisuel, French audiovisual regulation authority.
- 3 *The headlight word of the 2005 vintage* [our translation].
- 4 I.e., The French Law of November 17, 2001, expands the obligation to fight against discrimination beyond gender discrimination.
- 5 *People with 'signs of weakness'* [our translation].
- 6 The principle which authoritatively forced employees to a total mobility (location, work, responsibility), at least every three years.
- 7 Our own summary of the official FT discourse, from Delphine Ernotte, Orange France executive director, interviewed in 'Les apprentis sorciers', magazine Envoyé spécial, French France 2 TV programme, September 30, 2010.
- 8 *The edge of a social harmonisation, a long way from fostering a real 'culture of inclusion'* [our translation].
- 9 *The era is one of cosmetics, masks, alibis* [our translation].
- 10 *Ultimately, the reader didn't really know what kind of diversity was being talked about. Trades? Minorities? Cultures? ...* [our translation].

- 11 *To push the boundaries between traditional crafts [and create] a field of intervention, the universal and ubiquitous digital world!* [our translation].
- 12 PH. Guerrier, 'Promotion de Madonna, France Télécom et Warner Music assignent VirginMega' [Promotion of Madonna, France Telecom and Warner Music assign VirginMega], IT Expresso, 15 November 2005, URL : <http://www.itespresso.fr/promotion-de-madonna-france-telecom-et-warner-music-assignent-virginmega-14557.html> (consultation: 2010, September 31).
- 13 French Entrepreneurs' Union from 1945 to 1998.
- 14 *To create or maintain the image of a responsible company, instead of considering real arguments on the impact of good diversity management on organisational performance* [our translation].
- 15 With Miguel de Aguilera, we've metaphorically compared opacity of discourses promoting Cultural Diversity to an encrypted pornography that recipients could use to decode alone, based on their own fertile imagination, as clandestine television viewers do, watching encrypted movies without a TV decoder. Isabelle Barth speaks in terms of a belief-diversity, a legitimization-diversity and a resource-diversity (Barth, 2007: 276).
- 16 With regard to the protection of copyright, Pierre Moeglin thus points how legally, eligible parties could both have an interest in an alliance or object to providers, depending on the circumstances. Bernard Miège notes that cultural diversity can also conceal asymmetrical trade agreements such as the defence of industries, living away from protection.
- 17 This direction of research provides the Internationalization of Communication and Cultural Diversity programme that we lead in Gresec laboratory in Grenoble.

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Unless otherwise indicated, the bracketed English translations are made by the author of this chapter.

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Biography

Bertrand Cabedoche is a professor of information and communication at the University of Grenoble III, in charge of the international development of GRESEC, a well-known French research team in the field of information and communication. He has worked on the representations of the European Union in the main member states' newspapers for Fundesco (Madrid). He has also been working on media discourses on North-South relations since the 1970s. And at the same time, he has been working on the ways the society is constructed when it becomes the subject of public (polemic) debates (for instance in the case of energies or nanotechnologies). Bertrand Cabedoche is presently the Unesco chairholder in international communication and also works as a visiting professor at Antananarivo University (Madagascar), Beirut University (Lebanon) and National Research University Higher School of Economics of Moscow (Russia).

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Analysing Media Production: The Benefits and Limits of Using Ethnographic Methodology¹

Rosa Franquet

1. Introduction

I would like to stress, as different authors have done before, the importance of studying audiovisual production in the context of technological convergence. As Puijk (2008: 29) puts it: “Media organizations have changed radically in the last decennium. Increased competition and technological developments have given an impetus toward new production modes, changes in organizational structures and ways of thinking about the readers and viewers”. These transformations were centred on the emergence of the internet and the development of online content has brought renewed interest in ethnographic studies of media production.

The study of production can be approached from different angles and with different methodologies, but by using ethnographic techniques such as field observation we obtain essential knowledge about the transformations that are occurring. Through observation and interviews, we can understand how companies adapt their organisations to digitalised production environments, and new forms of consumption and audience requirements.

Researchers have systematically studied the production dynamics of the media and have generated a large number of case studies, mostly in the area of news production. Since the mid-nineties, and the popularisation of the internet, there has been a proliferation of studies of online news production in broadcasting organisations. The relatively high degree of work division in news production has facilitated its systematic study.

2. Ethnographic approaches

One early example of the use of ethnographic studies for the analysis of news production was a comparative study conducted by a group of researchers from two Spanish universities (the UCM and the UAB)² in 1985. In that early study

Franquet, R. (2014) ‘Analysing Media Production: The Benefits and Limits of Using Ethnographic Methodology’, pp. 195-205 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

we analysed the news production of the main Spanish radio and television news services. The aim was to gain insights into news production processes during the three production phases: the moment when a news story is collected, the phase when sources are chosen and the moment of broadcasting and presentation to the audience.

This pioneer research in Spain spawned a book entitled “Making news: The production routines of radio and television”, which was related to both previous “gate keeper-studies” (White, 1950; Breed, 1955) and “newsmaking-studies” (Tuchman, 1978; Schlesinger, 1980; Schlesinger, 1987). This research focused on radio and television news production processes. The purpose was to understand the organisational structures and practices in the workplace. In the research, we followed the path of ethnography and carried out field observation in newsrooms, content analysis, and a series of in-depth interviews. We opted for participant observation because it enabled us to study the production phenomenon in the context in which it actually happens and thus understand all of the complexities of news production.

Three years later, we conducted another study into the production of current affairs programs. This new study compared the data obtained three years earlier with the new data found in new participant observations, content analyses and in-depth interviews. The idea was to analyse the differences between male and female reporters with regard to news stories, and the main goal was to understand how gender affects journalist practices and perceptions. These early studies revealed the strengths, but also the weaknesses, of the ethnographic methodology and constituted the starting point for new approaches to the study of audiovisual production. These advantages and disadvantages have also been identified and discussed by other authors (Schlesinger, 1980; Paterson and Domingo, 2008; Erdal, 2007; Erdal, 2009; Merrigan and Huston, 2009; Tracy, 2013).

Among the advantages of using ethnography, some are specific to fieldwork itself, as they make it possible to gather a large amount of original, first-hand information and to be personally involved with the subjects we are studying, thus providing in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon being analysed. However, short observation periods may be a limitation of ethnography, and distortion can be caused by the presence of a researcher in the environment.

In 2002 and 2003, we analysed how the Catalan language media adapted to the changes resulting from technological innovation. We studied the creation of online divisions and their integration into the structure of media companies. The reorganisation of press, radio and television campaigns when they first started dealing with the internet tended to generate “ad hoc” divisions whereby online activity was, in general terms, disassociated from the traditional production structures. This was how radio and television operators responded to the

emergence of the internet, and what compelled them to adapt their activity to multimedia production as it became more and more prominent and strategically important (Jakubowicz, 2007).

We worked from the hypothesis that “Online media, because of their economic, technical and aesthetic characteristics, are more permeable than conventional media to new sources of news, new subjects of journalistic interest, new protagonists and new treatments of news” (Franquet et al., 2006). The methodology once again involved ethnographic techniques. As suggested by Erdal: “[A]n important reason for using qualitative methods in the study of production news is related to their capacity to provide hypotheses, searching for unknown organizations and produce theories” (2008: 38).

Studies of media production have used ethnographic methods to obtain data and knowledge that is hard to obtain by using other analytical techniques. The appearance of new interactive digital media in the 1990s aroused the interest of researchers, who once again used ethnography to study internet based applications such as news sites, weblogs and wikis, as well as computer-mediated communication (CMC) (email, forums, instant messaging, chat rooms, social networks, etc.). The study of the production multiplatform content at the heart of broadcasting companies is a real challenge for researchers, who have to analyse this process inside a dynamic and complex organisation (Franquet et al., 2012).

The ethnographic approach was once again an ideal tool for analysing the transformation from a traditional single-platform newsroom to one that produces multiplatform news content “in continuum”. Ethnographic methodology allowed us to understand the transformations that were happening and prevented us from falling into the trap of technological determinism.

The research used methodological triangulation involving field observation, content analysis and qualitative interviews to study integrated media organisations: “Triangulation is a process of using perceptions to clarify meaning and identify different ways of seeing a phenomenon. A number of convergence studies have triangulated methods to enrich the understanding of this complex change” (Singer, 2008: 165).

We were experienced in the use of ethnological methodology and knew about the news production process in a broadcasting organisation prior to the arrival of the internet. Our research tradition helped us to determine which organisations to study, how to define units of analysis, to establish observation times, etc., but most of all to interpret the data collected from our fieldwork and to understand the new activities being undertaken by professionals working for news websites. The use of ethnography to study news production allows us to extract elements for consideration in order to establish the advantages and disadvantages of the ethnographic method and its development from an analogue production environment to the new ecosystem of online production.

3. Facets of studying multiplatform content production

With the change in production conditions derived from the shift from analogue to digital systems, ethnographic techniques were faced with new challenges in analyses of online news production. In the multiplatform production context, professional routines are less formalised because they are still being constituted. In the ongoing process of convergence, multiplatform productions proliferate in order to make company assets profitable. Some productions involve, as a special feature, the integration of digital content management systems (Jeffery-Poulter, 2002).

In addition, the placing of workers in different offices and departments, uninterrupted production, etc., present new challenges for observations. The researcher also has to collect and analyse a considerable amount of material. Moreover, at present, the analysis of cross-media content is posing new difficulties. It is precisely the high complexity and the status of being a universe in construction that makes ethnography the ideal method for the analysis of a specific universe and its members during the negotiation and interaction processes.

Methodological triangulation helps to reduce the difficulties arising from the complexity of the new situation. So, despite the fact that the phenomenon was new, content analysis enabled us to obtain information about online publication in the truest sense, about the ways in which news discourses are articulated in the media and about the relationship with formal, aesthetic and technical aspects.

On the other hand, certain multiplatform comparative studies using ethnographic techniques need teamwork and these studies require a great deal of effort to coordinate the different researchers doing the same job in different organisations at the same time. These difficulties can obviously be overcome with well-unified criteria, the creation of accurate observation guides and a preliminary test to eliminate any dysfunctions from the system and unify the competences of all the researchers involved.

3.1. The interview as a successful technique

Interviews are a highly effective technique in qualitative research, and are also one of the most widely used. Interviews provide information about aspects of a situation that are not directly observable, and are therefore a fundamental tool for researchers. Depending on the objectives that we have set for our research, we can use different degrees of structure in interviews. The researcher should choose what type of interview they are going to use depending on the data being

sought: an open, structured or semi-structured interview. In the latter case, a list of guideline questions should be prepared on the topic, but these should also be complemented and adapted throughout the course of the conversation.

The researcher believes, when approaching this technique for the first time, that defining the questions to be answered is enough. If opting for an open interview, certain themes are defined and in a more or less structured interview, more or less open questions are defined. A documentation study should be made beforehand to help guide the selection of themes, and to choose the right interviewees.

From the first interview, however, the researcher often starts realising that it is not quite so easy and that they will not always obtain the information required in consonance with the objectives established for the research. Although we cannot go into every aspect of the use of interviews, we will highlight some of the difficulties or limitations that may be encountered.

First of all, there are limitations related to access to the subjects chosen for the interviews, the key informants. Depending on our background knowledge, we decide which people to interview, but they are not always available or are not the ones who can, or are willing to, give us the information we need. Secondly, the interviewee might not have the time we need, or might not be willing to follow the pre-established script and start drifting into areas that are irrelevant to our purposes. Thirdly, there are limitations related to confidentiality. Sometimes, the interviewee asks not to be identified or there are things they ask to be kept “off the record”.

These difficulties are inherent to the interview technique and we have encountered them in our ethnographic work. Similarly, we have also found that once inside the organisation, opportunities arise that had not been planned for, to formally or informally interview other people, but this can help to obtain fundamental information for our research. So, there is a part of ethnographic work that cannot be planned in advance and that requires an amount of flexibility from the researcher in order to take advantage of any opportunities that come up during the course of the observation.

No major differences have been observed via interviews between those seeking to discover information about news production in the analogue era and multiplatform news production. Conversely, observation has revealed great differences in the two eras that we have been examining.

3.2. Fieldwork: considerations for “getting in”

The purpose of observations are to extract data and information in order to understand production dynamics and check aspects previously detected in the content analysis and in-depth interviews. Using observation, we can define

the organisational and productive models of departments responsible for on-line news production, establish workflows between departments, examine the professional skills of the people responsible for different tasks, etc. Models are determined by endogenous and exogenous factors such as the history of the media itself, the market position, the convictions of managerial teams, the business culture, etc.

In the study of audiovisual production, participant observation provides us with a great deal of information that would be practically impossible to obtain by any other means. However, although observation has its advantages for research, it also has its limitations, which we shall summarise here.

3.2.1. Accessing the field

It is crucial to gain access to the setting in order to investigate media production. Negotiations to access the place of observation have their difficulties and depend on a multitude of circumstances. Media outlets are not overly enthusiastic about ethnographic studies, because they have to authorise the presence of visiting researchers over long periods of time. The process of negotiating access has not changed with respect to the first experiences in the 1980s. Obtaining permission for a reasonably long stay still presents certain difficulties and sometimes this access is restricted to certain professionals, places or artefacts. Depending on the data being sought, the negotiation process has to be carefully planned. Different authors have warned about this process and, specifically, Down and Hughes (2009) present two types of negotiation of access, one through the senior positions in the organisation, “researching up” and the other from below, “researching down”. Each type of access determines a way of obtaining data and certain possibilities for extracting information, which should correspond with the objectives established for the study.

Experience shows that once initial permission to visit certain departments has been obtained, trust is a fundamental value. If the researcher manages to establish this trust with the managers and key informants, they will be able to access new places and new subjects. Likewise, tenacity, insistence and perseverance are essential attitudes for breaking the initially imposed limitations on access to certain places of observation.

In the current era, multiplatform production involves a greater number of agents, departments and artefacts (Erdal, 2009). This multiplication in itself constitutes difficulty for access, as it requires a greater number of interviews and more visits to different departments. However, these observations are essential if we are to understand the full complexity of production flows and the interactions taking place between professionals and between professionals and audiences in different workplaces. In our fieldwork, we have observed how

the creation of online divisions has caused a certain stress within organisations and tensions between their members and the staff that do not belong to these new departments.

The discovery of the flows and interactions between agents is therefore more complex in cross-media production than it was in earlier eras, when the roles and routines of professionals producing news for radio and television were clearly established and delimited. Gaining an understanding of the culture of a cross-media production company is therefore a major challenge for researchers.

3.2.2. *Dealing with field observation*

Having mentioned some of the difficulties in relation to access, we should now turn to the challenges faced by the researcher during observation. First of all, the researcher needs to deal with the distortion that their presence generates in the study group. The management of the organisation must agree to our access in order to perform observations inside the institution and this implies acceptance of our presence by the subjects that we are going to be observing. This relationship between the observer and observed can lead to mistrust, which can interfere with the achievement of the objectives we have set. The initial surprise or mistrust may be overcome after a short while, but it could also persist throughout the observation period and thus ruin the study.

The researcher's experience in dealing with such difficulties and their ability to adapt to the circumstances, and also to interact with the agents, will prove decisive for collecting and capturing all the data needed for the investigation. Integration tends to come about with time, and the researcher should try to find the informants who are most inclined to collaborate, and who they will discover the longer they have been inside the organisation. The complicity of the subjects being observed is essential, as informal exchanges and interactions can be established which can provide a significant amount of information and the kind of knowledge that is hard to obtain using any other system. A lack of permission to visit a certain part of the company can often be overcome through a network of key informants that have been obtained informally.

In our experience, and as many other authors have also noted, informal conversations provide a lot of information, as the informant spontaneously reveals ideas or impressions that can help us to understand organisational aspects and the culture of new media producers that an inexperienced researcher might not be able to uncover. However, although they are an important source of information, the use of informal conversations can cause problems, as researchers are not always authorised to identify their source.

During the observation period, the data obtained from interviews can be compared and contrasted in order to understand aspects that have only been mentioned briefly or that went by unnoticed. Similarly, we can expand the network of informants through direct contact with the agents responsible for the production of audiovisual content for different platforms.

It is during observation that the researcher acquires “in situ” the necessary input to adapt the research to any new possibilities or limitations that might arise. If new forms of analysis emerge from observations or from collaborations with informants that extend beyond the initial expectations, then it is time to redesign the research. This flexibility can be crucial for making the most of the observation period. However, there is a danger of being overawed by the number of new features that are encountered and which can be difficult to interpret. This means narrowing and defining the main objectives and perhaps leaving some aspects that may be interesting but veer too far from the central objectives of the study for later or another research project.

The differences between the first studies conducted in traditional media organisations and those conducted in multimedia companies can be grouped into several categories. First of all, the increase in the types of subject with different professional profiles that have to be observed, and the number of departments involved in multimedia production. The second category is related to the difficulty in observing processes for which there is little evidence, or that are delocalised or not particularly formalised due to constant adaptations or revisions. This category includes the decision making process, which is difficult to observe at the different levels where it occurs: macro (management, news director), meso (editors, heads of section, etc.) or micro (reporters): “Ethnography is the systematic description of human behaviour and organizational culture based on first-hand observation. As new forms of social organization and communities appear, researchers must adapt their methods in order to best capture evidence.” (Howard, 2002: 554).

Through observation, we have found that some production tasks are barely visible at all to the researcher. Some online work in media companies lacks formalisation and some tasks are performed intuitively. The complexity of multiplatform production, with a diversity of agents working in different places with different artefacts, makes it very hard to comprehend only through observation. Additionally, interaction with audiences is becoming more and more commonplace in cross-media production and, due to that complexity, its study can overburden a researcher trying to deal with the phenomenon. These contributions from the audience, which were impossible in earlier times, constitute an object of study in themselves and have attracted much attention among scholars and researchers in recent years (cf. Carpentier, 2007; Carpentier/De Cleen, 2008; Carpentier, 2011; Franquet et al., 2013).

The third category of difficulties with analysis is that related to the examination of artefacts, or objects used by professionals “in the setting you study to understand the participants’ communication rules, meanings, or behaviours. Such artefacts could include the participants’ routine activities such as meeting or interacting with other participants” (Merrigan/Huston, 2009: 242).

4. Conclusion

Without claiming to be an absolutely thorough method of research, it is true that the ethnographic approach allows us to obtain a great deal of original information and “rich first-hand data”. These are the main advantages of using interviews and field observation. However, the lack of access to specific places and/or to specific people in the organization, as well as the time limitation that fieldwork implicitly imposes, causes limitations for the objectives established for the research.

At the same time, the researcher needs to gather a considerable amount of data which must be filed, organized and interpreted properly. This task provides a real challenge if one takes all the variables into account, the actors and artifacts which must be considered in the production of up to date multiplatform news.

However, interpreting qualitative data is a process which has a certain degree of ambiguity and therefore requires great care from the researcher. As a result, it is important to be aware of the advantages and limitations of the ethnographic approach and whenever possible, corroborate our findings with those of other researchers, in order to ensure that our discoveries are legitimate.

Notes

- 1 Some ideas are part of the project entitled “Cross-media environment: Organisational and production transformations in radio and television groups” (CSO2009-09367).
- 2 Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) and Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB).

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Biography

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Media Effects as a Two-Sided Field: Comparing Theories and Research of Framing and Agenda Setting

Erik Knudsen

1. Introduction

Within media and communication studies there is a long tradition concerning media effects, emphasising how the media can exert effects on an audience. For instance, the theory of agenda setting assumes that the audience will regard an issue as more important when the issue is prominent and frequently covered in the news. However, media effect theories such as framing concentrate on examining how content is presented, not only the effects on an audience. Thus, the claim made in this chapter is that the field of media effects research is a two sided research field – a field that not only emphasises the effects on the audience, but also includes studies of the content itself. This claim is examined by comparing theories and research of framing and agenda setting – investigating different approaches and clarifying the differences and similarities between the two theories.

The chapter starts by placing agenda setting theory and framing theory within the history of media effects research and then giving an overview of different definitions of the two theories. After this, the two theories are compared – illustrating the claim that the study of media effects is a two-sided research field.

2. The history of media effects

McQuail (2010: 454) states that “the entire study of mass communication is based on the assumption that the media have significant effects (...)”. However, McQuail adds that there is great disagreement in the literature concerning the nature and extent of media effects.

Knudsen, E. (2014) ‘Media Effects as a Two-Sided Field: Comparing Theories and Research of Framing and Agenda Setting’, pp. 207-216 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

Building on the suggestion that there has been several paradigm shifts within the field of media effects research throughout the 20th century (McQuail, 2010), the latest suggested paradigm shift contains research viewing media as having a strong potential attitudinal effects, such as framing (Scheufele/Tewksbury, 2007). The paradigm shifts has evolved from the simple magic bullet and persuasion paradigm in the 1920s and 1930s, to the understanding of communication as a much more complicated process with the People's Choice study (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948) and the two step flow communication (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). The theory of cultivation (Gerbner and Gross, 1974) and the return of powerful mass media (Noelle-Neumann, 1973) marked a new paradigm, suggesting that the media exerted a significant attitudinal effect. During the same paradigm McCombs and Shaw (1972) launched the theory of agenda setting. This theory led up to the current paradigm, labelled "negation models" (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

3. A definition of agenda setting

When there is a relationship between intense media coverage of a certain issue and public attention towards the same issue, this is often referred to as a potential effect of the media's agenda setting function and the salience of an issue. If, for instance, one news topic is dwarfing all other news topics, it is also more likely that the general public will notice the issue that's reported (McCombs/Reynolds, 2009). Since McCombs and Shaw (1972) carried out their well-known Chapel Hill study of the agenda setting function, there has been a substantial amount of research within this research area (see: Bryant/Miron, 2004).

Thus, a key element in agenda setting studies is measures of how salient an issue is – both in the media coverage and in among the public's opinion. There is a diversity of different approaches of measuring salience of an issue. Early measures used Gallup Polls asking the question: "What is the most important issue facing the country today?" (McCombs, 2004, For an example see also: Iyengar/Simon, 1993). Another approach is pairing issues, obliging the respondent to rate the most important issue of the two (McCombs, 2004). To measure the agenda setting function of the media, these measurements of an issue's salience to the public is linked to a content analysis of the media coverage. However, Erbring et al. (1980) criticized this "mirror image" approach, arguing that it ignored the fact that issue concerns can arise from other sources than the media, for instance from personal experience and group perspectives and everyday surroundings. Consequently some improved measurement in-

volved tracing the salience issue by issue, using different five-point scales, measuring the importance of the issue, extent of discussion with friends, and need for government action (McCombs, 2004).

In addition, researchers has investigated frequency and presentation of certain news in terms of attributions such as a positive or negative tone and comparing amount of negative/positive press and negative/positive attitudes towards an issue (Sheafer, 2007, Carroll/McCombs, 2003, Miller et al., 2013). This is often labelled the second level of agenda setting. Thus, the first level consists of the media influencing what the public think about, and the second consists of the media influencing how people think about it (Ghanem, 1997).

4. Defining framing

The term framing has a number of different definitions, and suffers from a lack of consensus within the journalism and communication literature concerning what the term means and how it should be conceptualized. However, I would argue that there is one element on which there is a general agreement upon: that framing as a theory of media effect (at least) relates to how a message is presented, rather than what is presented.

Thus, one can understand the term framing at a macro level as how the news is presented (and how this would affect the content), and at a micro level how certain elements in a news narrative would affect the reader. This process can be further divided in media frames and audience frames¹ (Scheufele, 1999). As such, the theory builds on the assumption that how the media discuss, reflect upon, or choose a certain angle to tell a news story (media frames) can have an influence on how the public views important social issues (audience frames) – not which issues the public views as important (Scheufele/Tewksbury, 2007).

The term has roots in both sociology (Goffman, 1974) anthropology (Bateson, 1955) and psychology (Bartlett, 1932, Tversky/Kahneman, 1981) but became a buzz-word within media and communication studies after the publication of Entman's (1993) article "[f]raming as a fractured paradigm" (See: Vliegenthart/van Zoonen, 2011: 102). One of the most cited definitions of the term (See: Matthes, 2009) is Entman's (1993) definition, explaining that news framing primarily involve selection and salience – making information more highlighted and noticeable to an audience. Furthermore Entman defined framing as follows:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and / or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993: 52, italics removed).

However, a range of other definitions has been presented in the literature. For instance that “[f]rames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese et al., 2001: 11) and that frames are the “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson/Modigliani, 1987: 143).

4.1. Different understandings of framing

Entman (1993: 51) referred to framing as “a scattered conceptualization” and Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) claimed that there is an absence of consistency concerning how news frames are conceptualized and measured. Scheufele and Iyengar (forthcoming: 11) went even further – formulating that the framing literature has been divided into two schools of thought. The first school of thought, seeing framing as closely related to priming and agenda setting, and the second as a result of “variations in the mode of presentation for a given piece of information” – not different facts or aspects of an issue.

Iyengar (1991) divided news frames into two journalistic ways of presenting a story: the episodic news frame and the thematic news frame. The episodic frame can be understood as news that focuses on individuals and individual events, and discusses the public policy debate in terms of specific cases. For example, the media can describe unemployment by interviewing a laid off worker. The thematic news frame is more general. Here the media can describe unemployment by referring to official unemployment reports or changes in the welfare system (Iyengar, 2010: 279). Another example of understanding framing as news narratives is Capella and Jamieson’s (1996, 1997) examining of politics as ‘game’ or ‘strategy’. Framing can also be linked to linguistic approaches. For instance, the increased attention towards terrorists after 9/11 can also be presented as a “war on terror” (Reese, 2009), decrease in tax can be framed “tax relief” and paying tax can be framed as a “national service” (Lakoff, 2004).

4.2. Different approaches to doing framing analysis

There is a diversity of different approaches for doing framing analysis, with fundamental differences such as inductive and deductive reasoning. Matthes and Kohring (2008) explain that framing analysis has been conducted with a hermeneutic approach, a linguistic approach and a deductive approach. The hermeneutic approach has received critique because of the reliability and va-

lidity relied upon the transparency of how the frames were extracted. The linguistic approach received critique because it was difficult to make a standardized frame analysis of large text samples (Matthes/Kohring 2008).

The deductive approach theoretically derived frames from the literature and coded them in a standard quantitative content analysis. For instance Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five common generic news frames: responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. This approach received critique because of its inflexibility when it comes to identifying new frames (Matthes/Kohring, 2008).

5. Comparing agenda setting and framing

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argues that that what sets framing theory apart from the agenda setting theory is that how, and not necessarily how much, an issue is covered can assert an effect. However, McCombs and Ghanem (2001) argue that the agenda setting theory is an umbrella theory for the framing theory. McCombs (1997: 37) argues that framing is the same as the second level of agenda setting, explaining that “framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed” (McCombs, 1997).

Building on Scheufele and Iyengar’s (forthcoming) division of two schools of thought, the other understanding of framing is not linked to second level agenda setting, but rather the alterations of the presentation of the same message. This meaning of framing is arguably closely linked to the linguist Lakoff’s (2004) use of the term. For instance, a message can be presented with a loaded term instead of a neutral term, i.e. “tax relief” instead of “decreasing taxes”. The choice of presentation will affect the meaning of the message, but not the message. The opposite, as explained by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), would be a comparison of different social issues, such as financial risk and social consequences, because this is not referring to different modes of presentation of the same message, but comparing two different messages. Thus, Weaver (2007: 144) maintained that the difference between second level agenda setting and framing depends on how framing is defined.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that framing can work through agenda setting, because a particular frame (i.e. “tax relief” instead of “tax decrease”) can be put on the agenda. This can be illustrated by a Norwegian power line debate². The debate concerned the construction of high voltage masts in Hardanger – an area known for beautiful fjords and tourism attractions. The opposition to the construction of these power lines presented, or framed, the high voltage masts as the loaded term “monster masts”. The issue became the

fourth largest issue in the Norwegian press in 2010, and the term “monster masts” was seized upon by journalists and became a part of the journalistic terminology for describing the issue (Knudsen, 2011).

Within both schools of thought, a number of framing studies investigate both the framing of the content, and the effects on an audience. For instance, Huang (1996) combines a conceptualization and study of media frames, as well as survey data capturing audience frames. Iyengar (1991, 1987, 1989), Gamson (1992), Price (1997) and Lecheler and de Vreese (2013) also link a conceptualization of frames to effects on the audience.

The two schools of thought also seem to agree upon that studies of framing do not have to include studies of effects on an audience. For instance, Entman (1991) analysed news narratives and news frames of the downing of an Iranian airplane and a Korean airplane through content analysis. He conceptualized framing as describing “attributes of the news itself” (Entman, 1991: 7), and theoretically predicted a relationship between the media frames and the effects on the audience and political elites. The deductive approach by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and the examining of horse race framing by Schuck et al. (2013), is another example of examining the media frames – not the audience frames. One could argue that a framing analysis of content, and not the effects on the audience, should not be regarded as studies of media effects. Nevertheless, Entman et al. (2009) argued that framing allows for studying the communication process as a whole, and distinguished between five different studies of frames: strategic frames, journalistic frames, news frames (or media frames) and framing effects. As such, Pan and Kosicki (1993: 55) summed up the value of only investigating the content as “an initial step toward analyzing the news discourse process as a whole”.

In comparison, the studies of agenda setting have primarily focused on the correlation between salience of news content, and public opinion surveys. An explanation for this could be that the very premise of agenda setting theory is that there is link between the media’s agenda and the public’s agenda.

6. Conclusion

This article has compared framing and agenda setting theory to investigate the claim that the theories regarding media effects are two-sided. The reasoning for this claim suggested that the first, the origins of effect studies, investigated effects on attitudes and behaviour, and that effect studies such as framing also include a study of the content itself – without studying the effect on audience.

I would argue that agenda setting is an example on the first, often linking content analysis of news coverage to surveys of public opinion. Framing, however, has several different approaches – and understandings – of what a fram-

ing is, and how to measure it. Some understands framing as a central part of agenda setting (McCombs/Ghanem, 2001), others as variations of presentation of the same message. Moreover, framing is understood as a central organising idea (Garrison/Modigliani, 1987), others as journalistic working routines (Gitlin, 1980: 7) and patterns of news coverage (Iyengar, 1991, Cappella/Jamieson, 1996, Cappella/Jamieson, 1997).

A number of studies investigate both the framing of the content, and the effects on an audience. There is, however, also several studies (i.e. Entman, 1993, Pan/Kosicki, 1993, Semetko/Valkenburg, 2000) investigating the framing in news content, without linking the news frames to the effects on the audience. A reasonable counter argument would be that studies that do not study effects on an audience should not be regarded as studies within the field of media effects. However, I would argue that analysis of speculative effects and studies of pure content should be included in the field of media effects research. The reasoning for this is that framing allows us to study the whole communication process – starting with elements affecting a journalist and journalistic priorities, to how journalists choose to present a news story, and how the content is presented, and finally how the news story is perceived by the audience. As such, investigating the content is one important step to understand the whole communication process. This supports the claim made in this chapter – that media effects research not only concerns the effects on the audience, but also include studies of the content itself.

Notes

- 1 There is also a debate in the literature regarding how framing works (i.e. see: Scheufele & Iyengar forthcoming). However, this chapter will not focus on how framing affects an audience.
- 2 See: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/11/world/europe/11norway.html?_r=0.

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Biography

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Records of Facts or Records of Mystification? Brief Notes on the “Surplus Value” of the Photographic Image

Ilija Tomanić Trivundža

1. Introduction

When photography was invented in the first half of the 19th century, it was conceived of as an epitome of rational Western thought and scientific methods of appropriating (subjugating) the world. By the beginning of the 20th century, photographs had acquired an unprecedented social status as a means of (visual) record, and as both visual facts and the practice of visualising facts. Photography managed to preserve this status at the beginning of the 21st century after weathering attacks concerning the ontological uncertainties raised by digital technology, which turned out to be more about resurrection than about the death of the medium. In this simplified and commonly accepted narrative, photography marches in step with modernity's project of Weberian disenchantment of the world and seems to be one of the showcase examples of its “rationalization and intellectualization” (Weber, 1948: 155). Photography thus comes to be seen as “modern vision in every sense, but above all in its alliance to the modern epistemology of vision through its realism” (Slater, 1995/2002: 223).

This master narrative is a gross oversimplification, however; if anything, photography has participated prominently in several of modernity's central projects of re-enchantment of the world, ranging from “the mundane daydreams of advertizing and consumption” (Jenkins, 2000: 18) to rituals and phantasmagorias of nation-state. Moreover, it seems that the realm of photography might very well prove to be one of Weber's “transcendental realm[s] of mystic life” into which sublime values retreat (Weber, 1948: 155); or rather – where they persist. J.W.T. Mitchell, for example, claims that images today persist as one of the last strongholds of magical thinking:

Tomanić Trivundža, I. (2014) ‘Records of Facts or Records of Mystification? Brief Notes on the “Surplus Value” of the Photographic Image’, pp. 217-225 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*. Bremen: edition lumière.

Modern, urban cultures may not have many cults of saints or holy icons, but they do have an ample supply of magical images - fetishes, idols, and totems of every description, brought to life in mass media and in a variety of subcultures. Supposedly obsolete or archaic superstitions about images, moreover, have a way of breaking out in thoroughly modern places like New York City and London. (2005: 128).

Both popular and theoretical discourses on photography have, since photography's inception, been permeated with ideas of spirituality, mystique and the supernatural. Photographic images have been attributed certain powers beyond their mere ability to depict an object or a scene: they have come to be seen as seductive, dangerous, suggestive or enlightening, insinuating the presence or emanation of mythical, magical or divine forces. Political actors and media professionals frequently speak of the (superior) power of images to influence individual perception and to mobilise or sway group thinking, a process in which typically the ratio is seen to be overpowered by emotio, by the "surplus value" of images themselves. Theoretical writings on photography often highlight the "lack" of language to explain the visual, or give up their quest for meaning, the most notorious case of the latter involving Roland Barthes, whose analytical semiotic apparatus capitulated in front of a family photograph in *Camera Lucida* (1981).

This investment of photographic images with the "supernatural" and the "non-rational" is not specific to photography, however. Rather, it should be seen as a strand of a general human attitude towards visual representation. As Freedberg put it:

People are sexually aroused by pictures and sculptures; they break pictures and sculptures; they mutilate them, kiss them; they are calmed by them, stirred by them and incited to revolt. They give thanks by means of them, expect to be elevated by them and are moved to the highest levels of empathy and fear. They have always responded in these ways; they still do. They do so in societies we call primitive and in modern societies; in East and West, in Africa, America, Asia and Europe. (1989: 1)

The belief in the "surplus value" of photographic images can be expressed either in the "devotional" practices of idolatry or iconophilia, or as "destructive" practices of iconoclasm. Of the two, iconoclasm might be more telling of the contemporary belief in the "surplus value" of images, regardless of how much iconophilic practices permeate the advertising industry, popular culture or political marketing and propaganda. Consider, for example, the intensity and emotional investment that goes into the destruction of photographs and posters of dictators during political upheavals, such as those of the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak during the 2011 uprising in Egypt; or the outrage about "immoral" images in the media, such as that of the Polish Catholic Church and its proponents stirred by Agnieszka Radwanska's semi-nude photographs for a special issue of *ESPN Magazine* in July 2013. Both are indicative of

the “surplus value” of images, which in the first case indicates the tacit belief that images in a way also embody the person depicted, and in the second case explicates the belief in the power of images to morally corrupt the observer or even insult divine forces.¹

Rather than dismissing such incidents as trivial, it is important to ask why people “behave as if pictures were alive, as if works of art had minds of their own, as if images have the power to influence human beings, demanding things from us, persuading, seducing and leading us astray?” (Mitchell, 2005: 7).

2. Photography and traces of magic

It has been noted above that the “surplus value” of visual representation is not confined to photography. As Freedberg (1989) has convincingly shown, such beliefs apply to visual representations in general, ranging from classical paintings or sculptures to icons and wax figures. However their connection to photography is special because of photography’s cultural status as a medium of “visual facts”, because “traces of magic” are found in the very “traces of the real”. Photography’s link to the “surplus value” of images can be traced to three characteristics of photography as a medium – to (1) the photographic image as temporal and spatial discontinuity, to (2) the photographic image as trace of the real, and (3) to photography as an act of objectification. One of the central links between photography and the domain of the mystical is related to the temporal and spatial discontinuity inherent in the photographic image. Every photograph is a dislocation of a particular fragment of time and space, its transformation into an image. However, this image is always also a material object and it is precisely this “objectiveness”, the materiality of this seemingly transparent object, that facilitates the dislocation of fragments of time and space. Photography can thus be seen not only as writing with light but essentially as writing of and with time. Not only is it marked by timing (making a photograph in one particular moment and not at some other point in time), but the image itself is produced in/by a fraction of time (commonly referred to as shutter speed) during which film emulsion or the CCD/CMOS sensor surface is exposed to the incoming light. As Siegfried Kracauer noted, each photograph is directly associated with “the moment in time at which it came into existence” (1993/1927: 428) and seems, as John Szarkowski remarked, to describe “only that period of time in which it was made”, the present. (1966/2007: 101) However, the present of image-making and the present of image-viewing are not the same. John Berger stressed that photography “removes an appearance from the flow of appearances” (1980: 55) and preserves it unchanged, “isolating it from the supersession of further moments” (Berger, 1982: 89).² Since a photograph arrests the flow of time, its depiction (content) is consequently imbued with

another message – the shock of discontinuity (Ibid.: 86). It is precisely this shock of discontinuity that led Barthes (1981) to conclude that photography testifies not so much to the appearance of a given object but to the presence of the depicted object in time. A photograph therefore serves as a link/mediator between past, present and future – it presumes “time itself as a progressive linear movement from past to future. The present, during which we look at the photographic image, is but a starting-point, a hallucinatory hovering that imbricates both past and future” (Batchen, 1999: 93, original emphasis). The temporal dislocation of photography connects the photographic image to death and transcendence. For Barthes (1981), photographs testify to the inevitability of death and serve as a form of resurrection.

But photographs are also traces. As Susan Sontag put it, they are “material vestige[s] of the subject”, “something directly stencilled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask” (1977: 154). Similarly, Barthes writes that “[t]he photograph is literally an emanation of the referent. From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here; the duration of the transmission is insignificant” (1981: 80). Although the indexical properties of photography³ are often described as traces, they are seldom perceived as “neutral” traces, such as in Krauss’ use of a metaphor of footprints. Just like temporal and spatial dislocation, indexicality is frequently associated with death. For Susan Sontag (1977) and Andre Bazin (1960), photographs are death masks precisely because the image is a trace “that belongs to the subject” (Barthes, 1981: 54). Moreover, these traces are objectified. Every photograph, even a digital one, has its materiality. It exists as an object (and often also as a commodity). As Sontag put it, “photographs objectify: they turn an event or a person into something that can be possessed” (Sontag, 1977: 81), which can evoke the tacit, ages-old belief that pictorial representations of bodies “somehow have the status of living bodies” (Freedberg, 1989: 12) and lead into some form of idolatrous attitude and behaviour. By taking a photograph, we literally “take” an image of someone and the material object gains a “life” and “history” of its own. As an object, it can be worshiped, exchanged, reshaped, destroyed.

3. “Surplus value” of photography as fetishism, idolatry and totemism

Mitchell (2005) identifies three distinct forms of the “surplus value” of images, three types of attitudes attached to over/underestimation of their power: idolatry, fetishism and totemism. Idolatry has the greatest surplus of overestimation of the power of image, as the representation is taken to be the very object it represents (e.g. treating images of gods as if they are gods themselves). It is related to practices of worship, to the iconic properties of signs in Peircean terminology, and belongs to the Lacanian register of the imaginary. “Fetishism

comes in a close second to idolatry as an image of surplus, associated with greed, acquisitiveness, perverse desire, materialism and a magical attitude toward objects” (Mitchell, 2005: 97-8). The power of a fetish derives from it being a part of the object (often a body part) and, as such, it is consigned to the realm of materiality and private “consumption”. A fetish is revered as an obsession (often explicitly sexual), it is related to the indexical properties of signs, and to the Lacanian register of the real. By contrast, a totem is characterised by the regulation of collective behaviour and hence connected to practices of communal festivals or sacrifices; it is linked to Peircean symbols and the Lacanian register of the symbolic (Ibid., 195). However, this tripartite division is not to be understood as a typology of different characteristics or types of images, rather, it describes three different types of relations towards visual representations:

[O]ne and the same object (a golden calf, for instance) could function as a totem, fetish or idol depending on the social practices and narratives that surround it. Thus, when the calf is seen as a miraculous image of God, it is an idol; when it is seen as a self-consciously produced image of the tribe or nation [...] it is a totem; when its materiality is stressed, and it is seen as a molten conglomerate of private “part-objects,” the earrings and gold jewellery that the Israelites brought from Egypt, it becomes a collective fetish.” (Mitchell, 2005: 189)

Fetishism appears, first of all, through the conception that photographs are windows to the world which offer unmediated access to knowing the world, based on the subjugation of knowledge of the medium’s operation. This attitude permeates a series of institutional uses of photography, primarily those that rely on the notion of images as proof or insight – the police and the judicial system, science, journalism (and also those of advertising and promotion). Fetishism is thus linked to the notion of truth, and Szarkovski (1996/2007) is right to point out that photography found its truth in fragmented nature. It should also be noted that a number of institutional practices and conventions have been developed to preserve the fetishist value of photography. Thus, for example, photojournalists routinely employ a set of conventions regarding framing, lens choices, exclusion of fellow photographers from the photographs etc. (see e.g. Schwartz 1992) to minimise distortions and thus preserve the illusion of press photographs as windows on the world. If the “surplus value” of unmediated access to reality operates mostly on the level of professional practices and defines certain genres and styles of photography, totemistic uses of photography can be traced in some institutional public uses of photography, as well as in the (increasingly less) private sphere of family photography. According to Mitchell, totemistic functions of photography refer to practices in which certain photographic images are used as articulation points for the formation or maintenance of memory and identification of social groups. One such example would be the narration of national identity or national history

through the repetitive use of a limited selection of images. Often, these photographs acquire the status of iconic images that can evoke a complex web of feelings of belonging, and personal or adopted memories that situate the individual in a “community of belonging” that imagines sharing not only its present but also their past and future conditions (Bauer, 1907/1996). In a similar way, totemistic uses of photography manifest themselves in the domain of family photography, where selected images (often collected in albums and passed on from one generation to another) or ritualised image making practices (which not only commemorate a specific event through images but create group activity and cohesion through the very process of image making) are used to integrate individuals into a shared group narrative. According to Bourdieu (1990), family photography exists as a practice in the ritual documenting of the family through a series of predictable events such as various “rites of passage”, ceremonies and habits. “Family photography is thus understood as a ritual of the domestic cult in which family is both subject and object,” (1990: 19), and which serves the totemistic function of organising the collective life of smaller or larger social units.

Idolatry, on the other hand, is more often related to unstructured social uses of photography although various (state) institutions continuously attempt to capitalise on this commonly felt attitude. The most straight forward expression of idolatry in relation to photography is the idea that the photographic image can in some way capture the essence of a person, their soul. This notion is most present with photographic portraiture, a practice often evaluated (by photographers, curators and art critics as well as audience) based on the “criteria” of how well a certain image captures the spirit, soul or essence of the subject. In its reverse form, the notion of photography’s ability to capture person’s essence can be transferred into the fear of having one’s soul stolen or spirit captured, a belief often attributed to pre-modern cultures.⁴ As I have indicated above, such attitudes are not characteristic solely of photography, but have gained new currency through the ease with which surrogate possession of a person can be achieved in the form of the photographic image (e.g. Bryson, 1994; Freedberg, 1989). Moreover, the idea that an image somehow is the person it depicts is grounded in photographic indexicality, in its being a trace of the depicted person. Idolatry is thus the practice of maintaining a surrogate presence, possession or control of the portrayed individual, in a form of a photograph of a loved one kept in a wallet, a portrait of a president, prime minister or royalty in public buildings and offices, or an image of a hated political figure being burnt during political demonstrations. All these diverse practices build on the notion that the image is something more than a mere depiction; it is not seen to be representation as much as emanation, as a presence of the person. Researchers have continuously noted that individuals are reluctant to destroy (tear, cut or burn) photographs of their loved ones (e.g. Mitchell, 2005) or engage

(and indulge) in such activities if individuals hold negative feelings towards the depicted person. As Sontag notes, with photography, “some trace of the magic remains: for example, in our reluctance to tear up or throw away the photograph of a loved one, especially of someone dead or far away” (Sontag, 1977: 161).⁵

Photographs can acquire a status that equals that of a religious icon – they are adorned, worshiped or prayed to, even in cases where the political beliefs of the depicted persons are anti-religious. Goldberg (1993, 152–161) notes how, for example, after Che Guevara’s death, his famous portrait became an object of religious worship (his photograph was taken to church to be blessed and was then hung next to a picture of Christ and the Virgin Mary) or how the photograph of Mao Tse-tung became part of wedding ceremony rituals and was reported to perform miracles. What should be noted is that the belief in the “surplus value” of photographic portrait is maintained by idolaters as well as iconoclasts. Images of political opponents or former lovers are destroyed precisely because at some level, people maintain that the act of violence will somehow be transferred from the image to its referent. Although “public demonstration” is an important aspect of iconoclastic acts, the mutilation of images and the emotional intensity with which it is committed indicates the notion of the transfer of pain to the depicted person themselves.

Regardless of the specific form of the belief in the “surplus value” of photographic images, the attitudes express the notion that images have some sort of inherent, almost bewitching power over the beholder. This special power is generally interpreted as a power over the rationality of the human mind. Writing on interpretation of the meaning of photographs, Allan Sekula described them as “incomplete utterances”, a message that “depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability” (Sekula, 1982: 85). Consequently their power cannot derive solely from their transparent immediacy, riddled with the potential to evoke emotions and desires, but also from their elusiveness in terms of definite meaning: images are powerful and magic because of their silence, because of “their dumb insistence on repeating the same message” (Mitchell, 2005: 27), which transforms them into glossy surfaces for the projection of ideas. As this chapter aimed to illustrate, this projection is not confined to the meaning of those depicted in the photograph, but extends to our understanding of photography as a medium for the preservation of traces, both “real” and “magic”.

Notes

- 1 Contemporary iconoclastic practices of course extend beyond photography and range from attacks on paintings in galleries (see e.g. Freedberg 1989), vandalism of statues or official removal of monuments and buildings associated with former regimes (ranging from Estonia’s relocation of the monument of the liberators of Tallinn in 2007 to Germany’s removal of DDR’s

- Palast der Republik in 2006-08), to the destruction of the “idols of wrong religions”, such as the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhist monuments in Afghanistan by the Taliban in 2001 or the attacks on the World Trade Centre by Al-Qaeda (see Mitchel 2005 for interpretation of 9/11 attacks as an iconoclastic act).
- 2 Similarly, Christian Metz notes that “in all photographs, we have this same act of cutting off a piece of space and time, of keeping it unchanged while the world around continues to change.” (1985: 85).
 - 3 It should be noted that photography does not fall neatly into Pierce’s division of signs to symbolic, iconic and indexical. It functions at the same time as an index and as an icon.
 - 4 In a recent blog post, a Reuters photographer explained how, in the language of the Kayapo tribe in the Brazilian Amazon, the phrase “akaron kaba” not only means “to take a photo” but also means “to steal a soul” (Moraes 2011). In a similar way Balzac is reported to have believed that “everybody in its natural state was made up of a series of ghostly images, superimposed in layers to infinity, wrapped in infinitesimal films. Every time a photograph was taken, one of those layers was stripped away. Eventually, after an infinite number of photographs, the thing might cease to be, robbed as it was of its constituent layers of visibility” (Nadar in Sontag 1977, 158).
 - 5 A recent study (Hooda et al. 2010) showed that this attitude can extend also to images of objects of personal importance, such as photographs of childhood toys.

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Biography

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Media Studies without Memory?

Institutional, Economic and Legal Issues of Accessing Television Heritage in the Digital Age

Leif Kramp

1. Introduction

In their research, media scholars are regularly concerned with audio-visual sources and teaching, be it movies, TV shows, radio, audio recordings or multimedia content on the Internet. Audio-visual media have advanced to the position of primary objects of investigation and theory in media studies. In a media landscape characterised by a huge variety of electronic media, television as a technology, institutional setting and cultural forum (cf. Williams, 2003, Newcomb/Hirsch, 1983) still presents itself as a medium of record, monitoring, framing, priming and commenting on the conditions of increasingly mediatized societies and their social and cultural transformations as well as persistencies.¹ However, in many places, researchers and lecturers who want to work with recordings and documents of television history face considerable problems in accessing the sources. Despite the highly problematic conditions of long-term preservation owing to the susceptibility of the data carriers and to rapidly changing technical standards, researchers struggle with profound obstacles to maintain a hold on archival assets. In contrast to book publications, public records, the fine arts, music or even movies – which have their own challenges when it comes to works that may be ‘orphaned’, but are at least institutionally preserved in archives – libraries and museums, television and broadcasting in general have no clearly defined focal points or mandatory rules of preservation and access with respect to archived material. Last but not least, the use and availability of materials – including the composition and exploitation of private collections of recordings – is mostly restricted on copyright-related grounds.

International cultural and media policy focused on the issue of how to deal with the audio-visual heritage for the first time when a key issue document was published by the Organization for Education, Science and Culture of

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the United Nations. With a recommendation made at its General Assembly in Belgrade on October 27, 1980 UNESCO responded to the growing discontent, especially amongst researchers, but also within the community of audio-visual media archivists, that in most states there were no reliable political arrangements – neither on a national nor on an international level – for the preservation and storage of moving image works. The “Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images” (UNESCO, 1980) followed the three core objectives of UNESCO, which has made a strategic commitment to the promotion of democratic participation, sustainable development and cultural diversity. Three decades later, the situation relating to the management of the audio-visual media heritage must still be regarded as confusing and highly disparate: The legislations alone within Europe are strongly diverging, e.g. The European Convention for the protection of the Audiovisual Heritage (CETS No.: 183) including the Protocol on the Protection of Television Productions (CETS No.: 184) could not enter into force before 2008 when at least the minimum of only four EU member states had ratified it – nearly seven years after opening the treaty for signing. Against this background, the broadcasters’ archives remain the most important locations for the preservation and accessing of historically significant television sources. However, researchers and educators are constantly having obstacles put in their way when trying to access archived material first-hand.

The law has had a significant influence on what parts of the enormous wealth of our audio-visual heritage actually remains in the collective consciousness (cf. Nikoltchev, 2013). A lot of programming is no longer accessible because its legal (copyright) status is unclear. Most legal provisions have served to back marketing models, while the preservation of and access to our cultural heritage has remained in the shadow of lawmaking. For television works in particular, a variety of legal problems have arisen relating to digitization and to the new forms of distribution. These have already had a paralyzing effect on the work of public heritage institutions. The attempt to preserve our television heritage not only requires a major effort in the archiving and conservation of material but also the development of legal frameworks to facilitate easier access to a wide diversity of cultural products.

2. Issues relating to access: Normative, functional, strategic and operational considerations

Reflecting on the findings of her research into German television archives, media scholar Lilli Hobl came to the following conclusion: “In this country, we can only remember in fragments” (Hobl, 2005: 96)². The sometimes capricious, sometimes wailing critique of the current access options in television

archives is formulated by a television historian who – under the protection of a pseudonym – wishes to draw attention to the considerable difficulties that scholars have when dealing with television heritage in their research. This is not only a challenge for media and communication scholars who analyze media production and reception as a core field of expertise. Television and broadcasting history, as well as audio-visual media in general, have experienced – as evidence and mere recordings of mediatized society and culture – a steep increase of interest on the part of contemporary historians (cf. Roberts/Taylor, 2001; Hickethier, 2009), but also researchers from other disciplines such as cultural studies, art criticism, sociology, political economy or psychology, to name only a few that have likewise been affected by the ‘visual turn’ in social sciences and the humanities (cf. Walker/Chaplin, 1997: 3). Hobl’s experiences bear witness to the lack in corporate archives of regulated procedures for external access and the willingness to let the public have a share in the richness of the television heritage in addition to the regular broadcasting activities. Rather, they are evidence of the many types of defence strategies that archivists in broadcasting institutions employ to stave off external user requests as effectively as possible.

Therefore, according to the researcher using the pseudonym Hobl, scholars are sometimes faced with the disappointing response that the requested documents or recordings are no longer available or just cannot be found. This might spur on the researcher to more persistent efforts, but in the end frustration prevails due to the high fees charged for archival consulting services or the copying of individual programmes. Only by chance, by individual sympathies between archivist and requester or by pure luck, are researchers granted access to the protected repositories of the prime assets of audio-visual media history, Hobl connotes. A similar critique is advanced by Mike Mashon, Head of Moving Image Section at the Library of Congress, for the United States:

The film studios and television networks, which are mostly the same thing now, don’t offer you an archive. I can’t go to Fox and watch episodes of ‘21 Jump Street’. You have to go to a publicly available archive, and that tends to be the Library of Congress. Then they may have some episodes at Peabody, maybe at UCLA and a handful maybe in the MT&R [Paley Center for Media], but there are not many places you can go. The library by far has a bigger collection than anybody else. In Germany there are a lot of state broadcasters. Even the state broadcasters in Europe won’t let you in to watch shows. Some of them will, some of them won’t. [...] It’s hard to get that stuff. (cf. Kramp, 2011b: 235)

With Hobl, researching the history of television becomes an odyssey, the archive a Pandora’s box, and the archivist a Kafkaesque doorkeeper who denies the researcher access to the hidden treasures of media history – almightily and uncompromisingly (cf. Kafka, 1934: 8). Television archives have, over many years, gained the reputation of being invulnerable fortresses (cf. Oldenhege, 2000; Hecht, 2005; Ubois, 2005). As a comprehensive study of all major tel-

evision archives in the United States, Canada and Germany has shown, television broadcasters – whether they are commercial or public – operate their archival departments as production archives with the purpose of serving their own broadcasting operations (Kramp, 2011b). Television networks – including public broadcasters – do not necessarily contemplate serving cultural and public demands when it comes to programming that has already been broadcast. As for the German public broadcasters ARD and ZDF, the reasons have been set out clearly: They regard their main obligation as the maintenance and quality management of current programme activities, not in the support of cultural purposes beyond that frame of engagement, as the available funds (licence fees) do not include extended archival resources to cover external requests, especially concerning negotiations with rights holders (cf. Kramp, 2011b: 66). Access requests from third parties for archival material that come from other media representatives or from members of the audience who are interested in original footage or a single show, are diverted to the sales departments. Scholars however usually have more complex requests, need access to a variety of recordings and documents, and therefore dig deeper into the archive racks. Hence, they highly depend on direct access to the archives and professional archival (and not sale) services. Besides, they also understand their research work as part of the cultural realm as well as a public service, and in most cases do not have a budget to pay license fees as they do not act commercially.

A major hassle for scholars is the lack of universally applicable guidelines and policies that would ensure access to the television heritage in an at least reliable manner. As one of the interviewed representatives of corporate television archives, Geoffrey Hopkinson of Canada's public broadcaster CBC, notes, television archiving is far away from being an inter-institutional agreement on preserving and giving access to the heritage comparable to the library, museum and gallery structure built up a long time ago for books and art works: "Because it tends to be buried somewhere and you actually go out there digging for it." (cf. Kramp, 2011b: 236)

The fundamental question on the extent and nature of access to archived television programming assets as well as the equally rich stock of contextualising documents requires the clearest possible distinction between the interested parties. Who demands which access for what reason and with what justification are crucial questions for developing solutions in this complex problem area which is characterized by numerous economic, legal and not least strategic and pragmatic implications. Depending on the motives for access as well as important basic factors such as the institutional background and the available resources, access requests by representatives of production companies, academics, journalists or by members of the general audience are responded to in different ways by the responsible departments. From a user perspective,

access demands can be made on normative and functional levels, whereas on the supply side decisions to grant access are made on strategic and operational grounds:

On a normative level, access claims can be deduced from the high cultural value that derive from the relevance that television has for social memory in many countries as the ubiquitous everyday medium since the early 1960's (cf. Holdsworth, 2008, Kansteiner, 2007, Kramp, 2011a). From this perspective, for example, it could be argued that every television viewer has a right to access television heritage because of its importance for the cultural development and identity formation in the mediatised societies of the 20th and 21st centuries. From this point of view, the concept of a basic service – in terms of a fundamental right to information provision and opinion formation – could be expanded to already aired television programming. This would include mainly archived recordings that are managed not only in public and non-profit organizations, but also and primarily by commercial enterprises such as broadcasters and production companies. Whether this should be done for free or for a fee is a secondary concern. Besides the many individually motivated reasons for occupying oneself with television history the historical interest in it is constitutive: Dealing with television's past or with historical events as they were documented (or even staged) by TV requires genuine recordings and documents from the history of television.

On a functional level it is examined how the demand for access is justified by the function of the users and their use. Here, scholars perform an analytical and interpretative service for the general public. Attributing relevance to these functions is however an act of constant struggle, shaped by normative expectations as well as strategic and pragmatic considerations on the part of archival institutions. Thus, the privileged role of research is not a guaranteed, but a contested one in this context.

At the strategic level, largely the institutional determinants and objectives of the archive are dominant. Access to the archival assets is therefore subordinated to certain administrative requirements. Broadcasters focus their archive management, as illustrated, primarily on productive responsibilities, thus following (business) criteria of media production: Media management is oriented towards keeping up the on air operations using archive material.

Ultimately, the decision between success or failure to gain access is commonly made on the operational level. Here, normative values clash with functional claims of the users and the strategic objectives of the archives. As already argued above, not every user needs the same type of access. Also, not every type of user is granted access because of strategic issues such as business reasons. As the use of archival material – whether it is a screening, a loan or obtaining a copy – always requires and ties up institutional resources, archives have to prioritize who gets access and who does not: Broadcasters calculate

their archive budgets primarily or exclusively according to their own priorities and requirements. Therefore, access for external users is an additional burden that is not covered by the allocation of resources.

Nevertheless, the survey results give the distinct impression that non-commercial users from outside are hardly ever welcome. Above all, in the view of archivists who are already heavily burdened with obligations from the production departments, the academic clientele appears like a milestone around their neck. The study shows that scholars as well as archivists have to struggle with structural impediments that characterize broadcasting organizations: They may recognize and exercise cultural and educational responsibilities with their programming, but not in terms of providing general access to their archives.

Aleida Assmann has pointed out that archives always define themselves through “opening” and “closure”: In her analysis of different political archive functions she came to the conclusion that under totalitarian regimes archives serve as an instrument of domination and are hardly at all [??] accessible, whereas in democratic societies the archival ideal is that the public should have access to the widest possible knowledge. (cf. Assmann, 2011: 202-203). A highly restrictive managed availability of archival material need not be, however, a sole characteristic of totalitarian regimes. As is evidenced by the practice of production archives in the media industry, not only political factors play a role, but also economic and strategic factors.

The more an archive acts out of (corporate) political motives behind closed doors, the less transparent are its collection decisions, the more uncontrollable is its management, and hence the criteria which archival assets are preserved and which are dumped. The example of archives in general and television archives in particular shows that the responsibility of the archive comes with great power over a significant part of the cultural heritage. In his essay “Archive Fever”, Jacques Derrida points out the constitutive importance of archives for current democratic societies when it comes to questions of power and empowerment: “There is no political power without the control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation.” (Derrida, 1996: 4)

3. Implications of broadcasters’ archiving autonomy

Despite the pivotal role of television as a medium of social self-understanding in modern democracies, there are justifiable objections to allowing general access to television archives even for researchers, whether they are affiliated stations, production companies or educational institutions:

First, given the self-management of television heritage management, the institutional self-conception of the respective institution is crucial: Broadcasters' archives are departments of independent organizations in most European countries. This is because of their organizational-legal constitution and is also applicable to public-service broadcasters. Therefore the broadcasters are allowed to limit access *ad libitum*. So they are not necessarily under an obligation to grant external users access to their archives. It is therefore at the discretion of the archive or corporate management to decide on the type and extent of access.

Second, the orientation along the production requirements means that it is not intended to serve any additional external needs. Commonly there is neither enough staff nor enough space to meet external demands, resulting in a somewhat classic tension between a 'democratic' and an inward-looking approach to meeting demands. This becomes more explosive because of the archival autonomy of the broadcasters as ultimate repositories of their television heritage. The more comprehensive the collection approach and the more extensive the collections, the more difficult become the collection management and access options: So, production archives concentrate out of sheer necessity on the demand from within concerning their own programme operation. The main objective is to maintain a working production archive as best as possible. In this context, external requests are almost inevitably regarded as a threat to the regulated workflow.

A third objection concerns the preservation duty of the archivists whose task is to ensure the integrity of their managed assets. Therefore, no self-service is permitted to users in general. Without guidance and an understanding of their organizational structures, archives are anyway unreadable for ordinary people, including researchers who are not familiar with the specificities of archival operations. User requests can complicate the business of operating the archive, especially when copies have to be made or tapes made available for playback in a secure environment.

The fourth objection relates to the legal problems of the use of archive material that is frequently accompanied by a variety of different legal restrictions and therefore may not be made available immediately. In this complex problem area the handling of orphan works whose owners are unknown is particularly problematic. Glenn Clatworthy from PBS complains that among other things the archivist is confronted by a tricky situation that leads normally to a forced lockup of the recording in question: "One of the heart craving things is when you can't find an owner to a programme, because the producer has disappeared or passed away or a company suddenly disappears. In those cases there is nothing you can do to grant access to a programme." (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 244)

4. Legal insecurities

As a free-to-air medium, television programming appears superficially as common property that, once aired, can also be freely reused. In contrast, the rights holders have an interest in claiming an equitable remuneration and the power to decide who should have access to their works. Meanwhile, lawmaking has taken into account the rapidity of media developments and has mostly adjusted the copyright laws accordingly. New laws now establish greater clarity with respect to new and formerly unknown types of use that involved high conflict potential between the authors/creators and broadcasters/production companies regarding the acquired rights. This, however, does not apply to old programming where unknown types of use have not been a part of the respective contracts. Researchers and teachers normally invoke a so-called 'fair use' argument, which has been adopted in legislation in several states. In the United States, the fair use doctrine allows the use of copyrighted works for critique, comment, reporting and teaching, science and research – as long as the works are not used for any commercial purposes.³

However, the work may only be published in whatsoever form if no substantial parts of the original are affected. Also, the reuse must not impair its potential commercialization (Wilson, 2005: 68). Therefore it is difficult to determine clearly whether fair use is legally applicable or not. So, according to the U.S. Copyright Office which in case of doubt advises that an agreement should be reached between users and rights holders or that use of the work in question should not be pursued, an independent assessment is generally necessary (U.S. Copyright Office 2006).

As well-meaning as the widely adopted fair use principle is committed to the idea of public service and however much the principle emphasizes the high value of protected works for educational purposes: The actual application of fair use is easily vulnerable. The scope of the regulation is unclear and it also does not protect from conflicting views, not only in cases of creative reuse, which frequently need to be settled in court. Ultimately, the confidence in the validity of fair use is a risky business, and this results in non-profit organizations harbouring genuine doubts as to whether they can enforce their claims:

The costs of negotiating the legal rights for the creative reuse of content are astronomically high. These costs mirror the costs with fair use: You either pay a lawyer to defend your fair use rights or pay a lawyer to track down permissions so you don't have to rely upon fair use rights. Either way, the creative process is a process of paying lawyers — again a privilege, or perhaps a curse, reserved for the few. (Lessig, 2004: 107)

5. Four dimensions of access

Access to television heritage understood as cultural heritage of mediatized societies is therefore subject to numerous terms and conditions that cost time, money and quite often nerves on both sides: The users' and the archivists'. This is also because there are various levels of access that come with various issues. In a report from the late 1990s, the US Library of Congress stressed four key areas regarding access to television heritage: description, consultation, reproduction, and use (Murphy, 1997: 139, see also Ubois, 2005).

Description: For researchers who want to gain an overview of the material stored in television archives to design and measure their research efforts, there are only in exceptional cases publicly accessible databases and overviews of assets in the production archives of television companies. Following the principle of self-management, the broadcasters place a significant number of limits and constraints on search options. This already prevents the first condition for the establishment of a reliable access to television history: Its searchability: "[H]ow do you find the needle in the haystack? How do you determine who has it?", says Bruce DuMont, director of the Chicago Museum of Broadcasting Communications. Since the interest of scholars is mostly topic-driven and object-based and is not geared to production logics, the search for the right archive may not only necessitate a lot of effort, but also be at high cost. Most network archives do not grant access from the outside to their databases.

Consultation: As already noted, there is also generally no guaranteed access to the broadcasters' archives. This results in severely restricted inspection options on site for external users. There are few exceptions, as the stations have no obligation to provide the public with archive material. Among the institutions surveyed, only a few archive managers declared that they could provide desks for the inspection of recordings and documents by researchers, but only during the holiday season or outside peak times such as at night or at weekends. The viewing options are also limited by the lack of an interlibrary/interarchive loan service as exists for print publications. For legal reasons the vast majority of broadcasters are not willing to release material for private or academic use, unless all rights are with the broadcaster. In most cases researchers have to travel to request an inspection of archival material on site.

Reproduction: Copies are usually made only for a fee, provided there are no legal objections against it, which in turn often prohibit a copy being made. Compensation claims are usually described as generally being too high and disproportionate. Each corporate archive is free to decide on the use of the archive and the amount of fee to be paid. The public archives in Germany for example, have rules of use that regulate the type, scope and the fees for using the archive and for the associated archival services. Commercial broadcasters mainly decide on an individual basis. The cost of making copies is usually

beyond the users' expectations, but this is explained by the effort and use of personnel on the part of the archive. However, the high charges are perceived by many researchers as a deterrent, as Canadian archivist Sam Kula notes:

[T]he prices are outrageous: For particular footage they are charging people 2,000 to 3,000 dollars a minute. Obviously, if you have a high priced staff and a lot of responsibilities so they have to hire additional staff in order to provide these kinds of services, then they have to recreate those costs. But in a lot of cases they make the prices so high because they don't want that kind of business. They don't want individuals or researchers to come into the archive and bother them for 50 dollars here and 100 dollars there. They have to write a contract with every sale, and it costs them 175 dollar simply to draft the contract, because they have to give it to a lawyer and verify that they are allowed to sell the program and clear the rights. That's what they say. (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 247)

Extensive research projects appear to be virtually impossible under these conditions. The lack of inspection options on site and the often unaffordable fees for consulting, research and duplication are detrimental to wide and deep scale studies using historical television material.

Use: Also lecturing, teaching and other types of educational work are adversely affected by the limitations on the scope of scientific use requests: Screening permits are fundamentally linked to remuneration which mostly exceeds the financial ability of teachers and educational institutions if not covered by flat-rate schemes, e.g. allowing the screening of short clips at universities. Also, the required foreign rights clarification is not usually supported by the archival institution. Hence, independent research proves to be extremely difficult and can hardly be managed by conventional users or institutions without the necessary knowledge, contacts and resources.

6. Workaround models: The state, the market and the self

Still, there are several workaround models with which researchers can find a way to pave their way to the desired sources. Alternative routes bypass corporate archives and overcome the inherent problems of overwork, legal conflicts and costs. Scholars already do have – in some countries such as the United States – exclusive access rights to some archival institutions like the Library of Congress where users have to prove that they are applying within the scope of a research project and aim to publish their research. By contrast, scholars cannot rely on the comprehensiveness of such collections as – in many countries – public institutions are normally not the central and ultimate places of collection with the right to receive or grasp actively everything that is produced, aired or streamed. In some countries, cultural institutions and representatives of academia have urged for long that legal deposit legislation should

be extended to audio-visual media. In the UK for example, the Working Party supported the position of the British Film Institute (BFI) that stressed to treat broadcasting equally compared to other parts of the cultural heritage:

In the opinion of the BFI, the national published archive should as a matter of principle include broadcast material. In its view, there is no logic in the exclusion of television production from a legal deposit system; its omission both contradicts the aim of comprehensiveness and threatens a huge and anomalous gap in the maintenance of an audio-visual national archive. Some might argue that television output has become the most vital and important part of our moving image heritage in terms of contemporary culture and historical record-keeping. (Working Party, 1998)

In the UK, the BFI itself started to collect television programming besides films with its National Archive in Berkhamsted, mostly relying on recording donations (BFI, 2014). There are several countries that have grasped at the opportunity to urge political solutions: Countries like France, Finland or Sweden enforced a legal deposit regulation that also covers broadcasting and ensures centralized preservation, as well as access for academic research (see examples in table 1). In these countries, national archival or library institutions take the lead to protect the television heritage in the “public interest”, to collect “complete record of works”, “aid research & documentation”, “conserve our national heritage”, “make works available for future generations” or to compile a “national collection” (mission statements collected by Besser/van Malssen, 2010: 3).

	Legal deposit regulation embracing television	since year
Denmark	Television broadcasts are deposited in the National Media Archive	1997
Finland	Television broadcasts are deposited in the National Audiovisual Archive	2008
France	Television broadcasts are deposited in the Institut National de l’Audiovisuel (INA)	1995
Hungary	Television broadcasts are deposited in the National Audiovisual Archive	2006
Norway	Television broadcasts are deposited in the National Library Rana	1990
Sweden	Television broadcasts are deposited in the Audiovisual Department of the National Library of Sweden (formerly in the National Archive of Recorded Sound and Moving Images)	1979
USA	Television broadcasts are deposited voluntarily in the Library of Congress for copyright protection. The LC is allowed to make recordings autonomously based on the American Television and Radio Archives Act.	1949 / 1976 (Act)

Tab. 1: Legal deposit regulation regarding broadcasting material in selected countries (own survey)

Regarding the diverse state regulations for a legal deposit of broadcast material, scientific institutions such as university archives or media centres and non-profit archives are a viable alternative to the archival structures of the broadcasting industry. Such organizations try to address – “as broad as we can”, as Dan Einstein from the UCLA Film and Television Archive puts it (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 248) – the demand of researchers and teachers for TV recordings, documents and diverse ephemera. UCLA offers e.g. a travel grant for researchers to be able to travel to Los Angeles and work on site. Another example of the Vanderbilt Television News Archive (VTNA) in Nashville, Tennessee, shows how strongly the supply of copies of archived TV news is consulted by researchers all over the world for relatively affordable fees. The VTNA has grown to an internationally frequented focal point for researchers wishing to analyse US television news. Ultimately, the university archive preceded a “boom in television archives“ (Hilderbrand, 2009: 151) involving a continual process of institutionalization of cultural heritage organizations and departments collecting the audio-visual and especially television heritage in the United States. This development was stimulated by a relaxation of copyright law for non-profit educational institutions.

In Europe, a great emphasis is put on jointly coordinated digitization initiatives: Since the early 2000s the European Union has funded projects that aim to develop an online archive portal that contains historical recordings from the great diversity of European television programming. The projects “BIRTH of TV” (2003-2005) and “Video Active” (2006-2009) were succeeded by “EUscreen” (2009-2012) and “EUscreenXL” (2013-2016) represent big steps toward a unified online platform that makes excerpts from the television programme history of several European countries available and is operated by a consortium of audio-visual archives. The reported aim of the broader initiative is that of improving access to television programming heritage for educational purposes and private use as well as for cultural heritage management. The focus is on certain topics which trace the social changes during the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century. The partners of the consortium come from a variety of European countries, including bigger ones like the UK, France or Germany and smaller ones like Belgium, Slovenia or Switzerland. Only a small number of broadcasters are involved, e.g. from Germany only the “Deutsche Welle”, from Denmark only “Danmarks Radio”, and from Poland only “Telewizja Polska”.

Many university departments who study electronic media have set up collections themselves. Those collections are usually built by recording television programming off air: news, TV shows, films and other sorts and formats of programming. These media centres work under constant suspicion of illegality. The collections have been built up within the context of research projects bit by bit for long periods. However it is not as unproblematic and uncomplicated is

it seems to easily get access to the collections in the framework of research co-operation and without much cost. Those collections are mostly not searchable via online catalogues (as regular library collections), because of legal quibbles and objections and because the number of users is usually limited to members of the university or even members of a particular department or institute. Here, copyright restrictions are relevant: Television recordings are normally allowed for private purposes, whilst disclosure to third parties requires the consent of the copyright holder. As rights are seldom cleared in such an institutional context, resources are rare, and the required knowledge not always existent, the media centres operate in a legal grey area. This results in an uncertainty that tends to lead to restrictive regulations or even cases in which a university orders the destruction of whole collections because of lacking rights (cf. Kramp/Classen, 2010). Such cases show the latent fear of prosecution and delicate claims that prevail in this area.

Another pathway into television history – at least since the advent of the home video market – is via the commercial offerings of production companies and broadcasters. The success of marketing television productions as video rentals or sales was already apparent in the early 1990s and is now one of the essential means of re-financing programmes. In particular, old TV series, TV movies and shows as well as documentaries from the archives achieve remarkable sales. Reissued DVD or online releases are now part of the fastest growing market segment of the home video industry (cf. Blowen, 1989; Hernandez, 2003; Snider, 2004). The reduction in the costs of production and materials as well as new effective marketing and sales strategies via the Internet ensure that even small editions of a product prove not only cost-effective but also promise lucrative profits. According to Chris Anderson's 'Long Tail'-theory, the resulting diversity of releases can be explained with the economical insight that even niche products can be marketed profitably if a sufficient choice is available and easy to find for the customers (cf. Anderson, 2006: 53). The marketed programming often includes special features and bonus material such as extra footage and contextualising documents which are of special interest for researchers. These can be seen as "archival features" (Rombes, 2004: 347), whereas the contents are compiled under marketing imperatives. So researchers find themselves subordinated or at least affected by market forces that may pose unforeseen problems. The trade label 'out of print' or 'out of stock' is in this regard synonymous with the forgetfulness of the market: What cannot be purchased (anymore) inevitably has no place in the public consciousness because it is not available as a source of memory. This has already led to a market-oriented research agenda, as media scholar Henry Jenkins points out:

Whenever you discover an old show that goes into syndication or appears on a cable channel the television historians are drawn to write about it because it's the first time they have access to large numbers of episodes. We see the same thing when television shows appear on DVD:

They shape the scholarship because of the access to a broader range of material [...]. And that can be disturbing because the selection is governed by market conditions and not necessarily by the priorities a historian would have. Yet, once the scholarship is in place, it then determines what is taught and what gets remembered from different historical periods. It reinforces a particular preconception of what television was at a particular time and place. And it is very difficult to break out of that model by doing original archiving research, because most of the stuff you might want to look at might not be available. (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 257)

Jenkins' criticism relates to an important aspect of the access issue, since researchers and teachers could decide to select only readily available material. William Uricchio argued how devastating such a view on the (television) history can be:

[A] plethora of readily available evidence entails a similar but related problem concerning the researcher's historiographic assumptions. A fixation with readily available 'facts' can obscure the complexities and contradictions which help to construct a historical moment, privileging 'dead certainties' over the ambiguities of competing discourses (Uricchio, 1995: 260)

Despite the proliferation of niche markets, a narrow insight into the history of television (and therefore the history of mediatized society and culture) could be encouraged by this development – with the exclusion of the original broadcasting context. These are problematic aspects that do not weaken the importance of the market-based access model as a supplementary alternative for researchers, but show the risks when pursued exclusively. As Howard Besser from the New York University argues:

I would make the argument against the free market economists. Because I would say that there is a market for those things today but there may not be a market ten or twenty years from now. There will be a 'market failure' in the future, but by then it will be too late. So the role of a cultural institution is to maintain cultural memory for a very long time. And markets usually adjust on a ten year basis, not on a hundred year basis. (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 257)

The vitalized market for commodified television programming could have the effect that researchers preferably use readily available sources instead of bothering to travel to professional archival institutions, as Mark Quigley from the UCLA Film and Television Archive puts it:

The problem right now is that people really want the information at their fingertips on the Internet. Having to come to a facility physically is a barrier. The proliferation of something like YouTube shows that people are posting many things that were hard to find or see before with regards to copyright. That's the way the young generation likes to do research. (cited in Kramp, 2011b: 303)

Museum and library collection initiatives draw on the limits of the collection efforts of individual viewers and scientific self-supply: The demand unfulfilled by the market can to a limited extent be satisfied by measures on the part of publicly accessible institutions that have set themselves the goal of gaining access to the media heritage for the general public. This can be done with alternating themes and with a focus on specific contents, as in the Library of the Federal Agency for Civic Education in Germany whose main task is – with its range of audio-visual productions – to act as a federal public administration point for political education and training in schools, universities and professional domains and to edit and curate the broad range of available material. Also, this can be done in a wider, less thematically fixed extent as offered e.g. by the Paley Center for Media in New York. These institutions have negotiated agreements with the broadcasters and production companies to make available their in-house collections and in part through the web and special audio-visual publications. Normally, also non-profit making institutions face the challenge of high licence fees and the considerable effort in the independent rights clearance. Table 2 summarizes the four dimensions of access to the television heritage residing at different places and in various collection contexts, taking into account the respective conditions and perspectives.

	Discovery	Inspection	Reproduction	Use
Television broadcast networks' archives, both public and commercial	Networks do not typically reference footage other than their own. Research services for private and academic use are usually not provided.	Varies widely by network, heavily restrictive, but there is a trend toward online viewing.	Networks usually provide reproductions of news where all rights are with the broadcaster, but don't always own and thus can't reproduce entertainment footage.	Networks sell usage rights to their news, but do not always own (and thus cannot clear) entertainment footage. Third-party rights cannot be negotiated.
Commercial providers and monitoring companies	Commercial sources are useful for advertisements and some news; less useful for entertainment footage that is not for sale.	Higher costs, but generally fast response times. Viewing only after fee required ordering.	Reproductions are available for purchase.	Commercial providers can handle rights clearances.

	Discovery	Inspection	Reproduction	Use
University media libraries	Only a few university libraries have substantial video collections. Often heavily fragmentary. Research in collections only on site.	May require travel or in exceptional cases ordering of videotapes by mail (news programming). Access on site mostly restricted to university members or visiting fellows.	Concerns about potential liability cause university libraries usually to restrict access to and copying of video footage, though news footage can be loaned.	University libraries may provide limited assistance in exceptional cases.
Public institutions: special collections, libraries, and museums	Access to video broadcast on multiple networks, but may have less comprehensive holdings than broadcast networks. Collections are easy to discover.	Does require travel. Unrestricted access.	These organisations must carefully abide by the restrictions placed on them by owners. Usually no reproduction of archival holdings.	These organisations may provide limited assistance.
Fan clubs / private collections	Coverage is spotty, difficult to locate and to research.	Inconsistent. Depending on willingness of the collector.	Reproductions are easy and convenient but legally generally problematic.	Rights clearances by these groups/collectors unlikely.

Table 2: Dimensions of access to the television heritage. Source: Ubois, 2005; Kramp, 2011b: 261.

So in most cases, neither university nor public archives and collections nor the market itself can serve the demands of researchers comprehensively. For the foreseeable future, researchers and educators who want to use television sources depend primarily on the archives of the producers and broadcasters. Potential users are confronted with a rather daunting archive landscape – not only because of the duality of public and private broadcasters in many countries, but also because of the growing quantitative complexity of media producers.

7. An interdisciplinary agenda for paving the way into the archives

The multifarious and unpredictable problems in gaining access to the television heritage trigger great hopes for an improvement that are connected with the proceeding digitization in media heritage management. The variety of audio-visual material that is to be found online is already so beguiling that one could already have the impression of a cornucopian Web inventory of the media heritage: 'Have you noticed that kids – and many adults, too – think every article ever written and every song ever sung is on the Internet? It will not be long now before young people will grow up assuming that every TV program ever made is online, too. That's what they will expect' (Rubin, 2007). The assumption of broad availability is clearly illusory since large parts of the archival holdings have not yet been digitised. As Chuck Howell, curator at the Library of American Broadcasting, notes, the Internet only seems to be filled with immense archival resources. However, research into TV's past on the web could only be a cursory search. With the legal barriers and related restrictions, no scholar could get past the traditional way of research, i.e. to visit an archive personally and incorporate him/herself locally in the material stored there (see Howell, 2006, p. 305).

Such an extension of access via the Internet also bothers the corporate archivists, but they are largely excluded from the online strategies of the general administrations and in most cases only considered as supplier of material. Marketwise, broadcasters have successfully responded to the virtual archive movement of users and have established potent distribution models for Web TV and Video on Demand. However, filmmaker and archivist Rick Prelinger sees the recent development as a reinvigoration of the corporate taxonomy of the entertainment industry which would be geared to provide – despite the highly developed number of commercial video platforms on the Internet – almost exclusively latest and popular programming for a limited time online (Prelinger, 2007: 116). This does not constitute a more profound archive access of course.

Nonetheless, digitization makes a substantial difference because it affects corporate strategies: The more archived programming becomes digitized and can be marketed without substantial additional cost, the more attractive the provision of access appears according to the principle of the 'Long Tail'-theory. The success of home video and DVD can be seen only as the beginning of a sustainable opening of the archives via digital channels of access: In the digital media environment with its effective search and distribution instruments an expansion of access to archival assets increases also the demand of access, which in turn results in an additional broadening access to meet increased demand (cf. Anderson, 2006: 52-53). The market-based principle of supply and

demand thus also tends to support access to what was once locked-up television content because revenue makes it worthwhile to make the effort to clear rights and market former archival leftovers (cf. Kramp, 2012).

According to Mike Mashon from the US Library of Congress, this has also contributed to the relatively little research that has been done on historical television themes in comparison to other areas of media heritage (cf. Kramp, 2011b: 249). To promote the richness of television as a source for research in various disciplines, scholars from Germany – together with archivists and colleagues from a number of European countries (i.a. Austria, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland) – created an initiative for the safeguarding of the audio-visual media heritage. Starting from a workshop, which served primarily to consolidate a common state of the controversial debate among broadcasting representatives and scholars mainly from historical disciplines and communication and media studies, the initiative has developed strategies to improve the situation for researchers and educators on various levels (cf. Classen/Großmann/Kramp, 2012; Kramp, 2013):

- To raise awareness among scholars that audio-visual sources, especially from broadcasting, are indispensable components not only for any historical-critical analysis of the media, but also for a comprehensive study of mediatized societies and cultures.
- To improve und facilitate the usability of the production archives and the collections in university media centres, e.g. through joint projects for network-based clearing houses or union online public access catalogues to make the holdings, including legal constraints, visible and approachable.
- To champion the evaluation and development of remote access possibilities with regard to digital collections for research, educational and non-profit cultural purposes.
- To canvass corporate players to acknowledge and sponsor the research and educational demand of audio-visual archival sources to improve their availability.
- To draw attention on the political level to the fact that national standards and legislation are needed in order to overcome the inconsistent archiving practice that is first and foremost geared to short-term (economic) criteria in the media industry, including reliable access and use options for research and education as well as non-commercial cultural purposes.

	Discovery	Viewing	Reproduction	Use
Strategies of the Initiative “Audio-visual Heritage” to improve access	Expansion of network-based (over-arching) clearing houses for archival databases.	Creation of remote access possibilities to digital collections for educational or non-profit purposes.	Willingness to compromise between the TV business, science and cultural institutions to improve the availability of archived television.	Improving legal certainty in the use for research, education and non-profit cultural work.

Table 3: Recommendations for archival institutions (corporate and non-profit)

A promising model of constructive cooperation between the television industry and academia was outlined by the Austrian public broadcaster ORF: Together with the University of Vienna the network opened an archival ‘field office’ on the university’s premises to enable researchers, including Bachelor and Master students, to find, watch and analyse archived recordings and documents from as early as 1955. This partnership might also be adoptable in other countries where access to the broadcasting heritage is assessed as insufficient. At least this example shows that there are realizable approaches to link with each other the legitimate concerns of scholarship on the one hand and the broadcasters on the other. In any case, scholars are challenged to articulate their demands and research interests confidently and jointly, keeping in mind the institutional determinants and resource restraints under which archivists operate.

Notes

- 1 Even in times of digital media change and the rapid rise of the Internet as a “meta-medium” (Agre, 1998), television holds its ground as the most used mass media in most parts of the world (cf. Bielby/Harrington, 2008; Truner/Tay, 2009; Kramp, 2011a).
- 2 Quotations in languages other than English have been translated by the author.
- 3 See Copyright Law of the United States of America and Related Laws Contained in Title 17 of the United States Code, Section 107.

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Biography

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Roles of a Researcher: Reflections after Doing a Case-Study with Youth on a Sensitive Topic

Maria Murumaa-Mengel and Andra Siibak

1. Introduction

It has been argued that present day young people may feel the effects of a world with a greater diversity of risks and opportunities than ever before and more than any other social groups (Miles, 2003). Young social networking site (SNS) users, for example, seem to be attracting the most academic and popular attention, because they are often at the forefront of emerging social practices (Robards, 2013). This attention is often full of normative worry because there is evidence to suggest that young people are adopting more childlike patterns of behaviour due to dissatisfaction with adult values and as a means of escape from the risks associated with that adult world (Chatterton/Hollands, 2001). In addition, what adults regard as risks (e.g. meeting strangers online), the young may see as opportunities (e.g. making new friends) (Kalmus/Ólafsson, 2013) and in our opinion, this inconsistency deserved some qualitative academic research interest.

Our previous research on teenagers' perceptions about the imagined audience on Facebook (Murumaa/Siibak, 2012) showed that Estonian high-school students perceived one of the most dangerous user types on Facebook to be a foreign pervert. Wanting to research that finding a bit further we set out to study this perception of a specific and harmful Internet user, the online pervert, more closely with the aim to study how these perceptions have formed. Rather than making use of more traditional approaches for gathering the data (e.g. interviews, focus-groups), we decided to use creative research methods approach (Gauntlett, 2007) and combine drawing a picture of an internet pervert with an in-depth interview. We decided to make use of creative research methods because we believed such an approach might have a potential to offer alternative ways of expression for the young when talking about a sensitive topic. We also

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relied on the claims by Buckingham and Sefton-Green (1994: 160) who have argued that drawing a picture first and giving an oral description and reflection about it afterwards serves as a translation and carries a “metacognitive function”.

In the context of the present chapter, however, we do not focus upon the utterances and drawings made by the participants of this study, but rather dwell upon the different roles the researcher had to take during the course of the study. We consider the topic to be important because researchers are not blank minds, but always carry their own previous experiences, perceptions, ideas and roles into the research process. In fact, as claimed by Labaree (2002), significant volume of literature is devoted to the dichotomy of insider–outsider-ness of researchers in many different fields in qualitative research. In the present chapter we will mainly concentrate on the idea that every researcher is multiple insider and outsider at any moment (Deutsch, 1981).

2. Doing qualitative research with young people

It has been suggested (Lansdown, 1994) that we do not have a culture of listening to children, although they are vulnerable because of their physical weakness, and their lack of knowledge and experience. The practice of listening to the young, for example through qualitative research on children and teens, has become more common in the recent years (e.g. Kalmus/Ólafsson, 2013; Ponte et al., 2013; Oolo/Siibak, 2013; Görzig/Frumkin, 2013; Kernaghan/Elwood, 2013; Lwin et al., 2011; Livingstone et al., 2011) but the presumption of children’s biological and psychological vulnerability (Lansdown, 1994) is still evident and sometimes inhibiting their opportunity to speak for themselves. Some more novel approaches, though, aim to generate a more collaborative mode (Pink, 2003; Toon, 2008) to the whole research procedure. For instance, creative research methods offer research participants greater editorial control (Holliday, 2004) over the material as they can erase or modify their artefacts and thereby portray the aspects important to them. Nevertheless, even while making use of creative research method, Gauntlett (2007) has warned the researchers not to impose their own readings on the artefacts created by the participants but rather give “voice” to the makers to interpret and comment their work. Furthermore, during those interviews with the young a variety of generic techniques e.g. friendly conversational tone, sympathetic responses, and offering sets of alternatives, need to be used so as the interview to be a success (Hodkinson, 2005).

Researching the young becomes particularly challenging when the research focuses on a “sensitive” topic. Despite different definitions of what is a “sensitive topic”, the majority of the authors agree on the fact that “sensitivity is perceived in the eye of the beholder” (Zanjani/Rowles, 2012: 400) mainly

due to the fact that sensitivity as such is socially constructed and dependent on the norms and taboos of a given culture (cf. Noland, 2012). In other words, it is possible that any topic can be sensitive, although some topics have a greater potential to harm the participants involved in the study, i.e. elicit such emotions as anger, embarrassment, anxiety, fear and sadness (Cowles, 1988); as well as cause distress on the researcher (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007).

In general it is believed that sensitive topics of research are those that participants may feel uncomfortable to discuss (Noland, 2012). For instance, in addition to topics associated with sex and sexuality and health issues which are usually considered to be taboo topics, also “topics associated with shame or guilt, and topics that generally reside in the private spheres of our lives” (Noland, 2012: 3) are commonly viewed as sensitive. Therefore, the question of involvement with the participants, or insider-outsider-ness is always an important aspect, when researching sensitive topics among the young.

3. Present case-study “Who is an online pervert?”

Our case-study “Who is an online pervert?”¹, carried out in spring 2012, set out to analyse some specific perceptions of an online pervert among Estonian high school students, so as to develop more thorough insight into young people’s thoughts and experiences on the topic, and to determine some foundations of these perceptions.

The study is based on a convenience sample, as the students were recruited by the main author of the article who was also the students’ media studies teacher in the high-school they attended. Participation in the study was voluntary, but all the participating students received one additional grade in media studies for taking part. The final sample consisted of five boys and five girls aged 17-20 years. Such an age group was selected mainly because they have grown up with the Internet and were believed to have valuable insight to speak about such a sensitive topic. As all of the participants were in their late teens we also believed that they had had time to develop a stance about the things they have encountered online and might thus be in a more comfortable position to comment on those things when looking back on the younger self.

The study procedure was built upon two phases. First the students were asked to draw a picture of an internet pervert. The young were provided with A4-sized blank papers and a variety of pencils and (felt-tip) pens, however, no further instructions were given about the task. When some of the participants asked questions in order to clarify the task (e.g. “what do you mean by pervert?”, “should it be one person or can I draw several people?”), the moderator avoided giving restrictive answers and encouraged them to interpret the exercise any way they felt to be right and express themselves freely.

Two months after the creative exercise, during the second phase of the study, follow-up in-depth interviews were conducted with the participants. Interviews lasted from 36 minutes to 65 minutes, depending on the participants' communicative activity. In the first part of the interview, the young were asked more general questions about their Internet usage practices and things they like and dislike about the Internet. These opening questions were followed by more general questions about internet crimes. In the third phase of the interview, pictures of online pervers drawn by the interviewees were presented and the young were asked to comment and reflect upon the sketches they had made. The interviews ended again with a broader approach, when the interviewer asked the students about their thoughts about the possibility of rehabilitation and just punishment of criminals and prevention of such online crimes.

4. Reflections about the role of a researcher

When conducting a qualitative study, and especially when a study is on a sensitive topic, extra attention must be given to the role of a moderator or interviewer, keeping in mind that during any research situation people will take up a variety of behaviours all of which lead to the take up of various roles. In our case-study, both the researcher and the participants were taking on a number of different roles as the interviews advanced. This chapter will focus on two of these roles: the "researcher-friend(ly adult)" and the "researcher-confidant" role.

4.1 *Researcher-friend(ly adult)*

Preexisting relationships and the possibility to refer to shared experiences (the interviewer and moderator of the drawing exercise has been students' media studies teacher during previous three years) seemed to make the relationship between researcher and the researched more equal and "cultivate degrees of intimacy" (Taylor, 2011: 10). Although some scholars argue that given the disparities of power that usually divides researchers and participants and speaking about friendship in this context "is somewhat odd" (Crick, 1992: 176), we found ourselves taking the "leap across the personal/professional divide" (Taylor, 2011: 13) and having the role of if not as a friend, then at least as a "friendly adult" (Davis, 1998: 329).

According to Mercer (2006: 7) "people's willingness to talk to you, and what people say to you is influenced by who they think you are". In the context of our case-study the interviewees clearly considered the interviewer to be more like a friend or a friendly adult than their teacher. This role was partly also due to the fact that the researcher was closer to the students' age than the

Estonian teachers in general are. The latter fact, we believe was also the reason why the students were willing to share their honest opinion on topics that they might not have revealed if the researcher were older.

M1: when an older teacher talks [about internet safety], then it's maybe like „what are you nagging about here, old hag“, that kind of attitude.

Despite the fact that the teacher was roughly 10 years older than the students, some of the interviewees also included the interviewer in their construction of „us“:

M5: like, people our age have online flirting and stuff, right?

When taking up a role of a researcher-friend(ly adult) interviewer self-disclosure is crucial. In fact, several authors (Abell et al., 2006; Eder/Fingerson, 2003) have suggested that while conducting research with young people interviewer self-disclosure might help to empower the participants and encourage them to share their ideas and experiences. In the context of an interview “interviewer self-disclosure takes place when the interviewer shares ideas, attitudes and/or experiences concerning matters that might relate to the interview topic in order to encourage respondents to be more forthcoming” (Reinharz/Chase, 2003: 79). Examples where interviewer self-disclosure encouraged the interviewees to ponder even further about some specific themes was also visible in case of our interviews.

M1: I don't know...

Moderator: ...I'm trying to think as well, what else is there that gets on my nerves...hmmm...

M1: mmm, and comments too.

Especially when conducting research on a sensitive topic, the participants may not always know how to put their thoughts into words; may not have had a previous experience of talking on the subject; feel a bit uncomfortable and uneasy to express themselves or even think about the theme; or just may lack the right vocabulary. Our experience shows that one of the ways how to overcome these difficulties with minimum discomfort is for the researcher to offer scenarios. For instance, in our case, when the interviewees were visibly struggling to express themselves, the interviewer chose between different scenarios to help them – either by widening or narrowing the focus; offering some possibilities, or even by giving personal examples. While care must be taken to avoid leading respondents towards particular answers through such contributions, the ability sometimes to move interviews towards a situation of two-way exchange rather than the usual question-and-answer format can offer substantial advantages in terms of trust and conversational flow (Hodkinson, 2005).

As mentioned above, our participants seemed eager to take part of the study and expressed continuing interest in the subject even after the interviews took place. For example, some of them wanted to continue the discussions on the topic with the researcher through Facebook.

4.2 *Researcher-confidant*

The participants in our study often chose the passive voice to describe the essence of the online-threats. However, when the moderator brought the subject closer by rephrasing (e.g. “let’s say you would encounter such a person online, what would you do?”; “if you would have a 12 year old daughter, would you allow them to talk to a 50 year old?”), on many occasions the young started telling stories from personal experience. On such occasions it was clear that the interviewer had opened a “Pandora’s box” (Ramos, 1989) - it seemed that asking the question more personally evoked different memories and the need to tell these stories.

The latter practice however, leads to one of the most crucial and difficult questions a researcher needs to face while conducting research on sensitive topics - how to protect the participants and handle their personal experiences with extra care and sensitivity. It seems that many young participants of this study did not have anyone (grown up) to talk to on such delicate matters as online threats and paedophiles. Some of the participants were hence clearly exited by a chance to have a discussion on the topic with an adult interested in their thoughts and experiences while others seemed to be looking for support or reaffirmation on their beliefs and actions.

Moderator: but it is rather sad what you have described here, violent history and loneliness...
F2: yes, actually it is

Like Eglinton in her ethnographical study (2013), we found that many participants saw the study as a chance to talk to someone about a subject that may have been off limits to speak about with the other adults in their lives. Surprisingly, several participants told stories about how they had been involved in internet crime, most often cases of identity theft (fake accounts or logging on to someone else’s account). In our opinion, these examples also illustrate that the interviews had a “tin-opener effect” (Etherington, 1996), i.e. the students felt so comfortable with the interviewer that the interview was at times turned into a confessional situation. Such confessionals, however, are considered to be difficult but rewarding processes for the study participants (Lupton, 1998) as they might feel empowered by the opportunity to share their stories. Hence, similar to Berger (2001) and Swartz (2011), we found that by sharing own per-

sonal stories, participants seemed to feel more comfortable while exchanging information and thereby the hierarchical gap between researcher and respondent was narrowed even more, if not closed entirely.

Sometimes the participants also started to use the interview as a chance to gossip about people known to both the interviewer and the interviewee. Participants told stories about friends with crazy girlfriends, homophobic relatives, „stupid“ teachers and unfair mothers. Sometimes the stories were tightly connected to our topics, sometimes they just used the interviewer as a pair of „thankful ears“. In order to protect the participants (and their friends and family), the interviewer had to intervene a couple of times and stop the interviewees' from saying things in the heat of the moment they could possibly regret later. This was done in some of the gossiping cases (e.g. a girl talking about a classmate) but also to save the participants from having to say out vulgarities or sexually explicit things:

M5: A real pervert is a person who sits at a computer or lurks around pre-schools to seek out victims /---/ and when they start saying things like ‚are your breasts growing yet?‘ or ‚do you like pee-pees?‘

Moderator: Yes, yes, it turns into that kind of...

Another aspect a researcher-confidant has to think through in case of sensitive topics is the question how to react when a participant describes something truly harmful and laughs about it. This happened a few times and in the present case the interviewer decided to solve this situation by asking specifying describing questions in a neutral manner (face expression, tone of voice), like „I see you are laughing, why is that?“. In situations like these one can see the researcher's sub-roles - a „moral compass“ - emerging.

M2: it is very nice to look at little girls' picture online

Moderator: yeah, „nice“ [hand quotation marks in air], right?

M2: exactly, „nice“ [hand quotation marks in air]

Another aspect that the researcher has to be aware of while conducting research with young people on sensitive topics is the fact that such studies and discussions really do affect the participants. Our experience shows that having a chance to discuss such issues with an adult encouraged the young to think about the topic, gave them some extra tools for interpreting the world, and a sharper eye for noticing things discussed.

Moderator: Have you noticed anything like that?

M1: I haven't been able to see it like that until now.

Furthermore, it was apparent that this research experience had made a long lasting effect on the young. For instance, M1 visited the interviewing teacher a year later and reminded her of the topic of online-perverts, referring also to the interview („remember, like we talked once about the pervs“). In rather idealistic words this experience suggests, that – a researcher can and will have an impact on the people that they encounter whilst conducting studies. This responsibility, however, should not be taken lightly. For example, as acknowledged by Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen and Liangputtong (2007) researchers conducting research on sensitive topics should have the contact details for professional who could offer their advice and counselling to the participant if there would raise a need for that.

5. Conclusion

General ethical guidelines to any research stress the importance of respect for persons and we see it as our main commitment to represent participants fairly, as much as it is possible in an interactionalist view. This means, that we try to give voice to the young without harming them; we do not wish to fuel any moral panics about youth; try to overcome our own adultist agenda (Miles, 2003); and stay true to the internal integrity of the study. To do that, the researcher has to be flexible and move between roles to their best understanding. In this paper we have discussed only two roles, but in reality, hundreds of other roles can be seen when reflecting about one's study experience.

Hence, we argue that while doing research and having certain knowledge and considerable background on the topic, we might be “blinkered from the mundane realities of youth” (Miles, 2003: 177), so in order to “make sense of the lives of youth, the risks and dangers they face, and the personal, social, and cultural logic behind their practices” (Boyd/Marwick, 2009: 410), we should sometimes set aside the rigid academic roles and explore the subject with wider range of roles available.

Notes

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Academic Schizophrenia: Communication Scholars and the Double Bind¹

François Heinderyckx

The academic world is under tremendous and unprecedented pressure world-wide. The economic downturn, and the austerity imposed on public finances have forced higher education into logics of efficiency from which they used to be preserved. The academic world had to be somewhat protected from the vagaries of social, political and economic trends. Not anymore. What's more, with endemic unemployment reaching worrying highs in many Western countries, the education system is blatantly accused of being largely responsible for the discrepancy between the qualifications of the labour force and the requirements of the labour market. In short, academic institutions are supposed to improve, but their performance in doing that is measured both in financial efficiency and in employability of graduating students.

Being under pressure is not problematic as such. Pressure can stimulate creativity, structural improvements and gains in efficiency. Pressure can be the institutional equivalent of the “positive stress” that drives us to give the best of ourselves, to think outside the box, to venture outside our comfort zone, to challenge and rejuvenate some of our certitudes.

1. Conflicting expectations

The pressure we face now could also be prejudicial and destructive, however. The undermining nature of the pressure that we face also lies in its multi-dimensional and, to a large extent, contradictory nature. The contradictions stem from the fact that academic institutions, in the dominant traditional model, are expected to take on three distinct core missions: to teach, to research, and to serve the community (“public service”). The very nature of each of these three fundamental duties has gradually morphed under the influence of a changing context which led to changing expectations: new expectations from the students (and their parents), new expectations from the labour market, and new expectations from the public authorities. Let us consider some of these changing expectations.

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Students and the labour market expect higher education to provide curricula that are tailor made and continuously adjusted so as to supply graduates with the skills and the knowledge that are needed or at least appreciated and valued among their future employers. The labour market and the public authorities also expect that academia will provide the knowledge, expertise, innovations and data to help businesses thrive and public institutions be more efficient, including in regulation and policymaking. Students and their parents expect equal access to higher education for all, just as they expect that schools and universities will do what it takes for them to succeed: employment-suited education for all, and no one left behind.

Each of these expectations is perfectly legitimate, but with the combination of these plural requirements in a context where academic institutions are furthermore expected, by society at large, to guide and provide bearings as to what is safe, what is socially acceptable and what is moral, the academic community finds itself facing conflicting injunctions. These conflicting injunctions, hovering over academic institutions, are predominantly weighing on the shoulders of the foot soldiers of academia, i.e. professors, assistants and staff alike. The scholars are on all those fronts simultaneously, and because the aims imposed on us are largely contradictory, we are led into an intriguing case of what we will call, for the purpose of this argument, “academic schizophrenia”.

In most countries, academic institutions are also swept along by the new public management, forcing a rapid transition towards a culture of efficiency and auditing that clashes with the academic culture traditionally based on academic freedom, evaluation by peers and a slow pace of knowledge building. The audit culture has, with the best of intentions, imposed a change in pace. Not that scholars were too slow, but we now have to establish and to give material evidence, at short intervals, that we are productive, that we are worth the investment, that we deliver quality output, that we are present in the academic public sphere in a significant way. To make the evaluation process transparently “objective”, indicators and measurements are developed that, at least for our fields, are completely inappropriate, inadequate, even inept. To give but one example, these measurements rely almost exclusively on publication in academic journals, while one of the most prestigious and academically significant achievements in our field is to publish a book. Even in natural sciences, the metrics of evaluation are being challenged. The San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment, initially launched by the American Society for Cell Biology, offers 18 recommendations, such as not using “journal-based metrics, such as Journal Impact Factors, as a surrogate measure of the quality of individual research articles to assess an individual scientist’s contributions, in hiring, promotion, or funding decisions” (DORA, 2012). But in failing to offer an alternative mode of evaluation, we have been condemned to accept publication in journals, impact factors and other falsely reassuring bibliometric indicators.

The injunction to shift into short cycles of knowledge production (or at least its materialisation) has forced scholars to adapt the way they do research, not to be more efficient, but to score more highly on the new scales of academic efficiency, to best fit the model of academic excellence. Better to write three small articles than wait until a really significant book can be published.

The pressure that we feel could therefore deprive us of a fundamental resource of the academic ecosystem which is too often confused with inertia and inefficiency, namely time: time to observe, to challenge, to contemplate, to understand; time to process and settle the fuss, the buzz and the hype; time to make sense and create knowledge; time to reflect on all that through teaching and the various channels of dissemination. We have been forced into a culture of “fast science” that is damaging to some of the fundamentals of sound science. A number of initiatives are being taken by scholars to rebel against this inclination. One remarkable initiative is the “Slow Science Manifesto” which was launched in 2010 in Europe:

Science needs time to think. Science needs time to read, and time to fail. Science does not always know what it might be at right now. Science develops unsteadily, with jerky moves and unpredictable leaps forward—at the same time, however, it creeps about on a very slow time scale, for which there must be room and to which justice must be done. Slow science was pretty much the only science conceivable for hundreds of years; today, we argue, it deserves revival and needs protection. Society should give scientists the time they need, but more importantly, scientists must take their time. (The Slow Science Academy, 2010)

2. Communication science

Let us examine the situation more specifically in the area of media and communication science, which is among the fields where the situation is further complicated by two factors. First, interdisciplinarity. Our academic life is made more complex by the fact that research in media and communication is often necessarily interdisciplinary. We are working at a disciplinary crossroads, an academic hub where sociology rubs shoulders with psychology, history, linguistics, law, political science, economics, philosophy, informatics, and much more. Interdisciplinarity is so fundamentally associated with communication research that some argue that communication is not a discipline, not even in the making, and should never become one, for its vibrancy and creativity stem from its capacity to combine contributions from any number of existing disciplines in innovative ways.

I once introduced the distinction, among communication scholars, between “communication natives” and “communication migrants” (Heinderyckx, 2007). Communication natives have studied in a communication science curriculum and, in some cases, have earned a PhD in communication science. Communication migrants have studied in another established discipline and

have come to work on subjects that fall within the remit of communication, and as a result see themselves as communication scholars. Obvious markers of such a bond and self-affiliation are to be found in membership of learned societies and contributions to conferences or publications with explicit reference to media and communication. A scholar trained as a political scientist but who is a member of any academic communication association, who regularly attends communication conferences and publishes in communication journals would be a typical communication migrant.

The interdisciplinary nature of communication scholarship is also very visible in the range of sources used. In a survey conducted among members of ICA, IAMCR and ECREA a couple of years ago, we asked what journals people used most for their research and their teaching. After de-duplication, it appeared that 20 journals were particularly popular, with another 120 mentioned often, and a long tail of hundreds of journals in many disciplines used by smaller numbers of respondents.

Within universities, funding agencies and publishers, media and communication science may be everywhere, but also too often nowhere significantly. Communication may be central, yet it is scattered. Communication science may be pioneering, but largely off the radar of the institutions that organise science.

A second factor that complicates things further is related to the radical changes affecting the very objects that we study, if only in the context of the advent of the Information Society and information and communication technologies. Studying communication today is to aim at blurred and moving targets. Many scholars active in the area of media and communication have to face both the change in institutional culture and the transformation of their objects and methods. We are swept along by the new academic management culture while already being rocked by the swift evolution of communication practices and communication science.

Public authorities, the industry, and civil society are all in need of guidance, all the more so as the magnitude and pace of these changes increase. Media effects, media regulation, intellectual property, media literacy, information overload, privacy, transparency, e-health, e-business, e-democracy, e-everything are just a few of the burning societal issues that fall within the scope of media and communication science. With social relevance and urgency come legitimacy, but also yet more pressure that further stretches these conflicting injunctions that tear us apart. Let us examine a few concrete examples.

3. Teaching influence and lobbying

Let us consider the specific domain of lobbying and influence. My department recently launched a programme in political communication within a Master's degree in communication. The programme explicitly pays significant attention to lobbying (I am based in Brussels, known as one of the major strongholds of advocacy and lobbying in the world). This has proved to be a rather difficult domain to take on from an academic institution. As of today, lobbying is still looked at with great suspicion in Europe. It is associated with manipulation, covert operations, serving the interests of the powerful elite at the expense of the general interest. Lobbyists are the dark knights of policy making and they are often described as responsible for slowing down, toning down or even shutting down a number of policy and regulation initiatives at all levels.

When we announced the new programme the question was asked: what exactly is your proposition? What will students be offered? Will they be trained to become skilled lobbyists? Or is the programme concerned with influence studies, trying to debunk lobbying, to deconstruct the process and to understand the actors, the practices and the issues? The answer to this question should ideally be "both", given that the educational model of universities and other academic institutions is precisely the combination of teaching and research, in such a way that one feeds the other. Not only are many teachers also researchers, but students are brought up in the hope that they will develop a capacity to critically understand the objects, practices and ideas with which they are confronted. They are to acquire skills, along with the intellectual and moral capacity to use those skills in a responsible and ethical manner.

Having to combine both aims can easily lead to a rather uncomfortable cognitive or moral position, however. The university offers access to knowledge, skills and experience that could be used to influence or even manipulate public opinion and policymaking. Psychology, social-psychology, rhetoric, and legal engineering, to name but a few, abound in theories and various empirical works that go far into understanding the processes by which individuals and groups can see their opinions, perceptions, attitudes and behaviours affected, or not. In theory, we could assemble a body of knowledge and expertise to teach our students to become the ultimate manipulators - and I have no doubt that employers would squabble to hire such students before they even graduate.

Because our actions are guided by moral principles, and because we are, to some extent, the guardians and keepers of those moral principles, we would obviously never contemplate doing anything like that. At the same time, the labour market in Brussels and other capitals craves skilled employees with a background that will make them operational and efficient in the business of lobbying and influence making. As part of our responsibility toward society, we are expected to respond to such a demand. By doing so, we contribute to

supply businesses and institutions that are a legitimate part of society, and we equip our students with the skills and knowledge that will make them more likely to find a job and to perform well within these businesses and institutions. In an increasingly competitive higher education landscape, the pressure to give into these demands increases dramatically, particularly in times of economic and labour crisis, when even public authorities require education to close the maddening skills gap that leaves so many jobs unfilled, while record numbers of people are desperately seeking employment.

Meanwhile, because we are scholars, because we conduct research within the remit of the topics that we teach, we are to remain on our guards, to keep a critical eye on our objects of study and to maintain a certain level of curiosity while conducting investigative research. Our research might lead us to findings and observations that incur disapproval or even the exposure of dubious practices, actions or specific actors. Are we completely unconstrained about doing this while we try to build up a bond of trust with the industry? Can we credibly prepare students to blend in with the practices of an industry when we teach and simultaneously address those same practices critically while we do research? Can we train dark knights and incarnate white knights at the same time?

More contradiction arises when considering our wider responsibilities towards society and the public authorities. Again, we are to do our best to provide students with an education that will lead them to quality jobs and a promising career; we are to offer the skilled workers sought by the labour market; but we are also the watchdogs of social practices and as such we are to identify, document and deconstruct phenomena that we think are significant and in some cases to argue against them.

These tensions are further aggravated when we are involved in some official council or assembly, some study group or panel, as academic experts, as consultants for industry or as service providers for some contractual research. Moral ethical principles will guide us in managing these different roles forcing us in opposite corners of the same issues. In some cases, we must work acrobatically to avoid conflicts of interest. In many cases, opponents can easily flag a lack of independence in experts if they were once engaged in projects involving a stakeholder, which is almost inevitable for an expert with any significant reputation.

4. Teaching journalism

Let us consider the case of schools of journalism. In many countries, the best or sometimes the only schools of journalism are run within universities. They provide a perfect example of how the many expectations of society can lead to contradictions, discomfort and paradoxical injunctions.

Schools of journalism spare no effort to invest in equipment, hire staff and tweak their curriculum so that students are trained in the latest trendy techniques and technologies, so that they will fit in, and blend into the newsroom when they undertake their internship and, hopefully when they find a job after graduation. This is perfectly legitimate and meets the expectations of the students and their parents, of the labour market and the public authorities. Meanwhile, the same scholars spending the day sticking to the latest trends to match the evolution in news production and satisfy the expectations of news organizations, these same scholars, when they come home at night and finally find a little spare time to do their own research, will most likely morph into sassy observers, investigating and coming up with findings and thoughts possibly very critical of the same news organizations. Dr Jekyll teaches journalism students during the day; the hideous Mr Hyde criticises the trends and practices of contemporary journalism and news media at night. Or maybe it's the other way around: Dr Jekyll at night, uncompromising when deconstructing and questioning the news industry, morphing into the hideous Mr Hyde training journalists to measure up for the expectations of the news organizations. We are training hunters and promoting wildlife preservation at the same time. We are training fast-food restaurant employees and writing health-food treatises and sophisticated cookbooks at the same time. We are training students for an industry subject to our criticism.

The question thus becomes: are we training the journalists to match our dreams or those of the news industry? It would be simplistic to think that academics defend a utopian model of journalism while professionals are promoting a more grounded, realistic vision. More often than not, the scholar is on the well-grounded side, while the news industry, always in search of innovation and the next big trend, may speculate on and cherish their own utopia. Sometimes, scholars simply feel they should protect the industry against itself. In many cases, fortunately, there is no antagonism, and the views of the industry are largely shared within academic circles. But it is essential that there remains room and legitimacy for a critical analysis of, and discourse about, the news industry.

A survey conducted in the US by the Poynter News University shows how views can diverge between journalism educators and journalism professionals. For example, 75% of educators believe that a journalism degree is extremely important in order to understand the values of journalism. Only 28% of professionals share that view (Poynter, 2013: 1). Both sides converge in thinking that journalism education mostly keeps up with industry changes (46% vs. 43%). The report states that "journalism education can remain relevant only if it takes the lead in anticipating the skills that will be needed and ensuring that students learn these skills" (Poynter, 2013: 7). Another study was conducted in Flanders (Belgium) to compare the expectations of media professionals and the curricula of the schools of journalism. The study found that schools insisted greatly on

news production and traineeships while the profession felt that news gathering skills should be more of a priority, along with ethics, general knowledge, command of language and multilingualism (Opgenhaffen et al., 2013: 139-140).

This is not only true in initial, but also in continuing education. Journalism schools are often asked by the industry to organise refresher courses for their staff so as to better prepare them for the next change, for the next evolution of their trade, irrespective of our best judgement (let alone our opinion) about those evolutions. We may at times serve and enhance in our teaching practices that we denounce or deplore in our writings. If we push such reasoning to the point of absurdity, with the tabloidisation of the press, should we train our students in long-range telephoto and camouflage techniques or in the hacking of phones? No one would even contemplate such folly because these practices clash with the principles that we stand for, be they moral or legal. But our judgment call might not always be so assured. In many cases, when we know what will be expected of our students on the job, we must warn them, make them conscious of the issues and the implications of certain trends and practices, then we must do what we can so that they will be capable of doing it in a way that lessens the problems and issues as much as possible. Moreover, we must do this in a way that prepares them for the inevitable further changes that will affect the news industry within their lifetime. This can only be done by developing a constructive but vigilant critical attitude towards the trade of journalism and news media, based on a sound understanding of the history, the laws, the ethics and the requirements of journalism and news media.

Whatever their efforts, communication scholars are caught in a web of conflicting injunctions, of opposing forces that cannot always be dealt with by compromising on a middle ground. The resulting tension is reminiscent of the notion of ‘double bind’ developed by Gregory Bateson within the context of theorising schizophrenia, on the basis of communications theory, ironically. The double bind is described (Bateson et al., 1956) as “a situation in which no matter what a person does, he ‘can’t win.’ It is hypothesized that a person caught in the double bind may develop schizophrenic symptoms.” In other words, having to reconcile two sets of conflicting constraints might lead us to develop a double personality: one, an educator trying hard to keep pace with the evolutions and expectations of the labour market; the other, a principled academic critically questioning these same evolutions and trying to incarnate the keeper of values and models that might be threatened by these same trends.

Academic institutions, because they employ scholars who are expected to achieve in teaching, in research and in service to the community, are best suited to impregnate their curricula and publications with bearings, values and principles (moral and otherwise) that will coat the professional skills of their students with an ethical and humanistic varnish while voicing their views in

the public sphere. This is easier said than done. Yet, we have no choice but to come to terms with our academic schizophrenia because it is a fundamental duty to ourselves, to our students and to society.

Notes

- 1 This chapter is based on an address delivered at the 2nd Media Governance Roundtable, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi, India, on 25 Feb. 2013.

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Biography

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Section Four



The Social

Photo: Ilija Tomanić Trivundža

Engaging with Media in a Fragmented Media Environment

Riitta Perälä

1. Introduction

Media are increasingly fragmenting and boundaries between genres are blurring. Users nowadays have access to the same content on different platforms and they are using media in new ways. Personal media portfolios now contain dozens, even over a hundred media titles. Thus there is a need to understand the whole scope of user and reader media landscapes, not just one medium or genre. This chapter is a part of a PhD thesis that focuses on how people engage with media – especially with magazines – in a fragmented cross-media environment. The aim is to reach a better understanding of media engagement through empirical data.

Media fragmentation has in recent years inspired many researchers to conduct cross-media research from various viewpoints (see Schröder, 2011, p. 8). The interest in media portfolios or media repertoires has increased as the fragmentation of audience attention has increased. Both media companies and academic audience researchers have been keen to discover the interrelations between different media and content (see e.g. Hasebrink/Domeyer, 2012; Schröder, 2011). I prefer to use the concept of personal media landscape, which covers one participant's entire media use, and also allows the users to define what they actually mean by 'media'. In using the term 'media title' I mean specific titles, e.g. specific magazine titles, blogs or TV series.

The importance of media use and the motivation for choosing specific media titles are interwoven with a number of issues, e.g. personal routines, social interaction and practices, a need for relaxation, and the attempt to find material related to topics of interest. Motivations are not static; they change from time to time and new ones occur, and therefore personal media landscapes are in constant change. Media use is not a separate part of people's lives. It needs to be considered and examined as a part of everyday culture and daily life (Bird, 2003, p. 3).

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2. Context: cross-media research and magazines

Exploring the more individualistic and culture oriented relationship between media and their audiences began to interest researchers during the 1980s, after a long period of mass media research focused more on media effects. Popular media products, such as women's magazines and television series, were explored (see e.g. Barker, 2012, p. 61). The 'ethnographic turn' took place later when researchers felt the need to contextualise media use within the surrounding culture (Bird, 2003, p. 5) and when audiences themselves were allowed to define how, when and why they use media. The idea of 'active audiences' emerged within the field of cultural and audience studies, as did practice theory with its emphasis on media anthropology (Postill, 2010, p. 3). Interest in practices can be seen as a counterbalance to text-driven audience research (Couldry, 2010, p. 38). Research into practices, defined as actions and activities, can also be considered as strengthening the concept of audience agency (Bird, 2010, p. 99).

Within audience research there has been a contradiction concerning qualitative and quantitative approaches (e.g. Schröder, 2012). In recent years there have been a growing number of examples that combine survey-based data with qualitative information about the subjective meanings of audiences in order to map typologies and patterns of media use (e.g. Courtois, 2012; Hasebrink/Domeyer, 2012; Schröder, 2012).

Magazines have provided a never-ending source for different kinds of research, e.g. how women are represented in journalistic copy. Whereas news consumption or watching television have been popular topics in the media studies field, reading magazines has not enjoyed the same popularity, even though it has been researched for decades (e.g. Hermes, 1995; Ytre-Arne, 2011b). To obtain information about the reader-magazine relationship, magazine publishers have generally used quantifiable market-driven readership research. Most of these studies do not focus on active meaning making and the experiential practice of being a reader, but more on the interests and social-economic attributes of the reader (Hermes, 2009; Napoli, 2003). Until recently, the media industries have been more interested in audience exposure to media content. Yet as media fragmentation and audience autonomy increase, there is a need to learn more about the changing ways of media use, including reader motivations and content preferences, and to reach a more sophisticated understanding of aspects of audience behaviour (Napoli, 2010, pp. 9,15).

3. Engaging with media

Media engagement is defined in several ways. Attention paid, time spent, and emotional connections are all included in the attempts to define the concept, depending on who is doing the defining (Napoli, 2010, p. 96). Engagement is often measured by exposure to content, and, in magazines for example, it is defined by readership frequency, minutes spent with the magazine in question, and the percentage of the issue that was actually read (Napoli, 2010, pp. 100–102).

Media engagement can also be seen as a set of experiences that a user has of a media brand and its content. These experiences can include getting practical tips, feeling a part of an online community or identifying with a columnist (Peck/Malthouse, 2011). Becoming aware of these experiences is necessary in order to understand what makes users to stay with, and return to, certain titles – or alternatively, why they give up reading or following them (*ibid.* 4–7). The research, however, lacks the dimension of actual user practice, which is also a part of media experiences (Schröder, 2011, p. 6). For example, reading print magazines in a comfortable laid-back position may be preferred to reading online content while sitting at a table in front of a computer, because the reading position is associated with the need for relaxation (Ytre-Arne, 2011a).

Even though the findings with respect to media engagement in this study are closely connected to individual personal relationships with media titles (subscribing to magazines, following television series), these should not be confused with fandom, which also comprises a set of “affective investments”. Engagement should be considered, rather, as a part of a mundane involvement with media and the often arbitrary and unconscious decisions that people make when choosing which media titles they follow (Hermes, 2009, p. 114).

4. Methods to study media engagement

In order to study diverse forms of media engagement in the fragmented media environment three or four different, iterative data gathering methods were chosen: online media diaries, Q-sorting interviews, short observations and thinking aloud interviews.

The groups studied were¹:

1. Three 16–19 year-old high school students (one male and two females), living in Helsinki. This was a pilot study to test and develop the first three methods.

2. Ten 16–19 year-old high school students specialising in media studies (eight females and two males), living in Helsinki. All participants wrote media diaries and eight were interviewed using the Q-sorting method. The media use of three participants was observed.
3. Twelve 45–55 year-old female subscribers/former subscribers to the women's magazine *Kotiliesi*, living in or around Helsinki. All participants wrote diaries. Eight were interviewed using the Q-sorting method and also observed and interviewed using the thinking aloud method.

4.1. *Online media diaries*

Diaries offer a channel in which participants can express their private thoughts without having to interact with a researcher in an interview situation, or to concentrate and participate in a discussion with a focus group (Kaun, 2010, p. 134). The challenge of writing diaries is the lack of face-to-face communication since the element of physical and visual interaction is missing (Sade-Beck, 2004, p. 46), and thus textual ambiguities may increase. However, diaries are helpful in comparing individual's thoughts about the respective phenomena (Bolger, Davis, Rafaeli, 2003, pp. 580, 587).

The participants were asked to write about their media use, and describe their experiences and practices with media. They wrote their individual diaries for two or four weeks on an online platform. The diaries included a pre-survey of media use in general and two assignments concerning a memorable media experience and the participant's most important media titles.

4.2. *Q-sorting interviews*

Q-methodology was designed in the 1930s by psychologist-physicist Stephenson to compare and map the subjective meanings understood by individuals. This method has multiple advantages in audience and reception research: it provides both quantitative and qualitative data and it offers a ready-made frame for collecting material, especially when compared to more traditional interviews. (Davis/Michelle, 2011, pp. 529–532.)

Schröder (2010) developed and used the method to study individual use of Danish news media. In their research, interviewees were given 25 Q-cards – each card marking a specific news media item – which they arranged on a nine-point grid according to the role of the media in their lives.

In our research the method was modified to cover the whole media landscape, not only one genre. In the individual Q-sorting assignments the participants were shown a card deck of 90 to 250 cards, each representing one media

title that had been mentioned in the media diaries. Competing and popular titles were added to the deck by the researcher in order to help the participants to reflect on the process of meaning making. Each participant sorted not only the media titles they had mentioned in the diaries but also all the other titles.

The participants arranged the cards on an eight-point grid that reflected the importance of the media titles for them, and were asked to think aloud during the sorting process. After sorting they were asked more questions, such as: Why do you use this title? In what situations? Where? Do you use other titles for similar purposes? What makes this title important/unimportant? The participants were allowed to reach their own definition of “importance”; it could be daily routine, usefulness of the title or their personal relationship with the title. The discussions in the interviews ranged from memories of media experiences to defining one’s identity based on media consumption. The outcomes of the interviews were collected into individual personal media landscapes (see Table 1).

4.3. Observation of time and place of media use

Classic anthropological ethnography is time-consuming, and researchers need to immerse themselves in the culture studied (e.g. Deger, 2011). Nowadays, new, less time-consuming methods have been developed, although the debate about appropriate methodologies continues (Pink, 2006) as various modern ethnographic approaches are sometimes regarded as superficial (Deacon/Keightley, 2011, p. 313). Murphy (2011, p. 348) compares ethnography to a patchwork quilt: there is not one correct ethnographic approach, but multiple ones. Ethnographic data can be gathered from many sources – ranging from photograph albums and diaries, to classic, long-term immersion in the culture under observation.

My approach to ethnography is based on Pink’s (2006) ideas about sensory and visual ethnography and short-term ethnographic “visits” which may last only an hour. The main aim is to collect the participant’s experiences and give voice to them (Pink, 2006, p. 95). Even if the researcher does not have the time to go deeply into the cultural environment, the different methods assist in the collection of rich data from several viewpoints. An important aspect of ethnographic research is that the process is made visible: this includes the time and the place where the user’s media experiences were observed, and the manner in which these were studied and analysed (Murphy, 2011, p. 397).

One favourite medium/media title and its use was chosen for observation by the researcher, based on the participant’s own preferences in the previous methodological phases. The aim of the observation was to provide representations of media practices and to investigate the real-life context in which media were used. The observation sessions were short, ranging from 25 minutes to 1

hour. The participants were asked to show and describe the situations in which they would opt for a specific medium/title. During the observation participants were asked to clarify certain issues: How does the location affect your media use? How does other people's presence impact your media use? How does the medium itself, or its use, feel physically? These sensory meanings (see Pink, 2009) could then be tied to the materiality of, for example, a magazine: one's ability to flip through the pages, or take a closer look at the photos.

The limitations of this form of observation, especially bearing in mind the shortness of the sessions, also need to be addressed. Even in one specific place – in this case in homes – media practices can differ widely. Moreover, these processes may be unconscious and the participants may find it difficult to reflect on them in exhaustive detail. In addition, online media use is becoming increasingly mobile and is thus not limited to the home environment.

4.4. Thinking aloud interview

Thinking aloud is a method which is often used in user-interface research. In that field, these interviews provide information about the user's movements across the digital platforms in order to design user-friendly interfaces.

In this research these interviews were conducted with the 45–55 year-old readers of a women's magazine, *Kotiliesi*, to provide information about the reader's views on the contents of the magazine and how they engaged with them. The participants had already read a specific issue of *Kotiliesi* before the individual interviews. I first of all asked general questions about the reader-magazine relationship and then the participants leafed through the magazine. As they did so, they were encouraged to think aloud and describe the thoughts and feelings that crossed their minds during the first and subsequent reading of the issue.

Conducting these interviews was useful in order to determine the content that provoked thoughts and emotions, even actions, compared to the content that was considered meaningless.

4.5. Analysis of the data

The methods in this research were used iteratively, and the data was partly analysed between the phases. After completion of the diaries we wrote short descriptions of the participants and chose candidates for the forthcoming methodological phases. Those media titles the participants mentioned in the diaries were entered into a card deck for Q-sorting. Based on the diaries and the interviews, one important medium/media title was chosen for observation.

The data was analysed using Atlas.ti. Experiences that caused engagement and disengagement were codified and then cross-analysed with the Q-categories. This revealed the most important experiences of engagement, and also which particular media answered to these experiences in the participant group. Below I will present some of the findings about personal media landscapes and the preliminary findings of media engagement.

5. Preliminary findings of media engagement

The diversity of media and individual titles are revealed in the personal media landscapes that were mapped in the Q-sorting. In the lead-user teenager group the number of media titles varied between 37 and 92 (average 66) and in the 45–55 year-old participant group from 84 to 134 (average 101). An example of a personal media landscape can be found in Table 1. The Q-sortings also showed the interconnections between the titles: which titles fulfilled the same purposes – whether it was an interest in fashion or in console games, or a common motivation such as the desire to use media for relaxation.

The fragmentation of the user's attention also becomes apparent in the data. Simultaneous media use was common, especially in the 45–55 year-old participant group. Reading a magazine or a newspaper and watching TV at the same time was a common practice. However, when the media content was sufficiently engaging, concentration did not wander from one medium to another, and other domestic and social activities were also restricted. One participant said: "When *Downton Abbey* was on, everything else had to stop". This meant that all household work had to be finished and the washing machine could not be on. Sofa cushions were adjusted so that she could relax and focus all her attention on her favourite TV series.

5.1. *Social media practices are considered engaging*

The importance of the social aspects of media use emerged both in the diaries and in the interviews conducted with all participant groups. Discussions with friends and family about current topics, either online or face-to-face, were considered an important activity. For many adult participants, watching TV with one's spouse or children was considered an engaging media experience, and the ritual and social aspects of the experience were sometimes seen as more important than the actual media content.

In the teenage groups many media titles – of TV series or blogs – were chosen based on friend's recommendations, even if they did not exactly meet the user's own interests. Knowing what friends talked about at school and the need to feel as a part of community were good enough reasons in their own right.

Observing the media practices, even for a short while, helped to place these practices in their socio-cultural context. First, the concrete location played a significant role. Secondly, a combination of the spatial layout of the house, the time of the day and the presence of other family members was important when choosing which media to use, when and how. This is what I call a social floor plan. For example, one teenage participant was interested in fashion and beauty related content, and followed it both in magazines, on blogs and on YouTube. When reading her favourite magazine, she shut herself in her own room and lay on her bed and gave the magazine her full concentration. When, however, she wanted to access online content of the same genre she needed to do it publicly. Her family had a shared computer that was located in the living room and her mother might have been looking over her shoulder when she was surfing online. She had to tolerate the prevailing conditions at home or find a more suitable time for accessing online content.

5.2. Engaging with Kotiliesi magazine

Based on the four different methods the current and former subscribers of women's magazine Kotiliesi engaged with the magazine mainly because they found the content relevant, useful, timeless and rich in ideas, and they shared the same values. Kotiliesi offered them inspiring recipes and seasonal topics (which resulted in their keeping the copies for future reference) and profiles of interesting people who were interviewed for their expertise or actions instead of "just being celebrities". Vice versa, the readers felt disengagement if the stories were written from too conservative a viewpoint, did not offer any new information, or if the content was too "unrealistic" or unattainable, such as the appearance of models or stories about overly extravagant house decorations. Current and former subscribers both engaged with the same journalistic content and found the same stories and visuals disengaging.

A major reason for reading Kotiliesi was nostalgia. Most of the participants had memories of the magazine from their childhood when their mothers had subscribed to Kotiliesi. One participant mentioned that subscribing to it for decades was "an emotional matter". Compared to other important women's magazines, Kotiliesi provided information on homely and practical issues but was not seen as a media title to relax with.

6. Further research

People have access to a vast number of media titles. Nevertheless, they still choose to engage with specific media texts on specific platforms on a daily or weekly basis. The results of my study show that the social aspects of media use seem to be the most significant forms of media engagement: homes have social floor plans that affect media use, and the important social practices with family members seem to count more than the actual content of the chosen media.

In order to gain further insight into how readers and users actually engage with media, one needs to take into account a number of aspects that reflect the particular everyday situations in which media are consumed. In any further research it will be important to analyse in much more detail the routines, habits, rituals and practices that are associated with media engagement.

Notes

- 1 This research is a part of a larger Finnish NextMedia project where seven different participant groups' media use was studied.

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Biography

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A Crooked Balance of Interests? Comparing Users' Rights in Printed and Electronic Books

Hannu Nieminen, Anna-Laura Markkanen

1. Introduction

Copyright governance has traditionally been predicated on a negotiated balance of interests between three main actors: the creator, the publisher, and the user. Originally, the balance was created by acknowledging the private interests of the creator and the publisher, on the one hand, and, on the other, public interest, defined in terms of the cultural and social benefits resulting from citizens' public access to the works (Ricketson, 2003; Hugenholtz & Senftleben, 2011; European Copyright Code, 2010: 121). To serve the public interest, certain limitations were imposed on the creator's privileges, including limits on the duration of copyright, a principle of "fair dealing" that allows members of the public to copy the work for personal use and to employ the works for social and cultural purposes (Sirinelli, 1999; Hugenholtz, 2001: 6; Ricketson, 2003; European Copyright Code, 2010: 123-6).

In literature the arguments for copyright are usually divided into four different approaches: the economic rights approach, the moral rights approach, the utilitarian approach, and the citizens' rights approach (Guibault 2002; May/Sell 2005; Davies 2002).

The economic rights approach is based on conceiving the end product as a result of creative work, over which the creator has an exclusive right. This includes the creator selling all ownership rights to another party at a price which is freely at their own discretion. At its extreme, this approach does not recognise any moral rights of the creator – if he or she so wishes, the creator can sign over all rights to another party (a publisher) leaving themselves with no claims whatsoever concerning the further use of the work. This conception of copyright is usually tied in with the Anglo-American legal tradition.

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The moral rights approach derives from the notion that there is an inseparable connection between the work and its original creator, independent of its ownership. This gives the creator a right to supervise the use of their work, meaning that its original form should be respected and that they should be recognised as the original author in all uses of the work. Discernible in this approach is the strong influence of natural rights philosophy, according to which the creator has a natural right to all of his or her creations, and this right cannot be declined or denied by simply handing over the usage or economic rights to another party. This notion of copyright is usually linked with continental European law.

The utilitarian approach emphasises the social utility of copyright, in so far as the creator's exclusive rights encourage them to continue creative production, thus benefiting the public (and society) in the form of more new works. The creator's remuneration is thought to consist of two components: the remuneration for the actual work plus an incentive to continue production. In this way, the balance between the creator's economic interest and the public interest is met efficiently and beneficially for both parties. Moreover, understanding copyright in this way creates an incentive for other potential actors to engage in creative work.

The approach centred on citizens' rights accentuates democracy as a system based on an informed citizenry, i.e. one that enjoys freedom of speech and expression. The basic idea is that all new knowledge and all novel forms of culture are necessarily based on earlier achievements, and if citizens are restricted or denied the access to existing works of art and science, societies will eventually regress. From this it follows that, while the creators' exclusive rights are recognised and respected, these must be balanced by exemptions, thus allowing as wide public access to their works as possible. One application of this is the Public Domain movement, which aims to make the works (mostly scientific articles) freely available with the active consent of the authors.

The first two approaches concentrate solely on the author's rights but the latter two perspectives take users' rights into consideration. The utilitarian approach takes into account the need of an incentive to create anew. The approach focusing on citizens' rights requires an acknowledgement of the rights that users have or should have. The problem is, however, that the concept of users' rights is seldom explicitly defined. In this article we see users' rights as the requirements inherent within the copyright system not only to protect authors but also to promote reading and other uses of copyrighted products. The limitations imposed on the author's privileges in copyright legislation aim at securing users' rights.

2. Copyright limitations and exemptions

Global copyright regulation is a mixture of all those four approaches. Although there is a well-established international copyright law, based on international treaties (the two fundamental ones are the 1886 Berne Convention and the 1994 Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, TRIPS), the national copyright regimes differ much in detail – meaning that any comparison between different countries needs to be conducted very carefully. It has been pointed out that the main difference between the international copyright regime and national laws concerns the balance of rights: the international treaties concentrate on securing the creators' economic rights, whereas the national legislation stresses more the societal and welfare aspects – citizens' democratic, cultural and social rights (Okediji 2006). In order for the copyright system to serve the public interest and guarantee user rights, it has been agreed that – especially with regard to social and educational purposes – several limitations can be imposed on the creator's privileges.

Because the international copyright treaties are by their nature the products of compromises secured by coordinating national copyright regimes, they leave much discretion to nation states. This has meant that there are two categories of limitations and exceptions: general limitations, stipulated in the international treaties, which all the signatory countries must apply in their domestic laws, and specific limitations and exceptions which are allowed under the treaties but whose implementation is left to the signatory countries alone.

2.1 General limitations

The general limitations coordinated through the treaties, which all signatory states are obliged to implement in their national legislation, are rather flexible and leave much discretion to signatories. One of the basic stipulations concerns what constitutes a copyrightable work: only an original work, reflecting "some level of intellectual creativity" should be protected by copyright (Okediji 2006: 11). How this is determined varies from country to country. Other general stipulations include the distinction between an idea and its expression – the idea does not get protection, only its expression. The same type of demarcation applies to the difference between factual contents and their expression – the expressions of facts are protected, the facts are not. A major issue of global coordination concerns the duration of copyright protection, which as a global standard was the length of the author's life plus fifty years, but in recent decades this has been extended to life duration plus seventy years (Okediji 2006: 10-11).

The other set of limitations and exceptions – those allowed under the international treaties but whose precise form and content are left to national governments to decide – include a number of means to limit the creator's exclusive rights. Most limitations aim at allowing the widest possible public access to the copyrighted works without essentially harming the copyright owner's right and, in many cases, compensating the copyright owner for the potential financial loss resulting from the specific limitation. Here we concentrate only on those limitations and exceptions relevant to our focus. How do they relate to the user rights in the transformation from the printed book to the digital one?

Another important issue that concerns the use of copyrighted works is that ownership of the copy, e.g. a book, and the conditions under which the ownership can be handed over to another person. In the case of a printed book this is clear: the copy of a book can be donated, inherited, traded on the secondary market, or even destroyed. The owner of a copy has a sovereign power over it. But how is this to be handled in the case of digital books?

2.2 Limitations and exceptions from the viewpoint of user rights

From the viewpoint of user rights, we can make a distinction between two types of rights in copyright law: those related to basic citizens' rights, such as access to information, the needs of education, the use for social purposes (people with special needs, people in institutions etc.), and those related to creative purposes – scientific, artistic, etc. uses of copyrighted works. These are partly overlapping – for example, access to factual information is required in science – but principally they refer to somewhat different needs in respect of access to and uses of copyrighted works.

A prerequisite for both classes of rights, but especially for the latter type, is the full ownership of a copy of the work in question – be the copy originally in a material form (a print book) or in a digital form (e-book) – so that the user is able to reproduce the work for their own creative purposes, for further study and reflection. This must also include the full determination of the further use of the copy – including donating the copy or signing it off for the use of the secondary market. All these conditions have applied in one form or another in most countries in the case of printed books; and this has been a central element in the conceived balance between the creator's exclusive right and the public interest-based limitations to copyright.

Just to sum up the main challenges to this balance: When copyrighted material is used in a digital environment, the risk of copyright infringement grows. Thus, the digital material is protected by tools called digital rights management technologies (DRM). They have been subject to much criticism as

they have been seen to restrict the freedom of users, and inasmuch are also regarded as a threat to the application of the earlier agreed and adopted copyright limitations.

Now the question is, to what degree are the prerequisites described above still in force concerning digital books; and if they are found wanting, what are the consequences from the viewpoint of general societal conditions for creative work?

3. The electronic book: from traditional value chain to something else²

A radical change has occurred between the traditional model of book production and production in the digitalised environment. In the following, we analyse this change with reference to the value chain process.

3.1 *Traditional value chain*

The traditional publishing value chain starts with the author, who produces a manuscript and offers it to a publisher. The publisher selects for publication the best manuscripts from among those offered. Print-ready files are then delivered by the publisher to the printing house. The end product, the book, is then distributed through retailer channels and sold. In addition to traditional bookstores, the Internet has become a permanent channel, a long way ahead of e-books. In Finland, publishers do not sell traditional books directly to libraries but through wholesalers, such as Kirjavälitys (www.kirjavalitys.fi) or BTJ (www.btj.fi), formerly known as Kirjastopalvelu (Library Services).



Figure 1. Traditional publishing value chain.

Technological development has brought changes in the value chain and the actors involved in book publishing. However, the publishing industry has been struggling with falling consumer demand, and thus not all changes are associated exclusively with the transition to a digital environment. Established players have had to adapt to a new environment.

3.2 New players in the value chain

The transition to digital publishing has introduced new players to the publishing value chain. They include online stores; (content) platforms; technological system providers; media companies; and Internet service providers.

Emerging actors can assume different roles: one may act as a technology provider (e.g. Securycast), another as a content provider (e.g. OverDrive), a third as an online shop (e.g. AdLibris), and a fourth as all of the above (e.g. ElisaKirja, Ellibs). In the e-book market, Internet and media companies now play new and different roles, offering combinations of devices, content and platforms.

An additional new dimension is the internationalisation of the publishing business. The e-publishing market is much more open to international platforms and data providers than before, when jobs in publishing production generally required Finnish language skills or precise knowledge of the local infrastructure. For example, an American e-book distributor, OverDrive, an important content provider for Helsinki City libraries, has no staff in Finland but conducts its business online from the US.

Opening the value chain to new communities, such as readers, may help provide a new kind of enriched content to readers or build new business possibilities based on direct interaction, e.g. in the form of virtual book clubs. Lucy Küng (2008: 34) asks whether the industry can really take off if e-books are regarded as an alternative to paper ones and not as an entirely new category of creative media product. However, if e-books are viewed in the broadest possible sense, it is possible that the value chain will not change per se, but that new players and operations will be introduced to support the old ones.

New routes are emerging for the book to travel from writer to reader. Instead of traditional bookstores, online shops, wholesalers and libraries, new technological agents are coming on stream, providing alternative routes from publisher to reader, as shown in Figure 3 (and the example of CrimeTime [2012], an independent publisher established by Finnish authors of detective fiction in 2010).

4. Copyright restrictions: from copyright to DRM

Another current concern is the protection of digital books, particularly against pirated versions. The current digital rights management (DRM) system provides strong protection for the interests of publishers and authors; however, for users and readers it makes the “normal” (as with the traditional printed book) utilisation of the work difficult or even impossible. Plans are afoot to design and apply a less rigid system, the so-called “social DRM” (such as watermarking)³, but to date Adobe Digital Editions remains the most popular DRM system.

Most e-books sold in Finnish bookstores are in EPUB+DRM or PDF+DRM formats. Negotiations about which DRM system is to be used take place between the author and the publisher, but it is the publisher who has the final say. From the viewpoint of an individual user (sometimes called the “honest reader”), the social DRM would be easier to use than the current system. Even though the current DRM system may be strong, it is not effective in preventing illegal use, as it is relatively easy to break.⁴

DRM controls access to and reproduction of digital material, whereas digital watermarking and fingerprinting are techniques enabling the identification of digital works (Van Tassel, 2006: 79-80). The current DRM system applied in Finland is relatively strong, not only because of its technical qualities but also because of the fear created by the music and movie industry’s aggressive tactics in pursuing potential piracy (see e.g. EFFI, 2012).

For the consumer, the system could be easier. The current system enables the consumer to make a few copies of the e-book they have bought, as long as the copies are made by a device registered to the same user ID. A less rigid form of DRM – social DRM or watermarking – would allow the consumer to share the e-book with as many friends as they wish, but if the e-book were illegally uploaded to the Internet, it could be traced back to the original consumer.

5. Conclusions: from user rights to user wrongs?

The basic assumption in this paper is that in the new digitalised environment the traditional balance between the creator, the publisher and the reader/user has been tilted in favour of the publisher. As a result, the users’ rights in copyright regulation – represented by cultural and societal values – have been undermined.

The Berne Convention, which dates as far back as 1886, struck a fine balance between the actors in this field, based on the one hand on recognition of the ownership rights of the original creator, and, on the other, on wider

Figure 2. Digital publishing alters the traditional publishing value chain.

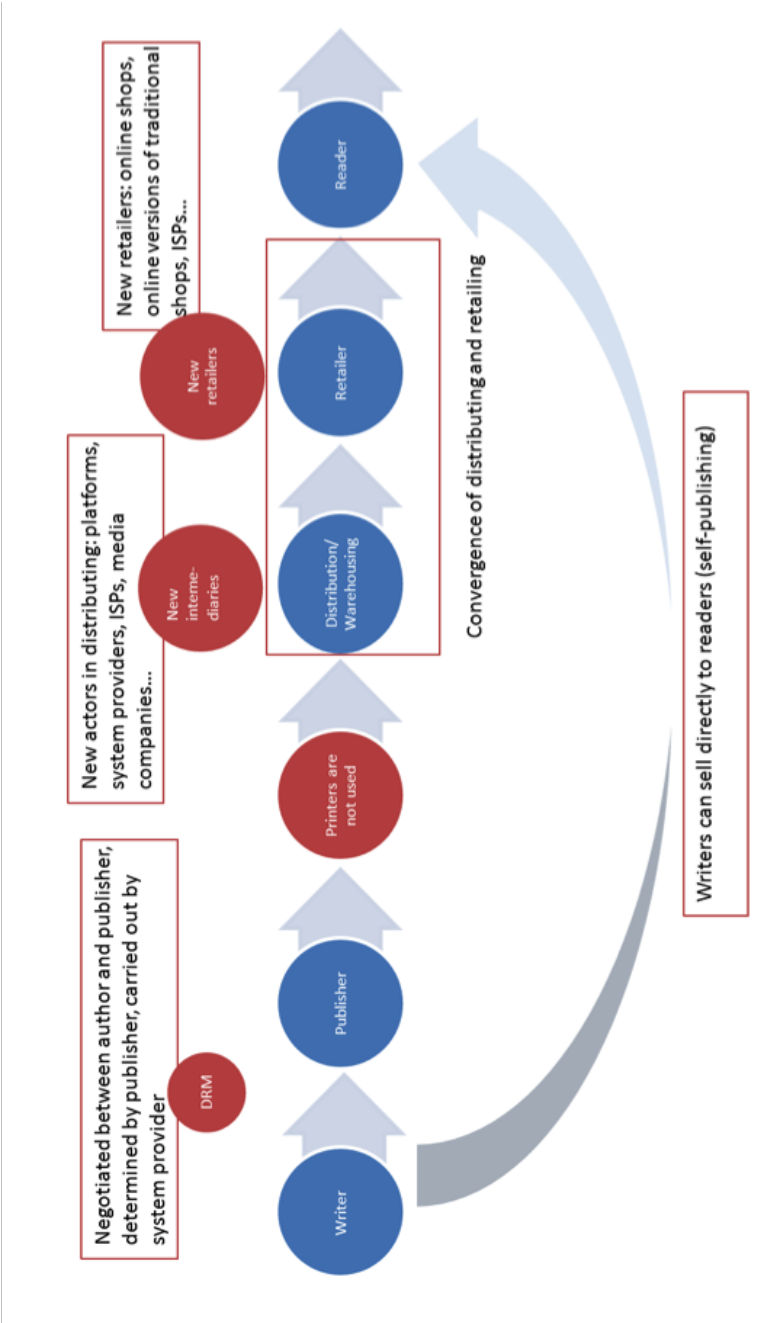
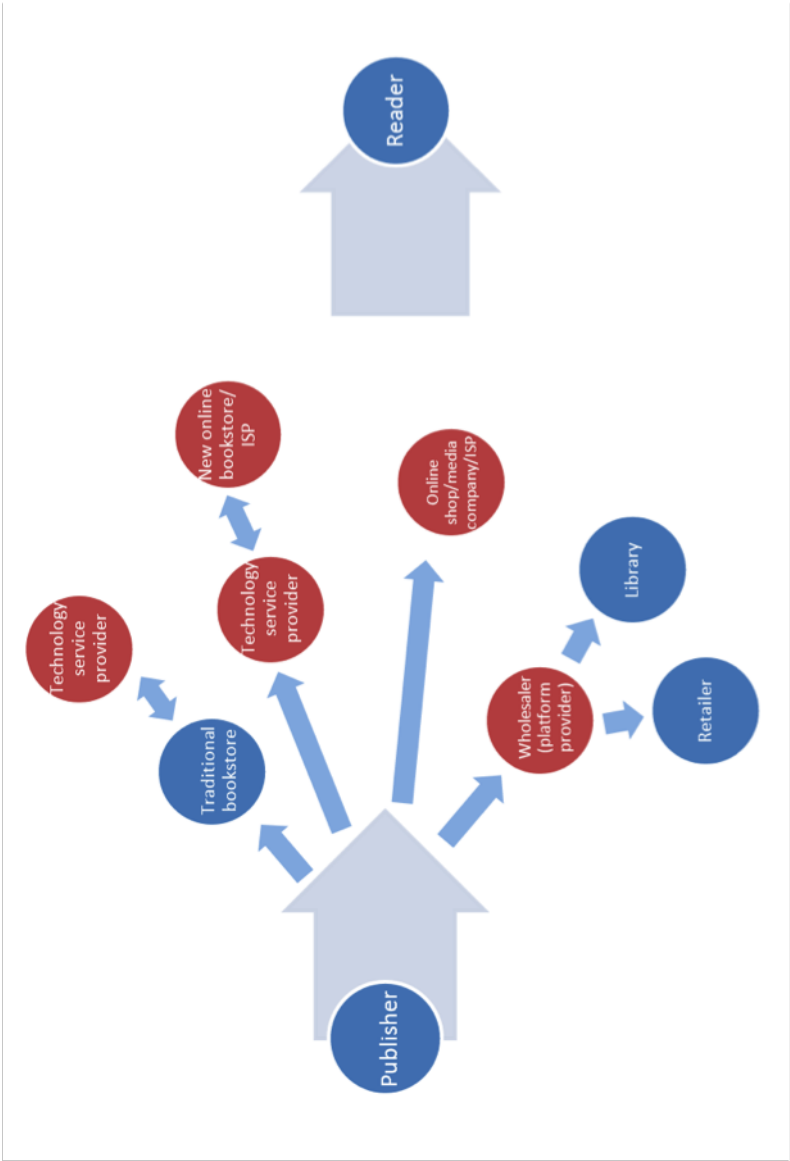


Figure 3. Alternative routes for a book from publisher to reader.



societal interests (democratic, cultural, educational and social needs), which were served by establishing certain limitations and exceptions to the creator's exclusive rights.

In the digital age, there are problems in reconciling the creator's legitimate right to reproduce their work with wider societal interests. This paper has discussed the central issues in more depth. Although the advent of e-books on a large scale is still ahead of us, at least in countries like Finland, it raises many weighty issues. First, there is the question of the reader's/user's right of ownership of a legally purchased copy, including the right to make copies for private use, to store a copy or to loan, borrow, resell and inherit the copy. In this respect, the DRM models that are being planned and are in operation seem to violate the principles confirmed and agreed in several international treaties (Berne, Geneva, Rome).

Second, the new e-book publishing models do not take account of the needs of libraries. In order to facilitate the cultural, social and educational functions of a library, there needs to be a standardised and simple model for lending books and monitoring their use. It cannot be the task of individual libraries or even regional groups of libraries to negotiate solutions with publishers and intermediaries; obviously this is a wider issue of state cultural policy.

It seems obvious that there is an urgent need to negotiate a new balance between the actors involved, in order to safeguard especially the public-interest based rights in relation to democratic, cultural, social and educational considerations. Copyright issues have not traditionally been high (if anywhere at all) on the agenda of media and communication scholars. It is high time to correct this.

Notes

- 1 Ricketson, 2003; Hugenholtz & Senfileben, 2011; European Copyright Code, 2010, p. 121. Although the concept of the public interest is problematic for many reasons – who has the right to define what it is – we will not discuss this here.
- 2 Additional information for chapters 3 and 4 was retrieved from interviews with a number of experts working in publishing business. The full list of interviewees can be found in the attachment. All interviews were conducted by Anna-Laura Markkanen. The authors express their gratitude to all the experts.
- 3 On watermarking, see e.g. Rosoff, 2007.
- 4 In Google, search words “how to break epub drm” give almost 400 000 results.

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Interviews

Niko Aula

Publishing Manager, Gummerus Publishers, 11 September 2012.

Jarmo Heikkilä

Managing Director, Ellibs, 19 September 2012.

Annikka Heinonen

E-book Product Manager, Gummerus Publishers, 24 September 2012.

Sakari Laiho

Director, Finnish Book Publishers Association, 17 September 2012.

Kristiina Markkula

E-reading Project Director, Federation of the Finnish Media Industry, 18 September 2012.

Virva Nousiainen-Hiiri

Helsinki City Library, 26 September 2012.

Fredrik Rahka

Head of Digital Publishing, Otava Publishing Company, 3 October 2012.

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Too Easy to Say Blog: Paradoxes of Authenticity on the Web

Fausto Colombo

1. Introduction

The so-called blogosphere is a very complex and hard-to-define phenomenon. There are plenty of platforms (Twitter is also a micro-blogging platform), of very different genres (from more or less professional information to private conversations, to digital archives). However, there is no doubt that the most striking feature in blogs is that they are highly personal: a blog is a kind of notebook to write down thoughts, comments, impressions, opinions, simple moods. Its life largely depends on blogger's desire to cultivate it, exactly as a garden (and we know that gardens live depending on a gardener's constancy). A blog is a place to express the self, to perform identity, a private space that, although open to the public, is owned by the blogger who has the right to choose the topics, the constraints and their frequency.

However, things are much more complicated. Firstly, any blogger knows that in blogging, the public is at least as relevant as the private. Using various web analytics tools, it is easy to be informed about audience, more successful posts, trends of growth or decline, and cross-links with other blogs and ratings. In short, the authorship process is similar to that of the culture industry as a whole, which is a good argument in favour of Castells's (2009) definition of social media as "self mass communication". Secondly, although blogging is an exercise of authenticity, your homepage is still a public face, to quote Goffman (1959), either for bloggers or commentators. Therefore, this peculiar discursive context is also somewhat theatrical, and favours exhibitionism and voyeurism (Gotor, 2012).

Thirdly, any blog establishes a more or less virtual dialogue with its readers. Although this dialogue recalls a certain naturalness of speech (as opposed to the top-down style of traditional information, for example), it can also cause typical conflicts and misunderstandings of human communities. This dialogue is not equal, but it is one-many (or few-many in the case of multi-author blogs). Hence it brings into play a complex distribution of powers and authorities.

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I would therefore like to suggest here that it is useful to understand the origin of the personal re-appropriation of public discourse as a point of departure to build new relationships, being aware that we will come across many problematic issues. To highlight this point, I will consider a specific case study, which seems to me to contain almost all the major theoretical issues of the blogosphere, or we could say, of the dialogic universe of Web 2.0.

2. What we mean when we talk about blogs

There is an Italian blog called “Nonsolomamma” (translated: not just a mum). It’s a personal blog written by a journalist named Claudia De Lillo, and nicknamed Elasti or Elastigirl, (with reference to the mother Elastigirl in the animated Pixar movie *The Incredibles*, and to the superpowers needed by any woman to deal with everyday life). The blogger talks about her everyday life as a mother-wife-worker. The style is friendly and ironic. The blog has had huge success, which has been increasing since 2006 (the year of its birth), and has also allowed its author to gain a good reputation and significant public visibility, as well as awards of various kinds. Two books, collecting several blog posts, have been released (*Non solo mamma* in 2008 e *Non solo due*, 2010).

In spring 2012, the blog came under attack by trolls. Trolls are people fuelling hostility on the web. The name, which may come from either the Scandinavian mythological creatures or from the act of “trolling” to collect fish, first appeared on Usenet in the 1990s. Trolls may adopt many nicknames or profiles in order to appear as a mass of dissent or criticism (Donath, 1999). In this case, as is common, the attack was developed with unkind, aggressive, irritating, off-topic comments, with the intent of inhibiting, deviating the discussion and of provoking the online community, thus inciting flaming.

Trolls attacked the “Nonsolomamma” blog, growing gradually more annoying. The attack led to a series of responses and consequences which are interesting in explaining the complexity of blogging as a place of expression and discussion on the web. The attack on this blog helps us to understand darker sides of the web, and to reveal the weaknesses of democratic and free debate on the web. We will therefore use this example to look at some fundamental problems of the blogosphere, and more generally of the web itself.

The attack took place in two stages: first of all, suddenly in 2012, several cynical comments, mainly addressed to other commentators accused of being too sentimental, appeared in the blog; these first attacks tended to provoke other commentators. The attack was not initially aimed at the blogger, but at the emphatic commentators. However, due to increasingly aggressive and provocative comments, the blogger Elasti answered the troll(s). This started the second stage of the troll’s attack: at first the troll(s) justified themselves by

saying that even though there was a single IP address, the writers could be many. Afterwards one of the commentators, with the emblematic nickname “Chepalle” (translated: that sucks), addressed critics:

a) Accusing the blogger of merely being eager for money and success:

Cheppalle: Elastigirl does not watch television, she is against television, in practice, Elast-girl has nothing to do with television. However she is so selfish that she was not able to resist the temptation to raise her visibility on TV (blog, books and newspapers were not enough). (...), what better time to persuade your simple-minded fans? Elasti you are as cunning as a fox! :-D

and of being unable to manage the blog and to moderate blog comments:

Cheppalle!: (...) But don't you realize that Elasti “the Fox” never responds to critics? Do you think it is because she is in a good mood? Or because she thinks: “It isn't worth it”? of course not! :-D she has no interest in calming people down, because controversy and criticism increase the number of comments to her blog and she is only interested in this! :-D

b) Accusing other commentators of excessive flattery:

Cheppalle!: Your flattery ... it sucks ... no words!

c) Commenting on almost every comment, so as to provoke other commentators:

Tiziana: Cheppalle! Stop commenting! Don't you have anything else to do?

As tension increased, Cugino S. (translated: cousin S.) announced, in a long post, the decision to ban ChePalle! and the troll(s) hiding behind this nickname. There follows a long passage from this post, which is crucial to my analysis:

Cugino S.: Dear Cheppalle!, I'm a very marginal commentator in the world of Elasti, known as Cousin S. I have 13 years of experience in the web, it is my work. Thus I support my cousin when she needs a hand with the blog.

This off-topic post is exclusively addressed to you, Cheppalle.

I hate to do this, because in many cases some of your sarcastic comments make me smile, but your behaviour in this community has degenerated to an unsustainable point both for Claudia, who must moderate your comments, and for other commentators. To write aggressive comments, to unnecessarily flame, to change nicknames, to create fake dialogues, to provoke other blog readers ... these are recognised activities on the web and are well-known as trolling. And the troll within a community has only one fate: to be banned.

This place (...) continues to be a private space. It is not a product. It is not a commercial space. It is a space that Claudia has decided to keep clean, even from banners and ads. It is an environment that Claudia has managed for years with care and passion, even in respect of her blog users. If you want to stay in this environment, you are requested to follow a few rules that have existed since the 80s, the days of Usenet. Here are some links which will help you to better understand these rules and how you need to behave on the web: (...)

At present your IP address is ***. You have 285 approved and uncensored comments even when you commented with different nicknames such as: Cheppalle!, Mira, CUKI, Jersey, Sharlee, Alessia Nardini, Macy, Sarah, THE TROLL (and I could also report the (mostly fake) e-mail addresses with which you logged in (...)) However on 27 April, we had to cancel your 70 comments published from 9:51 to 11:08. ...

It is too much! Don't you think so? I would also let you know that there are now online services that allow us to geo-locate an IP address. Hence, to believe that you are totally anonymous is a big mistake. Postal and Communication Police, knowing an IP address, can easily use this and track your PC, even when the IP is dynamic.

Afterwards a discussion about the legitimacy of banning started. Meanwhile, the aggressive comments slowly started to disappear – this will be discussed later. Now I want to analyse this story in detail, as a good example for understanding how the blogosphere functions.

3. The “space” of a blog

I would like to start by taking into account the nature of a blog as “specific space”. This crucial issue is interestingly tackled in several works. Papacharissi (2010), for example, makes the link between blogging and post-modern narcissism, referring to Lasch (1979) and Sennett (1974). Later Lovink (2007, 2012) criticises the role of posts and then of comments, by examining links between blog comments and the ancient commentaries. But the analysis of our case study allows us to avoid vagueness and to address the problem of defining a blog as a “space” (public vs. private). We start by analysing a post by Elasti answering the troll attack:

This blog was born almost six years ago, because I wanted to write, and to be read, because almost no one writes to themselves (...)

This blog is a trace of my life, the trace I will leave to my children when they grow up, everyone leaves traces resembling it, this is mine (...)

This blog has always been my home: I keep it clean and I want it to look like me, always, when I'm happy and when I'm sad, when I'm excited and when I'm bored. This place is not a product, it is my home. (...) The space of comments (...)

It (the blog) looked like me....) because there was respect (...) now it is not like that anymore (...) I do not bother about criticisms but I do bother about aggression, bitterness, insults, provocation, it disturbs me to be in a place, in my home, that is not like me and that I do not like (...) from today all aggressive, insulting, provocative comments may be deleted and reported as spam. Because I want to continue to recognize my home and to love it. Elasti

A brief analysis: Claudia De Lillo's account is very clear: her blog (which is neither for information, nor directly commercial) is her "home", and as such, the law is that of the owner, which means that those entering are guests, but also that she wants to be able to express herself freely, and to be respected by her guests. Of course, the blog corresponds to a human being who has undergone several personal attacks by trolls (e.g. "Claudia de Lillo is fake and a hypocrite, I know her from high school when ..."). However, the house-owner is virtual, is an avatar with a nickname, Elasti, with a specific style and story (her characters are real in the blogger's life but they are always named with pseudonyms, although of course they can be recognised in real life). I want to argue that - although it may seem obvious - to identify a blog with a home is in fact a metaphor which (as a metaphor) cannot be taken literally. If we consider the different comments to this post in the blog, some argue that the metaphor of the sense of property should be accepted: the blogger pays for the domain name, and as such she has the right to act as if it were her home. On the other hand, there are those who, instead of the metaphor of the home, use that of the public space (square, street, balcony).

A blog is therefore a home, or square, or a visible and public area with private space. In the second and third cases, some commentators (not necessarily trolls) seem to suggest that the blogger should let others express themselves. Alternatively, the blogger should close comments, to avoid the problem. But if you expose yourself in a public space, then the only possible regulation is that of democracy where anyone has freedom of expression, can have their speaker's corner, as any "space" for discussion can be a space of democracy.

It is mostly striking that the metaphor is taken literally, forgetting that its origin, which refers to the physical space, has nothing to do with the nature of the web. In fact, the web is not a space, (it is, of course, in its infrastructure, but that is not the experience that we have, nor is it what enables various types of relationships) but a context in the sense that communication scholars give to the term. A context is a coded communicative situation, in which related subjects interact. A discursive context does not need space, although often a communicative relationship takes place in space. When we read a book, for example, the context is similar even though we are in different cities. The same happens in research or a consultation, a chat, a comment, a purchase or a bank transfer: all these actions happen at home, at work, on a bus, on holiday.

In spite of the many spatial metaphors we use (the medium as environment, web users as its inhabitants: Giaccardi, 2011), the web is not a space, but a set of relational contexts. Social media does not have a place, even if it is everywhere, as are their users. But it is human ubiquity which generates web globalisation, and not vice versa.

In other words, the space we are talking about here is that of discourse, of human communication, either online or offline, and with its own rules. We could talk about discursive space, or better still, in order to avoid the spatial metaphor, of “discursive context”.

The theme of the media has always been that of “openness”. In an experiment from many years ago Italian Radical Radio decided to broadcast any phone calls from anonymous listeners, which finally led to insults of various natures being broadcast. Was this a democratic space? Was this an example of freedom of expression? In the case of Elasti’s post, which compared her blog to her home, is she really talking about a possession? I don’t think so. I think she is rather referring to something else, which could be called a certain “care” for something that she has created and cultivated (with success, satisfaction and some indirect economic reward) in a wider potential discursive context that is the web, and more specifically a blogging platform. So what Elasti refers to is her “care for the discourse”, which implies a form, a style in the content she provides, as well as rules for decluttering (i.e. selection and clean-up of comments). This regulation, however, is born with discursive context, and is part of the rules which are accepted by most literate web users. In short, a blog is not a house, not a square, not a balcony or any other type of physical space, even though each of these metaphors can be applied to it. A blog is a specific discursive context enabled by web platforms that work and by those who care about its existence.

4. Conflict and discourse

In a discursive context, and even more, as a collective discursive context, a blog is a field of forces in which people collaborate on the one hand, and compete on the other. People collaborate for the pure pleasure of sociability, as analysed by Simmel (Simmel & Hughes, 1949). Therefore, for the sake of sociability itself, a phenomenon such as web homogeneity might occur, namely our proximity to those we think like us, to those we feel closer to our ideology, affinity, race, nationality, sexual preferences and so forth. It struggles for supremacy, greater visibility, and leadership, in the name of self-affirmation and of narcissism that is, according to some scholars, the true nature of the web. The story of a blog, and with no exception of the Nonsolomamma blog, takes place between cooperation and conflict.

We focus here on conflict, which is the main feature of the following blog sentence we are going to analyse, and which primarily focuses on leadership. From this point of view, we can observe three types of discourse strategies implemented by trolls, some of which we have already mentioned:

- a. The first consists of attacking other commentators, judging them as “better” commentators (smarter, better educated, wittier, or more cynical, more acidic, more aggressive ...)
- b. The second strategy consists of attacking bloggers, devaluing their quality, sincerity, and so on
- c. The third strategy is to challenge the leadership of the blogger, claiming a key role as commentator.

Are these three strategies efficient? We could argue that the final result (the decluttering and banning of the troll(s) from the blog) seems to say otherwise. However, we must firstly ask what the troll’s goal is. We could try to understand it by looking at the blog as discursive context.

We can observe that the troll does not work constructively. The troll’s task seems to be (whatever the personal, psychological or emotional motivations) to disable the existence of any kind of dialogue. So these strategies aim to cancel and contaminate other discourses. How do they do this? Precisely by having no respect for rules, by lying about identity, by making the message flow unreadable. Therefore, the strategy the troll(s) used was not inefficient, and refers to a dark side of discourse in the network, which is enabled by anonymity and by expressiveness. After all, a negative, mocking writing style belongs to the web, as it belongs to human expressiveness, and it is therefore crucial to take account of this feature so as to avoid a superficial judgment of the mechanisms of the web.

5. Trust and identity

Before coming back to consider the troll attack at Nonsolomamma blog, it is worth considering an issue which allows us to understand a crucial feature of discursive context in blogs and social media: trust and identity.

When examining trust in social media, we are talking, of course, about that aspect of trust that is not so much about listening to and trusting another’s words, but rather believing that it is worthwhile to trust and confide in each other. Trust in social media is not always really based on face-to-face interpersonal relationships. Trust and confidence in blogs or in social media are given to an unknown audience of people, which reacts through writing, but which remains hidden (or with a fake identity) to those giving their trust.

In this frame the role of the listener is not that of an “expert” in listening, or a member belonging to a socially legitimated or acknowledged category. On the contrary, in a sort of Wiki logic, confidence and trust are given by the blogger to the others, as self-expression can improve the blogger’s condition (as in the case of terminally ill bloggers). There is another crucial point: web platforms hosting user’s self-expression are in fact autonomous from the writer and the audience. A confession or a visit to a doctor in fact enjoys professional confidentiality, which are not required by either an audience or by web platforms. So our confessions on the web are there forever, available for a potentially unlimited audience.

The issue of trust allows us to understand the last point of our analysis. We have seen that self-expression in social media, and particularly in blogs, is based on trust given to readers and/or users, and to anonymous audiences as in the example of the blogger Claudia De Lillo/Elasti. One can hardly speak of exhibitionism or narcissism (there are examples of these trends on the web), but, in a blog such as the one we are analysing, it is perhaps more appropriate to emphasise the importance of trust given to “the crowd”. Moreover Nonsolomamma blog readers are also giving a fundamental trust. This is not of course the confidence in an institution. Albeit under a pseudonym, Elasti is a person who expresses herself. It is not the simple trust given to a novel author, or to a news journalist, but a curious mix of the two, which is probably the true characteristic of this type of blog. This means that Elasti is believed, followed and sometimes liked as a good “housewife” or better as a good creator of a sociable discursive context.

Therefore, identity becomes a crucial issue in the conflict, precisely because we cannot trust people who are not what they claim to be. If there is no trust, any communicative context is necessarily challenged. This is why understanding the reasons to reveal and attack another’s identity during a conflict is crucial to understanding trolling and, more generally, social media. In moderating received comments, Elasti revealed the multiple identities of some critical commentators to other readers. In response to a comment by Leila Bo, which suggested another commentator undergo psychological consultation, Elasti answered:

Perhaps a psychological consultation would be useful primarily to those who, in two days, have use different nicknames (signing) noemi b, leti.zia, aims and leila BO), despite being the same person.

Here conflict arises, after Elasti reveals the commentator’s identity as someone who appears to be a single entity hidden behind various nicknames. Elasti denounces something vital, namely the commentator’s reliability, through these multiple nicknames. In fact, if they hides their true identity, will they earn trust in the discussion? How can this person contest other commentators and attack

them personally (suggesting, in this case, a psychological consultation), after having lied about their own identity (in this case, in particular, about several identities)?

The arguments used by Elasti are interesting for considering the crucial issue of self-expression in blogging. We can try to summarise it: if one of the main features of social media is the opportunity for anyone to express themselves in front of an audience, what responsibility do those who express themselves have? I would say that of authenticity, namely a coherence between what is written and what is thought, between what is described and what is. Trust is based on this mechanism.

Of course, the use of nicknames shows that this unwritten rule is not always valid. None of these uses is considered illegal, or even sanctioned by the implicit rules which are more or less codified in netiquettes. Transparency and authenticity are one of the two poles of web ethics (because they relate to trust), while the other pole consists of the right of privacy. In short, we can express ourselves freely, but in return for this we have the right/duty to be authentic; authenticity may conflict with our intimacy.

At first, web anonymity is a pure discursive convention. In fact it does not exist, because our online behaviours are mostly traceable. We simply behave in discursive contexts as if we were unaware of this potential. In the case of Elasti's blog, it was a breaking of rules that served to prove the breach of trust made by the trolls.

One of the most problematic consequences of the correspondence between online and offline discursive context is that it can in fact turn against anybody: as in the recent case of a fifteen year old Canadian girl who committed suicide because a cyber-bully had published compromising photos of her online. The group Anonymous has sought to identify and unmask the cyber-bully. Similar phenomena have also occurred in Japan and other parts of the world.

Apart from any judgment about the legitimacy of these actions, I would like to point out that the issue of identity continues to remain crucial. In my opinion, this shows the deep link that discursive contexts have with online interpersonal trust, in a different way than they do in traditional broadcasting media. Social media communication should perhaps be called a mediated interpersonal relationship which is preserved with delicacy, fragility, and for this reason charm and risk.

6. Final remarks

I started my contribution referring to the blogosphere as a very complex and hard-to-define phenomenon, defined by the opposition between openness and privacy, authenticity and mask, naturalness and theatrical play. In order to go deeper in this complexity, I analyzed a single case: a blog attacked by trolls.

First, I considered the definition of the specific characteristics of the context given by the participants in the discussion. This definition is a semantic battlefield, where a metaphor like that of space is used by blogger, trolls and commentators in order to define the rules of the dialogue.

Secondly, I tried to individuate the different strategies of discourse used by the participants for winning the struggle. Albeit different, the strategies used by the blogger and by the trolls are both based on the identity role play: are the speakers really what they declare to be?

This focus on the strategies allowed me to introduce the last part of the analysis, referring to the role of trust, as linked to identity of the speaker. In the case we have seen, what is discussed is more or less true depending on the authenticity of the declared identity of the speaker. We can conclude that the dialogical context of the blog is dominated by the typical problem of the mediated relations in the web 2.0, where the conversation is not between people, but between representations people give of themselves. This paradox increases not only the opportunities, but also the risks in communication, and that's why the dialogical field of the blogosphere is characterized by strong attack-defence strategies, as a part of the everyday conversations.

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Biography

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In a Community, or Becoming a Commodity? Critical Reflections on the “Social” in Social Media

Tobias Olsson

1. Introduction

It is a truism to say that social networking media or – more vernacularly – “social media” have become ubiquitous today. All over at least the western world, it is ever present via electronic devices such as mobile phones, laptops, and tablets (of various fabrics) during most parts of our everyday lives (and nights). Its presence is, however, not only physical and material, but also an important part of our everyday imaginary; we plan and think about what we could use them for during everyday activities (to share moments with friends, comment on news items, etc.) and we are instantly asked to participate by using them – for instance to like something on Facebook, to re-tweet a specifically well-founded formulation on Twitter, or to add a photo to our account on Instagram.

Despite their familiarity, the applications that we now habitually refer to as “social media”, and have become so used to, have a rather short history. One way of describing their background is to start in the year 2005. This was the year in which the notion of Web 2.0 (O’Reilly, 2005) was established. In its early versions, the notion of Web 2.0 referred to recent developments of the internet and the concept was mainly preoccupied with explaining its new technological features. Nevertheless, the notion also pointed to social dimensions, such as how the web had taken on a more “user-friendly” and “interactive” character. By this time, in 2005, weblogs were the applications most often referred to as the typical materialisation of these new technical affordances, and they quickly became renowned under their short nickname – blogs. Within a couple of years, however, the blog was challenged as the number one Web 2.0 application by quickly emerging and developing social networking services (van Dijck & Nieborg, 2009), and these were offered by both big companies, such as Facebook, as well as smaller actors. These are also the applications that we have become used to referring to as social media.

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For all the merits of these applications (as enjoyable and very useful everyday life applications) they have also brought with them a number of important research questions to attend to. Hence, research literature on social media has been growing steadily during the last couple of years. This literature has, for instance, covered how to understand social media as a technological affordance (van Dijck, 2013), what it means to our established notions of media production (Olsson, 2013), and the ways in which it creates opportunities for surveillance (Fuchs, 2012). The present chapter is an effort to offer a small but, arguably, important contribution to this field of knowledge by looking into a very specific aspect of the workings of social media; namely how it puts us – as users – in a field of tension between being involved in the creation of (digital) communities while we are also – at the very same moment – becoming commodities.

This chapter will illustrate and discuss this tension with the help of a small but significant case – a Swedish community for everyday runners called *jogg.se*. It was established as a social networking site in 2006, by two dedicated, non-professional runners. Their ambition was – at first – to keep track of one another's training in order to stimulate and encourage exercise. Early on, the network grew as it attracted additional runners and today it has close to 100 000 active members. In 2013 the number of weekly visits has varied between 120–160 000 and the number of actual weekly visitors has varied between 20–70 000; the community (and its website) has a strong position among Swedish everyday exercisers. What does the case have to tell us about the field of tension between community and commodity?

2. Communities and commodities – theoretical reflections

2.1. *Digital communities*

From the very beginning, the internet triggered much reflection regarding its ability to help in creating community. This was an important thread in the early and mainly theoretical literature on the nature of the new, digital medium. With inspiration from classical debates in theories of communities, such as Tönnies' (1957) notions *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*, John Dewey's (1927[1991]) reflections of the decline of "the public", and Benedict Anderson's (1983) well-known notion of imagined communities, scholars spent much effort on reflecting about what digital media would mean to our sense of community and our community practices (Holmes, 1997; Jones, 1997; Smith & Kollock,

1999). This has emerged as a recurring thread in the literature on digital media, and the development of so called social media has not made this thread of theorising any less prevalent.

A number of key theoretical ideas have commonly reoccurred in these debates. With reference to the internet's specific affordances, it has often been ascribed the ability to connect spatially disconnected people. By doing this, it enables a construction of communities of spatially distant members and also makes it possible for members to imagine communities (Anderson, 1983) in new ways. This opportunity has also been made good use of by various sorts of online communities, and the research literature has analysed communities as varied as those of online gamers, fan communities (Jenkins, 2006), internet communities of people within diaspora (Mitra, 1997) and digital communities of political activism (Olsson, 2008). Despite differences between them, these various online communities have a number of properties in common, and in this context – for the analysis of *jogg.se* – three of them are specifically important: they are very often centred on niche interests, they are to a large extent being made use of for the sharing of knowledge centred on such niche interests, and they also tend to become important venues for the construction of identity of the members of these communities.

2.2. Digital commodities

Even though the internet, and the digital world more generally, has provided great opportunities for creating and maintaining communities online, the new ICT is also – simultaneously – a part of the economical world, and looked upon from this point of view, the digital world is also a world of commodities.

From the very outset, in the early days of internet research, it was brought to our attention that digital media technologies (just like any other media) were also derived from corporate ambitions (Sussman, 1997), and also how they immediately – right after their introduction into society – became a “logical extension of the corporate media and communication system” (McChesney, 1999:8). In a sense this was very easy spot as computer technology per se was very expensive by this time – a commodity for consumers to purchase at great cost. After having bought the indispensable and expensive computer, users continued to encounter the digital world as a commodified domain when having to pay for the necessary software, as well as an internet connection in order to access the world of digital media.

Having made these initial consumer efforts to get online, the digital commodification process was prolonged. As in the media world in general, large shares of the available (online) content was (and still is) provided by commercial content producers, which also meant that large shares of the online

experience were (and still are) commercially framed. As users we are – to refer to Dallas Smythe’s (1981/2006: 233) by now classical formulation – commodified when we are sold by media companies to advertisers, who pay for our potential attention and spending power; as users we are interesting to advertisers as we might pay attention to their commercial online messages.

The development towards a more “user-friendly”, “interactive” and “participatory” Web 2.0 (cf. O’Reilly, 2005; Benkler, 2006; Anderson, 2009) has reinforced the logic of commodification. With the advent of the participating user category “prosumers” (Toffler, 1981; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2006), or “producers”, users become even more intertwined in commodification processes – not only as potential targets for advertising messages, but also as contributors and co-creators of content for commercial platforms. This latter process has been very clearly identified by media scholar Des Freedman in his critical analysis of the logic of user co-creation: “[F]ar from signalling a democratisation of media production and distribution ‘prosumption’ is all too often incorporated within a system of commodity exchange controlled by existing elites” (Freedman, 2012: 88). As a consequence content co-produced by prosumers (or prod-users) is also made into a sellable product – a commodity. As such, the new media technology per se (Web 2.0) tends to deepen rather than change already existing business model structures of digital communication (see also Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013).

3. Jogg.se: In the tension between community and commodity

Referring to the theoretical reflections above, it is possible to argue that use of social media situates us, as users, in a field of tension between these two logics: on the one hand, the logic of community creation, and – on the other hand – a logic of becoming commodified. This might sound very abstract, even intangible, but in concrete everyday internet practices it is actually quite evident, which will be made explicit with the help of looking into a small empirical case – the Swedish internet community for joggers, jogg.se.¹

In methodological terms the case has been analysed with the help of participant observations. I myself am a member of jogg.se and have been following the web community on an everyday basis for more than two years now (since May 2011). I am not one of its most frequent contributors, but I do make use of all of the website’s functions. Hence, in terms of analytical strategy I can be considered to be an insider who applies theoretical concepts and perspectives to reach informed insights about the workings of the website and my own everyday practices related to it.

3.1. Jogg.se – a community of everyday runners

Jogg.se is a social networking platform for everyday runners. As it is a Swedish site it mainly connects Swedish runners, but also a few runners of other nationalities – for language reasons mainly Norwegian, Danish and Finnish. The Swedish exercisers are spread all over the country, from the very northern and not very populated areas to the more densely populated south. The users of the social networking site register as users, or rather members, and at the time of writing the website has close to 100 000 members.

The social networking site connects spatially distant members into a community of runners. All members have their interest in everyday running in common – arguably a rather typical niche interest. Within the website community they spend a lot of time sharing with other members. First of all they log their own training on the website, and if they do not change the default settings to their profile – which most members do not – they also share all logged information with all other members. On an everyday basis these logs include what sort of running they have been doing (threshold running, intervals, easy distance running, etc.), how far they have run, and at what pace they have been running. Members who run with a GPS-device can also log their route maps onto the website. The logged exercise information can then be commented on and “liked” by other members, who in turn can use it to be inspired for their own exercise; if, for instance, someone aims to reach a certain goal in their own running, they can easily compare their own training with the training undertaken by people who perform at the anticipated level. This – the logging and sharing of everyday exercise – is a major part of what the social networking platform is about.

Another important part of the platform concerns the sharing of knowledge. To a limited extent, knowledge related to exercise in general and running in particular is shared with the community by the company that produces the platform. The company provides some information such as instructional texts, inspiring reports and tests of running equipment (shoes, clothes, GPS watches, etc.). They also provide training programmes that are adjusted to the ambitions of different runners – both in terms of distance (from 10 km to Marathon (42.2 km)) and pace (for runners at different levels of training).

Most of the knowledge sharing, however, takes place among users themselves, within the website’s public forum. The forum holds lively discussions about almost anything related to running. In the continuously growing archive of discussion threads users can both share and gain knowledge concerning almost any aspect of running, for instance: how to dress, what shoes to wear, how to increase cardiovascular capacity, what races to run, etc. Together with the logging of exercise, the forum and the sharing of knowledge within it makes up the very backbone of the website. Anyone who wants to become part of the

community thus has access to rich resources for enhancing their running skills – these are offered by community members to other community members and they are also very often brought to (semi) public debate in the forum.

The discussion threads in the forum do not, however, solely concern the sharing of knowledge. If they are looked upon from a slightly different point of view, they can also be understood as parts of user's ongoing identity constructions as members of jogg.se and – more generally – runners. In some discussion threads the instances of identity construction, rather than the sharing of knowledge, become specifically tangible. Discussion threads with a very humorous tone such as “the use of beer as a recovery drink”, “the lack of beauty in men's tights”, and “what to do with a frozen bum” (this is, after all, a Scandinavian social network) very often attract a lot of comments, likes and laughter and help create the sense of an in-group among members.

Another important part of what makes up the imagined community of runners is the calendar function. The calendar is continuously updated by users themselves. Within it they list forthcoming races and help members keep track of possible races to run. The members who decide to sign up for a race can log that on the calendar, which also makes it possible for other members to see who is going to run in a specific race. Apart from offering members the opportunity to plan their race schedules, the calendar thus also allows them to plan to meet other members at races.

One additional important part of the community is its bloggers. The bloggers are in fact ordinary members who contribute frequently with information about and reflections on their own training. These bloggers appear on the website's first page, and they offer more thoughtful and well-formulated reflections on their everyday lives as runners.

Obviously, in many instances jogg.se appears to be a rather typical internet community in precisely the ways in which internet communities have been perceived ever since the early 1990s. It is indeed a community of interest, which precisely connects spatially disconnected people. Within the community these people share their running experiences and their everyday exercise with one another. They also share knowledge in forum discussions and are constantly involved in the construction of community identity. Still, there is also at least one more side to jogg.se.

3.2. Becoming a commodity

These community practices take place within a very specific context. The fact that the platform – jogg.se – is owned by a private company makes the community construction practices above more complex. The private company who

owns the platform is not a big company, but a local company based in western Sweden. In this case it is not the size of the company that is of interest, however, but the commercial logic according to which it works.

What the company behind jogg.se offers is – simply – a rather empty platform. There is of course no such thing as an empty platform, as these are always inscribed into intentions and ambitions among providers (van Dijck, 2009; Gillespie, 2009; Olsson, 2013). The point here, however, is that the platform as provided by the company does not hold much content in itself. Instead, the platform is an open space to which users can contribute, according to both implicit and explicit norms and regulations (Olsson & Svensson, 2012); the users produce what often is referred to as user generated content. One way of looking at this is to point to the simple but theoretically very interesting fact that it is the users and their everyday labour that makes up the actual website content. Users spend their spare time doing unpaid labour to provide jogg.se with useful content: they do the running needed to create logs to upload and share, they do the actual work of uploading these log files, they participate in and contribute to the forum and offer their experiences and potential expertise to other members, and so on. Considering the number of members – nearly 100 000 – and all the hours spent on creating content for the platform by many of these members, it is very reminiscent of a large scale but unpaid outsourcing project.

It is also the content produced by users that attracts new users. This is an obvious difference between the so called social media and previous media forms, which have largely relied on professionally produced content, even though user (or audience) created content has always played some part. Here, however, they are the actual and primary content providers.

Existing users, new users and potential users make up the actual commodity for the company (cf. Smythe, 1981; Fuchs, 2008). User's presence and potential attention is the value that is sold to advertisers, who are interested in getting in touch with a target group consisting of everyday runners. This is also why the website regularly contains banners from companies such as shoe trademarks (Asics, Adidas), sports clothing brands (Craft), and companies producing GPS devices (Garmin) – they buy the potential attention from a large group of users, who also are dedicated to the activities that their products are designed for. This is made very clear in the website's about section:

Jogg.se is a venue to which our users have a clear sense of belonging. They stay for a long time and they often return. Hence, relevant products gain a lot of attention, generate many clicks, and are often discussed in the forum. [...] The average age is 36 years and the sex ratio is 49 % women and 51 % men. The geographical spread across the country is good with slight preponderance of metropolitan areas (Jogg.se, 2013, About section, my translation from Swedish).

Basically, this is what the community of runners looks like when it is framed within a commercial discourse. The users are transformed from being parts of a community (which connects spatially distant members who share knowledge and experiences with one another) to become an attentive commodity with an attractive, sellable demographic profile.

4. Conclusion

The field of tension between community and commodity in social media is made very obvious by the case of *jogg.se*. The platform offered – for free – is made use of for the creation of what in many respects is a community of joggers. Users contribute, share and create identity. Meanwhile, the (user generated) content produced is also appropriated by the company who owns the platform, and the attention that the community brings is further commodified and sold to advertisers.

Obviously, *jogg.se* is a small and not necessarily very exciting example per se. It is, however, a good example in that its rather small size makes the tension very obvious. Despite differences in scale, social (networking) media tend to work according to the same fundamental principles: It is offered to users for free, who create the actual content that makes them useful, and also build social relations with their help – even community-like relationships. The user's attention to and presence are then commodified and sold to paying advertisers and the revenues from this are appropriated by the company owning the platform. There are of course variations between social media models, but a similar – and sometimes even exactly the same – fundamental logic is actualised in cases such as Facebook or Twitter.

In the existing literature on social media this tension is not always given much attention. This is partly a consequence of the fact that the very notion “social” in social media has not been treated with enough analytical care. That is, what is actually social about social media? In both public and scholarly debates social media has often been uncritically appropriated as sociable media – media that allows us to connect and interact (“to be social”). This is an emptied out notion of the social, to say the least, which effectively works against us when trying to look into additional and equally “social” dimensions of social media – such as the power relations (between providers and users) that are built into them. Among other things, this biased theorising often effectively disguises a simple, but still fundamental fact about social media – to paraphrase the famous Web 2.0-saying: if you are not paying for it, you and your online activities are the actual products that are being sold.

Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented as a part of the introductory chapter to an edited volume: Olsson, T. (2013) *Producing the Internet: Critical Perspectives of Social Media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.

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Biography

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Participation as a Fantasy:¹ A Psychoanalytical Approach to Power-Sharing Fantasies

Nico Carpentier

1. Introduction: Participation's theoretical foundation

Participation has (again) become one of the key concepts of communication and media studies, especially after the popularisation of Web 2.0. At the same time, its theoretical backbone is still rather weak, and in many cases theorisations of the participatory remain locked in utopian/dystopian or potential/real dichotomies. Still, the use of the concept of participation has a long history, and especially in the 1960s and 1970s the debates about participation were omnipresent in a wide variety of societal fields. But this has also caused this concept to feature in a surprising variety of frameworks, which have been transformed through an almost infinite number of materialisations. These processes have not always contributed to the theoretical elaboration of the concept of participation itself. Moreover, the signification of participation is part of a "politics of definition" (Fierlbeck, 1998: 177), since its specific articulation shifts depending on the ideological framework that makes use of it. More particularly, the definition of participation is one of the many societal fields where a political struggle is waged between the minimalist and the maximalist participatory variations of democracy (see Carpentier, 2011). This again adds to the notion's fluidity.

This chapter wants to contribute to these theoretical debates about participation (and deepen them) by taking a slightly unusual path, through use of the psychoanalytical concept of fantasy. In this article it is argued that the impossibility of reaching Pateman's (1970) notion of full participation should not be the end point of this theoretical debate, but can be translated into reflection on the generative powers of the (maximalist) participatory fantasy. We should at the same time acknowledge that this (maximalist) participatory fantasy is affected by a series of other fantasies, including the closely related (and reinforcing) fantasy of agency and freedom, and the more counteracting fantasies of homogeneity and unity, and of leadership and the societal centre. But let's turn to the fantasy of (maximalist) participation first.

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2. The participatory fantasy

Despite participation being a permanent object of struggle, (more maximalist versions of) participation remain(s) driven by a need for control over our individual and collective destinies, within all fields that affect the everyday life of the multitude, including the realms of institutionalised politics and communication processes. What Mouffe (2000) has called the democratic revolution partially fulfils this need, as the levels of control in many societal fields have indeed increased over the past two centuries. But at the same time, a society with totally balanced power relations is an impossible desire, given society's diversity and complexity. Situations of full participation, as described by Pate-man (1970), are utopian (and eutopian) non-places - or better: 'never-to-be places' - which will always be unattainable and empty, but which simultaneously continue to play a key role as the ultimate anchor points and horizons. On the basis of these arguments, and from a more psychoanalytic perspective, participation - and democracy² - can be labelled a fantasy.

The use of the (Lacanian) fantasy concept³ requires immediate clarification, as common sense meanings of this concept tend to be almost exclusively negative. In Lacanian psycho-analytic theory, fantasy is conceptualised as having (among others) a protective role (Lacan, 1979: 41), and remains connected to drive and desire, which also shows fantasy's generative capacities. The basic Lacanian model assumes that when we enter into the symbolic, we lose access to the Real. From that point onwards, we are confronted with a lack and the desire to fill this lack. As dealing with this lack is potentially destructive, the protective role of fantasy comes in, to provide us with "the support that gives consistency to what we call 'reality'" (Žižek, 1995: 44). Fantasy beholds the imaginary promise of the pre-symbolic *jouissance*, of recapturing our lost and impossible enjoyment; it promises us that not only can we achieve unmediated access to reality and truth, but also the unachievable wholeness and the harmonious resolution of social antagonism. However important this fantasy (and the pleasure it generates) might be, it can never bring us access to the Real again. As Lacan (1989: 111) has put it: "'That's not it' is the very cry by which the *jouissance* obtained is distinguished from the *jouissance* expected." This leads us into the paradox of simultaneously desiring an object, and of fearing the impossibility of fulfilling this desire. In order to deal with this impossible desire, and to protect the fantasy, different coping mechanisms are used. These mechanisms range from simple ignoring to referring to the theft of enjoyment, where we believe that the Real and its enjoyment cannot be accessed because its access is blocked by an Other.

If we apply this line of thought to participation, we can then see a (maximalist) participatory fantasy as a discourse which is aimed at reaching a full power equilibrium between all actors in society, in all locations and settings,

at the micro, meso and macro levels of society. It is a situation which Pateman (1970: 71), as mentioned before, has labelled full participation, defining it as “a process where each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power to determine the outcome of decisions.” This end point is unreachable and utopian – phantasmagoric – but it arguably also serves as a crucial driving force for attempts to “deepen the democratic revolution” (Mouffe, 1988: 42), for the “democratisation of democracy” (Giddens, 1994: 113) or for a “more participatory culture” (Jenkins in Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013: 2). To use Jenkins’ words: “Participatory culture, in any absolute sense, may be a utopian goal, meaningful in the ways that it motivates our struggles to achieve it and provides yardsticks to measure what we’ve achieved.”

3. Related fantasies in alignment and juxtaposition: The fantasy of universality and homogeneity

The participatory fantasy is obviously not the only one that circulates in society, although we should be careful not to enter into an inflationary use of the fantasy concept. But as a few other key fantasies are also related to the participatory fantasy – and strengthen or threaten it – it is necessary to discuss them here as well. The first one is the fantasy of the universality and homogeneity of political, social, and cultural spaces, which is based on what Stavrakakis (1999: 96) calls “an ethics of harmony”, a desire for reality to be coherent and harmonious. This fantasy defines the (a) social as a whole, whose components are all equal and similar. In the nationalist variation of this fantasy, there is a national community which is an inseparable whole; while in the populist variation, the people are seen as the whole. This fantasy becomes frustrated by a number of contingencies and dislocations. Following Laclau (1996), we can define this universal as an empty place, which does not imply that it does not exist. The very emptiness of the signifier of the universal always requires a particular, so that this particular can be universalised in order to attempt to saturate the universal. The universal thus cannot exist without the particular: “Now, this universality needs – for its expression – to be incarnated in something essentially incommensurable with it: a particularity” (Laclau, 1996: 57).

Consequently, however, the particularity of the universalised particular will also disrupt and frustrate the fantasy of universality and homogeneity. Nevertheless, this fantasy may result in the exclusion of what (or who) is defined as outside. After all, if the Other is seen to threaten a community’s enjoyment, we can then turn against “the Other who stole it from us” (Žižek, 1998: 209). Of course, as Mouffe (2005: 15; emphasis in original) remarks, not every we/they turns into an antagonistic friend/enemy relationship, but we should “acknowledge that, in certain conditions, there is always the possibility that

this we/they can become antagonistic, that is, can turn into a relation of friend/enemy.” Žižek (1993: 201) points to the enjoyment this sense of belonging (in the case of nationalism) generates: “The element which holds together a particular community cannot be reduced to the point of symbolic identification: the bond linking together its members always implies a shared relation toward a Thing, toward Enjoyment incarnated.” A similar process of othering occurs in populism. Laclau (1977: 143) points to this exclusionary logic as follows: “Populism starts at the point where popular-democratic elements are presented as an antagonistic option against the ideology of the dominant bloc.”

This brings us back to the participatory fantasy, as it sometimes becomes articulated with the populist-democratic fantasy, for instance, when ideologies of participation contain fantasies about the disappearing media professional. This democratic-populist fantasy is based on the radicalisation of a cultural-democratic discourse that articulates the media professional as superfluous and about-to-disappear. At a more abstract level, the democratic-populist discourse is based on the replacement of a hierarchical difference with total equality, manifested in the unhampered participation of citizens. This democratic-populist fantasy has two main variations. The celebrative-utopian variation defines the equalisation of society and the disappearance of its elites, as the ultimate objective for the realisation of a ‘truly’ democratic society. Media professionals in this perspective become problematised, and the symbolic power that is attributed to them is seen to be obstructing the process of democratisation. But there is also an anxietatic-dystopian variation, based on the fear that the democratic-populist discourse might actually be realised. One recent example is Keen’s (2007) *The Cult of the Amateur*, where the ‘amateurs’ who produce user-generated content come to be seen as a threat to (expert) tastes, knowledge, and truths.

4. The fantasy of leadership and the social centre

A second fantasy, the fantasy of leadership and the social centre, is based on the idea that societies need leaders who can solve societal problems, as they are omnipotent and omniscient (Gabriel, 1999: 151). Long (2012: 179) refers to the “mixture of emotions” the idea of the leader evokes: on the one hand there is “the presence of authority, power, heroism, and celebrity: the image of a commanding, attractive, perhaps even god-like figure.” This is combined with the “ideas of service, loyalty to a task or cause, and care of followers: the image of the dependable, good shepherd or loving parent” (Long, 2012: 179). As Pelinka (1999: 32) has argued, this desire for leadership is very much part of democracy. He first suggests that the relationship between democracy and leadership might be problematic: “Leadership within democracy [...] would be

a contradiction, if not to existing democracy, then certainly to the imaginary democracy.” But he then corrects this line of thinking: “But the debate on leadership in democracy exhibits characteristics that are much different. [...] It is not characterised by a distrust of leadership, but by a desire for leadership. In its vulgar form this debate is characterised by the call for the ‘strong man’.” This fantasy appears to be structurally different from the universality and homogeneity fantasy, because it is based on difference and privilege, but this is only partially so, as leadership is a guarantee of the unity of the community. In other words, the leader is simultaneously the centre of society (or the organisation, or the group), and also an integral part of it.

This then brings us to the related fantasy of the (power) centre of society, or the seat of power. While in some cases the centre can be seen as the same as the leader, other variations of the fantasy of the centre also exist. One variation is that one particular domain of the social, such as politics, the economy or technology, is (or should be) the privileged centre of society, where all power and all opportunities for change reside⁴. An illustration of this logic can be found in Tismaneanu (2009: 94), who quotes the following words of the “Italian neofascist youth leader” Giuseppe Scopelitti: “We believe the family should be the center of society, and we don’t like to see a Europe that authorizes homosexual marriages.” Less radical voices would articulate particular societal fields, such as politics, the economy or technology, as privileged driving forces of the social, often ending up in determinist positions which are prime locations of the centre fantasy. At a more global level we can also find traces of this fantasy: a critical stance towards the idea that the West performs the role of the (global) centre can be found in Chakrabarti and Dhar (2009: 12), who analyse and then critique “the frame of a privileged centre such as capital/West and a lacking other such as ‘pre-capital’/‘third world’.”

The second variation of the centre fantasy is the idea that there is an all-incorporating symbolic (or cultural) centre in society, which transverses the many different societal fields. More than being merely dominant, this symbolic centre is seen as the heart of the social, clustered around a set of incontestable essentialised discourses that act as its backbone. This variation of the centre fantasy can also be found in academic writings, for instance in the functionalist sociology of Shils (1975: 3), who defined the (cultural) centre as “the center of the order of symbols, of values, of beliefs, which govern the society. It is the center because it is the ultimate and irreducible; and it is felt to be such by many who cannot give explicit articulation to its irreducibility. The central zone partakes of the nature of the sacred.”

The centre fantasy ultimately has to come to terms with the structural emptiness of the seat of power – to use Lefort’s (1988) metaphor. In a more psychoanalytical language, the “lack at the center of society” (Swedlow, 2010: 154) or, in a more discourse-theoretical language, “the antagonism at the cen-

tre of our world" (Flemming, 2008: 20) permanently poses a threat towards the existence of the centre. From a more Foucaultian perspective, all become implicated in the logics of power, which again frustrates the idea of the centre (of power): "In this form of management, power is not totally entrusted to someone who would exercise it alone, over others, in an absolute fashion; rather, this machine is one in which everyone is caught, those who exercise this power as well as those who are subjected to it" (Foucault, 1980: 156). Moreover, the field-as-centre fantasy become frustrated by the workings of overdetermination, where different fields within the social enter into permanent interaction, and prevent one of these fields achieving (permanent) domination (see Althusser, 1982). Finally, the symbolic-centre fantasy also has to face the logics of overdetermination, but at the discursive level. Here, discursive structures are never safe from elements alien to these discourses, which generate a permanent threat of re-articulation and disarticulation, making "a final closure" (Howarth, 1998: 273) impossible to reach. Even hegemonic projects, with their objective of becoming "a horizon", "not one among other objects but an absolute limit which structures a field of intelligibility and [...] thus the condition of possibility of the emergence of any object" (Laclau, 1990: 64) is not safe from this threat. Counter-hegemonic articulations are always looming, avoiding hegemony becoming total (Sayyid and Zac, 1998: 262). As Mouffe (2005: 18) formulated it: "Every hegemonic order is susceptible of being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices, i.e. practices which will attempt to disarticulate the existing order so as to install other forms of hegemony."

The fantasy of the centre connects to the participatory fantasy in a number of ways. Firstly, there is a negative component to this relationship as participatory fantasies are grounding attempts to open up the centre, and limit the restrictive and dominating capacities of traditional forms of leadership. On the other hand, the fantasy of leadership-as-centre can also unsettle participatory processes, as the desire for leadership can disrupt the equal positionings of the actors involved. Negotiating between the leadership-as-centre fantasy and the populist-democratic fantasies, the participatory fantasy can be reconciled with the notion of leadership when reverting to more alternative leadership models, which can - inspired by the work of Lewin and his colleagues (Lewin and Lippitt, 1938; White and Lippitt, 1960)) - be termed democratic leadership. The field-as-centre fantasy also strongly impacts on participatory fantasies, as in some cases (and discourses) specific fields are seen as privileged locations for participatory practices. Here, we can draw on Couldry's (2003) work in regard to (what he labels) the myth of the mediated centre, where the media are seen as the privileged centre. The expectation then becomes that participation in the media (and especially the internet) is a privileged channel to allow for participation in society. This technological-determinist discourse is productive but also problematic as it ignores the complexity of the polis. This limitation does

not mean that participation in the media and participation through the media are irrelevant, but its exclusivity reduces the span of the participatory fantasy and (potentially) even legitimates the absence of participatory processes in other fields. Finally, the symbolic-centre fantasy also rests uneasily with the participatory fantasy, as participation produces both internal and external diversity. As Fraser and Restrepo Estrada (2001: 18) remark (in relation to community radio): “Community radio, through its openness to participation to all sectors and all people in a community/ies, creates a diversity of voices and opinions on the air.” But – very similar to Mouffe’s (1988: 41) debate on the need to hegemonise (radical) democracy – we should also acknowledge that the participatory fantasy has a hegemonic side to it, aiming to hegemonise participation as a project, whilst keeping the exact nature of these participatory practices open.

5. The fantasy of freedom and agency

The third related fantasy is the fantasy of freedom and agency. Here I should start by remarking that freedom and agency are traditionally very related notions, as agency refers to the capacity of individuals for independent action and free choice. The fantasy of freedom and agency consists of the desire for complete and unrestricted freedom, without the presence of any (structural) constraints. In a letter to Tschirnhaus, Spinoza hypothesised that a stone thrown into the air would certainly think – if it had consciousness – it made this movement voluntarily. Spinoza then continues to describe what I would here like to call the fantasy of freedom and agency: “This, then, is that human freedom which all men boast of possessing, and which consists solely in this, that men are conscious of their desire and unaware of the causes by which they are determined” (Spinoza quoted in Nadler, 2001: 328) In a language more geared towards fantasy, Contu (2008: 370) describes this fantasy as follows: “the fantasy of ourselves as liberal, free, and self-relating human beings to whom multiple choices are open and all can be accommodated.” There are many domains where this fantasy of freedom and agency can be found: sexuality (Roberts, 2013: 67), mobility (Sloop and Gunn, 2010: 292), self-expression (Petersen, 2007) etc. The process of individualisation, as one of the key characteristics of present-day society, where specific ways of life become disembedded and re-embedded (Giddens, 1991) can be seen as a key driving force of this fantasy. Giddens places a strong emphasis on the notion of reflexivity, where – after “the hold of tradition was broken” (Giddens, 1991: 155) – the self becomes constituted by the reflexive ordering of self-narratives.

At the same time, from a fantasy-driven perspective, the reflexive self can be seen to be fed by fantasies of control, freedom and agency and the desire to autonomously construct the self.

This fantasy of freedom and agency is permanently frustrated by the workings of structure. As Giddens has emphasised, structure is the counter-weight of agency; or to use Gardner's (2004: 1) summarising words, agency:

"concerns the nature of individual freedom in the face of social constraints, the role of socialisation in the forming of "persons" and the place of particular ways of doing things in the reproduction of culture. In short, it is about the relationships between an individual human organism and everyone and everything that surrounds it."

Structures are patterned social arrangements that are sometimes exclusively defined as limiting individual freedom, a definition which ignores the complexity of the agency/structure relationship. Giddens (1984: 25) emphasises the enabling capacity of structure, together with its constraining nature, but he also makes it clear that structures move beyond the control of individual actors, when he writes that: "Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling. This, of course, does not prevent the structured properties of social systems from stretching away, in time and space, beyond the control of any individual actors." This stretching beyond individual control is exactly the characteristic of structure that frustrates the fantasy of freedom and agency. Partially, this concerns rules and resources, which is Giddens' (1984: 25) definition of structure: "Rules and resources, or sets of transformation relations, organized as properties of social systems." But we should also add (more) discursive structures to the interplay of structure and agency. Again, discursive structures, such as subject positions, are both constraining and enabling. Precisely the contingency of identities and the failure to reach a fully constituted identity creates the space for subjectivity, agency, freedom, and the particularity of human behaviour, but at the same time, the structuring capacity of discourses also produces structural frustrations of the fantasy of freedom and agency, as Faulkner (2011: 61) remarks: "The individual is the fantasy of freedom from society that emerges after ideological subjection. Yet it is portrayed as having come before subjection, as the citizen's free choice that legitimates the state's authority over us."

In many cases, the fantasy of agency strengthens the participatory fantasy, as the notion of participation is articulated with empowerment and activity. In this sense, these two fantasies are co-dependent: the participatory fantasy is built on a belief in the efficacy of one's (political) actions and on the makeability of the social, or in other words, on the belief that individual agencies and the actions they allow, reach beyond the individual level and 'truly' matter. Participation's normative backbone, whether it is developmental or protective (see Carpentier, 2011: 22-26) is based on the idea of active citizenship and thus

intimately related to human agency, where these citizens are placed in charge of their democratic upbringing or actively seek to protect their interests from power holders. Both fantasies also share the same frustrations, as the workings of a variety of structures create constraints to participatory processes. Participation is limited by material structures, such as, for instance, access to a diversity of resources, whether they are financial, organisational or communicational. Also discursive structures frustrate the participatory fantasy, for instance, through the existence of dominant elitist subject positions (such as the political leader, the cultural expert, the mainstream media journalist) that work against the more maximalist versions of participation.

One final point in this discussion about participatory fantasies, and the cluster of related fantasies, is that the (semi-) realisation of the (maximalist) participatory fantasy also allows for the (increased) circulation of all the fantasies that were discussed in this part of the article, even when these related fantasies are contradictory to the (maximalist) participatory fantasy. Extreme examples, in the case of media participation, are provided by the use of the internet by radical right-wing groups (Caiani and Parenti, 2013), that use the online to live out their nationalist and racist fantasies in ways that can only be described as formally (but not substantively) participatory, at least in relationship to the members of these groups, and to those who are ideologically aligned with them. The analysis of the required re-articulation of democracy and community, performed by these groups, would take us too far, but these examples illustrate the complex relationship between the different fantasies discussed here, and the capacity of specific fields (and organisational structures) to propagate particular articulations of these fantasies. We should keep in mind that fantasies are also discursive structures, which, as any other discourse, can be articulated in a particular way, and can be part of discursive struggles.

6. Conclusion

The theoretical reflection captured in this chapter shows the interaction of a number of crucial fantasies, where the importance of the participatory fantasy is only one part of the equation, albeit an important one. Obviously, participation does matter, and its maximalist versions also play a significant role in society. In some cases, these more maximalist versions of participation are dismissed as naive and impossible to realise, underestimating their importance as a driving force for political action and simultaneously normalising more minimalist versions of participation or practices of non-participation. Instead, we need to pay attention to the constitutive combination of the desire to achieve these more maximalist versions of participation and the ultimate impossibility

of realising stable and permanent materialisations of maximalist participation. Here, I argue that the concept of fantasy allows capture of this tension and to analyse discursive and material practices.

Moreover, this fantasy-based approach to participation makes visible the way other fantasies impose structural limits on these participatory practices (and fantasy), and how a series of drives threatens to reduce participation to its purely formal version. This type of argument first of all illustrates that, in order to deepen the democratic revolution, participation needs to be articulated with a series of other values, such as diversity, multiplicity and democracy. A substantive version of participation thus becomes a requirement. Secondly, the focus on participation as a fantasy also allows the complexity of participatory practices to be shown, as well as the very deeply embedded drives that sometimes work in its favour, and sometimes against it.

Notes

- 1 This chapter is the expanded theoretical framework of an analysis on the “Fantasies of participation and agency in the YouTube comments on a Cypriot Problem documentary”, published in *Information, Communication and Society*.
- 2 See for instance Enwezor et al.’s (2002) edited book: *Democracy unrealized*. A structurally similar – but inverse – argument could be made about totalitarianism.
- 3 As Akdoğan (2012: 14) argues, there are other related concepts for theorising this type of discursive relationship, namely myth and utopia. Like fantasy, myth and utopia have negative connotations (related to naivety and lack of realism). Fantasy is preferred here, as it puts more emphasis on the generative aspects, and (in its more contemporary form) on the fluidity of these phantasmagoric constructions. In contrast to utopia, it is less place-bound in its semantic origins. At the same time, this chapter does not follow the Lacanian orthodoxy, but uses the Lacanian psychoanalytical model as a starting point, while taking on board Klein’s broad notion of fantasy – she uses phantasy – as a social construct (see Klein, 1997; Isaacs, 1948; Roach, 2003:104).
- 4 This implies that determinist positions are often the prime locations of the centre fantasy.

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Biography

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Reassembling the social

Melody and lyrics
Ane Møller Gabrielsen/
Ingvild Kvale Sørensen

G

1. Please all ow us to int - ro - duc our - selves. Mere
2. Lend us your ears and we'll sing you a song. And

D

P - h - D stu - dents with an in - tent at tempt. To
pro - mise you that it won't be that long. As

3 C D G

un - tang - le the in ter act - ion - al web of am - big - uous ac - a - de - mic lan - gua - ge. The
we set out to on to - lo - gic ally en - act our fe - elings in this so - ng.

5 C G

act - ors ex - i - stence can ne - ver pre - cede. The me - eting no man is an is - land in - de - ed

7 Am G F [Bridge]

There's no do - er be - hind the deed. Ay - o I'm tir - ed of tech - no - lo - gy.

10 Am

Let's dom - mes - ti - cate the ter - mi - no - lo - gy

11 Dm G G+

Al is ac tion and per for ma ti - vi - ty What hap pened to Ru - bin and sex - u - a - li - ty.

Vers:

Poststructuralism is outdated and old
Intersectionalism is tired and cold
Queer is the new straight and matter is all that matters

We are now experiencing the ethical turn
Not matters of fact but matters of concern
If you don't use ANT
The world will surely crash and burn

Refr.

Vers:

Posthumanists offer analytical tools
Language is stupid but agency rules
Social constructivists are just ignorant fools

Vers:

Assembled, embedded, embodied and induced
Translated, configured, entangled and confused
Let's hear from Butler, Haraway and prize winning Latour

Refr.

Vers:

Co-interpretation of configured scripts
Deleuze and Guattari and their affective lips
Come on let's reassemble the social today!

Refr.

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



Part 2

Photo: Ilija Tomanić Trivundža

Abstracts

Documentary and Transparency

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Walter Benjamin and Vilém Flusser's imperative of photography as a media which should exploit its potential of discovering and revealing, is in deep contrast with the modernistic notion of photography as a media which is focused on exploiting its formal, representative, and in the case of documentary, highly referential, potential. The imperative put forward by the two authors is ever more relevant while reflecting upon contemporary photography, especially those practices which are more oriented towards investigation and research and focussed on both at the same time: the investigation of its subject matter and of the representative ability of the media itself. Such practices must no longer be limited by the classical division of the two contrasting poles of documentary and art – on the divide which is best understood through rapture between the photojournalism paradigm (in general this is a discourse that focuses on the notions of: real, representation, documentation, testimony) and the art photography paradigm (a discourse that focuses on the notions of creativity and depiction). Photo collages, found images, constructed narratives, mockumentaries, and assisted photographs, have indeed become almost a norm for such practices, still precariously oscillating between the investigative and the representative ability of photography (often even using the tactic of dissimulation). But the investigative imperative carries in itself a particular change in the notion of author – photographer which is now quite distinct from the one presupposed by the modernist tradition of photography. The thesis will try to point out the role and function of the documentary photographer in view of the contemporary media, distribution and production conditions. In essence it will trace the changing notion and understanding of contemporary photography through the changing notion of the photographer itself, with a focus on notions such as: representation, self-representation, reification, “photo-genesis” and objectivity. Through examples of contemporary documentary projects, and media representation of events, the thesis will follow the logic that drives the transformation of a photographer as a classical producer of images into a photographer as a producer of photographers (enabling the becoming of photographs – the “photo-genesis” of the world) and the transformation of a photographer into a critic, a decipherer, a skilled reader of images. The the-

sis argues that in view of the contemporary media condition of the world the image of a photographer as the being denoted primarily by their gaze through the viewfinder of the camera is no longer pertinent and should be reconsidered. Keywords: documentary, transparency of the media, research and photography, investigative photography, author and photography, “photo-genesis”, Vilém Flusser, Walter Benjamin

Power Relations, Social Representations and Mainstream Media Portrayals: The ‘Gypsies’ in Hungary

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This dissertation analyses the mainstream media portrayal of Roma communities, based on former research projects conducted with Vera Messing. During these projects we worked on samples from 1988, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2012, using a similar research design in every project. This period of time provides a unique opportunity to examine persistent trends, changes, and core characteristics across disparate contexts. This research is driven by the hypothesis that ‘mediatised’ Gypsies are representations strongly influenced by: the rules and practices of selection and representation in current news outlets; the social representations and the full range of interpretations held by the public and; the power discourses of politics and public policies. These discourses are maintained in a permanently changing discursive field influenced by those who have greater access to the media. These discourses and strategies are deeply rooted in the social representations of the general public in Central and Eastern Europe. Others are connected to a wider context, such as the criminalisation of the poor, or the “new racism” based on ‘irreconcilable’ cultural differences. This dissertation is grounded in critical discourse analysis, the theory of social representation and perspectives on constructive identities. The application of relevant theories leads us to a dynamic model of mass communication with performance at its centre: creating identities, creating the Other, categorisation, processes of production and decoding meanings. The main topics of the dissertation are: 1. Mainstream media portrayals: Main characteristics, topics, trends, specificities, 1988-2012; 2. The background of media portrayals: Perspective on the theory of social representations and construction of identities; 2.1.1. Majority attitudes and stereotypes of Gypsies; 2.1.2. Creating the Other: Correspondences with self (in-group)portrayal; 2.1.3. Communication agents, access to media, and its effect on portrayals; 3. Gypsies created by political strategies: Perspectives on critical discourse-analysis; 3.1. Political actors and their representational strategies on ‘Gypsies’; 3.2. Portrayal and processes of

representations made by public politics; 3.2.1. Social policies: How the poor became undeserved, and how the undeserved poor became Gypsies? (1970-2012); 3.2.2. Institutional creation of 'Gypsy criminality': Data collection and the public information system of the police forces (1974-2012); 3.2.3. Gypsy cultural characterisation as explanation for structural problems: From educational failures to inter-ethnic conflicts; 3.3. Roma strategies to influence media portrayal; 4. Media-processes; 4.1. Production conditions: Links with the communities, consciousness of racism, etc.; 4.2. News-making trends: From tabloidisation to the Web 2.0 turn and their effects; 4.3. Media-processes: Language and pictorial stereotypes, cross-categorisation, emotional and conceptual framing, etc.

Mediatisation of European Union Future Perspectives: Latvia Case Analysis

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The 2014 introduction of the euro has stirred up the subject of the European Union's (EU) future and Latvia's political & economic role in it. The discussions of the EU's future development have not gained substantial importance in the media since Latvia joined the European Union in 2004. EU issues have had either a low priority in the media agenda or a mainly economic focus. The feelings of belonging to the EU are diverse in different societal groups. The domestication and commercialisation of definite audiences of media interest raises the question of the media's role in the shaping of citizen's opinions about EU issues. The main research focus of the thesis will be directed towards the mediatisation of the EU's future perspective as communicated by the private and public media, state officials and related NGOs. The analysis of the EU institutional agenda reporting, and the media agenda in Latvia will help to reveal the issues and whether their framing is common or different. The theoretical framework of mediatisation and media logics will be the instruments for the analysis to address the issues involved regarding the political marketing, quality of journalism and the private relationships between journalists and politicians. The introduction of the euro in 2014 will be used as the instrument for the analysis along with the case of the EU budget 2014-2020 discussions in 2013. The empirical data for the research will be gathered with qualitative analysis of the media content from in-depth interviews with state officials and media representatives confronted with citizen focus group opinion outcomes. The research problems of the thesis is to outline how the media of Latvia mediates the EU problem, and development issues, determining the state commu-

nication instruments that secure the mediatisation process of the EU ideas, and how the existing mediatisation processes strengthen or weaken the citizen's EU identity. The thesis will address the current state of the issues regarding the communication praxis of political actors. It will reflect on public attitudes and the implication of the analysis created in a long-term mediatisation process.

Constructions of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Official Finland

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This ongoing PhD project looks at discursive constructions of inclusion and exclusion from the perspective of ethnicity, social class and, intersectionality, and gender in communication materials aimed at immigrants and produced by public officials in Finland. Immigration in Finland is still a fairly recent phenomenon, and thus many of the questions of societal inclusion are yet to be answered. Meanwhile, with the prolonged economic downturn, attitudes towards immigration have become increasingly polarised. Previous studies have acknowledged the important role public officials in Finland play in producing ideas and ideals on migration and multiculturalism. Yet there still exists little research focusing on how they discursively contribute to this construction. Thus, questions this study sets out to answer are: In the communications of official Finland, who are included or excluded when it comes to ethnicity and social class? On what basis is this done? How are inclusion and exclusion discursively produced? As a framework, inclusion links society to social differences such as ethnicity, social class and gender. Ethnicity is here understood as entailing both Finnishness and minority ethnicities, and gender is used intersectionally with ethnicity and social class. To further address aspects of the power of the public authorities in Finland, frameworks of public communication and national branding are utilised. The research data consists of nine information booklets produced by governmental organisations in Finland between the years 2000 and 2011. As the aim of the booklets has been to inform immigrants coming to Finland about the country, its people and culture, they form an interface in which the almost invisible beliefs about and routines of ideals, differences and being - and not being - Finnish are performed. The main methodology is a qualitative analysis of text and images, and multimodal analysis will be used as a complimentary method. The analysis will also take into account the societal circumstances in which the booklets have been produced. Thus the research project shows how actors of influence and power construct inclusions in almost invisible everyday routines and how these are affected by the changing societal context. The theoretical and methodological frameworks

will be further developed throughout the project. A preliminary analysis has been made by using qualitative content analysis. The findings indicate that the set conditions for inclusion are different when they concern Finns and immigrants and that they are more explicit in the former than in latter the case.

Soundscapes, Communities and Place Attachment in Urban Space: A Study of the Soundmarks of Divided Nicosia and their Effects

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The careful examination and evaluation of the soundmarks in a soundscape, through observation and thorough listening, is able to provide listeners and researchers with precious information about the characteristics of the acoustic community that lives in an area. This doctoral study wishes to explore the procedures that relate place attachment to sound in urban space, and the ways the soundscape is evoked within a specific cultural context, using the theory of Sonic Effects within the field of Acoustic Communication: this field stresses that such study of sound should be carried out based on the interaction between the sound source and the way the listener relates to sounds, always depending on the environmental and cultural context in which this information exchange takes place. The city of Nicosia in Cyprus has been divided since 1974, and the habitants of its centre mostly belong to the Greek-Cypriot or Turkish-Cypriot community. Specific soundmarks being produced by rich-in-context sources on both sides are present in the area's sonic environment and travel across the city's borders, signifying an acoustic community with unique characteristics. The research project also wishes to investigate these characteristics by a) pointing out the soundmarks of the urban space of the borderline of Nicosia's city centre; and b) stressing those most representative and rich-in-content. Then, it is the intention to examine any other kind of acoustic information that is included in the soundscape, analyse the observed sonic effects in relation to their qualities, and finally assess the relationships between these and place attachment. The overall aim of the current research is to investigate the sense of place attachment through the soundmarks as far as the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities are concerned, using sound ethnography as a main methodological tool. Parallel to this, the study wishes to consider how soundscapes acquire meaning for the habitants, separately in each community, and how these meanings influence the inhabitant's overall bond with their place.

New Ways To Express Old Hatred - The Transformation of Comic Racism in British Popular Culture

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New Ways To Express Old Hatred is a sociological account of the consistencies and changes comic racist discourse has experienced over the past forty years in British popular culture, accounting for both content and communicative form in relation to the ethics and aesthetics of humour. The main focal point of the study concerns a case study representative of the communicative changes prompted by the digitalisation of media. This is solely illustrated by the joke website Sickipedia which demonstrates a contemporary, participatory comic community that is simultaneously representative of popular culture. Sickipedia circulates explicit comic racist material on a large scale across several formats including its main website, several smart phone applications and a range of social media including Facebook and Twitter. This contemporary emergence of comic racism is discussed in relation to the historical context of wider comic racism in British popular culture, comparatively evaluating the form and content of material from the Clubland humour of the 1970s, the anti-racist tradition of 1980s Alternative comedy, the thematically fragmented popular comedy of the 1990s through to the prejudicial liquidity evident in more recent popular comic material. The central argument being asserted is that comic racist discourse has been consistently reproduced for the last forty years. However its communicative form, aesthetic presentation and in some cases its content, has undertaken a process of discursive transformation in order for it to be circulated in contemporary popular cultural products, unchallenged by both social actors and institutional authorities. This study is conducted in accordance with the field of critical humour studies (Billig, 2001, 2005, Husband, 1998, Lockyer & Pickering, 2005, 2008, Mulkay, 1988, Palmer, 1994, Weaver, 2010, 2011) which is built around the central ethos that much humour is based around ridicule. Therefore humorous discourse must be treated critically, especially if ridicule is directed at groups who are socially marginalised. A joke can seldom be treated as just a joke. For that reason the relevance of this research is based on comic racism in a general sense representing the discursive stability of traditional racist discourses that have circulated in society since the Enlightenment, reproducing the ideological perspectives of white supremacy, social exclusion of 'Others' and the biological and cultural inferiority of non-white 'races'. Drawing from content analysis and a critical discourse analysis of Sickipedia, this study aims to, on a textual level and with reference

to theory and history, critically discuss the persistent reproduction of comic racism in the UK and deconstruct the hateful messages embedded beneath the playful aesthetics of jokes.

Political Comedy, Audience Engagement and Citizenship

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Considering the growing democratic deficits in Western democracies (cf. Dahlgren 2009); a shrinking interest in traditional news among younger citizens (Hill 2007); as well as a growing interest (from audiences and scholars) in political comedy and political entertainment (Jones 2010), there is a need to look deeper into various forms of political entertainment, and especially political comedy. Among scholars in the area of political comedy, discussions concern, among other things, how this form functions, even though most of the research has been undertaken from a textual analysis perspective. One problem identified is that humour is highly context sensitive and therefore can be easily misunderstood (cf. Marc 2009). Recently, Corner et al. (2013) made a typology with four forms of political comedy: raillery, mockery, satire and spoofing; and three primary functions: imitative, descriptive and argumentative. Some scholars ask whether political comedy can even make audiences cynical towards the political system, creating an even greater distance between politicians and citizens (Dahlgren 2009). Again, research into how audiences actually engage with political comedy is limited, with a few exceptions (cf. Perks 2012; Gray 2008). Therefore, the project research questions concern audience modes of engagement, and through this, the potential civic force of political comedy. This type of comedy comes in different forms – popular Swedish examples include radio programmes such as *Tankesmedjan* and television talk shows such as *Breaking News*, but the range is greater and includes live acts, such as stand-up comedy. The research focus is on the audience; what reasons do audience members have for engaging with political comedy? How do they categorise it in terms of genre or form; and connect it with a personal political identity (or lack thereof)? Mainly Swedish examples and audiences will be studied, although British audiences may be included, for comparison (because even though humour is context specific it also seems to transcend some borders, as certain American examples are popular in Europe, for example). The main methods include interviews and focus groups, as well as participant observations. Using thematic analysis to draw conclusions, the project aims to nuance and contribute to the existing research concerning political entertainment, and more specifically political comedy and its audiences.

The Circulation of Participatory Culture: Memes, Creativity and Networks

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Resting on an ‘architecture of participation’, Web 2.0 originated a new era of interaction. Users are not passive consumers, but active ‘producers’. User participation thrives online because of how widespread it can be: contrary to old media gatekeeping, anyone can create and share. Within participatory culture, making and sharing are equally important, as ‘in the economy of ideas that the web is creating, you are what you share’ (Leadbeater 2009). This mix is the recipe for ‘collective self-expression’, something epitomised by internet memes. Based on Dawkins’ concept, an online meme is ‘a piece of culture, typically a joke, which gains influence through online transmission’ (Davison: 2012). The internet allows memes to proliferate at an immense rate (Blackmore 1999). These can take a myriad of forms (text, image, video) and manifest in a variety of ways (emoticons, lolcats). Memes exemplify Tim Berners-Lee’s idea of intercreativity, which consists of ‘collaborative creative work made possible through the adoption of networked digital media technologies’ (Meikle & Young 2012). The apparent lack of value imbued in a (virtual) meme leads many to discard these as trivial, yet they embody the democratic internet. As Shirky puts it ‘anyone seeing a lolcat gets a second, related message: You can play this game too’ (Shirky 2010). There have been a number of protests featuring billboards that reference internet memes which bear relevant political and/or social critique – these gain a new dimension by becoming present in the tangible world and demonstrate how permeable society is to online culture. Citizens are voicing discontent through appropriated signs that reject top-down values. This places the internet meme at the heart of active citizenship, giving it an added dimension of cultural-political relevance. Lolcats can’t be dismissed; they hold the power of cultural symbolism manipulated by the masses through which societies make meaning. Internet memes ‘actively prevent and dismantle attribution’ (Davison 2012). Thus, internet memes epitomise the central aspects of the internet as a democratic force; they are ‘home not just to a valuable object (...) but to a valuable culture’ (Shirky 2010). Internet memes challenge social, political and national boundaries; demonstrating an unexpected turn; as the ‘the social use(s) of our new media tools (...) wasn’t implicit in the tools themselves’ (Shirky 2010). Online memes are socially and culturally relevant both online and offline, as it appears that now, more than ever, ‘(...) media is the connective tissue of society’ (Shirky 2010).

Whiteness and Manlihood – Normativity and Hegemony in News Media

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One way of understanding journalism is to perceive it as a narration of ‘reality’. Through news media we gain information about political, economic, and social transformation and interpretation. While some issues seem to be more important than others, the way and the perspective they are presented depends mainly on normative conditions of social structures. I am interested in how this normality is reproduced by the news media, how the audience perceives this and creates its own normative reality. For this purpose I focus on gender and ethnicity as two main structural categories, and on the construction of the powerful positions from which is spoken, heard, and understood. I believe it is worth investigating the influence and hegemony of ethnicity and gender in the medial processes in order to draw conclusions about the agreements and acceptances of social reality. My analysis relies on theories of normativity and hegemony concerning gender and ethnicity, including postcolonial theory, critical studies of whiteness and perspectives of gender studies. Methodologically the project contains two different approaches: discourse analysis of a) selected newspaper and television material (text analysis); and b) focus groups (audience study). My research will examine how gender and ethnicity, as important social categories, are negotiated in text and perception, and how normativity is stabilised and challenged in the current media. My text analysis focuses on three recent public debates, in which the construction of the ‘normal self’ and the ‘other’ as its opposite becomes explicit. One is known as the N-word-debate: in January 2013, a number of journalists, politicians and media recipients in Germany discussed the acceptability of using the (historical) N-word and other racialised terms in children’s books. The two other media discourses likely refer to a public debate about everyday sexism (also January 2013) and a debate about immigration (based on the arguments of a right wing German politician called Sarrazin, autumn 2011). The analysis of perception, which is thematically connected to the three media debates, develops what people make of the news. This study reveals the structural categories of ethnicity and gender for the understanding of media representation, for which there are six focus groups consisting of 5-8 people each. Both gender and ethnicity are relevant distinctions, which are not deemed essential, but take into account the heterogeneity of people living in Germany. It becomes clear through the articulation of the respondents, what they understand as normality, and what role the media can play within its negotiation.

Local Political Communication in the Czech Republic The Role of the Media in Local Information Space

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The recent expansion of digital media has considerably changed the media environment which is now more complex and dynamic than ever. Research in political communication attends to the transformation of relationships between different participants in the political process, emphasising the potential of citizen's engagement into information flows. On a local level of political communication this may have even more interesting consequences; the relationships of the participants are closer and the character of local politics is slightly different from the national one. The focus of my dissertation thesis is thus to describe how the various participants of local political communication perceive the current role of the media in their locality and how they use it to achieve their goals. Using the concept of communicatively integrated communities, the first aim of this thesis is to detect and describe different communication networks which form the system of local political communication. The situation of the Czech local media and local politics will be interpreted with special attention to two phenomena: (1) the network-based organisation of Czech local media and (2) the powerful position of municipally-owned official media. The main part of the research will be based on several case studies in one selected urban locality. The cases will involve 2–3 different topics which recently provoked public debate and thus established issues-oriented public spheres. I will focus on the ways different participants in local political communication (including politicians, municipal press agents, journalists, representatives of civic organisations and founders of alternative local media) used media when advancing their interests in the selected cases. This analysis will be supplemented by in-depth interviews with these participants which will help to understand how the participants describe their mutual relations and how they think new media technologies changed them. Related to this, the concept of professionalisation of local political communication will be discussed, as the initial data shows this is a frequently mentioned issue. The perception of the potential of digital media for local democracy and the engagement of citizens will also be analysed. The project will integrate a range of approaches, from public sphere theory via participation theory and the sociology of journalism to the theory of alternative media. It will enrich these approaches with the local point of view and evaluate the described phenomena in the broader context of the system they belong to. The results will provide a general understanding of the topic which is still quite unexplored, and thus they will open a space for further research into some specific aspects of local political communication.

“Radio Activity” – The Role of Technological Affordances and Agency for Participatory Practices of Radio Communication

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In the last decade, scholarly and public discourses on developments in media communication often refer to a “participatory turn” in contemporary media landscapes. The advent of social media is said to promote new types of, and possibilities for, audience activity and practices of “produsage”. These new options for media participation and productive practices also raise the question of the production means as a prerequisite of active media production. Lüders (2008), for instance, points to the emergence of “personal media” (e.g. weblogs) at the intersection of techniques, technologies, media forms and genres, and the role of creative user agency and appropriation within that process. At the same time, previous research suggests that the (active) use of participatory features and content creation, as well as the appropriation of media technologies, has manifold preconditions, e.g. motivations, skills and competence and also access to media technologies. Moreover, media use is to some extent shaped by the material structure, i.e. the characteristics of a media artefact might to some extent have a structuring effect on our actions. Altogether, this underlines the relevance of the technological aspects for practices of media participation. Hence, the project seeks to examine this intersection of technological affordances, agency (skills, knowledge, and competences) and participatory practices. The overarching research question is: what is the role of (arrangements of) technical objects and their affordances as well as technical skills and competence in participatory practices of radio communication? The focus of the present project lies in the phenomenon podcasting as a form of “radio-like” communication. Podcasts are understood as a hybrid format at the intersection of “personal” (niche formats, special interest) and mass media (providing content as podcast), as well as activities of amateur/hobby and professional actors, which afford different participatory practices and interactional roles between producers and users. The empirical research within the project follows a qualitative approach that comprises small scale case studies of different podcasts. It is planned to conduct in-depth interviews with both producers and recipients to reveal their motivations to produce or use the format (and whether they perceive podcasting as a “radio activity”), the role of technological aspects, e.g. devices they use, their technical skills or attitudes towards technology. These interviews will be combined with “home” or “studio” visits e.g. to examine the specific technological setup. Moreover, it is planned to attend regular group meetings (e.g. podcasting workshops) to observe whether and how the actors discuss technological aspects of podcasting.

Reporting Atrocities on Television: How Citizen Generated Content has Shaped BBC TV News Coverage of the Syria Conflict

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For the first six months of the Syria conflict, there was a media blackout. Foreign journalists were banned and had to rely on people inside the country for information. This meant that broadcasters such as the BBC were forced to use non-professional footage, best described as citizen submitted content. Though some ordinary individuals shoot and upload footage, a large proportion is generated by activists in the country throughout the crisis which has now spanned more than two years. Drawing on qualitative interviews with BBC staff and a long term observational study, this research examines how journalistic practices at the BBC have changed since the start of the Syria conflict in 2011 to incorporate this footage. Additional findings from extensive content analysis of news packages from key dates throughout the conflict have also been considered to help explain how the use of citizen generated content, frequently harvested from social media platforms, has shaped journalist's framing of BBC TV News coverage during the Syria conflict. There is a particular interest in the first six months, from March 2011 until the BBC's correspondent Lyse Doucet travelled on a visa to the country, with a government minder, in September 2011. However, correspondents were not alone in relying on citizen content. Other BBC staff such as members of the UGC Hub helped to tell the story, and experienced a steep learning curve in developing strategies and measures to check and verify the content to ensure it could be used on air. These journalists have arguably moved from being traditional gatekeepers towards what Bruns (2005) has described as 'gatewatchers'. While the relationship with Syrians filming and uploading this content has changed, and interviewees have described the citizens as becoming more engaged and savvy in terms of signposting the content for ease of verification during the conflict, the final say as to what makes it into a news package still lies with the editor. In this respect then, BBC journalism cannot be said to be truly collaborative or 'networked' (Beckett and Mansell 2008). Much has been written about user generated content (UGC) telling the story of the Arab Spring, and changes in journalistic practices have also been examined. However it is understood that this is the first time a large scale content analysis of BBC News footage has been carried out alongside qualitative methods, including newsroom ethnography by a member of staff.

Digital Ethnicities. How Social Media (Re)Create Collective Identities Today

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This research project aims to analyse the role social media plays in the processes of construction of collective ethnic identities today. Based on a combination of classical ethnographic methods (in-depth interviews, informal conversations, participant observation) and methods of virtual ethnography, the study looks at the participation of people in production 'from below' and the consumption of identity-related markers. The project focusses on the Turkish population in Bulgaria. The politics of the Bulgarian national state towards its Turkish minority are very complex and the group identity remains marginal to the national identity construction project, problematised by both the official and unofficial public discourse. As a result of the massive migration wave to Turkey in the late 1980s, the members of the community in Bulgaria live in a specific transnational situation with families and friends on both sides of the border. These transnational connections are a factor in frequent border-crossings. This brings images, stories and products of Turkey to Bulgaria – knowledge about the place, thought of as the country of origin or "kinship". Thus, „Turkishness“ is transgressing the border and becoming important social capital for the community in Bulgaria. This results in efforts for its re-construction and preservation. There are two dominating paradigms in theorising identity and nationalism. The primordialistic paradigm argues for the ancient roots of the national and ethnic belongings, based on common features given by blood and origin. The modernist/constructivist paradigm, on the other hand, would insist on the national state as a modern formation and the identity as a culturally and socially constructed concept. Seeing identity as a social construct, this research argues that social media is transforming the well-known identity building processes, allowing people to imagine themselves elsewhere in the world. The studies of national and ethnic identities and the nationalism studies see an active role for the elites of the national states in these processes. The state sets the collective identity formation discourse through its educational and cultural policies and the rhetoric of its traditional media. This role of the national state is problematised in the conditions of Web 2.0., especially in the situation of marginalised social groups. People nowadays are able to generate content, create symbols, transfer markers and thus, build the pieces of their own collective ethnic identity puzzle. The "imagined communities" today are escaping from the politics and the strategies of the national state. This will make us rethink the processes of construction of collective identities today.

The Norwegian Welfare System (NAV) on the Agenda: Media Coverage and Public Opinion

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My PhD-project is a case study that examines the relationship between the press coverage and the public opinions toward the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV). This welfare reform/administration has been criticized and was in early 2009 described as a “welfare-crisis”. The press coverage is measured with a quantitative content analysis and then compared with public opinion surveys and user-satisfaction surveys. I work on the basis of a hypothesis that the media coverage of NAV has been more or less one-sidedly critical and negative, and that this has affected the public’s perception of NAV. To investigate this hypothesis, I will seek to answer the following research questions: RQ1: How is NAV portrayed in the media? Here I seek to investigate whether the media coverage has been biased to the advantage of critics, how NAV is treated as a source. RQ2: How are NAV’s users (the welfare-users) portrayed in the media? Is the coverage dominated by human interest stories or context and larger thematic issues? RQ3: Does the public’s perception of NAV correlate with the press coverage of NAV? Here I will compare public opinion surveys and user-satisfaction surveys with a content analysis of the media coverage. Methodology: I am carrying out a quantitative content analysis to examine the media coverage. The selection is four large Norwegian newspapers – one local, two regional and one regional/national newspaper. I have also selected the largest Norwegian online newspaper. I have chosen strategically selected periods (21 months) during the period 2005-2011. This analysis investigates the media coverage in terms of tone (negative, balanced and positive) and volume. Furthermore, it asks which sources, genres and themes are dominating the coverage. The surveys of public opinion are secondary empirical data provided by Norwegian market research bureaus – conducted on behalf of NAV. The surveys stretch from 2008 to 2012 with two surveys each year (in September and March). The surveys of user satisfaction is conducted and provided by NAV. Theory: The analysis will be illustrated with theories regarding the media’s social contract and media effects. The theories of media effects will be used to compare the analysis of the media coverage with the public opinion surveys. The theoretical focus will be the media effects agenda setting and framing. Framing can be explained as a media effect based on the assumption that how the media are discussing, reflecting upon and presenting the news, can influence how the public views important social issues.

Mediatized Doctor-Patient Relationship

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The increasing digitalisation of information leads to an increasing amount of media being available at all times in more and more places. These media are not only being used in an increasing amount of contexts but mould them as well (compare Hepp 2010; Krotz 2001; 2007; 2009). Likewise, internet-based (mobile) media are gaining weight in the relationship between doctors and patients. Representative studies show that a growing number of internet users (doctors as well as patients) are searching for and communicating about health information online (e.g. Fox, Duggan 2012; 2013a; 2013b; Schneller 2012). Not just the number of users is rising, however, but the number of available resources for health communication is rising constantly. The services offered are varied and reach from websites and apps, primarily used for one-way communication (such as wikis, online journals, and digital books), through services for mediated interpersonal communication that enable e.g. e-mail communication or instant messaging between patients as well as between doctor and patient (such as the websites „NetDoktor“, „Medicine-Worldwide“ and „DrEd“) up to services that allow the communication with interactive systems (health tracking apps such as patient diaries like „iHealth Log“ or „iHeadache“). Additionally, there are services that are mainly used for one-way communication but contain additional functions (such as comment and e-mail functions or contact forms) that create the potential for mediated interpersonal communication. Exemplary for this type of service are social media applications such as YouTube (e.g. introduction videos by doctors), Facebook pages, Google+, or Twitter. Even conventional websites for hospitals or doctors as well as doctor rating portals often offer functions for mediated interpersonal communication. This work will start with an empirical analysis of these varied internet services in order to obtain a more detailed classification and categorization thereof. Following that, qualitative guided interviews with both doctors and patients will be performed in order to evaluate the moulding of the doctor-patient relationship through media (or mediated communication, respectively) as well as the role that different internet-based communication services play in the doctor-patient relationship and the impact that they have on traditional roles within that relationship. Accordingly, the core research question is as follows: How do different internet services mould doctor-patient communication and therefore the doctor-patient relationship? List of references Fox, Susannah; Duggan, Maeve (2012): Mobile Health 2012. [Online available: <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2012/Mobile-Health.aspx>; last access: 24.02.2013]. Fox, Susannah; Duggan, Maeve (2013a): Health Online 2013. [Online available: <http://>

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The Mediations of Process and Products of Research and Creation

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For twenty years, a set of European, national and local policies has tried to link artistic, scientific and technological activities, with the aim of stimulating innovation and so economic growth. As a result, several political injunctions frame the actions of scientific and artistic cultural institutions (science and art centres, museums, theatres etc.). Those injunctions concern interdisciplinarity, the use of technologies, the circulation of works of art and the mobility of artists. The cultural institutions are also invited to become an interface between the artists, the universities, the public research centres, the private sector and the public. We wonder how the mutations of the political context and the mediations of arts and sciences define each other. That initial question is divided into three research questions, corresponding to three level of analysis, namely the structural, interactional and textual dimensions. Firstly, how do the political injunctions and the socio-economic functioning of cultural institutions influence each other? In other words, which are the social logics and the strategies of actors finding and responding to those injunctions? Secondly, how do those strategies influence the organisation and the institutionalisation of interdisciplinary collaboration? Thirdly, how do those strategies condition

the production of meaning from the shaping of artistic and scientist materials? Our thesis is based on three main hypotheses. According to the first, the actions and discourses linking culture and innovation may be a sign of the renewal of socio-economic structures, which would influence interaction and enunciation at a micro-social level. We assume that the social interactions between the artists, the scientists and the cultural mediators would institutionalise, in the sense that several social worlds would emerge at the crossing of the artistic and scientist fields. The third hypothesis is that interdisciplinary collaborations link the artistic and scientific spaces of communication, and that the strategies of actors define the relationship between those spaces and so the mode of production of meanings, but also the statuses and the roles of the products diffused. These hypotheses refer to different disciplines. The first one involves the political economy, applied to the scientific and artistic sectors. The second hypothesis calls for sociology and symbolic interactionism, and the final one refers to a semio-pragmatic approach. Each hypothesis also implies different methods. To define the mutations of the political and socio-economic structures, we study the political actions and the strategies of actors, thanks to the analyses of legal and economic provisions, but also the activity reports. The hypothesis about institutionalisation may then be proved through interviews and observations of artistic, scientific and institutional actors, but also by the analyses of contents on the supports of communication and the charters produced by cultural institutions. Lastly, the third hypothesis may be confirmed by semio-pragmatic analyses, applied on the products between arts and sciences and on their mediations.

Citizen's Online Participation in Europe

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Facing overly enthusiastic or pessimistic prognoses concerning citizen's abilities to communicate about politics online, this project starts from the assumption that it remains unclear what citizens actually do when they are posting and commenting about political issues in social web forums. Conceptualising citizen communication in political social web forums as a communicative participatory practice, the aim is to describe and theorise this rather new communicative phenomenon from an analytical perspective that considers both communicative practices and spaces. This study assumes that citizen's political communication on the internet is not set in an empty space, but is regulated, for example, through technological or institutional constraints. The question, therefore, is, how citizens communicate politically in the partly very narrowly

pre-defined and regulated communicative spaces of social web forums. With such an approach the focus is set upon the interplay of practices, technology, and power. For this purpose the concept of communicative genre is introduced, which recognises that other dimensions, for example technological or institutional dimensions and not only practices that are relevant to a communicative phenomenon. This project takes the online discussion around the current euro crisis as a starting point for analysing citizen's communicative participatory practices within the comment sections of political blogs, mainstream news media and social networking sites. In this context, the notion of communicative space refers to programming and software design as well as the embedding of social web forums in the World Wide Web. Integrating the level of interactions, design and embedding, therefore, requires a three-step approach, consisting of an interaction analysis (1), forum descriptions (2), and a hyperlink network analysis (3). The study is based on a comparison of the six research countries Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, UK, and Poland, with Europe as a transnational equivalent. First results show that the specific communicative optionalities, which are being inscribed within the programming of a forum, shape the course of the citizen's written interactions. At the same time recurring interactive patterns can be identified within citizen's written interactions online as habitualised practices, which again can shape the technological set-up of the forums. The challenge of this project will be to integrate the different dimensions of political social web forums as a communicative genre.

Extremism Representations in the Media

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The term "extremism" has been used in diverse spheres of life for a long time but it remains problematic. Despite the usage in many languages the meaning of the term may vary. This can lead to misunderstandings at an international level. Differences can also be found within one country: science, law, politics and media don't necessarily provide the same understanding of the concept. The media play an exclusive role providing everyday knowledge. To compare the media representations of extremism with respect to different countries thus constitutes a politically and scientifically important task, which has been handled in the Master's thesis "Extremismusrepräsentation in den Medien: Eine länderübergreifende Analyse" (Muzyukina, 2011). This PhD project builds on it. The PhD project deals with the comparison between extremist representations in the classical and new media. Since the planned analysis is mostly located on the text level newspapers were chosen as classic, and blogs

as new, media to be analysed. Another comparison within the PhD project deals with extremist representations in different countries. These countries will probably be Russia and Germany, but the final decision will be made according to the not yet fully elaborated theoretical framework. The working version of the research question is thus: what similarities and differences are seen in extremist representations in newspapers and blogs in different countries? What are the main causes of these differences? The analysis of the causes of differences and similarities will be reduced to the factors which deal with the influences of scientific and legal representation. Thus, the research question could be specified as: What influence does the scientific extremist representation have on the media representation? What influence does the legal extremist representation have on the media representation? What are the interactions between media extremist representations in newspapers and blogs? The PhD project is located in media content research and the constructivist approach. It follows the logic of cultural studies combining political and communication sciences under the consideration of cultural context. The theoretical background also covers sociology of knowledge, theory of knowledge, semiotics and linguistics. Under the approaches of communication science should be mentioned framing, news values theory, the gatekeeper-approach, and discourse analysis. Especially important for the PhD project is the theory of social representations. Empirical methods relevant for the study are content and discourse analysis and guide interviews for communicator investigation. The exploration of scientific and legal extremist representations occurs as secondary analysis of documents, literature and statistics.

What Is the Role of Social Networking Platforms in Mainstream News Production? (Working Title)

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In the past, scholars have mostly agreed on the principal viewpoint that the creation of news was a tightly-held, closely monitored, top-down, elite process that involved the interactions and interventions of only a small number of professionals such as politicians, officials, communications staff and journalists. Recent trends of media convergence and perpetual innovations in information and communication technologies induced significant shifts in the news ecology, reconfiguring the traditional news model. Journalists are now tapping into the viral circulation of online content, embedding it into their news coverage and associated production techniques. Significant political news stories now often first break online and are picked up by journalists who obsessively fol-

low their email, Twitter, and blog feeds, hunting for new leads and sources. Many recent incidents exemplify the changing nature of news production, such as the 2009 Iranian election protests, the Arab Spring and the Syrian Uprising. During all of those events, social media platforms, such as Twitter and YouTube, have become a major channel of journalistic information sourcing and dissemination. Despite the undeniable presence and pertinence of those observations, substantiated and quantifiable findings explaining these phenomena are yet surprisingly absent. As a result, my study specifically asks: what are the roles of social networking platforms in mainstream news production? Furthermore, it seeks to shed light on the following sub questions: • what are the corresponding implications for the normative standards and ethics of journalistic production and a respective professional identity? • to which degree, if at all, can patterns of usage help to determine a journalistic media logic which explains the integration and use of social networking platforms in mainstream news production? I will draw on theories of media convergence, homogenization and fragmentation to contextualize these trends within the contemporary media landscape. Because of the project's highly topical nature, emerging concepts and buzzwords such as "social journalism", "networked journalism" and the "hybrid media system" will continue to inform my theoretical angle. Using a hybrid approach (in successive sequence) consisting of content analysis of selected case studies and expert interviews with media professionals and journalists, I aspire this study to add to the yet relatively small amount of existing research on the role of social media in journalistic news production and ultimately contribute to the broader understanding of developments in the current and future news ecology.

ICTs, Social Movements and Citizenship: A Study of Civic and Political Identities in Online Social and Political Activism

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The latter half of the twentieth century witnessed an upsurge in mobilisation and collective action by a wide range of activists and groups engaging in social and political protest, all over the world, which continues to this day. Communication technologies are not only greatly facilitating the ways in which activists communicate and demonstrate, but are also altering the relationships of the movements to territorial boundaries and localities. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have tended to focus on questions about the internet's role in protest, without answering what it means to be a citizen within such movements and through their practices. This doctoral study responds to this need by

exploring the connections between citizenship and ICT-mediated social movements, drawing on scholarship on social movements, citizenship and ICTs. The study has three main objectives; it seeks to uncover a) the role of ICTs in contemporary social movement activity; b) the ways in which citizenship is constructed within social movement activity; and c) the role of the internet in current understandings of citizenship within social movement activity. Specifically, using social movement theories as a starting point, it pulls together the elements necessary for a two-level analysis: a) the level of tangible aspects (participation and mobilisation) that refer to the concrete online and offline practices of movements and their participants; and b) the level of ideational aspects that refer to more abstract practices of movements and their participants (engagement and ideology). This study is based on a social constructivist approach to the analysis of social movements, while a cultural approach is applied in order to analyse the meaning of citizenship. The proposed analysis is an attempt to bridge common concepts from different theoretical (if not disciplinary) paradigms for a more holistic study of the notion of citizenship in the context of ICT-mediated social movements. For the operationalisation of these research objectives we intend to primarily use qualitative techniques for data collection and analysis, namely semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis. The case selected for this doctoral study is the movement of Indignados in two different contexts, those of Greece and France. The overall aim of the doctoral study is to critically evaluate the potential in both meaning and practices of ICT-mediated social movements and identify the meanings of citizenship today within the contours of social movement activity.

“I don’t want to drink, but I’m afraid to lose my friends.” Alcohol Consumption, Risk Perception and the Norms of Youth Subculture

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My PhD thesis examines how adolescent risk perceptions interact with the explicit and implicit norms of youth subculture and affect their alcohol consumption practices. Research among adolescents has revealed that dealing only with risks related to alcohol may not be efficient in preventive communication. Adolescent’s overall knowledge of risks is quite high which raises the question – if teenagers are aware of the risks, why do they still carry out various risk related activities? Literature suggests that risks are also socially constructed and adolescent risk behaviour is affected both by individual characteristics (e.g. self-esteem) and environmental characteristics (e.g. family, school relations, impact of the community). My research addresses the question of how the risk

constructions and social norms interact and shape the alcohol-related practices of youngsters. Data collected through ethnographic research conducted in youth centres in Estonia will give an insight into how adolescents handle different risks. I will also examine peer group pressure to consume alcohol among adolescents, by focusing on the different ways adolescents normalise alcohol consumption in their conversations with each other in one of the youth centres in Estonia and qualitative text analysis of topic-related forum postings in a special communication environment for youngsters. Topic-related forums give an insight into the peer-to peer learning process, opening the implicit group norms and normalization processes that otherwise remain implicit. The ways that adolescents construct pro-alcohol norms in their subculture, such as linking alcohol consumption with ritual events in their lives - graduation from basic school, celebrations of reaching certain ages and different holidays, and events linked with their peers (especially school events, such as excursions) - are explored. The specific focus of the analysis is the risks related to alcohol (over) consumption (e.g. behaviours damaging the subject's health and self-esteem), reflected in the youngster's "normalising" conversations. The analysis focuses on the question of how pro-alcohol practices are connected with non-consumption practices. How do peer pressure and the norms of the subculture influence adolescent decisions to consume alcohol? The thesis discusses the possibilities of resisting the normalisation of alcohol in youth culture, both at the individual and the collective/institutional levels, and ways of (re)normalising refusal and non-consumption practices.

Engaging with Media in the Fragmented Media Landscape

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The media field is increasingly fragmenting and boundaries between genres are blurring. Personal media landscapes can contain over a hundred media titles. There is a need to understand the whole scope of people's media use; not just one medium, genre or media title. In my PhD thesis I examine how people engage with media in the crossmedia environment, especially from the viewpoint of magazines. The data has been collected iteratively with four different methods. All in all, the media use and engagement of seven age groups (16–70 year-olds) has been studied. Each group had 12 participants. Magazine publishers often define media engagement by readership frequency, minutes spent with an issue and the percentage of an issue that was actually read. In my research I treat engagement as the reader's relationship with the content, or as the reader's media experiences – such as building identity or getting useful tips.

Dimensions of spatial and actual media practices are an important part of media experiences; reading print magazines in a comfortable laid-back position can be preferred to reading online content in front of a computer, because the reading position is associated with relaxation. To examine the various forms of media engagement four qualitative methods were utilised: 1) online media diaries to record the daily media routines; 2) Q-sorting interviews to map the personal media landscapes and the interrelations between media titles; 3) ethnographic observation to reveal media practices in homes; and 4) reading interviews out loud to examine the reader's relationship with the content in the magazine. The preliminary results show, for example, that 45–55 year-old readers of women's magazine *Kotiliesi* find fictive TV series and magazines emotionally most engaging but they value the daily utilitarian media (e.g. Google) and the media that keep them up to date more, such as the daily newspaper or public broadcaster's news. 16–19 year-old lead-user teenagers engage with blogs more than with magazines. Several blogs and peer bloggers provide information about relevant and interesting topics, free of charge. Concrete media practices are also prominent factors in relation to media engagement. Social floor plans in homes affect which media are used, where and when. Thus engaging media or content might be not available when needed.

Framing the Other:

The Image of China in British Documentary Films

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The representation of China in the West has been widely discussed in academia, especially with regard to the period between the eighteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Most studies, however, have used a historical perspective based on text and few have approached the issue from an audiovisual point of view. In this day and age, it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the prominent role of audiovisuals in transmitting and even generating images of certain social groups, and it is important to note the power of television in cultural representation processes. The existing tradition in media studies has usually had the objective of analysing the depiction of China in the press and fiction films but there's a shortage of research committed to documentary films as units of analysis. This doctoral thesis seeks to contribute to this specific field by analysing current documentary films about China shown on British television channels, and identifying what is said and how it is said, that is, adopting a constructivist bias. This research embraces the framing theory, which "essentially involves selection and salience" (Entman) to see if

particular preconceptions are involved in the documentary representation of China. Frames are “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” (Neuman et al.) and this makes them powerful image-generators. To determine the frames traditionally involved in the representation of the Asian Giant we trace images of China in the West from the XIII century to the present, in order to determine which ideas about China have repeatedly been en vogue. Drawing upon these historical frames the final stage of the research aims to develop a computer-based content analysis of the selected documentaries to either prove or refute their permanence in the process of representation of the country. Up to this point, we find that the approach of Western observers to China has generally been pervaded by stereotypes such as the „yellow peril“ or Chinese uniformity. Nevertheless this trend has not been validated with regard to current documentary films. Furthermore, it appears that the balance between “positive” and “negative” images has traditionally depended more on Western attitudes towards China than on China’s reality itself. The importance of these investigation lies in the fact that, more than ever before, our understanding of China is of crucial importance today, and the results may show how biased media practices can hinder the path to mutual comprehension.

Learner’s Digital Literacies: A Challenge for Teaching?

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Unlike in the past when museums served the elite of society, a shift has taken place today regarding the museums’ attitude towards their audiences with an emphasis on terms such as ‘the including museum’, ‘the engaging museum’, and ‘the participatory museum’. Museums are taking the initiative to become more responsive to their surroundings and within the last decades, internationally, they have increasingly taken on the new digital media. These new means of technology provide museums with new opportunities to reach their audiences in new ways, as explored by this Ph.D. Even though distance learning is not new to media studies and a vast number of museum education projects these years are presented online, still little research is found in the museum field as the studies here mostly concern digital outreach projects outside a school context. Thus, the aim of this Ph.D. is to investigate how Danish secondary students (15-19 years old) and their teachers perceive and use digital museum learning resources in their classrooms when the museum is not physically present. The Ph.D. has a particular focus on what challenges the teachers and the students might face in this capacity regarding digital literacy in other areas.

The two museums taking part in the Ph.D. project are the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art and the Natural History Museum of Denmark as both museums have developed digital museum resources for the Danish upper secondary school. Although the two museums do not fall into the same 'museum type' category, still the project's outline is the same for both, as the research takes its point of departure in media theory, learning theory, and sociology. Methodologically, the Ph.D. will have an overall qualitative framework using interviews and participant observations to see how the students and the teachers interact and engage with the learning resources online. The hope is to develop a best practice as to how Danish museums can offer digital learning outreach education to secondary schools not able to visit the museums due to different factors such as geography, economy etc.

Negotiating Finnishness in TV Advertisements

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The idea of one white middle class people is strong in Finland. Finland has a short history of immigration even though there have been different kinds of ethnic groups for hundreds of years, and indigenous Sami people. The new and massive wave of immigration started at the beginning of the 1990s and these 'new minorities' differed from the earlier population mostly by their skin colour. The criticism over multicultural politics has increased during recent years due to the financial crisis and the increased populism in Finland. The populists worry that multiculturalism is endangering the 'original and hegemonic Finnish culture'. After the parliamentary election and the rise of party called 'Finns' in April 2011, hate speech and open racism has increased toward immigrants and especially towards non-whites, Muslims, homosexuals, and even traditional ethnic minorities, such as Finn-Swedes. In this multidisciplinary media cultural research I analyse how Finnishness is depicted in TV advertisements shown at prime-time on mainstream Finnish commercial TV channels in Finland in 2010. I ask how Finnishness intersects with, for example, 'race', ethnicity, gender, sexuality, social class, age, and health, and what kind of meanings are connected to Finnishness in TV adverts. Who is included and who is not, how is Finnishness signified. The main research questions are: 1. How is Finnishness represented through sameness and differences in TV adverts? 2. How does Finnishness intersect with, for example, 'race', ethnicity, gender, sexuality, social class, age, and health? The theoretical background is in performative feminist theory, standpoint-feminism, critical race studies, especially critical whiteness studies, postcolonial feminist studies, and

nationalism. I analyse adverts by using content analysis, critical close reading, Barthes's semiotics, and Stuart Hall's decoding/encoding and different kind of readings: primary/dominant/hegemonic, negotiable and oppositional/reading against/wrong-way reading. My hope is to try to find a different kind of possible reading than the primary reading of cultural representations, and to challenge that primary reading. The representations have changed since 2004 when I analysed 400 adverts in my Master's thesis. In 2004 non-white protagonists were represented stereotypically according to colonial imagery and not as belonging to Finnishness. White protagonists were represented normatively and positively. Finnishness was represented as white and Western but partly there was a strong self-irony especially in representations of men. In 2010 the representations of non-white protagonists have decreased generally. Finnishness is represented more normatively, self-irony has disappeared and there is a very strong nationalistic discourse but also a multicultural discourse.

Communicative Demarcation: Comparing Patterns of Communicative Demarcation from a Media Generational Perspective

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When dealing with processes of communicative demarcation and media communication, recent research often refers to the concept of media generations. Young people in particular, the so-called "Digital Natives", are often attributed with not being aware of their communicative demarcation, or, as Sherry Turkle puts it: "[t]hese young people are among the first to grow up with an expectation of continuous connections: always on, and always on them". In this context, this PhD project poses the following basic questions: What does communicative demarcation mean in the context of today's "mediatised worlds"? Which forms and patterns of communicative demarcation are being articulated? Are there differences or similarities with regard to different media generations and their practices of communicative demarcation? In my PhD project I focus on communicative demarcation as an integrated aspect of communicative practices, under which I understand the purposeful omission of media related communication. As a practice, communicative demarcation involves spatial, temporal and social dimensions which are articulated across a variety of media. In respect of the concept of media generations, I aim to compare the forms and patterns of communicative demarcation based on both young and elderly people's communicative networking. The empirical research is based on a sample of adolescents and young adults from 16 to 30 years old and elderly people from 60 to 79 years of age. In detail, the empirical data consists of

120 qualitative interviews which are analysed in the tradition of the Grounded Theory. The data was collected in the research project “Mediatized Everyday Worlds and Translocal Communitization”, which is funded by the German Research Foundation’s Priority Research Programme 1505 “Mediatized Worlds” (1st and 2nd Funding Period).

Mediatisation and Digital Participation. The Internet Between Technology, Everyday Life and Gender

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My PhD project aims to gain profound insights into practices of gender inscription in mediatization as well as into mediatization as a modifier of current gender constructions. Research will be based on data already gathered from the DFG-project “Das mediatisierte Zuhause” (Prof. Jutta Röser). For this project, which is part of the DFG-priority programme “Mediatized Worlds,” 25 couples have been interviewed concerning the domestic adoption and appropriation of the internet in 2008 and 2011. In the third stage of an ethnographically oriented panel study in June 2013, I will conduct further interviews that follow my specific research interests. The relationship between mediatization and everyday practices of gender are of special interest for two reasons: firstly, the integration of new media technologies into everyday life can lead to changes in daily routines, actions and interactions which, possibly, give rise to modifications of gender practices. Secondly, the dissemination of the internet, which is to be understood as fundamental to the ongoing process of mediatization, has been accompanied by inequalities concerning gender. These are due to a technological framing of the internet which interacts with its integration into everyday life and thus with the mediatization of everyday life. Analysis of data from the DFG-project has shown that technological framing, and thereby gender inequalities concerning the appropriation of the internet, diminish as internet use increases in everyday life – without dissolving entirely. Both processes of de-gendering and re-gendering can be found within the dynamics of the examined households. In order to gain better understanding of the correlation between the mediatization of everyday life, digital participation and gender practices, I have identified different factors that facilitate processes of re-gendering and therefore reveal gender inequalities within the process of mediatization. These factors can be found at a structural and a discursive level, as well as in the interaction between the partners. The upcoming enquiry will focus on outlining the manners of these factors in more detail. Applying an ethnographically orientated long-term study allows the project to particularly

identify the dynamics underlying the couple's everyday practices around media and, at the same time, to track these nonlinear processes over an extended period of time. Thus, the objective of this project is to answer the question of how mediatisation interacts with societal structures, as for instance gender, how these structures are reproduced in a mediatised everyday life and, again, how they thereby affect aspects of digital participation.

Worlds Apart? Editorial Design as a Practice and as an Outcome

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Editorial design is a little studied field between journalism and graphic design and involves the graphic design of journalistic publications. This study examines the ways in which editorial design is understood in production and in reception, and what differences there are in the ways different actors, designers and readers, evaluate it. The main theoretical tool for inspecting this is social semiotics. As opposed to traditional structuralist semiotics, social semiotics sees that meanings and the signifier–signified relationship depend on the social context and the intentions of the actors – in this case, designers and readers. The benefit of social semiotics is its multimodal approach. It observes all modes of communication: not just language but also for example photographs, illustrations, graphical elements, graphs, typography, layout and paper quality, which are important resources for making meaning in editorial design. What modes are available varies according to the social context. For example, on the strength of the preliminary analysis typography is a very important mode for designers, whereas for readers it is barely a mode at all: many typographic variables are signifiers for the designers but not for the readers. The data consists of comments on editorial design by designers and readers: 19 semi-structured interviews with magazine art directors and a diverse set of data from the re-design process of a Finnish financial publication (semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and surveys with comments about the design choices at different stages). Additional data will possibly be collected in order to specify some of the results about reader's ways of understanding and evaluating editorial design. The preliminary analysis shows that there are very different approaches to editorial design. Designers have very divergent professional identities; some are very reader and journalism oriented, whereas others are very art and design oriented. Designers tend to see editorial design as a practice and a process, whereas readers see it as an outcome. This study is significant in that it draws parallels between the production and reception of visuality. In graphic design studies emphasis has quite strongly been on production and

output, whereas audiences have not been discussed to any great extent. A better understanding of the ways different actors evaluate visibility also facilitates journalistic work and the development of editorial design and journalism.

Production of Agencies in Technosociety: A Narrative Perspective

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My dissertation *Production of Agencies in Technosociety: a Narrative Perspective* discusses the constraints and possibilities of agency, the discursive production of agency in different spheres and the ways of learning agencies in the digital network society. My critical investigation concerns phenomena related to the so-called Web 2.0 and, more broadly, the technological environment that surrounds us. I am interested in how digitisation of communication and media technology as well as sociocultural meanings of mobile devices are understood and interpreted in different levels of society. My dissertation includes four case studies which all take a different perspective on my research problem, but are, nevertheless, closely interlinked through the methodology of narrative analysis and an extensive theoretical introduction. My theoretical framework is built on critical technology research, cultural media studies and theories of media education (especially critical pedagogy) and supplemented with discussions on the topic from the fields of geography and law. The four case studies are independent research projects. An article is written on each case study. Shortly on the case studies: Case 1: The production of ideal actors in Digital Agenda for Europe: a narrative perspective The first case study discusses what kind of a narrative on technological future is told in the European Union Digital Agenda (2010), what kinds of roles are offered to citizens and which skills are emphasized as being important for them in the future and last, how is the narrative naturalized and made attractive. Case 2: Training user-consumers: a narrative analysis of news on Apple Inc. The second case study is interested in how consumer electronics corporations talk to their users and sell the idea of continuously changing products. It is still open whether the research concentrates on PR material of Apple itself or on news coverage on Apple. The data will be collected during spring–summer 2013. Case 3: Facebook as a space for users and non-users This case study will take a look at how users and non-users talk about the structures and architecture of Facebook as enabling and constraining agency. Group discussions are held in winter 2013 and the article on this case study should be ready by the end of summer 2013. Case 4: Rebelling against the technosociety. Examples of critical agency and resistance. Exact research questions to be defined later.

Towards a Critical Understanding of Youth in Vulnerable Situations (YVS) Living in Brussels and Urban Digital Inequalities: Fundamentals for Comprehensive Digital Inclusion Policies

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Brussels, as many other metropolises, is characterised by a significant percentage of young people living at the margins of today's knowledge society. Many young people, and in particular young people in vulnerable situations (YVS), are digitally excluded or are at-risk of being digitally excluded. They are confronted with barriers such as limited access, a lack of digital skills, a lack of usage opportunities or encouragement to use ICT and few to no social support networks that incite the use of digital media. Hence, YVS lack the ability to use digital media as a tool for digital citizenship. Little research exists on the relationship between YVS and their experience of social and digital inequalities, especially in terms of young people from minority groups living in Brussels. It remains unclear how these 16-to 25-year-olds are confronted with the mechanisms of digital exclusion, and how this can and should be situated in an urban context. This PhD therefore focuses on three main goals. Firstly, this study aims to map the characteristics of digital exclusion amongst YVS in an urban context based on both a theoretical exploration and an empirical ethnographic study in collaboration with YVS themselves. Secondly, this research aims to identify indicators of digital inequalities specific to an urban context. Thirdly, this research includes a survey and a critical analysis of the initiatives in the Brussels Capital Region working on digital inclusion. It examines how these initiatives proceed to support vulnerable target groups and enhance their participation in informal and formal education and training. Furthermore, the role of volunteering as well as a digital inclusion policy and policy competencies in the Brussels Capital Region will be investigated. Results of the literature study suggest that the vulnerability of youth involves psycho-individual, institutional and structural aspects. We therefore introduce the notion of young people in vulnerable situations (YVS) with emphasis on the contextual determinants of exclusion. Following Gilbert, digital multispeed urbanism dynamics characterize cities, we understand that the integration of technology into everyday practices and its adoption rate are district-related and differ between neighbourhood residents. Social inequalities in urban areas are strengthened by digital inequality, and vice versa. Bourdieu's social capital theory enables us to gain insight into these structural causes of digital inequalities (cf. social reproduction). Referring to the interaction between social networks, social resources and reciprocity trust relations he points out the social complexity of urbanisation.

The Use of Visual Legacies for Provocation and Mobilisation by a Swiss Right-Wing Party

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This PhD project intends to focus on how the Swiss People's Party (German: Schweizerische Volkspartei) relates to elements of national identity as a political strategy, by using images that are part of Swiss culture. The Swiss People's Party is a national conservative and right-wing party in Switzerland that became remarkably successful in the 1990s. Depicting itself as the keeper and defender of national identity and national community, this party supposedly strives to secure and/or redefine particular interpretations of what it means to be Swiss. This PhD project aims to study how Swiss identity is evoked in its visual communication as well as to contribute to a better understanding of how visuals of national identity attain or reinvest meaning. The visual communication of the SVP has been assumed to be a pivotal contributing factor to its rise to power. However, very little research has been done so far on how visuality is approached by this party. This PhD project seeks to fill this gap by focusing on the visual repertoire of the SVP. Contrary to work on campaign advertising and party communication that analyses images in order to reveal the intentions of the producer as well as the visual strategies of persuasion and communicating messages, this PhD project chooses to focus on images as social objects that circulate within society. As a consequence, it also aims to fill the research gap on visual legacies and facilitate the understanding of how concrete visual contents work by referring to other images. In other words: this focus will help us to comprehend the effects of visual heritage. The data will consist of images that were publicly accessible through different official communication channels of the SVP from 1992 until 2014, targeting voters as well as supporters of this party. In order to identify the recurring visual topics of Swiss identity, on which the SVP draws, I will start with a quantitative content analysis. By also covering different communication channels, I intend to establish the channels through which the SVP applies these specific visuals most frequently. In order to analyse how this party recycles national visual legacies, the identified topics will be retraced across space (discursive contexts) and time. Theoretical approaches to national identity and social imaginaries, as well as the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) and visual methodologies will provide the analytical tools. Key words: SVP, UDC, national imaginary, visual content, visual legacies, right-wing party.

Analysing Audience Participation in Making the News in Spain through the Practices of Spanish Journalists

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Since the mid-20th century, the diffusion of digital media technologies in Western countries has provoked deep changes in the way people communicate and interact with each other, as well as in their relationship with the news media. First of all, digital technologies permit a much more individualised, on demand, consumption of media texts that corresponds to post-industrial logic and differs from the industrial mass standardisation mentality. Moreover, digital technologies also allow users to produce and distribute media texts in forms that were previously only available to professionals, converting them into more than simple consumers. Overall, my dissertation will investigate how the new possibilities offered by digital media technologies to their users are affecting the flow of news and therefore the media power of the news. That is, I will look at the intersection between user-generated content (from blogposts and YouTube videos to tweets) and journalism. I will enquire into how the new options for audience interaction and participation in the media sphere are reflected, impacting and shaping the mainstream media. This research will depart from the Habermasian idea of media power in the public sphere and Axel Bruns' conceptualisation of the 'produser' and audiences as gatewatchers. Questions that I will explore include: How do the public conversations between news media audiences occur on the internet through different platforms reflected in the mainstream media? Are the journalists including their audiences' voices, worries, interests and petitions in their work? How does it affect the traditional role of journalists and the news media power? My research will take place in Spain, a relevant location for such a study owing to its current social, political and economic upheavals. It is also ideal as a focus due to the way its citizens are reacting to such changes: Spaniards haven't been complacent and accepting of the status quo but rather have been protesting and demonstrating since early 2011. In Spain, I will conduct ethnographic research in three different newsrooms (eldiario.es, El Huffington Post, El País), in order to scrutinise the way journalists are dealing with user-generated content. Given my background as a journalist, my intention is to work as a copy editor and integrate myself in these newsrooms to observe the journalistic practices and relationships with the audiences that are participating in the creation of journalistic contents. While integrated in the newsrooms, I will also conduct in-depth interviews with journalists. Finally, I will also look at a selection of texts produced during the time I'll be working in the newsrooms to conduct textual analysis in order to determine how user-generated content is incorporated in the news.

The Euro crisis and its Influence on the European Identity. A Comparative Study of Political Debate in Media

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Mass media provides ways of understanding the world through different representations of that world. Our perception is often formed as a result of media exposure to certain content which can be biased, whereas political media discourse is considered to be one of the main factors in constructing society and its worldviews. Therefore, the aim of my research project is to explore how the euro crisis has been portrayed in the media in selected EU member states and how differences in its coverage have affected perceptions of the crisis and Europe. In particular, I am going to conduct a comparative analysis of the language of political debate on the current European crisis and its influence on the European identity. My main objective is to show the differences in construction of the discourse in each country and by different political parties. My analysis will be based on primary material from the broadsheet press of different political orientations as this allows the most detailed analysis of the dynamics of the discourse on the crisis. With the use of critical discourse analysis, I will make an attempt to bridge quantitative approach with close textual analysis of selected articles, without losing sight of the linguistic details and the socio-political and economic context. One of my goals is to show in an explicit way how different worldviews and ideologies were expressed textually and mediated, and their impact on the social perception of the crisis. My preliminary findings indicate that most articles will focus on domestic rather than European interests. Exploring discursive constructions of Europe, I expect to find numerous examples of using stereotypes in the description of various, especially southern, nations, resulting in a weakening of the perception of unity. The crisis is most likely to be described from strictly national perspectives. Metaphors of a struggle are widely used. On the other hand, the euro currency is an important element in strengthening European identity and as such it is used as an argument to preserve the Eurozone. This study focusses on the ongoing euro crisis because it is of fundamental importance to the history of the European Union, influencing the daily lives of citizens across Europe. Moreover, it is the most significant threat facing the Union's very existence since its formation.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Secularism in the French Press

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News is delivered within a larger social, historical, and cultural framework that affects the way information is constructed, presented, and received by the audience. Following a critical social constructivist tradition, this study tackles the discursive construction of *laïcité* in the press as a norm in France. The notions of discourse, norm, ethnocentrism, representation, and *laïcité* are at the core of this study which relies on Fairclough's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis to achieve its two main aims: (1) uncovering representations of secularism; and (2) examining how such representations come to appear as a norm. This study focuses on discourses of *laïcité* because of the central position this concept has in French society as well as the current challenges it faces. *Laïcité* - the separation of Church and State - is a heavily culturally and historically loaded term, which makes it especially relevant to study from an intercultural communication perspective. This study relies on CDA for intercultural purposes; that is, CDA is used to identify cultural aspects embedded in discourses of *laïcité*. It provides tools to examine the way discourses both convey and maintain culturally-bounded practices and ideas as norms. It also helps identify the way cultural narratives can be part of a dominant discourse and therefore be related to power struggles within a larger social context. Media discourse was chosen because it corresponds to the macro-textual approach of this study. Discourse is regarded here as representations that are both shaped by a larger socio-cultural environment and shape it in turn. In order to uncover taken-for-granted representations of secularism, data about the same events is collected both in French and foreign newspapers, thus providing relevant insights into the similarities and differences that punctuates their discourses as well as their respective assumptions. The events are selected after a first process of reviewing news about secularism in the French media in recent years. This preliminary phase is meant to identify events that are significant enough to have received coverage abroad. The foreign newspapers will be selected once the first phase is completed. Results are expected to show the degree to which discourses of secularism are ethnocentric and intertwined with other cultural norms. Findings should be beneficial for both media professionals and their audience as they highlight the way news can be culturally biased. The study also intends to emphasise the influence that the media can have on developing intercultural sensitivity in an increasingly globalised and communication-oriented world.

Children, Parents and Disney Inscribing: Configuring and Constructing the Tween

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This thesis explores the construction of tween identity through a case study of consumption, of what can be called the Disney tween phenomenon. The Disney Channel has produced a number of popular live action television shows and films in the last 5-6 years catering to the tween audience, achieving high revenues and many viewers. Disney Channel has become undeniably present in Western children's lives, and especially in Norway where it figures in the basic cable package, thus the majority of Norwegian tweens are highly exposed to the Disney tween franchises. In addition to the media texts Disney also produces a plethora of merchandise. The phenomenon is thus present in the lives of tweens and highly present in stores selling media and other merchandise. The term 'tweens' emerged from the marketers and usually indicates children between 8 and 12 years old, the age group thought of as being in between children and teenagers. Since tweens, as a group, have been defined as an audience and a consumer group for Disney, the research questions are: how are tweens constructed by the Disney product, i.e. through the media texts, constructed by Disney as a corporation, and how do children inhabiting this age group of tweens themselves construct this space between childhood and being a teenager? The phenomenon is investigated by implementing a circuit of culture approach taking into account the producers, the audience, and the text. I have interviewed the General Manager of Disney Channel Scandinavia, and the Director of the Toy Division at Disney Consumer Products Nordic in order to examine how the producers construct tweens. A text analysis of the sitcom *Hannah Montana* and of the *High School Musical* trilogy is undertaken in order to examine how the text constructs its audience. The analysis of the audience/users is based on focus group and individual interviews. I have also interviewed children's parents to see how watching and buying Disney is negotiated in a relational aspect. When talking to the children the focus was on their meaning making of the Disney texts, and how this was domesticated as part of their everyday practices, as well as a focus on how young people placed in the category of tweens understand and construct meaning in this space between childhood and being a teenager. What role does Disney play in tweens lives, and what is it to be a tween?

Making Political Talk Television in Australia, the UK, and the US

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In what ways do production cultures inform the way political talk television appears on-screen? The production of news and current affairs is often explained by appealing to political economy theory; that is, production is shaped structurally and most notably, by allocation of resources and the resulting norms embedded within production. However, structures are maintained by individual practices, norms, routines, perceptions, and values (Giddens, 1984). As Hesmondhalgh notes (2010: 146), 'analysing media production means thinking about how producers exercise their relative power to create and circulate communicative products.' I look at political talk television in three countries, Britain, Australia, and America. Political talk shows span three types of television: public service, free-to-air, and pay. The main methodology of the study is interviews with executive producers of political talk shows, supplemented by qualitative analysis of the actual shows. I ask three core questions that attempt to combine structure-agency perspectives: In what ways do producers perceive their show's aims, production values, production processes, and audiences? How does this relate to the production of political talk? How do producer's perceptions of the wider media ecology and their institutional requirements and values relate to the production of political talk? To what extent and in what ways are specific political talk formats a response to practical problems of news production? Answers to these questions attempt to question both structural and ideational production factors to think about political talk television. Furthermore, Hesmondhalgh points out that while most production studies have generated 'rich and fascinating detail ... it remains to be seen whether such research can be integrated into an explanatory ... framework' (Hesmondhalgh, 2010: 153). This research seeks to remedy this and attempts to outline a framework for the production of political talk television. The second part of the project looks at marketisation and mediatisation. We can examine the extent to which commercial (the US) and hybrid contexts (the UK and Australia) differ in their treatment of political talk: to what extent can we link the marketisation of national contexts to marketised and mediatised political talk? The two aspects of the project will provide an explanatory framework for the production of political talk allowing reflection on broadcasting structures, marketisation and news fragmentation, comparative media systems, and the mediation of politics more generally.

Spin Doctors: A Comparative Study between Scotland and Catalonia

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The main focus of my research is to study “spin doctors” in the context of the professionalisation of political public relations. To this end, the goal of this research is to investigate the practices that some political public relations managers apply to their daily relationship with political journalists and the role they have in two different national contexts: Scotland and Catalonia (Spain). Even though “spin doctor” is a well-known term in political communication, there is a lack of systematic and clearly organised knowledge about the professional category of “spin doctors” including their activities, daily routines, their role as news sources and their ethics. The controversy around the figure of “spin doctor” is caused by their two main activities: media manipulation and news management. Some researchers establish a clear difference between the daily routines and functions of “spin doctor” and those of public relations managers, others compare “spin doctors” with the “old and more accepted” role of press officers and others just assume their role to involve political public relations. Within this scenario, the figure of “spin doctor” remains undefined. The concept of “spin doctor” has therefore not been properly articulated mainly due to the insufficient knowledge and study of this group of political communication practitioners. On that account, I propose three goals for this research. First there is a need to establish a scientific definition of what a “spin doctor” is. Secondly and consequently, a spin doctor’s daily work routines will be described as part of a global definition of who they are. Thirdly and finally we will then be able to connect these routines with two different media systems in two different national contexts as part of a global understanding of what a “spin doctor” is. It is suggested that the research is carried out within the context of the most important political parties of each country and outside an election period. Previous studies of spin doctors focused their research on metacoverage or how the press covers “spin doctors”. There are few qualitative studies of spin doctors and even fewer with a cross-national comparative framework. For these reasons I propose a qualitative research methodology based on an actor-oriented view, developed through in-depth interviews with political public relations and political journalists from each country.

Re:Media: A Mixed Methods Analysis of Remediation as a Contested Articulation of Participatory Culture

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In recent years, the rapidly increasing pervasiveness of new media and social networks into user's everyday lives has drawn attention from academics, policy makers and marketers towards changing structures of participation, opportunities for democratisation, and consumer engagement. Eventually, this rather optimistic discourse regarding the affordances of new media was met by a resolute criticism that shifted the focus from opportunities and emancipation to obstruction and exclusion. While both points of view are undoubtedly valuable, they are informed by an ideology of newness and, as a consequence, occupy two ends of a spectrum. The 'Re:Media' project aims to bridge both perspectives to pragmatically and systematically analyse remediation as a specific articulation of participation. Remediation is an essentially contested concept: originally formulated by Bolter & Grusin, in the context of this project it is reinterpreted to relate to a plethora of similar notions such as the remix, user-generated content, the mashup, DIY, found footage, repurposing, appropriation and bricolage, distinguishing between remediation as text and remediation as praxis. Moreover, remediation is a highly problematic practice, since through the appropriation of texts, contemporary conceptualisations of authorship are questioned and a site of struggle between production and consumption is solidified. Consequently, drawing from Marxist sociology and Barthesian structuralism, my main research question asks how remediation affects the power dynamics of mediation. Who participates through remediation, or who does not? What are user's motivations to remediate, and can we identify a typology of strategies to do so? How do these strategies of remediation shape the power dynamics between producers, users and 'produsers'? To answer these research questions, I propose a mixed methods empirical framework. Initially, an overview of online and offline communities and organisations, whose activities are specifically centred around remediation practices, will be assembled through mapping. In a second phase, a large-scale survey will be conducted within these communities. Next, a random sample from within the survey will be taken to perform semi-structured interviews in order to gain an in-depth understanding of user motivations and strategies to remediate. Finally, a concrete case will be selected as the focus of a netnographic analysis to grasp the specific power dynamics of remediation.

Framing China: Comparative Media Analyses of how the European and U.S. Press Represent China over Time (1990-2010)

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This study will investigate how European and American newspapers represented China in the years 1990-2010. These two decades were marked by dramatic changes in China following the economic reforms which favoured the free-market and embraced the capitalist road that led to a consolidation of China's power worldwide. This study uses 1990 as a starting point because the Tiananmen incident in 1989 caused significant damage to China's image in the Western media—damage that effected the perception of China for a long time afterwards. This led to the 1990s period during which the Chinese government gave increasing attention to global dialogue and to the importance of the international exchange of information. From here the Chinese government consciously and strategically sought to change negative images of China through the development of the concerted public diplomacy and “soft power” strategies of the 2000s. An across time study viewing these twenty years will permit us to better understand how the image of China's new economic power and increasingly assertive position in regional and international affairs was represented in the Western media, as well as how China was framed within the context of world political perception during these two decades. This study has been designed to include content analysis regarding the amount of news, news frames and news favourability of four leading national quality newspapers in Europe and U.S.A: The Times (U.K.), Le Figaro (France), SüddeutscheZeitung (Germany), and The New York Times (U.S.A). The author will use a stratified 2-designed week for the sampling of “generic frame” analysis (one in each two years), then the samples will be divided into four phrases (five years as one category) followed up with case studies on the “issue-specific frames” (the issue that received the same interest from the four newspapers). Similarities and difference among the four newspapers will be considered as to how they shed light on the different national (political, economic, diplomatic) interests between that country and China across time. Meanwhile, the way the three European newspapers were influenced by the diplomatic relationship between the US and China will also be considered. As well as the content analysis, field studies of in-depth interviews with foreign correspondents (of selected press) located in China are combined to provide a whole picture of the complex interplay of international news productions and the ways in which the image of China is reinforced by different media arguments.

A Malleable Frame of Mind? – Framing Contests and the Public Sphere in Student Protests

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Our extant knowledge of strategic framing in social movement is largely gained through activist's discursive undertakings against opponents in promoting their frames onto the central stage, yet the anti-movement strategic counter-framing is often trivialised, especially by the authorities, and how the public sphere both enables and constrains the framing contests. To redress the tendency, this research, bolstered by a unique setting, Québec, Canada's Francophone province, profoundly marked by a history of struggle and resistance, investigates the way the alignment- or differentiation-oriented frames of contending camps in conflict emerge and evolve in the 2012 Québec student movement against tuition fee rises. The mediatised public sphere is brought back as the context for the social construction of both activist's frames and "official" counter-frames during the multi-party framing contest, through an analysis of English and French mainstream media and social media. The co-existence and constant shifts of frames are found to result from both the strategic calculation for a development of the student movement and from the resonance or dissonance previous strategies achieved. This paper is organised as follows. After the introduction, I first develop the theoretical foundations in the form of a critical literature review. The methods section presents the study site and the necessity of using media data for this research. The paper then plots the key events for both the government and student activists, and outlines the landscape of the public sphere in which contender's defensive and offensive work was launched. The discussion section focuses on the dimensions of strategic framing by the authorities and activists, as well as the shifts and co-existence of their frames. Based on the findings, this research formulates an analytical framework for framing contests in the public sphere before it concludes with the theoretical and empirical contributions and some directions for further studies.

I define my network, my network defines me: Teenager's Identity Expression through Different Social Networks

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The networks chosen by an individual somehow represent who they are (or who they would like to be), and by analysing them we can define values that describe role and position of this node in a network. Each node could be defined in terms of influence, centrality, and other metrics which are important in order to analyse even the nature of the relationships in the network between the nodes. Obviously, this is true for both the on-line and off-line world. An interesting case of individuals and social networking site users, involves teenagers (or even pre-teenagers). They devote their attention to the presentation of self and they build up relationships in order to increase their self-consciousness. The explosion in social networking sites (such as Facebook, Friendster, Twitter, Tumblr and so on) is widely regarded as an exciting opportunity for youth. Profiles have become a common mechanism for presenting one's identity on-line and creating content and networking online became a way of managing one's identity, lifestyle and social relations. The aim of the project is to analyse the kind of relationships teenagers build in different contexts and how they are defined by them. It will be done by comparing all their identities and networks, both on-line and off-line, preferably by working with a high school class of students in their first year. In this way it will be possible to obtain a multi-level analysis of a group of people which has been put together without any choice, but have somehow to relate and start networking. It will show how relationships begin to form both in the class, and off-line in all their SNS accounts, and which differences may be noticed in each student's identity depending on their social network. Another important step of the work is the individual interviews with the students in order to obtain their description of the relationships they arrange in the class (at several points in the year), a qualitative definition both for ties and nodes present in their class network. It will therefore be possible to link each social network analysis metric to a statement or a quality, which should be very useful in better understanding how identities are proposed and perceived and the meaning of the different kinds of interaction.

