The topic “Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere” is dedicated to the fundamental question: How do journalism, the various representations and public spheres of European cultures and societies change? This volume consists of the intellectual work of the 2014 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, organized in cooperation with the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) at the ZeMKI, the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research of the University of Bremen, Germany. The chapters cover relevant research topics, structured into four sections: “Journalism”, “Representations and Everyday Life”, “Public Sphere, Space and Politics”, “Rethinking Media Studies” and “Academic Practice”.

The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School brings together a group of highly qualified doctoral students as well as senior researchers and professors from a diversity of European countries. The main objective of the fourteen-day summer school is to organize an innovative learning process at doctoral level, focusing primarily on enhancing the quality of individual dissertation projects through an intercultural and interdisciplinary exchange and networking programme. This said, the summer school is not merely based on traditional postgraduate teaching approaches like lectures and workshops. The summer school also integrates many group-centred and individual approaches, especially an individualized discussion of doctoral projects, peer-to-peer feedback — and a joint book production.

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JOURNALISM, REPRESENTATION AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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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The 2014 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School (Bremen, August 3-16) was sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and significantly funded at the expenses of the Federal Foreign Office (AA). It was also supported by the University of Bremen, ZeMKI, Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research, the „Communicative Figurations“ research network, the Graduate Center of the University of Bremen (ProUB) and by a consortium of 22 universities. Affiliated partners of the Summer School were the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and the International League of Higher Education in Media and Communication (MLeague).

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The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School 2014 and its Participants

Introduction: Researching the transformation of societal self-understanding

Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier & Andreas Hepp

1. About the book

It is clearly not an underestimation to state that the pillars of social self-understanding are in the midst of a reconstruction process: What constitutes public spheres, what produces and disseminates representations, and what defines a journalist against the backdrop of the incessant spread of rapid digital media changes. Although there are also many stabilities, these transformation processes impact practically on all aspects of the communicative construction of social reality, e.g. the hegemony of mass media organizations is long gone, in many countries social media have already reached significantly higher usage numbers, and the way news is gathered, disseminated and appropriated nowadays has only little similarity to the mechanisms and habits which were dominant twenty or even only ten years ago.

Communication and media research is at the forefront of the scholarly attempts to answer the question how social and cultural processes are driven or moulded by digitization and other kinds of media change, meaning: the increasing intensity of mediatization processes and therefore the growing importance of digital (social) media when it comes to news, representational processes and the construction of public spheres. This book focuses on the challenges that are an intrinsic motif of transition periods like the one our societies, cultures and academias are currently experiencing in the face of digital media imperatives. From its various perspectives, it tackles a gigantic and fundamental question that occupies scholars in one or another form: How does research reflect the never-ending flow of new ideas, drafts, risks and opportunities, overcoming borders and limits between crisis and euphoria?

Kramp, L., Carpentier, N., Hepp, A. (2015) 'Introduction: Researching the transformation of societal self-understanding', pp. 7-17 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere*. Bremen: edition lumière.

The chapters in this edited volume offer a rare, since versatile, view on these questions as they come from a broad variety of academic cultures that together form and shape European media and communication research. 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 a summer school and certainly 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 the pluralism of theoretical and methodological approaches for the study of 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 the results of completed research. "Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere" is a thoroughly peer-reviewed book, a result of collective endeavour of its many editors, who paid particular attention to supporting the six chapters provided by the emerging scholars Magnus Hoem Iversen, Georgina Newton, Alexandra Polownikow, Maria Schreiber, Saiona Stoian and Eimante Zolubiene, all of whom were Summer School participants.

The first part of the book is structured into five main thematic sections – "Journalism and the News Media", "Representation and Everyday Life", "Public Sphere, Space and Politics", "Rethinking Media Studies", and "Academic Practice" – however, most of the chapters published in this volume cut across the disciplines, and consequently reveal not only the richness of contemporary perspectives on media and communication, but at the same time also highlight the growing need for a more thorough theoretical understanding of the analyzed phenomena and clear definitions of theoretical frameworks and concepts.

The three chapters of the first section focus on the current state of journalism, its practice, its education and its role in society. **Leif Kramp** (U Bremen) opens the section with a discussion of transformational processes in journalism. Kramp refers to the heuristic concept of "communicative figurations" to argue that organizational learning in news organizations builds on nothing less than a reinvented understanding of journalism. **Bertrand Cabedoche** (U Stendhal-Grenoble 3) focuses on journalism education at the intersection of the mass media and the social media age. Discussing the role of the UNESCO as a promoter of responsible journalism, the chapter outlines research desiderata on journalism education with an emphasis on specific recommendations.

Eimante Zolubiene (U Vilnius) investigates the role news media play in communicating risks such as natural disasters, political crises or technologically induced accidents. Zolubiene outlines a research design for a systematic analysis of risk discourse in news media as it appears across areas such as social, economic, political, cultural, environmental or technological problems.

The second section presents three chapters that centre on the forms and roles of representation in 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 content are in focus: the first one is about media content related to individuals' experiences and how this content is 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. **Saiona Stoian** (SNSPA Bucharest) analyzes how media representations of suffering and mobility intertwine with respect to a humanitarian imaginary. Stoian aims to expand the discussion of this relationship against the background of mobility studies in order to ask how visible patterns of suffering are incorporated into a certain understanding of a mobility/immobility dialectic, and how this incorporation affects the way suffering is perceived. **Maria Schreiber** (U Vienna) focuses on mobile media technology to investigate how elderly media users digitally produce and share photos, with their smartphones. The chapter wants to show how the different affordances that come with mobile multimedia devices are used in an age-specific way.

In the third section, four chapters investigate how the theoretical discussion on public sphere, space and politics can be pushed forward, suggesting new theoretical and analytical approaches: **Alexandra Polownikow** (TU Düsseldorf) puts an emphasis on the question of media quality in the discussion on the construction of public spheres. Polownikow introduces an analytical concept to further develop the study of the transnationalization of the public sphere by incorporating media content qualities. **Hannu Nieminen** (U Helsinki) argues that the change of media production, with the marginalization of the mass media, the growing level of education, and the increase in leisure time, has already transformed civic subjectivity and continues to change into a more self-reflexive and autonomous form of individuality. Nieminen connects a theoretical approach towards media crisis with the discussion of communication policy and media regulation. **Magnus Hoem Iversen** (U Bergen) strives to understand how traditional and emerging forms of intentional, political communication are perceived and interpreted by audiences. Iversen's chapter wants to encourage researchers in the area of practicing reception analysis to pay greater attention to the production of media texts, as well as to engage with the texts themselves. **Simone Tosoni** (U Sacred Heart Milan) deals with a phenomenological conceptualization of urban space, based on social and symbolic

interaction. By discussing an original case study on situations where people are somehow forced into the role of an audience viewing a media spectacle, Tosoni points out that conceptualizations of space – when related to media – should be extended into a fully fledged relational approach, given the omnipresence of media.

Section Four consists of three chapters that suggest rethinking media studies by highlighting different fields of investigation: feminist theory, memory studies and social risk theory. **Georgina Newton** (Bournemouth U) offers a fresh look on socialist-feminist theory from the perspective of critical media studies: Newton calls for a comprehensive approach that integrates all women who are subjected to capitalist and patriarchal media. **Irena Reifová** (Charles U Prague) explores the versatile discipline of memory studies in order to shed light on concepts that are useful starting points for tie links between memory and the mechanisms that impel communication media. Reifova is interested in the intertwining of individual and collective memory with respect to the different memory inducing influences of analogue and digital media. **Maria Murumaa-Mengel**, **Katrin Laas-Mikko** and **Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt** (U Tartu) take a look into the complexity of informational privacy situations. The authors investigate self-censorship as a relatively new phenomenon in risk society and conceptualize these mechanisms as coping strategies to deal with the profoundly altered relationship between privacy and publicness.

The fifth section presents reflections and tangible advice on the dynamic field of academic practice. **Nico Carpentier** (VUB) discusses strategies of overcoming various areas of antagonistic conflicts in academia. Carpentier develops a metaphorical yet constructive path to overcome these conflicts with a discursive tool named the "sqridge". **François Heinderyckx** (ULB) offers a practical guide to enhance oral presentations in an academic context, based on his renowned skills workshop at the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School. **Leif Kramp** (U Bremen) then questions the benefits and drawbacks that digitization brings for science in general, and for academic practice in particular.

The second part of the book contains the abstracts of the doctoral projects of all 41 students that participated in the 2014 Summer School. Throughout the book, a series of photographs taken during the programme are also included. Our special thanks goes to François Heinderyckx for the photographic material that illustrates the sections of the book.

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 PhD students in the field of media and communication studies, lasting for one or two weeks and taking 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. In 2014, it took place from 3 to 16 August.

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 on Helsinki (FI), University Stendhal-Grenoble 3 (FR), Vrije Universiteit Brussel (BE), Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) (LT), and Loughborough University (UK). In 2014, the affiliated partners of the programme were the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and the International League of Higher Education in Media & Communication (MLeague). The main funding institution was the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) with additional support from the Graduate Centre of the University of Bremen.

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 a forum for critical dialogue between academics on the cultural and technological challenges posed by media globalisation and convergence, focusing on socio-political as well as the cultural implications of these challenges,
d. to promote a respectful but critical dialogue between academic researchers and representatives of civilian society, the media industry and government institutions.

The Summer School follows a number of principles, of which student-orientation 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 analyses 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, 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 civilian society, business and the State.

In order to realise these principles, the fourteen-day 2014 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, the participating doctoral students 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-workshop 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 field excursions give the participants more insights into Germany's media structures, politics, cultures and histories.

3. The scholars involved in the Summer School

In 2014, 41 doctoral students participated in the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, originating from 21 countries: Austria (1), Belgium (2), Bulgaria (1), China (1), Czech Republic (1), Denmark (3), Estonia (2), Finland (3), France (1), Germany (4), Hungary (2), Italy (1), Lat-

via (1), the Netherlands (1), Norway (1), Romania (2), Slovenia (1), Spain (3), Sweden (1), Turkey (1) and the United Kingdom (8). All of their abstracts, and a selection of six chapters based on their work, are included in this book.

The blue flow consisted of Andreas Lenander Aegidius, Rianne Dekker, Stephanie De Munter, Flavia Durach, Scott Ellis, Ralitsa Kovacheva, Daria Plotkina, Alexandra Polownikow, Kinga Polynczuk, Subekti W. Priyadharma, Song Qi, Ezequiel Ramon, Jan Svelch, Dan Zhang, and Eimante Zolubiene

The yellow flow was joined by Susanne Almgren, Sara Atanasova, Simona Bonini Baldini, Gabriella Fodor, Antje Glück, Linda Lotina, Georgina Newton, Saadia Ishtiaq Nauman, Binakuromo Ogbebor, Arko Olesk, Michael Scheffmann-Petersen, Monika Sowinska, Saiona Stoian, Jari Väliverronen, and Susan Vertoont.

The green flow grouped Shani Burke, Paula Herrero, Søren Schultz Jørgensen, Aida Martori, Magnus Hoem Iversen, Can Irmak Özinanır, Maria Schreiber, Robert Tasnádi, Michal Tuchowski, Monika Verbalyte, and Yiyun Zha.

The number of lecturers was 22, including 20 permanent lecturers from partner institutions and two guest lecturers from Denmark and the UK. The permanent lecturers from the partner universities were: Michael Bruun Andersen, Bertrand Cabedoche, Nico Carpentier, Matilde Delgado, François Heinderyckx, Maria Heller, Andreas Hepp, Richard Kilborn, Risto Kunelius, Anthony McNicholas, Ole Mjös, Hannu Nieminen, Irena Reifová, Tobias Olsson, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Ebba Sundin, Burcu Sümer, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Simone Tosoni, and Dominic Wring.

Additionally, two guest lectures took centre stage with:

- Mirca Madianou on "Polymedia, Mediatization and Social Change"
- Stig Hjarvard on "Mediatization: Changing the Conditions of Mediation"

In addition to the activities of the Summer School lecturers, the programme also included a study excursion to Europe's biggest news magazine publishing house DER SPIEGEL in Hamburg, and an intense discussion with the then-editor-in-chief Wolfgang Büchner, the online CEO Katharina Borchert and the online managing editor Janko Tietz. The focus of the discussion was on current challenges of journalism and strategies of a news organization to combine quality management, marketing and cost-efficiency in an increasingly problematic economical situation. The conceptual idea of this initiative was also to build a bridge between the doctoral research and media practice.

Once again this year, Andreas Hepp was the local director of the Summer School, and Leif Kramp the local organizer. Both were 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-standardized, anonymous survey. All participants completed an evaluation form to rate, and comment on, the lectures and workshops held during the two weeks of the Summer School. 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, the Summer School book; and the flow-managers/Summer School staff.

The evaluation generated – like the year before in 2013 – a very positive feedback and constructive suggestions for further improving some of the conceptual and scheduling aspects for future summer schools: The reputation, experience and teaching qualities of the lecturers present at the Summer School 2014 as well as their approachability was appreciated even more than the year before by the participants. The average ratings for the lectures and workshops (1 = poor to 5 = very good) were up to 0.2 points higher than the year before (lectures from 3.6 in 2013 to 3.77 in 2014; workshops from 3.8 in 2013 to 4.03 in 2014). 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 and extended length of workshops (2 hours instead of 1 hour in previous Summer Schools) was appreciated. Additionally, also the scholarship programme was appreciated. The Summer School will continue to offer scholarships to cover the registration fees for participants from Eastern and Southern Europe, thus enabling young researchers to come to Bremen who otherwise would not be able to afford it. This is due to the continuing economic crisis in countries like Portugal, Spain and Greece (amongst others). The aim of the scholarship programme is to allow more participants from these regions, who would otherwise not be able to attend and to benefit from the high-value feedback, access to 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. After the Summer School, many participants left positive comments on the website of the Summer School Facebook group, e.g.:

"Not being original here: hard to believe I am back home and that's been only 2 weeks! Miss you all already and hope we see each other again Lots of luck and sleep! And of course special thanks to the organizers and lecturers!" (16.08.2014)
"It was great meeting you all. Thank you. Let me know if you come to Turkey." (16.08.2014)
"It was a wonderful experience and I feel very lucky that I could meet you all. I miss you guys and I wish you all the best with your PhD projects." (17.08.2014)
"It was a great pleasure to meet all of you! Good luck working on your projects and hope to see you again. Greetings from Lithuania!" (17.08.2014)

Comments also included information on local follow-up meetings, invitations for research stays at some of the partner universities as well as plans for a joint gathering at the biannual conference of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) in Lisbon in November 2014.

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 Gabriele Gerber 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 Communicative Figurations research network. We are also grateful for the smooth cooperation with DER SPIEGEL, especially to Catherine Stockinger from the reader service, Wolfgang Büchner as an editor-in-chief who proved to be open-minded and appreciated international perspectives, Katharina Borchert as CEO of SPIEGEL ONLINE who gave insights into the corporate struggles of a multi-platform publishing house, and to Janko Tietz as an experienced print journalist who reflected on his decision to change sides to be one of the managing editors of SPIEGEL ONLINE.

With its diverse sections and chapters this edited volume shows that journalism, representations and public spheres all face profound, and maybe somewhat similar, challenges in the era we depict as digital: Journalism is undergoing a transformation as a profession, a cultural practice and a business, experiencing alterations of its structures, instruments and routines; the role and impact of (media) representations in everyday life are also changing and with them the way public spheres, space and politics are constructed and negotiated. We have to look for innovative research strategies to analyze and understand these transformations, and this is what the strength of European

media and communication research is all about: diversity and creativeness, and at the same time highly cooperative, especially among young scholars, contributions in the joint pursuit of excellence. 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 their research agendas. To preserve this experience, be reminded (in many of the Summer School languages): Researchers, work together! Les chercheurs, ensemble! Forscht gemeinsam! Изследователите, работят заедно! 研究人员，携手共进! Výzkumníci, spolu! Forskere, sammen! Teadlased koos! Tutkijat, yhdessä! A kutatók, együtt! I ricercatori, insieme! Pētnieki, kopā! Mokslininkai kartu! Forskere, sammen! Raziskovalci, skupaj! Los investigadores, juntos! Forskare, tillsammans! Cercetatorii, împreună! Araştırmacılar, birlikte! Onderzoekers, samen!

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

Research

Part 1

Photo: François Heinderyckx

Section One

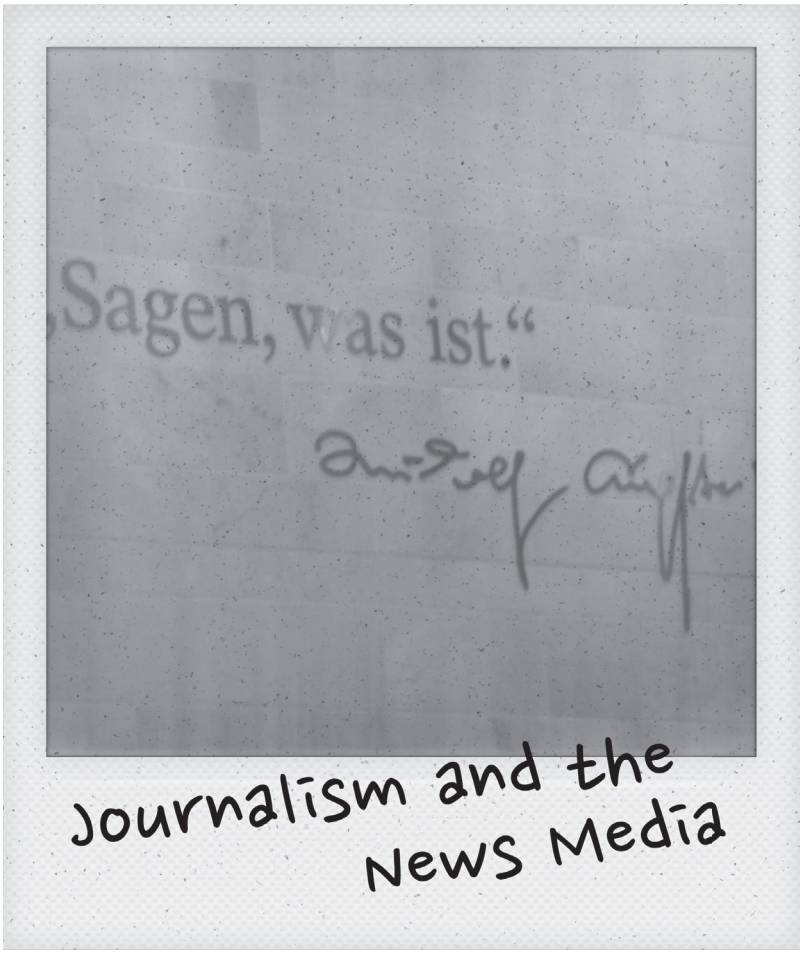

Photo: François Heinderyckx

The rumbling years. The communicative figurations approach as a heuristic concept to study – and shape – the transformation of journalism

Leif Kramp

Abstract

The chapter dicusses the profound transformation processes which are driven by the digitization of media and the 'mediatization of everything', and that challenge journalism on various levels. It is described how journalism as a cultural practice becomes successively marginalized by other sources of information and an overall change of media use and appropriation. It is further argued that journalism as a professional field and the institutional and organisational structure that has sustained and nourished it for decades is undergoing a radical re-orientation in addressing the public. With references to the heuristic concept of "communicative figurations" and the operational concept of "organisational learning", it is proposed how overarching issues of media and societal change can be considered to analyse and shape newsroom innovations. Empirical insights and observations of recent developments on the German news market complement this argumentation.

Keywords: digital journalism, transformation, mediatization, communicative figurations, organisational learning, newsroom innovation, participation

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Kramp, L. (2015) 'The rumbling years. The communicative figurations approach as a heuristic concept to study – and shape – the transformation of journalism', pp. 23-55 in L. Kramp/N. Carpentier/A. Hepp/I. Tomanić Trivundža/H. Nieminen/R. Kunelius/T. Olsson/E. Sundin/R. Kilborn (eds.) *Journalism, Representation and the Public Sphere*. Bremen: edition lumière.

> "Journalism is not a profession to be defended but a practice to be shared"
> (Alfred Hermida, cited in: Shaw, 2012)

1. Introduction

Not a month passes without bad news on the economics of the printed news media. Loss of revenues, decline of circulation, editorial staff cuts — deteriorative trends have intensified in recent years and have had inevitable consequences for the institutional and organizational constitution of journalism. A focus on economical challenges tends to dominate theoretical considerations and practical reflections on this change. At the same time, however, more fundamental questions arise about the transformation of journalism as a profession and cultural practice: What are the socio-cultural challenges of journalism in our rapidly changing digital media culture? Are they based on general societal transformation processes in people's information behaviour and their media use? What is the role of technological innovations and broader changes of attitude towards the traditional agents of the public? Or should we focus on institutional questions such as editorial reform processes or the re-invention of traditional newspaper publishers as multi-platform corporations? Or are journalists themselves primarily drivers of innovation? There is no clear answer to the initial question of what challenges, churns or changes journalism most. The transformation of nearly all core parameters on the macro, meso and micro level of journalism practice is in full swing. This calls for integrative approaches to describe, analyse and explain the tectonic shifts, turbulences and reinventions that journalism is facing.

A focus on the *communicative construction of social reality* provides such an integrative explanation frame. In a deeply mediatized world, where technical communication media shape all of our everyday symbolic interactions and constructions of meaning, journalism is no longer the dominant source for current information on world affairs. A multitude of new actors have complemented the former widely exclusive privilege of news organization to disseminate up-to-date information and opinion. This development has implicated an altered status of news: News has become less a commodity – and more a common property that is shared by millions. News can be found not only on classical news websites, but also in social networks, collaborative knowledge platforms, e-mail portals, search engines and so forth: As a consequence, the definition of news has become more floating, referring more diffusely to a journalistic product, fabricated along a defined set of rules and criteria. News in the digital ecosphere is disseminated mainly by "digital intermediaries" (Foster, 2012: 6) that provide access to a cornucopia of contents which in turn makes it rather difficult to identify professionally produced journatlistc news

content. Therefore, in the 21st century, journalism increasingly competes more intensively than ever with this potpourri of contents of various provenance (lay communication, interest-driven PR, propaganda, gossip etc.).

This poses a profound issue for journalism itself, and journalism research as well: How do the new dynamics of social interaction in mediatized communities and societies at large relate to the perception and value of professional newsgathering. This is not solely a question of cost efficiency in order to stop the economical downturn in the news industry. More fundamentally, it is about how journalism can build stronger, more honest and credible relationship with its audiences. The urgency of this imperative is documented strongly by recent occurrences of distrust, suspicion and even hate against journalists and the mass media in Germany.[1]

2. The mediatization of everything

The spread of the Internet has greatly strengthened social meta processes of individualization, globalization and commercialization, pushing mediatization of all areas of life forward. Following Krotz (2007; 2009), the term mediatization refers to a metaprocess of social change, the moulding of everyday social worlds by a variety of technical (communication and information) media:

> The ambition of mediatization research is not, primarily, to understand the changing media in their own right, nor to chart forms of mediation in different places and times. Rather, as for globalization or urbanization or individualization – the claim is that something which always existed in one form or another (the world, towns, individuals – and media) has come to constitute an organizing principle for other spheres of life. (Livingstone/Lunt, 2014: 706)

Under the influence of all these metaprocesses, culture and society change with and through the transforming media that are applied in them. Thus, media and the significance of particular media for their users are also subject to constant change. Due to the ubiquity of technical communication and information media, the dependence on single media dwindles; but it can be assumed that the relevance and function of media technologies in total increases in all areas of life.

Mediatization research shows how fundamentally the conditions of use and appropriation of media and publishing activity have changed the processing, dissemination and perception of information as well as the dynamics of interpersonal communication. Just as the unbridled technological evolution once made the rise of journalism possible, another change now forces it to to adapt and develop new forms, while trying to maintain its strengths and duties (cf. Conboy, 2013: 148-168; Gordon, 2012). This changes the conditions for the use of media content radically: Journalism has always been in an intermedia competition with other sources of information, but the types

of media were clearly separated. Content was bound to specific 'containers' like the newspaper, the book, the TV or the radio receiver. In comparison, the Internet offers multimediality in an integrated media environment: Merging media and converging newsrooms represent an ongoing process of rebuilding the technical contexts in which journalism is produced (cf. Fioretti/Russ-Mohl, 2009; Kolodzy et al., 2014).

In this change, the availability, scale, diversity and effectivity of content and search aids provided by the digital media environment are a key factor. The saturation of everyday life worlds with information and communication technologies, especially with digital mobile devices, allows users to be connected anytime and anywhere. Large parts of the population have accepted the digital media sphere as their preferred and comfortable habitat (cf. Deuze/ The Janissary Collective, 2012). Therefore, today the levels of individual and social activity depend largely on technological and economic imperatives. It comes as no surprise that such mediatization processes put journalism under constraints for action. But unlike during the advent of print media, photography, radio or television which initially made possible the rise and differentiation of journalism as a new kind of social self-observation and self-understanding, journalism now has a lot of catching-up to do.

Many old rules, routines and habits prove to be quite stable in the newsroom in spite of the radical expansion of the media world (cf. Anderson, 2013: 159). In newsrooms around the world, individual behaviour patterns prove to be stable particularly with respect to the reluctant use of new media technologies in journalistic work (Himelboim and McCreery, 2012; Reich, 2013). The cautiousness and reluctance of established news organizations to adopt new media technology and the Internet as a whole can be ascribed primarily to its asynchronicity, non-linearity and communicative pluri-dimensionality – and therefore the absence of classical mass media characteristics.

As early as in 2000, John Hartley described the formative power of media technology as stronger than ever and the fate of journalism as being marginalized to one source of information among many:

> Individuals will exercise their right to communicate – but won't bother with other journalism, whether individual or industrial. The public will comprise more writers than readers. Such an eventuality contradicts the historic achievement of journalism itself as a textual system, namely the creation of the most important reading public of modernity – the public itself. The prospect of the democratization of public writing is therefore a serious threat to journalism as we know it. (Hartley, 2000: 43)

Over the years, this development has proven itself to be highly ambivalent. Information practices change, but audiences have not entirely turned their back on the news industry: The news websites of publishing houses and broadcasters in fact experienced a steep increase in users and are used as complemen-

tary or alternative information source to the regular printed or broadcasted products. In a sense, then, there are more users of journalism today than ever: The usage figures of news sites exceed the circulation decline of their sister newspapers and magazines considerably. Furthermore, there is an additional huge market supply of non-journalistic websites and services that adds up to the exuberant variety of destinations for information on the Internet. Undoubtably, as Ryfe (2012: 198) states, audiences are confronted with an *embarras de choix*: "For citizens, this is a golden age of news, a time when people have never had greater access to more news and information."

However, the global network also provides access to significantly more non-journalistic sources of information that target users, including freely accessible encyclopedic resources (e.g. Wikipedia), subject-specific databases (e.g. Internet Movie Database), discussion forums (e.g. Gaia Online, 4chan), aggregation services (e.g. Flipboard, BuzzFeed), social networks (e.g. Facebook, Linkedin, Xing), communication services (e.g. Twitter, WhatsApp), interactive location-based services (e.g. Google Places, Foursquare), sales portals (e.g. Amazon) and countless other types of source for thematically, geographically or target-specific tailored content. There seems to be a satisfactory solution available in the digital environment network for all information needs. However, this does not need to be journalism in a strict sense of the term. So, among the strong contemporary suppliers of information, news brands like "New York Times", "The Guardian", "Liberation", "Der Spiegel" or "Gazeta Więcborska" are accompanied by platforms like Google, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or Whatsapp without, necessarily, any journalistic expertise.

That is not to say that for some cohorts it is still common to read the newspaper as they were used to for decades – or watch TV and listen to the radio, depending on their retained habits of news consumption. However, media users realign their take on which media best fulfil their needs at any onetime. Today, users worldwide spend more time with their digital mobile devices than – for example – sitting in front of the television set or reading a newspaper. A survey by WAN-IFRA (2014) revealed that smart phones and tablets superseded location-bound devices, offering opportunities to increase usage, advertising and sales revenues, diversify product portfolio, and engage with users' genuine lifeworlds. One result of continued mediatization processes is, among other things, that there are hardly any places or occasions where mobile media communication is a taboo. New areas of everyday life, which were previously largely the domain of analog media – like public transport, the garden or gastromony – have become digitally mediatized. For journalism, this means that the potential of mobile media use can be exhausted extensively for the dissemination of news content – and for the interaction with it. Here, the concept of

mediatization enables us to describe, apprehend and anticipate the change of media and communication as well as the subsequently driven change of culture and society in its interdependence:

> With regard to quantitative aspects, mediatization refers to the increasing temporal, spatial and social spread of media communication. That means that over time we have become more and more used to communicating via media in various contexts. With regard to qualitative aspects, mediatization refers to the role of the specificity of certain media in the process of sociocultural change (Hepp/Hasebrink, 2013: 4)

It has been shown that today changes in media practices are guided more by transforming everyday habits – also due to the possibilities of asynchronous and interactive media use – and less by a strong system or field logic of the mass media. (cf. Kaun/Schwarzenegger, 2014; Peil/Röser, 2014; Storey/McDonald, 2014). A consequence of this is reflected in the economical development of the press sector: According to the World Press Trends report by WAN-IFRA (2014), newspaper circulation in the United States dropped over 10 percent and in Europe over 23 percent in the course of five years. Print advertising revenue declined 13 percent worldwide, in the United States nearly 30 percent, and in Europe circa 18 percent in the same period of time. In contrast, digital business is strongly on the rise, accounting for a revenue growth in advertising of 47 percent and in paid digital subscriptions even over 2,000 percent globally over these five years. This level of revenues, though, is still way below the print standard with only a tiny market share in the digital economy compared to non-journalistic ventures (cf. Grueskin/Seave/Graves, 2011).

News organizations are also struggling with the monetarization of their digital journalism ventures (cf. Kaye/Quinn, 2010; Franklin, 2014). Whereas the competition between media companies for the attention and time of users intensifies, media usage becomes tendentially parallel. Such a densification of media use calls for a higher level of efficiency, otherwise media appropriation threatens to become superficial and unsatisfactory. Jeff Jarvis argues the case for a qualitative re-evaluation of usage metering: He does not see the duration of usage as the most important factor, but the efficiency (and effectivity) of the gratification of usage motives:

> Instead of measuring our success by how much more time we can get them to spend with us, we should measure it by how much less time they need to spend with us to reach their own goals. ... If the problem is that young people spend less time with news, where is the opportunity in that? I say it is in helping anyone of any age spend even less time, getting more information more efficiently. (Jarvis, 2013)

However, this is not how success is measured in the media industry, and the news sector is not likely to be an exemption: News as a product has to sell; journalism as a cultural practice and has to function. This constellation is not without tensions, as Robert Picard puts it:

> This is producing competing and colliding logics of professional journalism, commerce, and participation, and the tensions between these is forcing negotiations of values, norms, and practices. As of yet, however, those changes have induced few new policies and editorial guidelines in established news organizations [...]. News providers of all sizes are now employing multiple platforms for reaching and engaging with the public. They are reconceiving the nature of audiences and rethinking what information the public needs in different places, at different times, and the methods in which that information is conveyed. These are all indications of the appearance of new journalistic relations and practices. (Picard, 2014: 278)

3. Communicative figurations of journalism

"Communicative democracy" and "redactional society" are the keywords in John Hartley's (2000) perspective on the future of journalism. A "redactional" society challenges the traditional social institutions and their selection defaults by prefering individual skills for the selection and production of information that is deemed relevant. Hartley no longer sees journalism primarily as a profession, but as a form of media literacy for everyone. He underlines people's collective creative ability to gather, select, articulate and publish. This manifests in direct forms of communication on the Internet, where people can demonstrate, interact, respond or pose their own ideas and views, e.g. on social network sites.

Although individual popular social networking platforms (such as Facebook) may vanish in a while (like some precursors: MySpace, for example), the general phenomeon of wide citizen activity and participation through the Internet form a sustainable "Social Web" (critically: van Dijck, 2013). The social media, then, signify an evolution mark in public communication, and it is unlikely that media will jump back. For journalism, this implies far more profound consequences than those caused by previous milestones in media history, such as the introduction of live-broadcasting or the mobile phone. The Social Web not only means a change of distribution technology, but also a major reorganisation of media producers and media audiences. The rise of the "produser" (Bruns, 2008), is not the end, but the beginning of the end of how the media and especially the news industry functions under the auspices of mediatization. Of course, not all media users actually produce media content; but they participate as actors within a social online infrastructure that provides new mechanisms for the dissemination of information. Chris Anderson, former editor in chief of the technology and lifestyle magazine "Wired", sees

the resounding advantage of interpersonal network communication vis à vis traditional news content in the credibility and perceived authenticity of the personal circle of friends: "There are ways to get a strong reputation without a professional affiliation. It's a marketplace out there, and you can earn trust with having New York Times on your card, or you can earn trust by having done a great job for a long time and be respected for that by many people." (quoted from: Weichert/Kramp/Ockenfels, 2011) According to Anderson, earning trust is connected to certain principles, e.g. entering into a dialogue with the audience at eye level, being consistently open with respect to one's own mistakes and correcting them transparently. Helena Sousa, who once worked as a journalist, sees the underlying structural changes for the public as irreversible:

> The exponential proliferation of information production centres and the extraordinary expansion of audiences' participatory power appear to be at the heart of the paradigmatic shift. In this irreversible structural reconfiguration of the public sphere, journalism has lost its monopoly as the principal narrator of the present in the public sphere. Journalism might well maintain its core professional values and techniques but the digital age has fundamentally eroded its role as the actuality storyteller. (Sousa, 2006: 380)

Starting in the United States, the term 'participatory culture' has been used in academia and media practice to denote the willingness of citizens to share their attitudes and opinions with other citizens through the Internet. Many observe an enormous potential for strengthening civil society engagement (cf. Jenkins, 2009; Rosenbaum, 2011). This "mass self-communication" (Castells, 2010: xxvii-xxxi) can be cultivated productively for the construction of a critical public. It does not necessarily have to lead to an undermined professional journalism, as innovative concepts that aim for forms of cooperation between journalists and cititzens who are there and ready to take a part in newsgathering are developed. Ideally, citizens can help journalism in its endeavor to perform its duties more effectively by participating, contributing, appropriating, seizing, sharing, reinforcing or casting doubt.

Without committing to a normative agenda, what can we learn from this rebalancing of roles, the shift of publicising hegemony and the erosion of media boundaries? Here, the concept of 'communicative figurations' provides a heuristic that can help journalism research as well as practicioners of journalism. It offers a number of analytic tools to find the fundamental question that keeps reappearing: "What does the understanding of media contribute to the understanding of life?" (cf. Wieselter, 2015)

The true strength of 'communicative figurations' as a concept lies in its ability to stride through the relatively static analytical levels of micro, meso and macro perspectives in order to comprehend the interweaving between people, media, culture and society (cf. Hepp, 2014; Hepp/Hasebrink, 2014). In this view, journalism is faced with changes on multiple levels, affecting

both the concrete *conditions* of journalism practice as well as the *options* for action. Journalists work not only under the conditions of interdependencies in institutionalized hierarchies which are totally ruled by power structures, but also in varying relations to audiences and other external actors and factors. Building on the intellectual work of Elias (1978), these interdependencies can be conceptualized as communicative figurations that change along with with the structural transformation of the public sphere.

Habermas (1989) has suggested how communicative action has changed in society under the influence of the mass media. With the spread of mass media, people gathered less often face-to-face to participate in discussions, but preferred the usage of media contents. The media became detached from the political system and subordinated themselves under market conditions. This had far-reaching consequences, to some extent the determination of media activity as a consumptive one and a strong institutionalization of professional public agents who were responsible for the production and dissemination of commodified content. For decades, this historically evolved figuration was relatively stable between mass media actors and their audiences: roles were clearly assigned. The journalistic power was reserved for the journalists, but the audience was certainly not powerless and decided by demand which medium was particularly popular. Recent "mediatization waves" (Hepp/Hasebrink, 2013: 13), though, have caused an imbalance: Potentially every media user can participate directly in public discourse. Theoretically, this opens up a chance for a deliberative society to come to life, honouring the normative promises of democratic theory. This assumes that journalism continues to be responsible for "maintain(ing) the fairness of widespread deliberation by resisting the influence of better organized and better funded interests" which means the guarantee of "equal opportunity to influence deliberation" against e.g. "threats or rewards offered by socioeconomic elites" (Dzur, 2002: 333). Hence, the corporate mass media have not automatically lost their status, even though they find themselves under increasing pressure to fulfil their duties as the 'Fourth Estate' within society (cf. Allan, 2013: 261): Alternative information services increase choices, the Internet helps people in many ways to talk to each other directly, to communitize, to set a topic that is picked up by others, and even to construct "personal public spheres" (cf. Schmidt, 2013: 371). Therefore, the general public sphere is no longer organized solely by the mass media, but is also complemented, shaped and often fragmeted by citizens with their sovereign opinions and attitudes.

This does not necessarily mean the proliferation of an overpowering and unreadable cacophony of voices. With the heuristical approach of the communicative figurations concept, journalism research can analyse systematically, how demands, needs and preferences change against the background of individual sozialization, the formation of relationships and collectives as well as

institutional and organizational processes. The analysis of communicative figurations can focus on questions related to *media ensembles, forms of communication, constellations of actors,* and *thematic framings* (cf. Hepp, 2013: 623-624).

1) *Media ensembles* change: Which media are used frequently and intensively, and for what purpose, is subject to sustainable change in many age groups. Traditional mass media are to an extent marginalized, complemented, and in some age groups even substituted by online information services that gradually take up more time across all age groups. Questions deriving from that include: How and why do audiences rearrange their preferences for specific media? What media characteristics serve information needs best? How do news organizations connect various media in their journalistic product portfolio? And to what extent and variety do innovative forms of journalism emerge with the emergence of new media?

2) *Forms of communication* change: It is difficult to keep track of the many trends and hypes that come along with emerging digital devices, online platforms and services that all contribute to a perpetuation and intensification of mediatization processes, i.e. the expanding role that media play in our lifes. The challenge lies in identifying underlying patterns, e.g. the growing importance of online social networking and direct communication, i.a. through messaging services, whether it is SMS, Whatsapp, Threema, Twitter, Facebook or other platforms. Questions may include: What are the primary reasons for the success of new forms of communication? How do they facilitate the dissemination of news? Do new forms of communication change information habits? Do new communication roles arise? And what impact do journalists' activities in social media, sharing of contents among users and follow-up-communication have on the appropriation of information and social self-understanding?

3) *Constellations of actors* change: Journalists have lost their hegemonial role as privileged interpreters of world affairs to 'the people', speaking in terms of the Cultural Studies tradition (cf. Nelson/Treichler/Grossberg, 1992), meaning the average citizens who use the media in their technological variety to blog, tweet, post, tag, produce content themselves, in short: contributes to the heterogeneous mixture of information and opinion that constitute nowadays public spheres. The Internet and social media provide the communicative infrastructure, enable new forms of classification, dissemination and mediation of information (e.g. search engines, collaborative encyclopedias, blogs), which were developed independently from news organizations. Thus, the relationship between journalists and the public changes: The equalization of opportunities for publication online has led to a diversification of the actors involved and voices heard in the public discourse. However, also new institutional actors have arisen like Facebook or Google who filter, select and target content ac-

cording to their corporate interests (e.g. advertisting, competitive stragegies). Journalists face the challenge to assert their importance as professional communicators and make their work valuable for the permantly empowered audience.

4) The *thematic framing* changes: Journalism as a profession that was exlusively tied to mass media over decades and thus a privileged cultural practice, mainly oriented towards the dissemination of news, now starts to detach itself partly from institutional boundaries and tends to become a more dialog-oriented and procedural practice with a substantial share of citizen participation. The evolution of journalism as an (occupational) ideology (cf. Deuze, 2005: 444-447) has shown that a considerably strong set of ideas, views and perceptions of what journalism is and how it functions has sedimented in most democratic society, serving as a backbone of journalism's legitimacy and credibility. This already prompts the destabilization that is engendered by the "demystification of the profession" (cf. Donsbach, 2009) and the re-orientation of a hegemonial to a more collaborative and participatory authority of public discourse. The transformation of thematic framing might embrace a higher degree of transparency and therefore better understanding of how journalism works: To learn about the power of journalism and the media to construct reality does not necessarily require an institutional 'watchdog' (cf. Babcock, 2012), but an educational effect that comes with an advanced responsiveness and self-reflexitivy of journalists and news organizations.

Applied to the current transformation processes that affect journalism, these four attributes of a communicative configutation approach show that we are witnessing an exciting scenario. It can be frightening for journalists: The potential for interaction is at an all time high, as are the audience numbers for online news, as are the numbers of households that are connected with the Internet, as are the numbers of adolescents who possess a smartphone. Over the past decades, the economic uncertainty in journalism has never been more profound than today. The professional discourse in the news industry is shaped by two strong, but conflicting narratives: the diagnosis of crisis and disruption on the one hand hand (cf. Edmonds, 2014; Tran, 2014), and an optimistic emergence into digital modernity, embracing innovations and spurring creativity on the other (cf. Christensen/Skok/Allworth, 2012; Lepore, 2014). While especially the newspaper industry – after the market success of tablets and phablets – continues to put high hopes in the market introduction of further innovative devices such as ultra-thin, flexible displays ('electronic paper'), and thus continues to rely on a definitive digital news(paper) product[2], the current transformations point towards a much more fundamental break with solidified conventions. Structures, roles, routines, tools, contents, outreach: Everything that constitutes journalism is at issue and is subject to change. To be more explicit, the communicative figuration approach offers an analytic toolkit to

make progress in determining and understanding exemplary patterns of how and why information preferences change and how journalism can perform an integral function in these transmedial transformation processes.

4. Lessons from recent developments

To shed only a tiny light on the magnitude of what journalism might have to face in the near future, the German press sector – one of the biggest national news markets in Europe – lends itself to an inspection of recent developments that include spectacular market drop outs, radical makeovers, organisational experiments, much-noted market entries and a remarkable newsroom showdown between the online and print staff of Europe's highest selling news magazine. Some of these developments offer a glimpse of what is at stake:

1) *Detachment from mass media institutions*: With the business newspaper "Financial Times Deutschland", the German press market experienced its first major newspaper loss in recent history. Compared with the economical situation in the United States for example, where since 2001 over a dozen newspapers vanished or ceased their print editions, Germany has retained relatively stable market conditions. However, over the course of only a few months in 2013, several newsrooms were closed or merged. As a consolidating measure, however also broadly perceived as an alarming sign of things to come, a number of major newspaper publishers cut their staff significantly, including newsrooms regarded internationally as newspapers of repute or quality press like "Süddeutsche Zeitung" and "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung". Many of the journalists who were laid off found new missions – quite a few as self-employed freelance journalists starting their own media outlet providing various forms of communication services (e.g. consulting, lectures, public relations etc.), using various ICTs and social media. This also plays a part in how the thematic framing of journalism's communicative figuration varies step by step. What seems like a looming *érosion institutionelle* has been envisioned – among others – by Clay Shirky (2009a), who argued that journalism does not need to be tied to organizations (newspaper companies, radio stations, news agencies etc.) in order to perform its function. Funding models for journalism with revenues coming from user fees, advertising, or donations (cf. overview at: van der Wurff, 2012) are already tested by journalists who use digital media technology and the online infrastructure to circumvent or minimize fixed publishing costs and build a strong relationship to their target group(s). Needless to say, this demands from journalists both entrepreneurial and self-organization skills which also transcend formerly segregated domains of editorial work, business strategy, marketing, distribution and so forth.

2) *New organizational identities*: The Axel Springer SE, formerly the biggest newspaper publisher in Germany, has sold nearly all of its German newspaper and magazine titles to a competitor. It continues to publish only the tabloid "Bild" which is on rank eight among the top 50 paid-for daily newspapers with the highest circulation worldwide, and the national newspaper "Die Welt". The tradition-rich newspaper publishing company strives to focus on its international expansion and digital business strategies. One of the lessons from this re-orientation has been the more flexible business practices of news organizations which understand themselves as multi-platform corporations that aim to diversify their business operations even more. This, in turn, entails a change of strategy, letting the journalistic core business crumble and investing in allegedly more future-oriented ventures, not necessarily connected to journalism. As the market development for news is expected to be furthermore susceptible to uncertainties and deficits, the pursuit of an integrated approach becomes even more necessary: investing in digital journalism to probe and realize its potentials, to shape and cultivate and advance new media with journalism and claim a prominent role in transforming media ensembles, has not yet become a great vogue in the industry.

3) *Alternative funding for journalism* and with it *alternative organisational models* gain currency. Where the free market cannot guarantee the maintenance of integral journalistic functions, a mix of institutional and individual actors can compensate and ensure a proper supply of news, e.g. critical reporting. In Germany, several initiatives have started to undertake journalism projects that act like counterparts of the conventional business model of news that was and still is built mainly on advertising and distribution revenues. For instance, in 2014, an online magazine and author collective named "Krautreporter" (a pun referring to the term "crowd" and the German word "Kraut", meaning "cabbage", and light-heartedly used by foreigners to denote German nationality) collected over one million Euros with a crowdfunding campaign. Following the successful role model "De Correspondent" (in the Netherlands), it promised innovative digital quality journalism for free and offered subscribers (for a monthly fee of five Euros) access to additional source material and editorial formats. Most importantly, these added features included the opportunity to participate in discussions with authors who e.g. share drafts of their stories with the readers (www.krautreporter.de) (cf. Doctor, 2014; Tjaardstra, 2015). "Crowdspondent" is another example. It was founded by two freelance journalists who were supported by their readers and viewers with donations to travel through Germany and report about the country and its people. The duo received suggestions directly from their audience and distributed their written and filmed stories through their website, social media channels and a TV format on public television (www.crowdspondent.de). In the same year, the project "Correct!v" launched its website and began its editorial work as an

investigative reporting unit, funded mainly by a journalism foundation (Brost Stiftung). The main objective ("investigations for society") is described as reporting in the interest of the citizens. They have prompted their readers with the question of "what good journalism means", inviting readers to participate, to communicate directly with the staff, to become a member of the non-profit-association that forms the organisational structure of the project, and stressing the critical and revealing function of journalism to help people understand complex processes in politics or economy and recognize mismanagement, abuse of power, and other important public issues (www.correctiv.org) (cf. O'Donovan, 2014a).

It may turn out that such commercial and philanthropic funding models from civil society are in general not a sufficient solution against the recession trend on the affected news markets (cf. Jarvis, 2009; Shirky, 2011). Thus, also business models that originate from journalism itself and follow the prior aim to invest in and secure the editorial work are crucial. The independent newsroom of ProPublica, an often referred to non-profit project in New York, is one outstanding, but not singular example of how newsrooms operate successfully, detached from media corporatios, while achieving a broad outreach, local differentiation and professional liability in their reporting. In each year of its existence, ProPublica, which was founded in 2008, set innovative milestones in the progression of what journalism can accomplish, including award-winning long-term investigations, big data analysis, an informant database of contributing citizens, and extensive collaborations with newspapers, broadcasters and blogs, to name only a few (cf. Encyclo, 2015; Lichterman, 2014; Tofel, 2012).

4) *New players, new concepts*: Furthermore, the launches of national subsidiaries of "The Huffington Post" and "Buzzfeed" in Germany can be regarded as aspects of a transcultural powerplay in the business of journalism that transcends language borders even more easily than ever before and account for rapid market assimilation of imported concepts, formats, or brands. The "HuffPo principle" (cf. Warren, 2012: 3), standing for the concept of a "blog hub" (Pfister, 2014: 73), publishing a high number of articles per day, many from under- or unpaid writers, has managed to prevail also on the quite dense and saturated German news media market. It has quickly climbed up the ranks of the most frequented news websites (cf. TomorrowFocus, 2014). Beside Germany, the popular news brands have conquered several other European countries like France and Spain with their own newsroom staff that produce original content or translate it into local languages. With HuffPo and Buzzfeed, Europe imported a new style and understanding of what journalism can be – following, (not exclusively), criteria like emotionality, sensationalism, or comedy. New formats like 'listicles', a term mainly connected to articles that come

in the form of top-lists that include compiled and commented pictures, video clips, memes as well as other animations and visualizations, is an interesting example of this.

5) *Reluctance to accept editorial reformation*: The most important innovation issue in journalism relates to how to develop journalism for the digital sphere in the given organizational structures or outside of them (cf. Downie, Jr./Schudson, 2009; Grueskin/Seave/Graves, 2011; Anderson/Bell/Shirky, 2012). For most of journalism, corporate success is a basic requirement for accomplishing this. It is therefore not surprising that there is still a dominant economical and business-oriented understanding of innovation in the news industry. Hence, news organizations as enablers and marketers of journalism react to market changes first of all with a reconfiguration of their business strategy. It is also not very surprising that especially the big, old, established news organizations wrestle with the challenges posed by transmedial transformations. Such challenges were recently vividly expressed by the escalated internal tensions between the newsroom of the German print magazine "Der Spiegel" and the editorial staff of its sister company "Spiegel Online". When newsrooms turn out to be a nexus of contestation, where enthusiasm encounters reluctance, constrasting working perceptions and newsroom cultures can become involved in dramatic conflict. Long-cherished habits and routines are more difficult to rearrange than workflows and mentalities in organizational contexts that emphasized the conditions of online communication from the beginning. In 2014, editor-in-chief Wolfgang Büchner failed to putt across his reform scheme "Spiegel 3.0", a digitization concept that involved merging print and online staff – a plan that met the resistence of the print journalists that still play a privileged and decisive role in Hamburg's long-standing news organization. Despite all the hassle, the "Spiegel-Verlag" publishing group continues to be one of the most reputable news organizations in Europe, which is also the main reason for a widespread perplexity in response to the inability of the publishing powerhouse to approve not only cosmetic changes e.g. of the magazine's design or with sophisticated multimedia projects in the online section, but changes that prepare for the overarching requirements of digital modernity (cf. AFP, 2014; Langley, 2014).

A figurational research approach overcomes but does not neglect the historically manifested dual structure of the news economy: journalism responsible for news production and media institutions for generating revenue. Recent developments show an accelerated pace in the innovation cycle, technology-wise and with respect to new forms of communication that are adopted by a massive number of media users. News organizations try to react with adaptations of their portfolio, but struggle to promote (radical) organizational transformation in the newsrooms. As Ryfe (2012: 195-196) describes for the United States, a fixed set of work routines makes it difficult to conduct

editorial experiments and test new ideas. Paradoxically, then, journalism is astoninglishy well prepared to report on the day-to-day transformations of culture and society, but the journalists themselves are comparatively restitant to change. It seems difficult to change editorial habits and mentalities, accompanied by a crisis discourse whose central point of reference is the preservation of existing structures and newsroom cultures:

> There is another interesting phenomenon that is typical also for other well documented revolutions which is that a part of the elite, in our case professional elites: journalism, has already lost believe in itself, yet is so invested in its old professional self-conception and role models that it would actually rather go down in perish and disappear than change its practices or renew its relationship to its newly empowered audience. (Blau, 2013)

What makes the situation for news organizations even more complicated is the absence of a major single disruption that is solely responsible for the unrest in the news industry, a powerful disruptive factor that can be worked against strategically and that can be made responsible for all the upheaval and unrest in one of the formerly most stable industries of the western world.

5. Organisational learning as an operational concept for journalism transformation

Journalism does not find itself challenged for the first time by technological and social transformations. In earlier transformations, the mass press remodeled the newsroom organization and distribution, the telegraph and telephone revolutionized communication and news transmission in the 19th century, and as two electronic mass media – radio and television – broadened the mass media stage in the 20th century. During these times journalists were initially baffled by the possibilities provided to them by new technology – and quite a few saw a threat in them (cf. Glade/Lowrey, 2011). Journalists first reacted by transferring their established work routines and forms of presentation into the new media. For instance, only after a lengthy process of individual and collective adaptation and learning did radio and later television journalism develop their own languages and forms. It seems obvious that history might repeat itself in the case of the current development in digital journalism practice.

The concept of organizational learning lends itself quite well as an attempt to make sense of the required or actual measurable transformations of journalism deriving from the theoretical heuristic concept of communicative figurations. By investigating the determinants, constraints and the potential that is inherent in organizational structures (e.g. hierarchies, training opportunities, working time models, project management), change can be diagnosed

and also anticipated and shaped. In many news organizations, journalists tend to ignore how organizational, economic and cultural structures are fundamentally affected by mediatization and digitization. As Clay Shirky aptly puts it:

> When someone demands to know how we are going to replace newspapers, they are really demanding to be told that we are not living through a revolution. They are demanding to be told that old systems won't break before new systems are in place. They are demanding to be told that ancient social bargains aren't in peril, that core institutions will be spared, that new methods of spreading information will improve previous practice rather than upending it. They are demanding to be lied to. There are fewer and fewer people who can convincingly tell such a lie. (Shirky, 2009b)

It is debatable, of course, how the significance of each one of the ongoing transformation processes for the future of journalism should be assessed. The news industry mainly focuses on business strategies, trying to find a promising way out of the regressive economical development. Structural (instead of cyclical) market crises threaten the economic existence of news organizations, and therefore trigger compensation measures. However, the most serious problem for journalism lies in the inefficient responses of organizational management to the structural changes taking place in the news economy.

Exploratory strategies in implementing a model of "open innovation" (Chesbrough, 2003; 2006) into the newsroom have not yet become common practice. This is mostly due to existing working contexts that do not allow a model that "emphasizes purposive inflows and outflows of knowledge across the boundary of a firm in order to leverage external sources of knowledge and commercialization paths, respectively." (Chesbrough/Bogers, 2014: 16) However, some examples show that organizational practices that build on this idea can foster a dialogic relationship between newsrooms and their news brands, on the one hand, and their constituent audiences, on the other, to create "an arena for inbound and outbound innovation" (cf. Thorén/Ågerfalk/Edenius, 2014). Especially in the United States, some news organizations established research and development units to face the need for editorial innovation as well as marketing innovation (cf. Aitamurto/Lewis, 2013). However, the very potential of open innovation is connected to *lowering* the communicative distance between journalists and external actors – first and foremost to the audience. News organizations can respond to the structural change with a gradual as much as all-emcompassing reconfiguration of their strategy. Constellations and courses for action are therefore sorted and recombined as a conscious act. The difficulty is that institutional consistency is difficult to produce in times of change. In such moments, the process of reconfiguration can build on insights from figurational analysis, taking into account patterns of media use and information preferences deriving from an intertwined transmedial analysis of media ensembles, forms of communication, actor constellations and thematical framing.

The web of dependencies and influences which characterizes editorial work and creates the requirements for the implementation of innovations, both by individual actors as well as on the organizational level, is central for the effectivity of learning processes. Thus, reconfiguration calls less for the implementation of specific technical innovations, and more for a general social readiness for change. The organization-sociological concept of the *learning organization* (Senge, 1990; Argyris, 1999) suggests implementing innovations as planned and controlled transformations in the newsrooms. It also provides explanations of how the renewal or even reinvention of aspects of journalism can be analyzed as result of their organisational contexts of dependence and interaction.

For the innovation capability of a given newsroom it is important how the learning environment enables the staff on various levels to contribute to the innovation of work and structures. It is crucial to see that both the management and the editorial organization level in newsrooms depend on innovation efforts that include an assessment of training successes, difficulties and frictional losses incurred with respect to the conciliation of the overall strategic aims and individual needs and interests of the staff. Here, following the figurational approach both the personal requirements of the actors – especially habits and aims, but also feelings – as well as organizational and structural determinants and constants with their interdependencies have to be considered.

Cooke (1997) and Cooke and Morgan (1998) have identified *institutional reflexivity* as a signifier of organizational learning. Institutional reflexivity – the "systematic process which combines learning and intelligence such that, in a number of feedback loops, the system receives guidance." (Cooke/Morgan, 1998: 73) – points to the willingness and ability of actors in an institution to critically observe and question their field of own action and its organizational framing. With its institutional reflexivity, the innovation capability of an organization can be increased for example by trying to reduce learning barriers (e.g. in terms of further training) or by the installation of free (creative) spaces (i.e. providing time and organizational flexibility) for creative processes:

> At the heart of a learning organization is a shift of mind – from seeing ourselves as separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something 'out there' to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it. (Senge, 1990: 12-13)

In her empirical study on human resource development in newspaper publishing houses, Pühringer (2007) came to conclusion that "a structured staff development in newsrooms is rather an alien concept" (ibid: 223 – translated by the author). Such deficiency, especially in knowledge-intensive companies such as newspaper publishing houses, has hampered the transfer of knowledge, and thereby the core business. Learning processes in newsrooms have predomi-

nantly depended on individual and social experiences that manifest themselves in norms and routines, but less on systematic learning concepts that are tailored towards the newsroom.

Organizational learning correlates directly with individual learning on the part of the staff (cf. Edmondson/Moingeon, 1999: 160-162). In situations of crisis, organizational learning aims at drawing lessons from the difficulties faced. A common objective is to develop a new understanding of the organizational identity, to experiment constructively with existing knowlege and skills and to mould the feelings, attitudes and the behaviour that led to turmoil (cf. Antonacopoulou/Sheaffer, 2014: 10). In such moments, the conditions for organizational learning are determined on three different but closely interwoven levels: The individual as an agent of organizational learning, the group as the social context and intermediate collective to pass on knowledge, and the organization itself as the overall context in which knowledge sediments as organizational knowledge (cf. Nonaka, 1994). In terms of organizational hierarchies and decision-making powers in journalism, this concerns the individual journalist, the department as narrow and the newsroom as broader type of group, as well as the news organization as a whole.

In a transmedia working context and in addition to their basic professional skills, journalists need greater flexibility in the application and adaptation of innovative practices and tools. Moreover, given the structural transformations, organizational, strategic and learning skills gain relevance for the editorial work. The increasing interaction within integrated newsrooms and with participating media users furthermore calls for social skills such as leadership and team skills (cf. table 1).

Table 1: Relevant competences of journalists in digital modernity (based on Senge 1990)

Area of competence	Competences	Background
Professional skills	Organisational skill	Working independently, project management skills, everyday balance between different working levels (e.g. writing for the newspaper/social media activity)
	Economical skills	Knowledge about sensitivity and engagement for the marketing of journalistic content
	Strategic skills	Knowledge about the development of personal (specialized) professional, anticipatory determination and testing of emerging publication potentials
	Learning skills	Learning independently, willingness to participate in ongoing vocational training, openness and ability to appropriate and adapt to new practices
Social skills	Leadership skills	Self-reflection skills, recognizing personal strengths and weaknesses, responsiveness and willingness to cooperate within the newsroom and with the audience, team-oriented delegation of tasks
	Team skills	Project work including different professional expertises, creation of dossiers, collaborative investigation projects

6. Empirical insights on newsroom innovation strategies

In many news organizations, economical rationalisations have dominated over investment in the editorial domain in recent years. This has caused an unfavorable climate for innovation, which is commonly driven by employee motivation and incentives, job satisfaction and willingness to change (cf. Bilton, 2007: 28). In a recent survey of German newspaper newsrooms, nearly three quarters of the journalists interviewed demanded more responsibility for themselves in the development of new business strategies for their publishing (Weichert/Kramp/Welker, 2015).

The study also sheds interesting light on one of the primary questions connected to newsroom innovation, namely how newsrooms approach their audiences (and engage them) to encourage dialog and knowledge exchange and to also boost participation and interest in their reporting. Lowering the communicative distance between journalists and citizens seems to be one of

the biggest difficulties newsrooms face. However, "user participation" does not seem to be prioritized by journalists. Although more than two thirds of the interviewees say that social network sites like Facebook are important for their editorial work this does not seem to have significant consequences for newsroom routines. Social media use by journalists is mainly directed towards investigations and not primarily towards reader dialog. Thus, whereas one third of the interviewed journalists believe in the value of "low distance" to their recipients, their statements on user participation paint a different picture. The notion of a low communicative distance could be related to the fact that the surveyed newsrooms include mostly regional and local newspapers, which due to their distrubition area are supposed to be closer to their readers than most other news organizations. From the perspective of the journalists, these audiences apparently do not need additional participation opportunities to engage with the reporting. De facto, the openness of newspaper journalists towards the inclusion of their readers has obvious limits: While the participation of citizens in journalistic inquiries is generally deemed important or taken into consideration by a clear majority of the respondents, a more extensive and intensive participation is appreciated only by a minority. A systematic involvement of the audience in editorial work processes is therefore still not a part of common newsroom culture. At the same time, newsrooms make strong efforts to support further vocational training. Training opportunites are used regularly and the aspiration of life-long-learning is widely accepted. Nevertheless, the study also indicates a rather individual exercise of further education with a plethora of external training services and formats (ibid.: 225-228).

These results are similar to those of a transnational study for which journalists in eleven European countries were interviewed six years earlier. The beneficial potentials of the Internet were welcomed and utilized, but more profound consequences for the editorial culture were largely negated:

> The profession has striven for its status among other professions in society since the 1800s. Even now, there seems to be an internal need to adhere to practices which ensure that status, and to maintain the particular values that both generate and legitimise those practices. Newspaper journalists appear to want to stay newspaper journalists. This is not to say that they are recalcitrant technophobes, but they welcome the Net when it suits their existing professional ends, and are much less enthusiastic about, and unlikely to promote, radical change in news work. (O'Sullivan/Heinonen, 2008: 368)

A number of further studies on media management strategies have made a similar diagnosis: Change management in news organizations is still at an early stage (e.g. García-Avilés/Kaltenbrunner/Meier, 2014; Kreutzer/Land, 2013: 209-248; Järventie-Thesleff/Moisander/Villi, 2014). Two of the biggest German publishing corporations – Axel Springer and Gruner+Jahr – have recently gained attention by sending executives to Silicon Valley on "innovation field trips", hoping to get inspiration from aspiring pioneer companies. This

has taken place in the middle of incisive cost cuts in their newsrooms (cf. Kontakter, 2015; Waters, 2013). Amid these somewhat inconsistent and selective change management schemes, a leaked internal innovation report by the the "New York Times" also caused a sensation. The report was immediately ranked among "the key documents of this media age" (Benton, 2014) because of its noticeable account of institutional reflexivity. The report, which was not meant to be published in the first place and bore the title "Innovation" (Ellick et al., 2014), revealed that even the NYT with its strong technology, consumer insight and R&D departments sees itself as a divided company[3].

Rigorously, the report stresses how even leading news organizations have to fight for their audience, promote their journalism for appreciation and most importantly connect with their recipients: The report names the readers of the NYT "our greatest untapped resource" (Ellick et al., 2014: 26) who expect a two-way relationship with the newsroom. On its strengths the report recognizes quality journalism that is continuously provided by the paper. On the weaknesses it urges the staff to pursue user-generated content, events and "other forms of engagement" – without dropping its high standards and values. Moreover, the staff is advised to invest more effort in training to make the most of social media and to enhance the user experience. This means enabling readers to personalize their news consumption or to follow news stories as they develop over the length of time or become relevant again long after their initial publication.

In its intriguing explicitness, the report highlights the transforming *constellation of actors* (e.g. user-generated content), the transforming *forms of communications* (e.g. social media), the transforming *media ensembles* (e.g. digital first, de-emphasize print), and transforming *thematic framing* (e.g. re-assessment of newsroom flexibility and orientation) from the very perspective of the news organization's editorial heart. Specific suggestions include the appointment of a task force to examine the needs and implications and to reassemble the transformation plans as well as an intensive idea exchange with scholarship and digital companies. All signs seem to be pointing towards becoming more adaptive, more accessible, more cooperative.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) follows a similar approach with its "Future of the News" project, collecting experiences, assessments and predictions by researchers and business insiders, including journalists. The summarizing report that was published in early 2015 highlights three main strategic steps. Also these steps correlate with the four figurational aspects of transformation. In order to sustain its status as a trusted, responsible and reliable news source, the report suggest: 1) offering more personalised and location-based news to audiences (deriving from a changing *constellation of actors* with digitally empowered media users); 2) developing online widgets to improve understanding of the news and leading innovation in data journalism

(deriving from changing *media ensembles* with more productive digital media technologies); 3) creating ways to engage our audiences in our coverage (deriving from changing *forms of communication* and *thematical framing* that constitute dialog requirements) (cf. Harding, 2015: 44).

Looking further into the scientific discussion on current transformation measures in the news industry, the following areas of innovation can be identified:

Management: i.a. business models (e.g. paid content, diversification, location based advertising); cultivation of entrepreneurial thinking in newsrooms, involvement in business strategies (cf. Gillmor, 2010; Briggs, 2012) – in newsroom contexts, journalists are increasingly encouraged to consider the economical aspects of their work and market their output strategically.

Presentation formats: i.a. personalization, automatization (cf. Morozov, 2012); visualization of big data (cf. Gray/Chambers/Bounegru, 2012); interactions: dialog-orientatation, digital storytelling (cf. Blaine, 2013), interactive documentaries (cf. Linington, 2013), messaging (cf. O'Donovan, 2014) or newsgames (cf. Bogost/Ferrari/Schweizer, 2011) – multimedia, interactive and mobile aspects gain importance in journalism and demand more sophisticated technical skills from journalists to handle digital tools creatively and purposefully.

Working processes: i.a. digital investigation methods (e.g. crowd sourcing, social media research, big data analysis, drones); various concepts for open, collaborative and flexible working processes: liquid journalism (Deuze, 2008), process journalism (Jarvis, 2009), network journalism (Heinrich, 2011), connective journalism (Lowrey/Glade, 2011), participative journalism (Singer et al., 2011) or engaged journalism (Batsell, 2015) – media users can occupy different roles and functions and thereby can participate in the journalistic working process, e.g. as corrective, whistleblower or publication partners.

Newsroom organisation: i.a. further development of integrative concepts (collaboration between print and online as well as media developers and designers); joint vocational training (e.g. transmedia workshops); transparency and opening: e.g. open newsroom (cf. Santo, 2011) – promotion of cooperation via appreciation of project management in order to realize specific newsroom purposes jointly.

Institutional collaboration: i.a. with non-profit projects (funded by foundations, donations, scholarships) or with institutions of higher education – institutional collaborations between the newsroom and the classroom promise practical synergies and sustainable impulses for media companies (cf. Kramp/Weichert, 2012)[4]: Besides the exchange of content, newsrooms can benefit from innovative ideas from research and development, from stimuli and support to test business models and funding concepts, from cost reductions through third-party-funded projects for concept development, from endurance

and independence in the preparation of long-term strategies as well as from the constant availability and active inclusion of motivated students who again gain an easier entry into professional life.

In the light of such transformation processes that have to be managed, the need for more intense collaborations between journalism practice and journalism studies are obvious: The paradigm of change also occupies journalism research and characterizes a whole series of newly established or tradition-rich academic journals such as "Journalism", "Digital Journalism", "Journalism Practice" or "New Media and Mass Communication". Hence, journalists, media managers and scholars are quite close to each other in their similar efforts to make change tangible and calculable. It applies to both sides to find methods to detect change, to understand mechanisms of change, and thus to determine their own bias in a new way (cf. Picard, 2014; Steensen/Ahva, 2015, and the other articles in the special issue of "Digital Journalism").

At the moment, the idea of a newsroom culture that merges transmedial presentation forms, interactive and fluid elements of online communication and links them flexibly to individual interests and skills, corresponds with a more normative conception of a newsroom than to actual conditions. Some time ago, Pavlik (2001) predicted a considerable push for the breadth of communication modalities, hypermedia, heightened audience involvement, dynamic content and customization (personalization), which in all would promote a further "contextualization" of journalism.[5] But today, the scope for journalistic actors is still essentially contingent on the conditions of the mass media organizational structures that shape their attitudes and practices.

Journalists rely both on a solid framework and sufficient freedom of action in order to provide substantiated, reliable and creative work. Innovations such as the establishment of news desks, or later of integrated newsrooms for print and online staff, already led to changes in newsroom cultures because they reorganized working routines, forms of communication and ways of thinking as well. Such a reconstruction of newsroom structures is usually associated with the intention to increase the efficiency of editorial processes, which also means to ensure ever more and ever faster reporting (cf. Blöbaum, 2011; Meier, 2007; Phillips, 2012; Saltzis/Dickinson, 2008; Tameling/Broersma, 2013). Following the introduction of news desks as an innovative centralized organizational structure, the duration of editorial operations has decreased significantly. The rebuilding of newsrooms into integrated transmedial-working contexts and centralized news desks strived for greater cooperation between the different editorial personnel, flatter hierarchies, and a higher responsibility of the staff in order to stimulate innovation (cf. Hollifield, 2011). Yet, such organizational innovations do not automatically provide journalists with the required time and inclination to conduct elaborate and thorough investigations. On the contrary, innovative research tools have actually increased the pressure of expectation

to deliver more even more quickly. From the perspective of journalism, the blessing of technology can thus quickly develop into a "tyranny" (Witschge, 2012), as more and more aspects of reporting are no longer possible without technological tools and thus generate new dependencies.

New constellations of actors, new forms of communication, new organizational concepts and an altered thematical framing are all key elements of a new newsroom culture: The culture of editorial cooperation is shaped by values and beliefs, as well as roles, practices and routines. The problem of the transformation of a newsroom culture is only secondarily connected to the allocation of new roles, the implementation of new practices and the enforcement of new routines. The premise for change is a process of rethinking; the acceptance of a change affecting one's professional identity and by this a much more fundamental transformation process:

> The difference between online news and its print and broadcast siblings is that it can be interactive, it can be linked and searched, and it can be multimedia. Playing to those strengths requires a different mindset about the journalistic process, which is only just now undergoing exploration. (Kolodzy, 2006: 188)

Concerning these transformations, the risks and opportunities lie closely together: Previously unknown and partly unimaginable journalistic roles like 'community manager' or 'curator' gain currency. They can enhance the dialogic relationship with the recipients, perhaps not producing contents on their own but compiling and arranging content that is professionally produced or user-generated elsewhere (on the web) (cf. Bakker, 2014).

7. Conclusions

The future of journalism will depend critically on how journalists and entire newsrooms are able, keen and ready to connect to the evermore complex and heterogenous information ecosphere and build, deepen and strengthen their relationships to "the people formerly known as the audience" (cf. Rosen, 2006). Although the transformation of newsroom cultures might continue more slowly than radically, there is no turning back: For journalism, a century of stability is over. Journalists can benefit from listening carefully to what their users care about and where they move, from seeking contact with them and learning from them and their appropriation practices. To stimulate and drive these learning processes, change managers are needed who have an evident journalistic qualification and connect openness with proficiency. Movers and shakers in journalism must not lack sensitivity to the concerns of their own. On this foundation,

journalism research and journalism practice can contribute their share to push forward trend-setting progresses, following thorough observations of continual transformations of media, society and culture.

Notes

1 The credibility of the news distributed by established news organizations is distinctly contested by members of specific social movements who use social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) to organize protest rallies and criticize an alleged manupulation of public opinion by conspiring mass media. Against this background, the term "Lügenpresse" (English: "Lying press"), which was used frequently in German history by several actors like the National Socialists as a combat term to intentionally discredit and villainise the free press, was revisited by the protesters (cf. Chandler, 2015).

2 Matthias Döpfner, CEO of publisher and media corporation Axel Springer SE, expects that digital respecitively eletronic paper might widely substitute paper made from wood, but preserving the "intellectual charm" of the printed product (cf. Elkman, 2014; kressreport, 2014, referring to an invention by Samsung, cf. Eletronics Newsweekly, 2014).

3 The report was written by an eight-person team around A.G. Sulzberger which was assembled by the publishing company as a step to "reflect[.] a critical shift from the original mission" and to help the company "adjust to this moment of promise and peril" (ibid: 8), meaning: raising awareness and making suggestions about what the digital future holds and demands from everyone involved in the news organization.

4 There are, however, also dysfunctional developments in corporate management that threaten to undermine these potentials, as seen in the United Kingdom where a publishing group charges journalism students for their work published in its newspapers (cf. Greenslade, 2015).

5 On the historical dimension of "contextual journalism", see the conceptualization by Fink/Schudson, 2014.

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Biography

Dr. Leif Kramp is a media, communication and history scholar. He is the Research Coordinator of the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI) at the University of Bremen. Kramp authored and edited various books about media and journalism. Previously he has worked as a lecturer and research associate at the Macromedia University of Applied Sciences for Media and Communications in Hamburg, as a lecturer at the Hamburg Media School and as a research fellow at the Institute for Media and Communication Policy in Berlin. He is founding member of the German Initiative
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New challenges for journalism education. A contribution to UNESCO politics

Bertrand Cabedoche

Abstract

Never before in the world's history has the need for worldwide journalism education been so pressing as it is now as we enter the third millennium. Already in the 1980s, the explosion of Asian media and the corresponding increase in commercial media had created an increased demand for certificated courses in journalism. In the course of the 1990s, it was primarily the Middle East and Africa that demonstrated such needs. And by the year 2000, courses in journalism education had extended over the entire planet, with spectacular growth rates in China and India.

Keywords: journalism, education, centers of excellence, UNESCO policies

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Against the background of the increasing demand for journalism training worldwide, many countries have begun to consider how to develop journalism education further. In so doing, journalism has been confirmed as a legitimate field of research, and interest has also focussed on the theoretical dimensions of journalism education (Miege, 2006; Cabedoche, 2009; Banda, 2013). These developments were also highlighted in the findings of a report published in October 2005 by the Brazilian National Council for Scientific Research and Development (Banda and Schmitz Weiss, 2013).

In Singapore 2007, The First World Congress on Journalism Education confirmed the preferred direction of development:

> Journalism should serve the public in many important ways, but it can only do so if its practitioners have mastered an increasingly complex body of knowledge and specialised skills. Above all, to be a responsible journalist must involve an informed ethical commitment to the public. This commitment must include an understanding of and deep appreciation for the role that journalism plays in the formation, enhancement and perpetuation of an informed society.

Two years later, that analysis was reinforced during the second World Congress on Journalism Education in South Africa:

> "Journalism education needs to draw on, interact with and contribute to other forms of knowledge in the University" (Nordenstreng, 2010).

UNESCO has played a significant role in these developments, particularly in its support of programmes in journalism training in Africa.

1. UNESCO as a promoter of responsible journalism

In what ways can journalism education continue to develop? This question has continued to be debated within UNESCO, especially in the years following the UN decision in 2007 to create a specialized agency to foster centres of excellence in journalism training in Africa. As a result of this initiative, thirty national schools of journalism were approached, with a view to them forming a 'pool' of excellence. UNESCO played a further role in this development by providing a training guide with course outlines. These were quickly deemed essential, especially since it was felt that journalistic education should not simply be reduced to a practical training issue, but should be extended to include the promotion of human rights and societal values.

In addition to the African countries that have spearheaded the UNESCO programme to create new course contents or to further develop existing courses, the programme has steadily attracted more followers. The latter have all been inspired by a curricular model which could form an important resource

in the reconstruction of their own educational programmes. In 2011, a large number of journalism institutions in Afghanistan, China, Guyana, Iran, Jamaica, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Pakistan, Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania, either adapted, or were in the process of adapting, this model. Gabon, Congo, Uzbekistan and Myanmar had also expressed interest in participating in this initiative. At the end of the programme in 2012, UNESCO was involved in some seventy journalism training institutions in more than sixty countries, all of whom professed that the model provided suitable training in multiple linguistic, social and cultural contexts. By 16 May 2012, the website of UNESCO had recorded 12,223 downloads of its publication via platforms in the following languages: Spanish, Nepali, English, Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese and Russian (Banda and Schmitz Weiss, 2013).

In 2012, UNESCO came up with a further recommendation - one that was made jointly by three representatives of Orbicom, the world Network of UNESCO Chairs and the UNESCO think-tank responsible for communication issues. The recommendation was that a more inclusive and holistic developmental approach should be adopted, after the discovery that so many promises had been broken by the so-called School of Development (Lafrance, Laulan Rico Sotelo, 2006). Since 2001 there has been a huge demand for the programme from many other countries, including new journalism training centers in Afghanistan, China, Guyana, Iran, Jamaica, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Pakistan, Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania.

For this purpose, an initial preparatory workshop was organised, which took place on 8 August 2012 in Chicago at the Convention of the Association for Journalism Education and Mass Communication. This was followed by the meeting of a specific UNESCO panel concerned with universalism in journalism education. This took place on September 21, 2012 in Istanbul, during the fourth European Conference on Communication of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA). As confirmed in 2010 during the World Congress on Journalism Education in South Africa, the general principles that had guided the first programme from 2007 to 2012 again characterized the spirit of the new programme that would run from 2013 to 2017: the aim would be to combine theoretical and practical training issues in the most objective way whilst raising the general level of excellence. The construction of the 2007 model was indeed part of the expectations of 96 international journalism schools, including the Journet, Theophrastus and Orbicom networks and also African academic experts. All felt it necessary to go beyond corporatism, rather than to follow the advice and suggestions provided by media professionals, whose meta-discourse is so often overly prescriptive and obsessively concerned with the production of "little soldiers of journal-

ism". Following the publication of the first draft, journalists themselves were consulted and asked to assess the feasibility of the programme and to propose possible adaptations to the proposed training programmes.

In 2013, in an attempt at further consolidation, a new plan was developed, intended to provide a revised structure to the programme. This was the result of an international project which involved researchers from Australia, Benin, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, India, Lebanon, Morocco, Qatar, Singapore, South Africa and United States. Following these discussions, a number of more specialized skill requirements were identified. The aim was to put learners in a position to understand global issues such as: 1) how to meet the challenges of the content industries, since their links with the communications industries are no longer as obvious as they once were and 2) how to stimulate public debates and participate in the establishment of a social public sphere that would be stripped of exacerbated mediacentrism. An additional need identified was that of encouraging more analytical thinking which placed greater emphasis on ethical issues (Claussen, 2012).

Finally, the 195 member states of UNESCO agreed on a set of minimum standards, ones that would be likely to develop the critical ways of thinking necessary to combat certain forms of exploitation and injustice in the world and to make them more visible. Ten courses have been selected, ones that incorporate fundamental emerging issues. This will lead to the drafting of ten curricula in the new programme which will adopt multidisciplinary approaches. These will include media sustainability ("concerned with the factors needed for independent media to develop, flourish, and endure so they can make contributions to the benefit of society"); data journalism ("considered as a highly specialized branch of investigative reporting but it can also be put to good use in every journalism"); intercultural journalism ("alerting journalism against the patchwork of a mosaic culture"); community radio journalism ("a counter-movement for community-based media, created by the commercialization of media across the globe"); global journalism ("concerned with the principles and practice of journalism on a global platform, and in local cultural contexts"); science journalism ("incorporating bioethics with its recent devlopments over the past three decades in science and technology, classic biomedical problems, environmental issues…"); gender and journalism ("analyzing the way strategic gender analysis can be enlisted in journalism production"); humanitarian journalism ("introducing critical debates on the media and the political economy of humanitarian interventions involving state and civil society actors"); reporting human trafficking ("the awareness of journalists as one of the first steps to be taken in the fight against it"); safety and journalism ("a help for journalists to identify potential risks, including digital risks and learning safe protocols"). Each one of these is written by a well-known researcher who has been selected for his or her knowledge of the subject area in question. The

contributions reflect the disciplinary and geographical origin of a specific socio-cultural point of view, in a project aimed at unifying these perspectives and sharing a journalism education programme design[1]. Those who contributed to this programme had to obey strict specifications and there was a clear determination that everything should have a sound academic foundation, particularly in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences. More specifically, the materials had to provide a stimulus for further reflection, rather than act as a rigid model. The specifications required the integration of local case studies, which were to be expanded beyond their original context in order to touch on issues of globalization. What was also required was a readiness to respect gender issues and to make texts widely accessible: to journalism educators, to media professionals, to policy makers and to members of the general public. Finally, there was the need to introduce some consideration of theoretical issues, with a strong educational commitment, rather than just present a prescriptive list of dos and don'ts ("We do not know how far the comparison can work").

At the end of the essays, two proposed training modules were assessed by experienced media professionals. Given the success of the formula, UNESCO is now arranging for the material to be translated into several different languages, following the appearance of the first English version (Bamba, 2013). We also arranged for the production of a French version, approved in early 2014.

In addition to recommendations for the training of facilitators, we believe it desirable to combine this aspect of the work with some thoughts on the possible future course of research into journalism: for example, an assesment of the final report in 2014 of the European Science Foundation (European Science Foundation, 2014), and our contribution as key note speaker at the first forum of the Arab Association on Communication Science, AACS, in Beirut, 5-6 December 2014.

2. Future research should focus on the education of journalists

Focusing on the education of journalists should be considered an obvious issue. As some recent contributions have reminded us, it is possible to speak of a very close link between questioning the public sphere and focusing on media representations. It is arguably the case that without free media, the public sphere would not exist, therefore the state of media should be considered ipso facto to be in effect an assessment of the public sphere and of the debates which are set in train by its existence. In European democracies, but also in many other forms of government, the public sphere is often closely associated with the activities of the printed press. (Miège, 2010).

There are, in fact, - in addition to the theory of agenda setting – many other theories which confirm this point (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). For example, as the journalist and academic Timothy Garton Ash, the Director of European Studies at St. Antony's College (Oxford University), has claimed, it is journalists who produce the first draft of history. Noting that "more and more researchers believe what they read in the papers," Garton Ash writes that he is actually working to end the absurdity of a supposed Cold War between the two worlds and rehabilitate each. Responding to postmodernismand assuming a positivist theoretical position, the author draws a clear boundary between, on the one hand, Literature, and History, as an academic discipline and Journalism, on the other hand; i.e. between Truth and Untruth, fiction and non-fiction (Garton Ash, 2001).

I have already discussed this assertion in an earlier contribution (Cabedoche, 2003), that provides some criticism of mediacentrism (Schlesinger, 1992). We already have a good idea of what is meant by the construction of a so-called generalized public relationship model: namely that in the process of increasing 'informationalization' in which our contemporary societies are actually developing, more and more social actors are producing public information out of traditional media.

However, the media are at the core of each of these different models: The Opinion Press model; The Commercial Mass Media model; The General and Audiovisual Media model; The Generalized Public Relationship model. Each of these models involves some specific type of audience/citizen relationship and of a relationship with media (Miège, 1996: 166). Even with the Social Media model, the mainstream mass media are still regarded as setting the agenda, because they try to encompass everything that could be socially shared, and provide an opportunity to produce information. It is therefore easy to understand why managers of established mainstream media are constantly seeking to exploit all the latest technical innovations, in order to control, manage and organise (Miège, 2007: 116). The same phenomenon was observed with respect to the digital press in the late 1990s, when the objective was both to prevent a proliferation of offers and to implement editorial forms that were close to the print press (Salles, 2010). Especially in the case of the audiovisual media, it is the mainstream media that have continued to define the agenda. Television is often regarded as the primary definer in western (Casanova, 1996) and in southern societies (Cabedoche, 2013), because of attractiveness and genuineness effects of journalist discourses (Charaudeau, 1997), and the screen sanctification (Dayan and Katz, 1996). The phenomenon of fragmentation of the public sphere has not really changed the situation, but has merely confirmed the long-standing observation that the emergence of a new Information and Communication Technology never leads to a replacement of the previous ones. In fact, media studies has always mobilized search, even in lands

where there is not a tradition of axiomatic grouping in terms of media studies. (e.g. in France, where most researchers do not want to be defined by the object but by their concepts and theories).

Consideration of the media is one of the characteristics of the various theoretical schools, beyond the radical opposition they have shown: an empirical functionalist school with Lasswell developed the propagandist role of the media in the promotion of democracy (Lasswell, 1948); a diffusionist school with Lerner demonstrated the role of mass media in the appropriation of modernization behaviors in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt (Lerner, 1958); the theory of cultural imperialism, as defined by Herbert Schiller tried to explain "[…] the sum of processes by which a society is built into the modern global system and how its dominant élite is attracted, pushed, and sometimes corrupted, forced to model social institutions, for they adopt, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominant center of the system" (Schiller, 1976). Herbert Marcuse focused too on media to rehabilitate the Marxist concept of alienation (Marcuse, 1963). With Cultural Studies, the focus moved to the issue of reception, and strategies people use to negotiate with mass media (Ang, 1985). Mediation theories provided a profoundly dialectical reading of the interactions between mass culture, popular and national public and social relationships (Martín-Barbero, 2002), etc.

Now, Media Studies is mobilizing research works with additional theoretical constructions: e.g. the Theory of cultural industries using the development of case studies, sector by sector; the focus of research works on the appropriation of ICTs; the discussion of public spheres, revealing the actors' performance and the role of media, including TV. For example, Peter Dahlgren has developed a critique of Jürgen Habermas concept: speaking about the public sphere, there is now a tension between a unitary model and a plural model. The Swedish researcher argues for a dynamic and pluralistic conception of public sphere animated by the interaction between a dominant public sphere and multiple alternative public spheres, in order not to "marginalize and suppress the diversity of complex societies" (Dahlgren, 2005).

In recent years, the focus on the media has been accelerated by the development of institutional references and official reports on Media Education; Journalists Education; the Regulation of information; the Internet governance. In parallel, the development of academic education has opened new fields of debate. Some are methodological issues: analysis of the uses and practices in the sectors of information; content analysis; adequacy of tools, concepts, theories with regard to history and socio-cultural environments. Others relate to contemporary issues such as: Do we still require academic courses for the education of journalists?; What contribution does constructivism make to journalism education?; How should we understand the competition between classic and social media?; What is the role of ICT and transnational media

in social change?; What could be the place of the nation-state regarding the regional strategies and even continental strategies of operators in the field of audiovisual and telecommunications?; How can issues of copyright, cybercrime and media coverage of terrorism be regulated? What new concepts can be developed that take into account the increasing interpenetration of public and private spheres? Do we need a new definition of transparency and corporate governance?

In other words, these questions also focus on the role of knowledge in our societies: What about the mosaic culture (anyone gets anything, anyhow, anywhere and calls it knowledge) of which Moles spoke some fifty years ago (Moles, 1967); or what about the role of pedagogy when some professionals try to impose their ideas on journalists' education against the knowledge and recommendations of academic researchers (Miège, 2007; Cabedoche, 2009).

Media studies is still important for an understanding of the fundamental processes of both society and, more generally, of the human condition. Recent societal characteristics are now changing very profoundly:

1. There is an increasing digitalization of figures, texts, sounds, images, and this provides a common technology platform for telecommunications, ICT and media.
2. There is an increasing media globalization, that this offers instant, immediate and interactive communication, and in parallel, needs to identify many different, complex processes, which are both technological and social processes. This warns against the temptation to develop general principles and deterministic explanations (e.g. the illusion of a Facebook revolution in Arab countries). Paradoxically, this reveals the increasing power of the dominant transnational economic actors, while also demonstrating the opportunities for civic engagement and participation, and for creative practices in content production and consumption of digital formats.
3. There is increasing merchandization when the main drivers of digitization and globalization of the media are commercial companies. If communication is both a human capacity and a generic need, its subordination to "market forces" worldwide presents the risk that the substance of our society will be subordinated to the global market place.

For these reasons, researching on social issues increasingly supposes that media processes be taken into consideration: the media define the framework for matters of public debate; the media interrogate culture, working life, identity; actors of political, economic, religious, cultural, scientific power internalize the media and journalists' logic, to legitimize their actions or increase their power. Finally, without falling into mediacentrism, an understanding of the media process and journalists' backgrounds is essential for an understanding of the ways in which societies and cultures are maintained and developed through intangible forms of production.

3. Conclusion

All the researchers who, at the request of UNESCO, produced the curricular materials for the centres of excellence on journalism education, were united in a common attempt:

- to consider how to enhance opportunities for civic and informational interaction outside the mainstream media (communicative action), and not to fall into social determinism;
- to analyze how increasing informationalisation provides opportunities for social actors (strategic action) between classical mainstream media and social media, on national and transnational levels, including rigid political spheres;
- to identify uses and practices, for example, how common discourses re-integrate technological determinism (See the so-called Facebook revolution, in Arab countries), and to promote links between the media and academic research, Cabedoche, 2013);
- to identify market trends and media industries, and their impact on cultures
- to identify public policies and their autonomy when faced by the requests of the market and the territorial extension of the operators' strategies, for example, private actors' telecommunications
- to clearly distinguish research work from marketing approaches regarding media and consumer practices, and to put them in perspective with the construction of public policies.

To accomplish this, there are a number of convergent recommendations. First and foremost, priority should be given to in situ and pro tempore approaches. For example, the digital divide is also connected to one's own experience: this suggests that a distinction should be made between perceptions and "realities" of this divide. There should be a discussion about the relation between consumption and income. This means one has to distinguish between "interstitial man" (Hall, 1991), open to every culture and able to adapt, and "immobile man", flooded in liquid societies (Bauman, 200).

Secondly, communication researchers recommend not reducing social to communication: if this is not done, the risk might be to postulate an equivalence between communication and the social, as if the fact that communication exists everywhere allows one to conclude that everything is communication. Every aspect of social life presupposes the existence and the operation of complex communication systems - but this does not automatically lead one to conclude that it is possible to analyze social complexity just from communication (Miège and Tremblay, 1998: 11-25).

One still needs to focus on transdisciplinary approaches (Media Studies constitutes a field and not a discipline!), and to produce work that takes a longitudinal approach: promoting a historical approach over a longer period allows one to abandon short term opportunism (the domination of journalists news), and consider it impossible to understand objects of information and communication sciences without looking back at the past, including the distant past. This is in response to an epistemological requirement, i.e. to contest the apparent 'normality' of the present, and to examine the legacy of the past in the structuring of this present (Bautier, 2007: 197).

Finally, this presupposes a focus on comparative studies, in order to identify long term trends instead of reducing research work to a simple juxtaposition of case studies. And, of course, this needs international research collaborations (e.g. GDRI Commed; AACS; ECREA; ICA; AIERI; European Science Foundation; UNESCO, etc).

Note

1 We were the author of the Intercultural journalism curricula.

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Biography

Bertrand Cabedoche is Professor of information and communication sciences, UNESCO chairholder on International Communication at the University of Grenoble, member of the executive board of ORBICOM (Montréal). Docteur d'état in political sciences (1987), graduate of the Higher School of Journalism of Lille (1978), Bertrand Cabedoche is now in charge of the international development of GRESEC, a well-known French academic research team in the field of information and communication, and responsible of the International development of the Doctoral School of University of Grenoble. He is member too of the board of advisors of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA). In december 2012, proposed by Mrs Irina Bokova, General Director of UNESCO, he was nominated as the president of the global network Orbicom (UNESCO chairs in Communication). As a researcher, he has worked (1992-1996) on the representations of the European Union in the main member states' newspapers for FUNDESCO, Fundación para el desarrolo de la Communicación (Madrid). He has also been working on media discourses on North-South relations since the 1970s on the field of international information (One of his first scientific works has been quoted in the famous UNESCO MacBride report end of the 70's). And for a more recent time, he has been working on the ways societies are constructed when they become the subject of public (polemic) debates (for instance in the case of energies; nanotechnologies; Cultural Diversity and Cultural; Information and Communication Industries; ICTs and social change), with the advantage of a long professional experience last three past decades as a journalist in France and Canada (chief editor), than as an international consultant for multinational organisations. Among numerous scientific publications (in France, Canada, UK, Germany, Spain, Romania, Brazil, Lebanon, Tunisia, Madagascar, DRC, Russia, United States and China), he is the author of Les chrétiens et le tiers-monde. Pour une fidélité critique [Christians and the Third World. Critics and Loyalty], Paris: Karthala, 1990 and Ce nucléaire qu'on nous montre. Construire la socialité dans le débat sur les énergies [The nuclear show. Building sociality on public debates about energies], Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003. Bertrand Cabedoche has been invited to organise seminars or give lectures in 50 universities, all over the world.

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Risk discourse in news media. Power to define danger?

Eimantė Zolubienė

Abstract

The 21st century is being marked by a host of large-scale social threats: pandemics, natural catastrophes, terror attacks, political tensions and technological accidents. However real and material such events and processes are, they become socially visible and meaningful as *risks*, and an increasing awareness and presence of such risks is a particular characteristic of the societies we live in (Beck, 1992). By choosing what information to present and how, the media are crucial players in the construction and communication of risk (Kitzinger, 1999). While there has been a lot of studies about how media reports risks related to particular issues such as health, ecology or technology, a more holistic inquiry into the general features and dynamics of mediated risk discourse is missing. The atomistic approach to understanding mediated risk does not reveal the shared characteristics of the broader flow of information about risks, thus losing sight of a crucial part of the risk society argument - the fact that risks are complex and systemic (OECD 2003) rather than simple and linear (van Asselt and Renn, 2011). This chapter outlines a research design for systematically investigating media's risk discourse as it appears across different areas such as social, economic, political, cultural, environmental or technological. Referring to the theoretical ideas regarding discourse espoused by Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau 1990, 1993; Mouffe 1993, 2008) as well as Foucault (1969), the chapter illustrates an approach to the study of mediated risks not as something inherent in objects, events or processes themselves, but as something constructed by the interplay of the media and other discourses.

Keywords: risk, news media, discourse, framing, a holistic approach

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1. Introduction

"Why are so many fears in the air, and so many of them unfounded?" (Glassner, 1999)

A postmodern society is increasingly becoming obsessed with its future, and following the process of reflective modernisation has gained the label of "risk society". According to Beck (2006), modern society has become a risk society, a society increasingly occupied with debating, preventing and managing risks that it itself has produced. On the one hand, there is clear evidence that we live in an uncertain environment filled with health risks, natural disasters, social disintegration, political tensions, scientific discoveries hurtling out of control, etc. On the other hand, modern society emphasizes our ability to control these hazards. In a risk society, the sense of fear is at the same time ever present and considered as partly groundless; we live in a paradox of simultaneous rising living standards and the increasing feeling of risk. As Aaron Wildavsky (1979) atply put it – the richest, best–protected, most resourceful civilization in history, with the highest degree of insight into its own technology, is on its way to becoming the most frightened.

When creating awareness of "risks", the role of the media is essential. News organisations are one of the most significant actors involved in the social construction of risk (Short, 1984: 721). They have the power to produce and share the knowledge about risks, defining which objects, actions, and processes should be considered as dangerous, predicting who will probably become victims, and distributing blame for causing the things that threaten us. It is widely recognised that media coverage of risk is selective (Kitzinger, 2009), and there have been a lot of studies about how media report risks related to particular issues such as health, ecology or technology (e.g. Collin and Hughes, 2011; Escobar and Demeritt, 2014; Eskjær and Roslyng, 2013). However, a more holistic inquiry into the general features and dynamics of mediated risk discourse is missing. The atomistic approach to understanding mediated risks does not reveal the shared characteristics of the broader flow of information about risks. Thus, it looses sight of a crucial part of the risk society argument – that risks are complex and systemic (OECD, 2003) rather than simple and linear (van Asselt and Renn, 2011).

This chapter outlines a research design for systematically investigating the media's risk discourse as it appears across different areas such as economic, political, health, cultural, environmental or technological problems. In this approach, a mediated risk is being understood not as something inherent in objects, events or processes themselves but as something constructed by the interplay of the media and other discourses. The chapter begins with a discussion on a variety of risk definitions revealing ambiguities in this field. It then introduces discourse theory as a methodological basis for making sense of mediated risks. Finally, some findings of a pilot study are presented, seeking to provide empirical illustrations as well as reflecting on some of the qualitative features of risk representations in (television) news.

2. Roving among definitions of risk

The concept of risk lacks a fixed meaning in the discourse in scientific literature and varies across different disciplines. There is no commonly accepted definition of a risk – neither in the sciences nor in public understanding (Renn, 1998). Statements similar to these are usually found in academic publications that deal with risk issues. This reflects a confusion rising from the absence of a stable definition of risk. Different disciplines employ specific definitions of risk applying them to the particular context such as health, economics or psychology. Risk is incorporated into so many different disciplines – from insurance to engineering to portfolio theory – that such a confusion should come as no surprise (Damodaran, 2008).

On a general and abstract level, the concept of risk is twofold. Firstly, there is the formally exact, scientific starting point where risk is considered as *a probability of losing something valuable*. This approach usually refers to risk as something objective and aims then to measure risks. However, such technical perception is not able to provide answers to many questions rising in the social context of a society concerned with making sense of risks. Within the last decades, then, much greater attention has been paid to the social nature of risks, the fact that risks cannot not only be defined as objective threats but need be understood also as an awareness of these threats. Hence, risks are essentially also socially constructed. Those who have adopted such a *social constructionist* position, regardless of the strength of this view, tend to argue that a risk is never fully objective or knowable outside of our belief systems and moral positions: what we measure, identify and manage as risks are always constituted via pre-existing knowledge and discourses (Lupton, 2013). This approach to risk helps to explain why different societies are afraid of different things as well as why the perception of risk varies among members of the same society. For instance, differences between experts' and laypersons' opinions show that not only objective and rational factors influence perception of risk. There are a lot of other factors influencing risk perception, e. g. socio-demographic characteristics (Hakes and Viscusi, 2004), religious and quasi-religious beliefs (Sjöberg and Wahlberg, 2002), cultural models (Douglas and Wildavsky, 1982) or media effects (McCluskey and Swinnen, 2011).

This work focuses on the risk definitions constructed and mobilized in the news media. Thus, the concept of risk is, from the outset, treated as a social construct which comes into the world as a result of the various practices of social agents. According to Balžekienė, risk as a social construct is shaped by interaction and the influence of various social, cultural and institutional factors (2007). News media form a specific area that employs a particular concept of risk. As Kitzinger (2009) states, TV news, radio reports and the press, for example, do not cover risks as formally defined (as a calculus of "likelihood multiplied by impact"). Instead, they cover stories: disasters, crises, controversies and inquiries. In this respect, the notion of risk is defined in a broader sense and comes closer to another concept –

danger. As Wilkinson (2009: 23) claims, on most occasions, in everyday life the language of risk is used not so much as a cue to raise questions of mathematics. Rather, it is a means to highlight common "worries", "problems" and "concerns". Andy Alaszewski, professor of health studies, has introduced a valuable idea of the "risk iceberg" that helps to illustrate a wide range of other concepts involved in the definition of risk. A wide array of inter-related terms and concepts – such as "hazard", "danger", "harm", "safety", "vulnerability", "dangerousness", "blame" or "accountability" – underlie and build our understanding of "risk" (Alaszewski 1998: 10, cited in Shaw 2001). Even if some semantic differences exist between all these notions they all have something in common – the sense of declining safety. The diverse vocabulary of risk presented by Alaszewski points to the way news media has a hand in the process of risk framing.

3. Risk and discourse: several theoretical implications

Discourse is a form of social action that plays a part in producing the social world – including knowledge, identities and social relations – and thereby in maintaining specific social patterns. We are surrounded by various thematic discourses, and we also help to create as well as maintain them through different social practices, such as daily conversations or comments on social networks (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 5). Crucial theoretical and methodological insights regarding discourse have been developed by a number scholars, including Fairclough (e.g., 1985, 1992, 1993), van Dijk (e.g., 1985, 1997, 2011), Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau 1990, 1993; Mouffe 1993, 2008) and, of course, Foucault (1969). Laclau and Mouffe, as well Foucault, are particularly useful in discussing the characteristics of risk discourse in news media.

Laclau and Mouffe began a prolific theoretical production with *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* in 1985, that was soon called Post-Marxism (Biglieri and Perelló, 2011). The theoretical starting point of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is the proposition that all social phenomena and objects obtain their meaning(s) through discourse, which is defined as "a structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed" (Laclau 1988: 254, cited in Carpentier and De Cleen 2007). For Laclau and Mouffe, a discourse is an attempt to fix a web of meanings within a particular domain (Rear and Jones, 2013). In this sense a discourse is understood as a specific structure of various elements whose meanings are in flux.

For Laclau and Mouffe analysing discourses points to several important analytical concepts such as *floating signifier*, *nodal points* and *field of discursivity*. These core concepts give a structural body to their theoretical model, and enable an operationalisation of various discourses, including the risk discourse in news media. The idea of *floating signifiers* refers to the way elements of a discourse gain

different meanings in different discursive contexts (Carpentier and Van Brussel, 2012). "Risk", can be understood as such a floating signifier, whose meaning varies in different contexts not only among different disciplines, but also in the varying discursive contexts provided by news media. It can be assumed that in the domain of news media, a "risk" is constructed when it is placed into the field of other discourses such as political, economic, environmental, technological or health discourses. Articulation of "risk", thus, gains different meanings in various discursive contexts. For instance, risk related to GMO is reflected differently in terms of human health, environmental issues, economy or progress of science. Following Laclau and Mouffe, it can be said that "risk" and other closely related concepts – like "threat", "danger", "insecurity" or "disaster" – are linked together by a particular system of meanings or chain of significations, assigning meanings to other signifiers within discourse (Rear and Jones, 2013). Due to this complexity of risk representations, intertextuality and interdiscursivity are also key parts of understanding risk discourse. While discourse theory points to the way the construction of "risk" is intertwined with other discourses, it also helps to see that at the same time a general discursive field of "risks" has emerged. Thus, we can think of "risks" articulated by "economy" or "health", but also "economy" and "health" being constructed increasing through the lense of "risks".

The question about the more or less autonomous role of media adds another layer to these considerations. Media distributes daily a wide range of risk messages regarding various dangers for individuals, social groups and for the whole society. Zinn (2010), for instance, revealed the growing frequency of the word "risk" and related terms' in newspapers. However, he also notes - "It remains unclear whether the increasing usage of the word 'risk' is mainly a result of new risks, a change of social regulation and governance, or of a socio-cultural preference towards individualist values or a mutual linking of all these developments". In any case, it is obvious that risk is becoming an integral part of news discourse.

In the field of media, it is useful to define discourse as a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements that in some way together produce a particular version of *events* (Hall, cited in Burr, 1995: 67). In this respect, a discourse is a means of imposing a specific understanding of reality by those who have power to construct it. Discussing risk in the frame of power states Beck (2006), also notes: "Risk definition, essentially, is a power game. This is especially true for world risk society where Western governments or powerful economic actors produce and define risks for others". If the meaning of risk is socially constructed, the nature of it highly depends on who speaks about it and how. Also, this presupposes the perception of discourse not only as a self-propelled process, but phenomenon that different social actor aim to under control.

In this sense the ideas of Foucault become relevant. According to Foucault, in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures (Foucault, 1970 in Young,

1981). The discourse of risk developing in the field of news media is also shaped by a wide range of various techniques, procedures (e.g. framing) which make it possible to create a view that the leading actors behind the discourse are willing to see. For example, a side effect of some vaccines can be presented in different ways when the producer of vaccines, an independent expert or a mother whose child is sick starts talking about it. Producers of news decide whose voice readers/viewers/listeners should recognise as the most significant, convincing and reliable.

Through the risk discourse news media can also gain power to manipulate or even control a society, not always leading towards rational behaviour. News organisations tend to draw a dangerous picture of the world, including such variables as risk sources, victims, people who should be blamed for causing risk as well as those have to be treated as responsible for risk control. Sometimes some of these details can be excluded from risk messages and left unnoticeable, but in the analysis of discourse this means something as well. In short, news media can create and transmit to audiences a particular knowledge of risk and consider it to be true. As Foucault claims, truth is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002). The ability to create a regime of knowledge becomes particularly important while taking into account that media never really mirror reality. In the context of the discursive construction of risks, the media are indeed accused of routine sensationalism. Journalists are blamed for exaggerating risk, "whipping up hysteria" and distorting reality (Kitzinger, 1999).

4. The flow of risk representations in the television news

Without techniques of visualization, without symbolic forms, without mass media, risks are socially non-existent (Beck, 2006). Aiming to reveal the some of the contours of general *risk discourse in news media,* I carried out a pilot study on risk representations in television news.

This qualitative study followed the principles of the grounded theory. The empirical material for it was collected using the document review (audio-visual material) method, and consisted of 94 news messages sampled out from the Lithuanian television news "TV3 žinios"[1] using purposive and theoretical sampling. The data analysis was divided into different stages typical for the grounded theory strategy: open, axial and selective coding (Böhm, 2004).

It is important to emphasize that the research data reflect only the case of Lithuania. The way risk is presented can be particular and undoubtedly determined by various factors that come from political, economic, sociocultural, historical contexts, etc. Referring to Rinkevicius (2000), Lithuanian society can be treated as a "double-risk" society that faces the complex uncertainty related to the transition to

the market economy and democratic governance; there is increasing social anxiety about high-consequence risks and the inability of modern institutions to cope with such risks.

Looking at the materials of this pilot study, one finds a rich and diverse presence of "risks". Even if the notion of risk often is future oriented, in the media it is also – or maybe mostly – relevant in making sense of events that have already occurred, because "what happened before can be repeated again" (Mairal, 2011). As expected, risk discourse in news media is also multidimensional and it includes a wide range of risk representations emerging from different contexts: the economic, political, cultural, social, health, technological and environmental. Below, I will offer some illustrations and first reflections on how "risk" becomes articulate in the media in relation to these different fields.

> As the prices of food and fuel are rapidly going up, economists of Lithuania are changing their prognoses regarding inflation – it will continue growing. It is stated that the purchasing power will decrease considerably and the poorest inhabitants of the smallest towns will be affected mostly (2011 05 09, TV3 žinios)

In the analyzed news messages *economic* risks such as tax and price increases, the threat of economic crisis, or the expansion of a "shadow economy" were often presented. According to news reporters the elderly and inhabitants of rural areas as well as "the whole society" will feel the impact of these risks. Economic risk control was usually attributed to specialists, experts and heads of the state. In the conditions of financial instability, the media also underlined the weakness of the authorities' actions in coping with economic threats. Thus, media did not merely help the experts to handle the economic risks.

> In spite of the world's efforts disturbances in Syria are still in progress. There are a lot of explosions and tanks are going around. At least 25 people were killed and approximately 200 were injured. According to Russia, the responsibility of continuing violence lies with the opposition of Syria and cooperating western countries. Meanwhile, the general secretor Rasmussen of NATO stated that the alliance was not going to interfere in internal affairs (2012 02 10, TV3 žinios)

The representations of *politic* threats introduced dangers that are relevant both in the national and global arenas. These are the risks such as cross border tensions, threat of war, terror attacks, etc. The existence of these risks is caused by conflicts of interest, solitary individuals or mobilised ones. According to the news, the state authorities and institutions providing special services (e.g. police) should take a part in governance of these risks. In the pilot study materials, *cultural* risks presented mainly tensions among ethnic and religious groups, and these were closely related to political risks.

> The new school year is promising lower salaries for pedagogues and even losing a job for some of them. The government blessed the economy plan prepared by the ministry of education and science by which municipalities will receive smaller funding. Besides, the minister of education and science claims that municipalities themselves will be able to decide how to economise – cutting down salaries or dismissing teachers (2012 12 28, TV3 žinios)

The inductive classification of risks emerging from this pilot study suggests that the media divides the *social risks* into two categories. The first one encompasses all threats caused by *deviant behaviour* while the other one includes risks that emerge due to gaps in the social security *system*. Risk sources varied from social practices of deviant behaviour to different institutional dysfunctions. As above, individuals or occupational groups were usually presented as victims of systemic social risks.

> The world health organization is ringing the bell of danger due to mobile phones. The researches reveal that mobile phones can increase the risk of having brain cancer, but specialists of Lithuania notice that radiation of mobile phones is much smaller than the one which is produced by microwave ovens or computers widely used in the mode of life (2011 05 08, TV3 žinios)

Health risks encompass all dangers that can negatively impact individuals' health or cause death. These risks are caused by technologies, food products, diseases, pollutants or other sometimes unknown reasons. According to the news scientists and some official institutions – but also individuals themselves – are the actors responsible for the management of these risks. It is paradoxical, but in some cases specialists (e.g. medical staff) are not only those who have to control risks, but also cause them, e.g. medical negligence.

> The visitors of the amusement park in California got not a very pleasant dose of adrenalin. Instead of having an amusement ride for 3 minutes, 20 attraction fans spent almost 4 hours hanging in the height of 90 meters. Fortunately, none of them was injured. They were released from the grip of attraction after dusk. This was not the first time it had gone out of order. In September 7 people were imprisoned for several hours as well (2012 09 20, TV3 žinios)

Technologies do not only exist to provide for for human needs, but also as a source of risks. In the news messages analysed nuclear risks, technological disasters and technological dysfunction were mentioned. The causes of technological risks were not always indicated either. As usual, individuals who use some kind of technology were presented as victims of technological risks (e.g. passengers, owners of cell phones, etc.).

> The sun is attacking the Earth. A huge amount of sunbeam gales that reached Lithuania and other countries caused a magnetic storm. Medical people are worried. More and more people are complaining of health disorders, particularly those who have heart diseases. Scientists are concerned that the supply of electricity can get disturbed and various devices can break down. Such powerful storms are expected to occur more frequently (2012 03 08, TV3 žinios)

Environmental risks were introduced more often as a threat caused by nature and more seldom as outcome of anthropogenic behaviour of individuals and a side effect of industrial society. These risks were mostly presented as a danger related to extreme weather conditions such as storms, earthquakes, floods, etc. that endanger people united by the same living territory. Public authorities, specialists, scientists and special services (medical staff, fire fighters, etc.) were pointed out as being responsible for control of these risks and the elimination of their consequences.

The pilot study points to some issues that demand further analysis and elaboration. First, more reflection clearly is needed to understand the dynamics between the *event*-orientation of the news and the notion of risks. Second, the ambiguous role of experts is particularly interesting: they serve both to control risks (react to risks) but they are also used to illustrate the limits of this control and thus the uncertainty of the future. Third, the pilot research also shows that the articulation of risk in news media is often accompanied by strong rhetorical devices, for instance, picturesque comparisons, metaphors, epithets, and visual tools, such as eloquent images or images evoking strong emotions. Thus they seem to contribute to the process of social construction of risk and help to cement the sense of danger.

5. Concluding remarks

Risk is a contextual notion that emerges in the field of news media as a complex phenomenon. Risk discourse exists as a general macro structure that brings together various discourses of more narrowly distinguished areas of risks. These more specific discourses are not completely separate fields, but have some strategic points of contact. The media are a crucial factor in creating the implicit links that construct the general discourse of risks. Representations of individual and specific risk are an integral part of the general risk discourse and illustrate a variety of different threats that attract the attention of news media. Although the theory of risk society emphasises the relevance of environmental concerns and new risks, in some countries, for instance Lithuania, dangers related to socio-economic welfare are also prevalent, at least in the area of news media. The theoretical sketch in this chapter and selected findings from the pilot study should be understood as an attempt to promote a holistic approach towards risk communication, trying to take into account media coverage of the complexity of dangers that societies are facing in the period of late modernity. Undoubtedly, more research is needed to gain a better understanding of the general risk discourse as it develops in news media.

Note

1 The information programme "TV3 žinios" belongs to one of the most popular Lithuanian commercial TV stations. The general population comprised of "TV3 žinios" broadcasts in the period since 8th of May, 2011, to 6th of February, 2013.

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Biography

Eimantė Zolubienė is a PhD student at Institute of Public Policy and Administration at Kaunas University of Technology. Eimante is interested in the analysis of risk communication process, particularly in news media. She is doing her PhD on risk discourse ongoing in news media. The holistic approach to risk representations is being applied, seeking to cover a wide range of different risks and the ways they are presented in the field of news media. Also, currently Eimante is taking part in a local small scale project, which aims to develop a unified methodology for risk management.

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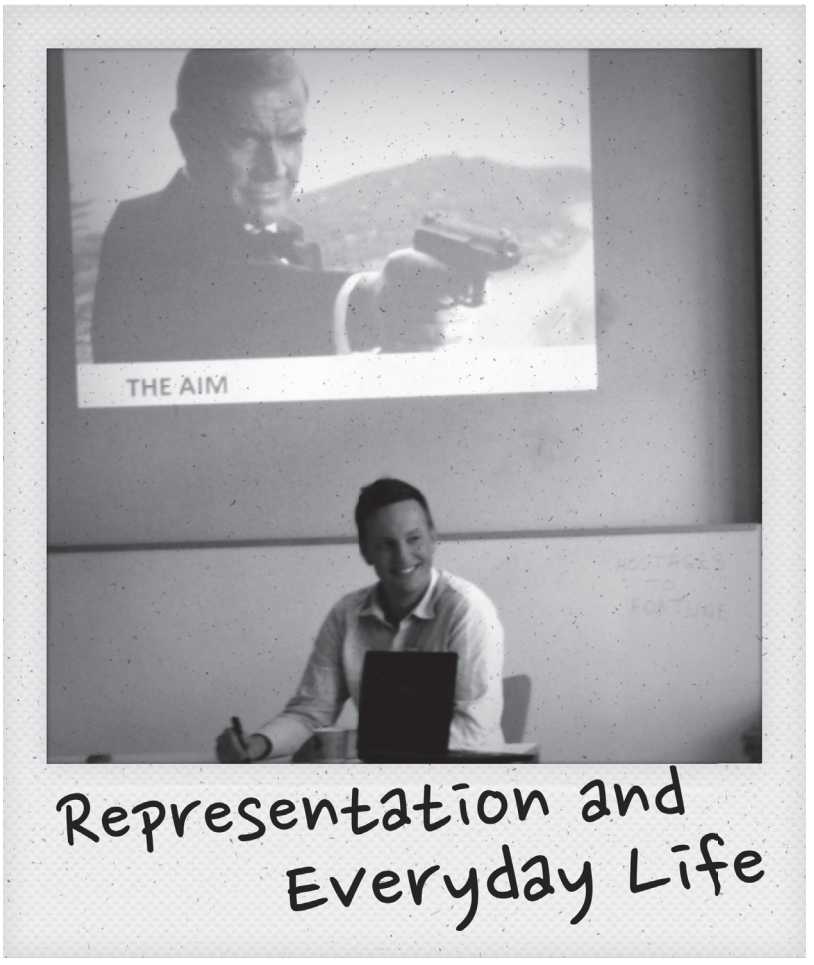
Section Two



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The role of media content in everyday life. To confirm the nearby world and to shape the world beyond our reach

Ebba Sundin

Abstract

In this chapter, two classic assumptions about the role of media content are considered: the first involves media content related to individual experiences and how this content confirms and assures the 'state of reality', the second assumption involves media content related to how individuals can experience 'reality' beyond their own reach. Four classic works by Walter Lippmann, Marshall McLuhan, James W. Carey and John B. Thompson, are discussed with the focus on the assumptions of media's role in interpreting the world. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the classic texts are still valid from the shift towards a non-media centric viewpoint in the research of media, for example in studies based on the concept of mediatization.

Keywords: media content, reality, confirmation, media experiences, stereotypes, mediation, mediatization, non-centric media studies.

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1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 1920s Walter Lippmann (1922: 191) asked the following question: "*What better criterion does the man at the breakfast table possess than that the newspaper version checks up with his own opinion?"*

The question might look simple at first glance. Underneath, it bears important assumptions of how we interpret the world we live in and what role the media plays in this interpretation. Lippmann's question also gives media scholars an idea of the importance of paying attention to the media's role in everyday life when it comes to issues such as confirmation and assurance.

Lippmann was early in explaining his view that newspaper content not only provides the unknown to its readers, but also confirms or disconfirms reality as it was portrayed. From a McLuhanesque perspective, the already known and perhaps personally experienced events are the important news items in media. Forty years after the publication of Lippmann's classic work *Public Opinion*, McLuhan wrote the following in *Understanding Media*:

> The first items in the press to which all men turn are the ones about which they already know. If we have witnessed some event, whether a ball game or a stock crash or a snowstorm, we turn to the report of that happening, first. Why? The answer is central to any understanding of media. […] Because for rational beings to see or re-cognize their experience in a new material form is an unbought grace of life. (McLuhan, 1964: 188-189)

The quotations of Lippmann and McLuhan are two examples of how media content becomes part of both the individual and social contexts of our everyday life experiences. In this chapter, the focus is on the role of media content in the sense-making process of the world and how these questions have been addressed in four classic theoretical works. The chapter is mainly based on the following classic media texts: Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, first published in 1922; Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media*, first published in 1964: James W. Carey's *Communication as Culture*, first published in 1989; and John B. Thompson's *Media and Modernity*, first published in 1995. These works span over 70 years and they have been considered to be important contributions in the development of media theories.

Lippmann, McLuhan, Carey and Thompson represent the Anglo-Saxon perspective of media studies. Historically, the academic field of media and communications developed in the dominance of Anglo-Saxon perspectives. Scholars working in the academic milieus in the UK, Canada and the USA have made a large contribution to the field. This is not to say that scholars in other parts of the world should be neglected. On the contrary, bringing in as many perspectives as possible into the media studies will give a fuller understanding to the complex relationship between media and society.

The past must not necessarily be forgotten, and therefore, I address to the four media scholars Lippmann, McLuhan, Carey and Thompson in this chapter. They all shared some views on media and theorized the question of media's impact in everyday life. But the later scholars also criticized the writings of previous ones. With changes in society and the development of media this is natural. All theories undergo criticism and revisions when applied to new contexts. Although, in order to give these classic media scholars as much credit as possible, I have chosen to generously use direct quotations from their work. One of the reasons for this is to enthuse especially media students to continue the readings of the original texts and make their own standpoints of what has been written earlier and in different contexts than the contemporary media landscape.

Reading through these texts, two somewhat contrary assumptions can be highlighted. The first assumption is that we could pay more attention to the role of media content in bringing people information already known, confirming their view of reality. The second assumption is that we could also pay more attention to the role of media content in bringing information not known, shaping their understanding of reality.

2. The concept of reality

Media content crosses geographical distances in both local and global dimensions. When Lippmann and McLuhan discussed the recognition or affirmation of content in the newspapers, their starting point was the local context: events that the reader had possibly been part of, for example as someone in the audience at a sports event.

Today's media content situation is more complex, as is the concept of realities. We are all part of experiences nowadays referred to as 'IRL' (In Real Life) but experiences also take place in digital, virtual or online realities, sometimes also referred to as cyberspace. The terminology to define the opposite of IRL is questionable, as is the distinction between a real and an un-real world. For simplification, further discussion in this chapter about different realities will use the terms 'IRL' and 'digital realities', if not quoting or referring to specific terms outlined by other authors.

Communication, no matter whether we talk about IRL or digital realities, is necessary for the perception of reality. This idea has its own theoretical track, not only within media studies, but also in social studies, with an emphasis on social constructivism (see for example Berger and Luckmann, 1969; Blumer, 1969).

The variations of "realities" perceived and constructed in different media situations makes it possible for people to experience them in different contexts than those Lippmann and McLuhan had in mind. Still, it is important not to neglect the view that in addition to confirming known realities, media content also gives us, as individuals, information about realities that are beyond our own reach.

3. Conformation and assurance

Lippmann's main interest was in news content. Therefore, in his writings from the early 1920s, he was restricted to analysing and discussing newspapers and their readers. At the time, as well as in the present context, local newspapers played a strong role in providing information about a reality shared and experienced by the readers. According to Lippmann, it is when we ourselves have the possibility to confirm (or disconfirm) the information, that we are also able to form an opinion about the newspaper's credibility:

> […] each of us tends to judge a newspaper, if we judge it at all, by its treatment of that part of the news in which we feel ourselves involved. […] And by its handling of those events we most frequently decide to like it or dislike it, to trust it or refuse to have the sheet in the house. If the newspaper gives a satisfactory account of that which we think we know, our business, our church, our party, it is fairly certain to be immune from violent criticism by us. (Lippmann, 1922: 191)

Lippmann refers to newspapers as diaries for people who like to read about themselves or events they already know about.[1] This could be viewed as one of the core meanings of local news, not only back in the early decades of the 20th century but also in the present day. Both from an American point of view, but in any society where information is valued as important for individuals.

It is important to note that Lippmann's basic assumption of the local news story as a 'reality-check' is only one fragment of *Public Opinion*, but nevertheless an important one. The news items were put on a larger canvas to deal with the problematic issues of information and democracy, and he highlighted the flaws of journalism.

Lippmann's contribution to media studies have been argued and discussed in many later works. As late as 1989, Carey wrote that he believed that *public opinion* was *"the founding book in American media studies"* because *"it was the first serious work to be philosophical and analytical in confronting the mass media"* (Carey, 1989: 57-59).

McLuhan (1964: 189) called the recognition of an experience in a new format an "*unbought grace of life*", and argued for this as one of the core meanings of media. He also expressed this feeling in the following way:

> Experience translated into a new medium literally bestows a delightful playback of earlier awareness. The press repeats the excitement we have in using our wits, and by using our wits we can translate the outer world into the fabric of our own beings. (McLuhan, 1964: 189)

Carey (1989) also expressed ideas that can be interpreted as belonging to the approach that regards news as a 'reality-check'. In his *Communication as Culture*, he argues for a ritual view of communication, where news is equivalent to drama. Carey (1989: 16) did not value news for its informational value, but as *"a portray-*

al of the contending forces in the world". This is argued from the point of view that the word 'communication' has links to words such as 'sharing' and 'participation'. He continues:

> A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs. (Carey 1989: 15)

Carey's (ibid.: 19) assumption was that reality was *"produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed"* by communication. This leaves room for an interpretation that local news has value in maintaining reality, which can be confirmed or disconfirmed by, for example, a reader of a newspaper.

Thompson (1995) takes the discussion about media and everyday life further with his typology of interaction. He does not specifically discuss the relationship between personal experience and media content like Lippmann and McLuhan, but his typology of interactions gives ideas that could connect to this theme. According to Thompson (1995: 85), interactions can be divided into three types: face-to-face, mediated, and mediated quasi-interactions. Although he makes a distinction between the types, Thompson acknowledged that interactions also take place as a mixture: "*a hybrid character*".

In the following part of Thompson's reasoning about this "interaction mix", some ideas about media's role in the local context can be understood, even if they are not specifically pointed out:

> Individuals are increasingly likely to acquire information and symbolic content from sources other than persons with whom they interact directly in their day-to-day lives. The creation and renewal of traditions are processes that become increasingly bound up with mediated symbolic exchange. (Thompson, 1995: 87)

What we can understand from this viewpoint is that the local media also plays an important role in letting people experience events and matters within their own space, but not necessarily personally.

The idea of using media content to confirm an event that has already been experienced has been addressed in this part of the article. In the next part, the idea of shaping reality with the impact of creating images of experiences beyond the individual's own reach will be discussed.

4. Stereotypes and media experiences

We should not forget that the media have produced and disseminated distant news and information to individuals for a long time. Centuries ago, when the first newspapers carried information from remote places, the delay was significant; it might have made a reader feel more disconnected since time plays a crucial part

in whether we feel connected or not. Then, in the 19th century, due to innovations, information was no longer restricted to be carried physically from one place to another. According to Carey (1989), the telegraph was the first technology to separate communication from transportation. When communication was not dependent on time and space, the ideas of time and space changed.

With the telegraph and some decades later, the transatlantic cable, the news business prospered and the concept of journalism developed. The production of news that could be sent from one place to another through wire and printed in local newspapers everywhere gave the readers information beyond their own reach. More and more, the reality of a world not experienced by themselves became part of everyday life.

Lippmann (1922: 55) cleverly outlines the links between the two contrary assumptions about media content when saying:

> Each of us lives and works on a small part of the earth's surface, moves in a small circle, and of these acquaintances knows only a few intimately. Of any public event that has wide effects we see at best only a phase and an aspect. […] Inevitably our opinions cover a bigger space, a longer reach of time, a greater number of things, than we can directly observe. They have, therefore, to be pieced together out of what others have reported and what we can imagine.

The problem with the second assumption was, in Lippmann's view, that by being told about the world before seeing it, people constructed stereotypes of what to expect the world to be, and any threats to these stereotypes meant threats to the individual:

> They (stereotypes) are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things. We feel at home there. We fit in. We are members. […] No wonder, then, that any disturbance of the stereotypes seems like an attack upon the foundations of the universe. It is an attack upon the foundations of our universe, and, where big things are at stake, we do not readily admit that there is any distinction between our universe and the universe. (Lippmann, 1922: 63)

To "*feel at home*" in the stereotyped world, as described by Lippman above, can correlate with McLuhan's famous thesis about 'the global village'. At a first glance, the idea of the global village may appear idyllic, but closer readings show critical perspectives on the idea just like Lippman's critical view on media's production of stereotypes. With the introduction of the internet, the 'global village' seemed even more confirmed than the time when McLuhan formulated his ideas. A new tradition and interpretation of McLuhan's ideas followed in the wake of new technology (see for example Morris and Ogan, 1996; Brown and Fishwick, 1999; Federman and De Kerckhove, 2003; Levinson, 2004; Lule, 2012).

McLuhan's original ideas about the 'global village' were based on a complex set of assumptions about human senses and how they connected to media. A general idea was that if people listen to the radio or watch TV broadcasting live at the same time, they become connected just like in a village. McLuhan has been criticized for his ideas of a global village because information is not free and accessible to everyone in the world. As already mentioned, reading McLuhan shows that he did not present his ideas without criticism himself:

> Radio affects most people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker and the listener. That is the immediate aspect of radio. A private experience. The subliminal depths of radio are charged with the resonating echoes of tribal horns and antique drums. This is inherent in the very nature of this medium, with its power to turn the psyche and society into a single echo chamber. (McLuhan, 1964: 261)

He continues to discuss the effects of radio using Orson Well's reading from H.G. Well's book *War of the Worlds* and the Mars invasion, which created a mass panic among listeners in 1938.[2] McLuhan developed his ideas of the 'global village' in later works, but as the quotation above shows, the idea was already clear in *Understanding Media*. It is also connected to ideas about the way media is creating images and experiences beyond individual's own reach.

From Carey's (1989: 23) point of view, the world is produced by symbolic work. One problematic aspect of this production is when worldviews are dominated by small numbers of producers, which was the case for the technological development of communications in the 19th century. According to Carey, the eastern corridor of American communication, i.e. the New York – Washington corridor, has dominated news and entertainment since the early 1800s, not only in forming a national culture but also international:

> Although it aided in forming a national culture, it disguised how local – even provincial – this national culture was: a national and even international culture was defined increasingly by how the world was seen from a couple of distinctively local places. (Carey, 1989: 118)

Carey shares the view of Lippmann when it comes to the way the media is producing images of reality from a local point of view, with the risk of creating stereotypes. Thompson (1995: 34) also discusses the same line of thought as Carey and Lippmann, regarding experiencing the world first through media, and then in real life:

> […] our sense of the world is shaped by media products today that, when we travel to distant parts of the world as a visitor or tourist, our lived experience is often preceded by a set of images and expectations acquired through extended exposure to media products.

Thompson also questions how media experiences are related to everyday life:

> Few people in the West today are likely to encounter someone suffering from extreme dehydration or starvation, someone shot by sniper fire or maimed by mortar shells; but most will have witnessed suffering of this kind on their television screens. Today we live in a world in which the capacity to experience is disconnected from the activity of encountering. […] how can we relate mediated experiences to the practical contexts of our day-to-day lives? (Thompson, 1995: 208-209)

The early writings by Lippmann in the 1920's highlighted some of the core questions media scholars have struggled with for decades, and McLuhan, Carey and Thompson among others have made their contributions in the discussion of media's role for individuals. Lippmann, McLuhan, Carey and Thompson all expressed ideas about the role of media content in confirming and shaping realities. The media landscape in their writings looked different from today, and the landscape will continue to change.

5. Changes and media's role

During the last two decades with the development of digital communication technology, media content and personal communication have become more integrated. Today's technological devices serve the need of individual and mass communication at the same time: for example via smartphones and tablets.

We don't need to question whether the communication revolution of the 19th century, when communication became separated from time and space, had a great impact on people's sense of belonging and their identity-shaping processes. From a contemporary point of view the digital communication revolution has continued and altered this impact, leaving it up to scholars to continue their research in order to gain a better understanding of the media's role in the complex processes of sense-making of everyday life.

The theoretical starting point in the texts by Lippmann, McLuhan, Carey and Thompson can in many senses be labelled 'mediation'. This concept is complex, but one of the core elements is, described by McQuail (2010: 83) as *"versions of events and conditions which we cannot directly observe for ourselves"*. 'Mediation' can be understood as assumptions of media's role for individuals and society from a media-centric view. When stretched also to concern processes in society where media forms for example have substituted *"non-media activities"* and *"media use becomes an integral part of private and social life, the media's definition of reality amalgamates with the social definition of reality"* (Schulz, 2004: 88, 89), media's role may be understood from a non-media centric view.

Within the field of media and communication studies, interest in the concept of the 'mediatization' of culture and society has grown. There are a number of scholars engaged in theorizing the ongoing changes of media, society and culture (Schulz 2004; Strömbäck, 2008; Lundby, 2009; Couldry, 2012; Hjarvard, 2013; Hepp 2013; Jansson 2013).

According to Jansson (2013: 281), social processes have become dependent and inseparable from technological processes, including mediating processes, and therefore *"analyses of mediatization should neither start out from the media themselves, nor try to isolate any particular process of mediation"*. Instead, Jansson (ibid.) suggests that the research starts from the transformations and in this manner the research also becomes non-media centric. The non-media centric view has also been raised for example by Hepp (2010), Morley (2007; 2009) and Moores (2012).

Reading the classics from the experience of how society occurs in the 21st century, we better agree on the facts that the foundations for study the media have differed from time to time. Lippmann (1922) had his own view on what should be referred to as 'real', or what were images produced by media. Although he acknowledged and problematized the impact of media for individuals, and his ideas still make sense, he did not recognize the relationship between media and society with concepts as 'mediation' or 'mediatization'. Seventy years later, and with many media technological inventions along the way, Thompson (1995: 85) talks about *"hybrid characters"* of mediated interactions. Still, 1995 seems to be distant in time. Perhaps during the last 20 years, more changes have appeared in the media field, than in between Lippmann's and Thompson's texts. From this perspective, and in the interpretations of the classic texts, the non-media centric view makes sense to strengthen the overall field of media and communication studies.

In this chapter, I have addressed two assumptions about media content that have both been discussed and theorized since the beginning of the 20th century. They may seem to be contradictory, but their theoretical foundation is the same: media's role in society and for the individual on an everyday basis, both in the perspective of confirming realities that are experienced, and shaping realities that are beyond the possibility to experience. No matter what changes we might expect in the future, in society or in the media landscape or combined, this theoretical foundation in the past linked to media-centric studies but lately to the opposite, will still be a core issue within the research field of media and communications.

Notes

1 The definition of a newspaper as "the printed diary of the home town" was coined by the contemporary scholar James Melvin Lee who wrote 'The History of American Journalism' published in 1917. Lippmann is referring to Lee in his text.

2 For an illustration of the panic of the listeners, I recommend a scene in Woody Allen's movie 'Radio Days' from 1987.

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Biography

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Media representations of suffering and mobility. Mapping humanitarian imaginary through changing patterns of visibility

Saiona Stoian

Abstract

Recent research on media and suffering highlights, on the one hand, the moral implications of mediation as a process through which various regimes of ethical and imaginative engagement are negotiated and, on the other hand, the structuring effects of media representations which, through their symbolic circulation, simultaneously reinforce and draw upon a humanitarian imaginary. The present paper wishes to expand these concerns in a different disciplinary field, that of mobility studies, in order to ask how the visibility patterns of suffering, informed by the humanitarian imaginary, are further incorporated into a certain understanding of the mobility/immobility dialectic, and how this incorporation affects, in return, the way we view suffering. One of the arguments is that physical vulnerability as "the clearest manifestation of our common humanity" (Chouliaraki, 2013: 26) is gradually replaced, in the context of heightened mobility, by a vocabulary of psychological and emotional trauma aided through media witnessing and testimony. In contemporary society, mobility has become not only a source of symbolic capital, but also an ideal in itself, promoted and reinforced through the logic of the network society. However, as a resource, mobility is not accessible to everyone to the same degree and, while mobility studies have acknowledged the relationship between mobility and emergent forms of social inequality, a systematic analysis of the relationship between mobility/immobility and suffering is yet to be tackled.

Keywords: media representations of suffering, humanitarian imaginary, melodrama of mobility, public culture

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1. Introduction

A growing body of research (Tester, 1999; Boltanski, 2004; Chouliaraki 2006a; Silverstone 2007; Frosh, 2011) concerning the moral consequentiality of mediation has privileged media representations of suffering as a site of inquiry into the increasingly relevant role media play in our imaginary engagement with alterity. While otherness, as a distinctly modern category, has a rich history, ranging from early sociological accounts regarding the status of the stranger in the modern metropolis' ecology (Park, 1915, Simmel 1950,[1908]) to post-colonial musings regarding "*the subaltern subject"* (Spivak, 1983), it is through the lens of mediation and the concept of 'distance' that otherness acquires analytical strength. A concern with distance thus opens up an analytical space where mediation is treated not only as one of the core mechanisms in the production of publicness as a category which negotiates between individual pursuits of meaning, institutional frameworks and dominant symbolic regimes or imaginaries, but also as one of the main means of approaching *"otherness as a problem of representation"* (Chouliaraki and Orgad, 2011: 342).

What Chouliaraki terms an *"analytics of mediation"* aspires to connect the embeddedness of media texts in technological artefacts which engage us through specific multimodal properties with the embeddedness of media texts in social relationships in order to understand how media, as a vehicle of symbolic interaction, manage to either undermine or to foster *"a global public with a sense of social responsibility towards distant sufferers" (*Chouliaraki, 2006b: 3). In a similar manner, drawing on Levinas' work, Pinchevski (2014: 65) envisions the distance implicit in the act of mediation as the conceptual basis for a new media meta-ethics that would *"attend to alterity as it undergoes mediation"* by evoking *"the very fact of mediation – the fact that no message passes without the contamination of passage"*. The study of mediated suffering therefore poses a challenge not only in terms of finding the 'proper distance' between those who suffer and those who do not, but also in terms of including this inquiry in the broader efforts of understanding how media ultimately mould and alter not only the way we communicate, but also the way in which communities of meaning are formed in a fundamentally decentred society.

In this context, an increasing interest in imagination and the imaginary reveals a potential line of inquiry not only into the performative quality of media texts as forms of mediated (inter)action, e.g. research on empathic arousal and the narrative imagination in fiction films (Landsberg, 2009), but also into how the symbolic circulation of media representations of suffering simultaneously produce and reproduce patterns of visibility and interaction with on-screen suffering, i.e. a humanitarian imaginary understood as *"a communicative structure that disseminates the imperative to act on vulnerable others through a wide repertoire of popular genres"* (Chouliaraki, 2013: 172). Rather than

being the exclusive ethos of international NGOs or disaster relief agencies, humanitarianism established itself, with the help of popular culture and mass means of communication, as a modern discourse whose claims, resources and symbols inform our engagement with mediated suffering. Vestergaard (2013: 2) integrates the ongoing reliance of humanitarian NGOs on means of mass communication into a broader process of *"gradual displacement of power from the humanitarian organizations to external stakeholders"*. The humanitarian NGOs' awareness raising job is gradually shifted towards media outlets, especially the news industry, mass media thus becoming instrumental not only in getting the message across, but also in creating and fostering the moral environment in which NGOs and other organizations communicate.

Charles Taylor (2004) envisions the concept of 'modern social imaginary', understood as a common understanding which makes possible common practices and a shared sense of legitimacy, as inseparable from the emergence of a distinctively modern moral order. According to Taylor, modernity should be understood not only in terms of higher-order processes such as industrialization or the development of the nation state, but also in terms of collective representations of how we ought to live together in society; this vision of a world inhabited in common being informed by a pre-existing moral background. What distinguishes, according to Taylor, the modern moral order from previous social mores and conventions is a form of stranger sociability facilitated initially by structures such as the market (which enables exchanges of goods and services on contractual terms) or the public sphere (allowing discussion between strangers on issues of common interest), but which has now become increasingly dependent on means of mass communication.

The *"imagined communities"* (Anderson, 2006[1983]) of modernity therefore rely on a form of stranger sociability facilitated by shared social imaginaries, whose circulation is now facilitated by means of mass communication: *"modernity relies on a special form of social imaginary that is based on relations among strangers; the stranger sociability is made possible through mass mediation, yet it also creates and organizes spaces of circulation for mass media"* (Gaonkar, 2002: 5). This insight concerning the role of imagination in fostering a form of solidarity possible by virtue of representation as opposed to the mechanical solidarity characteristic of pre-modern societies (Durkheim, 1994: 1893), seems to be confirmed by research on empathic arousal. According to Coplan (2011: 5) high-level empathy involves complex imaginative processes which allow another's experience to be replicated while self-other differentiation is maintained. While low-level empathy is presumed to involve fast spread of emotion through mirroring or contagion, high-level empathy is always mediated, because it involves representing on an imaginary level another's emotional state rather than simply identifying with it.

2. Media, suffering and mobility: theoretical explorations

Although mobility is not restricted to contemporary times, the unprecedented complexity of the relational dynamics between flows of people, objects and information in light of processes such as deterritorialization, transnational migration, globalization and global connectivity seems to pinpoint mobility as *"a general principle of modernity similar to those of equality, globality, rationality and individuality"* (Canzler et. al., 2008: 3). Increased circulation and movement can thus be considered together with the imaginary construction of sociability through representation as two chief characteristics of modernity, a fact which explains the growing interest towards mobility as *"both physical bodies moving through material landscapes and categorical figures moving through representational spaces"* (Delaney, 1999 apud. Cresswell, 2006a: 4). Focusing on the relationship between the increased mobility of social life and the increased mobility of media representations, Appadurai (1996: 3) considers media and migration as two of the major forces contributing to the rupture between the pre-modern and the modern through their *"joint effect on the work of the imagination as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity"*.

In this sense, mobility acquires a double status, on the one hand, as a process by virtue of which meaning and representations circulate, aided by the media, and, on the other hand, as a reality which appeals to representation in order to give meaning to movement. The first instance is characterized by a performative understanding of mobility, where *"society is held together by the social imaginaries created and maintained through circulation"* (Valaskivi and Sumiala, 2014: 231), while the second instance approaches mobility in terms of social constructions which distinguish between what can be considered movement and what cannot. Reflecting on the need to combine the representational and the performative aspects of movement, Lee and LiPuma (2002: 192) argue for a rethinking of circulation in terms of a cultural phenomenon *"with its own forms of abstraction, evaluation and constraint, which are created by the interactions between specific types of circulating forms and the interpretative communities built around them"*.

A potential means of approaching movement as a cultural phenomenon involves considering the social production of mobility through representations within contexts of social and cultural power relations, a 'discursive analytics of movement' (Frello, 2008) thus inquiring into how *"movement is made meaningful, and how the resulting ideologies of mobility become implicated in the production of mobile practices"* (Cresswell, 2006a: 21). Rather than being solely a matter of physical or virtual entities moving through time and space whose movement can be measured and planned, mobility is also about the production of meanings which integrate movement and its social, moral and emotional implications into imaginaries of (im)mobility. In this sense, mobility

bears an ambiguous position in the contemporary world, on the one hand, as a source of symbolic capital, an ideal reinforced by the logic of capitalism and the network society, and, on the other hand, as a source of anxiety, movement being the object of intense surveillance, regulation and mechanization through timetables and security protocols.

Boltanski and Chiapello (2007[1999]) approach mobility as the *modus operandi* of contemporary society in the context of a broader concern with the 'spirit of capitalism', meaning the totality of discourses that justify people's commitment to capitalism and renders this commitment an attractive option in light of changing value systems. Mobility is thus understood in the context of developments rejecting hierarchical forms of corporate organization in favour of a vocabulary of flexibility, adaptation to challenges and creative problem-solving. This change in management style has determined themes of competition to assume unprecedented salience, and has generated a new form of mobility-valuing meritocracy: the ideal work is project-based (thus, assuming a temporary, yet cyclical quality), while the ideal workforce is evaluated in terms of its ability to keep up, to sustain the network and to increase, through each project, its employability. The willingness and ability to be on the move, and to successfully correlate adaptability in work relations with mobility in emotional and private life establishes itself as an imperative in the context of contemporary organizational culture.

However, research on the organization of mobilities and emergent forms of inequality, highlights the relational character of mobility as a category which depends on excluded others in order to assert itself. Taking as paradigmatic example the tourist, MacCannell (1999) argues that not only work, but also leisure is subjected to the tensions of a movement/stasis dichotomy according to which the tourist depends on the relative immovability of the locals or the natives who help stage this leisure activity as an authentic touristic experience. As Malkki (1992: 29) argues: *"the spatial incarceration of the native operates […] through the attribution not only of physical immobility, but also of a distinctly ecological immobility. Natives are thought to be ideally adapted to their environments"*.

While these excluded others need not necessarily correspond to traditional vulnerable social categories, there is still the question of how differential access to mobility reflects structures and hierarchies of power and how the *"idealisation of movement, or transformation of movement into a fetish, depends upon the exclusion of others who are already positioned as not free in the same way"* (Ahmed, 2004: 152). The relationship between suffering and mobility can therefore be understood only in the context of a complex interplay between movement and fixity as two *"meta-narratives that inform more specific, more local, more contextual attitudes towards mobility"* (Cresswell, 2006a: 55). This means that mobility is not only differentiated in terms of

access or potentiality (from latent to manifest mobility), but also in terms of its metaphorical understanding, mobility meaning different things and being invested with different moral implications according to the perspective from which it is approached.

In this sense, Cresswell (2006a) distinguishes between 'a sedentarist metaphysics' and 'a nomadic metaphysics' as two major worldviews from which most metaphors of mobility originate. The concept of 'sedentarist metaphysics' was initially coined by Liisa Malkki (1992), who argued through her work on refugees that rooted conceptions of identity and culture can be understood as part of a broader narrative through which territorial displacement is seen as pathological, and as bearing significant moral consequences, the loss of one's roots meaning the loss of one's moral compass. A 'sedentarist metaphysics' privileges concepts of place, home or roots as centres of meaning related to notions of attachment, loyalty and emotional involvement to which they lend moral weight, mobility being seen as either deviant (it threatens the authenticity of territorialized identity and therefore the moral order upon which it relies), or as a strictly necessary, rational enterprise which is goal-oriented. This instrumental view of mobility justifies movement in terms of the push-pull factors of the place of origin and the place of destination, mobility being the end-result of *"the rational decision that one place is better in some quantifiable way than another"* (Cresswell, 2006a: 29).

Meanwhile, a 'nomadic metaphysics' invests dynamism, flux and flow either with a subversive meaning (emancipation from structural constraints) or with connotations of progress, opportunity, creativity and self-determination. Boltanski and Chiapello (2007[1999]) illustrated the way in which a positive valuation of mobility is incorporated into the workplace as well as into private life through a rhetoric of development: similar to self-actualization, increasing one's employability is also a constant work in progress realized through an accumulation of diverse experiences and projects. On a broader level, the relationship between diversity and mobility endows movement with the metaphorical value of adaptability, openness towards difference and a cosmopolitan outlook, fact which determined some to associate this nomadic metaphysics with a class-restricted type of mobility:

> being a true "cosmopolitan" hinges on one's ability as a traveller to distance oneself from one's cultural background and to engage in other cultures. And this in turn depends on the movement being voluntary […] Real cosmopolitans are likely to be diplomats and intellectuals, rather than work migrants and refugees who, like tourists, are characterized by attempting to build "surrogate homes" in order not to become involved with other cultural experiences and surroundings (Frello, 2008: 34).

However, attempts to account for a less constricted notion of cosmopolitan identity which focuses on practices of consumption, daily routines and mundane interactions as the locus of a 'banal cosmopolitanism' (Beck and Sznaider, 2006), as well as the framing of mobility in terms of a fundamental right in liberal-democratic societies (Cresswell, 2006b), have rendered mobility as freedom one of the key metaphors of this nomadic metaphysics.

3. Dramatizing the mobility/immobility dialectic

Considering the meta-narratives of mobility described above as two ends of a spectrum which can include a variety of localized regimes of mobility, the paper argues for a need to study the relationship between media representations of suffering and mobility in terms of a patterned visibility through which suffering is mobilized in order to invest mobility with different meanings. Rather than treating movement and stasis as two dichotomous categories, this approach focuses on mobility and immobility as a *dialectic* relationship which stimulates the melodramatic imagination: what are the circumstances in which mobility can turn into immobility and the other way around and how do media construct this tension in terms of suffering and hope? By approaching the humanitarian imaginary as one of the basic mechanisms through which compassion is publicly communicated, suffering thus appears as a consequence of the ambiguous status mobility holds in contemporary society: a threat towards attachment and moral order, as well as a vital resource which is differentially accessed.

Chouliaraki's (2013: 27) description of the humanitarian imaginary as a communicative structure *"founded on a theatrical arrangement that separates safe spectators from vulnerable others and communicates its moral message through the staging of spectacles of suffering",* places media-enabled visibility of suffering at the heart of contemporary public culture. In a similar manner, Gusfield (1984, [1981]: 53), speaks of "*the drama of public reality"* as the way in which neutral, technical facts such as statistics or demographics regarding troubling realities are transformed into public problems through a work of dramatization which translates abstract knowledge into *"facts of dramatic significance, implying attitudes and commitments, arousing images and values".*

Media representations of suffering therefore serve to embed narratives of mobility into a social context in which definitions, meanings and responsibilities are negotiated and "pathologies" of movement are constructed through dramatization. This is particularly relevant given the increasing interest towards the social and cultural transformations generated by transnational mobility and the transnationalization of family ties in the context of labour migration and 'mobile livelihoods' (Olwig and Sørensen, 2002), where an imaginary of abandonment or home-longing coexists with an imaginary of unhindered

movement and work opportunities. The reverse situation is also possible, Huang and Yeoh (2007) arguing through their research on transnational domestic workers' abuse by their employees (i.e. maids working in Singapore) that restricting one's mobility is a frequently used means of coercion in such households, home becoming synonymous in these accounts with a cage or a prison.

The tensions co-existing inside this mobility/immobility dialectic render distance and movement as much a matter of geography as they are a reinterpreting and restructuring of emotional bonds. While bodily vulnerability has traditionally been considered *"the clearest manifestation of our common humanity"* (Chouliaraki, 2013: 26) and therefore the foundation of humanitarian solidarity, suffering is rewritten in the context of fluid identities and borders through a vocabulary of psychological and emotional trauma, aided by media witnessing and testimony. This transition from the biological life to the biographical life takes place through a psychologization of suffering, a process which translates *"social inequalities in terms of psychic suffering and proposes listening [...] as a response to social difficulties"* (Fassin, 2012: 23). In this context, media witnessing appears as a complex process performed in, by and through media: *"it refers simultaneously to the appearance of witnesses in media reports, the possibility of media themselves bearing witness and the positioning of media audiences as witnesses to depicted events"* (Frosh and Pinchevski, 2009: 1). Technological mediation has rendered witnessing as the primary mode of relating to suffering in the contemporary world; the challenge of translating the experience of suffering into language generating numerous questions regarding the ethics, aesthetics and politics of representation. Suffering becomes not only a matter of corporeal pain, but also a matter of value conflicts dramatized in and through the communicative structures and aesthetics of contemporary media.

4. Conclusion

The paper argues for a performative understanding of media representations as instances of mediated interaction with suffering in the context of: a. the emergence of a modern form of stranger sociability made possible by virtue of representation (the social imaginary) and b. the media-enhanced circulation of representations which simultaneously nurture and draw upon the social imaginaries that hold society together. As one of the main mechanisms through which solidarity with distant others is mundanely communicated, the humanitarian imaginary represents one of the key catalysts in activating such a sensibility. The humanitarian imaginary should therefore be understood not

in terms of one specific genre or the other, but as a constellation of popular genres which work together in order to create the moral climate within which we interact with suffering.

Correlating the increased mobility of social life and the increased mobility of media representations, the paper approached movement as a discursively produced category which reunites the empirical reality of moving bodies and the circulation of meanings, ideologies and imaginaries of im(mobility) and suffering. In this sense, the paper argued for a need to consider mobility as a cultural phenomenon, and to inquire into how movement is made meaningful through certain patterns of visibility, the relationship between suffering and mobility being approached in the context of a dialectical relationship between movement and fixity.

It is not only that mobility comes to mean different things depending on the meta-narrative in which it is embedded, but the actual relationship between movement and immobility is a flexible and fluid one, each category being subjected to the permanent danger of transforming itself into its opposite. This inherent instability and the way in which suffering dramatizes the social, moral and emotional implications of this dialectic stimulate the melodramatic imagination, the drama of public reality revealing a constant negotiation of responsibilities, faults and expectations.

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Biography

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“The smartphone is my constant companion”. Digital photographic practices and the elderly

Maria Schreiber

Abstract

This chapter attends to the question of how personal photography is practiced through and with the smartphone by the elderly. The smartphone as a networked multimedia device that is always at hand is at the heart of current changes not only in personal photography, but in the mediatization of our everyday lives. It clearly affords new possibilities, but how those affordances are used and how different ways of engaging with the same affordances are evolving, remains to be empirically investigated. One factor of variation are different generation- and age-specific technological experiences that seem to constitute different ways of engaging with media. While considerable research has been done on younger people and their digital photographic practices, the so-called *digital immigrants*, have not received as much attention. Based on an empirical example that combines the analysis of text and picture, the article shows how a sixtytwo-year-old woman adopted the smartphone as her “*constant companion*” and key device for snap photography. Her modes of showing and sharing suggest that specific configurations of hardware (smartphone) and software (e.g. *WhatsApp*) contain various affordances that she employs for diverging needs – while her family remains the main motif and counterpart of her photo sharing practices.

Keywords: Digital photography; visual; seniors; generation; smartphone

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1. Introduction and theoretical framework

Current technological changes and innovations regarding personal photography provide a broad field of research and a lot of data for media and communication studies: 400 million photos are shared via Snapchat every day, 300m on Facebook, 60m on Instagram.[1] The term *"selfie"* entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 2013, and in the same year, Barack Obama posed for such a selfie at Nelson Mandela's funeral. The importance of empirical research on personal photography for a better theoretical understanding of everyday media practices is obvious, yet only slowly evolving.

Existing research attends to the topic primarily from a practice perspective, investigating specific cultural contexts with ethnographic approaches (Okabe and Ito, 2006; van Dijck, 2008), focussing on the complex entanglements of technologies, practices and (the mediatization of) everyday life. Photographic practices are usually studied without considering the pictures themselves in an Anglo-American research tradition. At the same time, the analysis of social relations and/or representations as they are constituted in pictures iconically is a booming field in German visual sociology (Bohnsack, 2008; Breckner, 2010; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014), with less attention paid to the context of the interpreted pictures. Based on the assumption that the relation of both dimensions – pictures and practices – is crucial, the focus of my investigation is how personal photos show something and how they are shown and shared on the smartphone by teenagers and seniors.

Framed by a social-constructivist understanding of mediatization, the study is interested in *"the way in which technical media 'structure' the way we communicate or, vice versa, how the way we communicate is reflected in a technological change of media"* (Hepp, 2012: 14). In doing so, the moulding forces of the media are always to be analyzed in their netting with highly habitualised human actions (ibid. 18f.). Therefore, habitualised photographic practices are the main object of this research – this means drawing attention *"to the co-constitution of human subjectivities and the visual objects their practices create"* (Rose and Tolia-Kelly, 2012: 3). This approach resonates with the concept of double (or even triple) articulation (Hartmann, 2006; Livingstone, 2007) in domestication theory, proposing that media should become relevant in (at least) two dimensions: as material objects located in particular settings (context) and as symbolic messages (content).

The material dimension of photography has been analysed primarily in terms of the media (technologies) it is practiced in: the photo album, Instagram, newspapers, etc. Practices, bodily experiences and the senses are important aspects for analysis, and ethnography is understood as the adequate approach to understanding those material practices (Edwards, 2009; Reckwitz, 2003). How those practices and pictures are embedded in and co-constituted

by specific contexts also becomes relevant from this perspective. The analysis and interpretation of image *content,* on the other hand, is often criticised for its alleged arbitrariness and subjectivity. Nevertheless, there seems to be a consensus that a picture's particular characteristics have to be respected methodologically, and its specific *visuality* understood and analysed (Wolff, 2012: 13). Pictures may convey meaning – but it is essential to define to what or whom this meaning is related to (Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014: 149).

In this chapter, I will further outline how these basic, interdisciplinary questions on materiality and visuality could be pursued in the evolving field of mobile communication and offer a glimpse into my ongoing empirical studies within the area.

2. Showing and sharing photos

2.1. Continuities and changes

> If the ones and zeros did not add up to an image that massages the familiar and traditional habits of the human sensorium, it is unlikely that the digital revolution would have gained any traction at all. This is not to argue that, when it comes to images, there is nothing new under the sun. But whatever this newness is, it will not likely be well described by a binary history that separates the digital image from all that proceeded it. (Mitchell, 2010: 45)

Personal photography has always had and still has various social functions, such as social bonding and communication, demonstration of identity and belonging, and preservation and retention of memories (Sarvas and Frohlich, 2011; Walser and Neumann-Braun, 2013). How bonding, representing and transmitting are practiced, however, is co-constructed by the changing technologies at hand, innovations and convergence. Through digitalisation, personal photography has become strongly meshed with computer technologies (Van House, 2011), and social media *"logic"* (Rubinstein and Sluis, 2008), ubiquity (Hand, 2012), and mobility (Villi, 2007). Current research indicates shifts from family to individual use, from memory tools to communication devices, and from sharing (memory) objects to sharing experiences (van Dijck, 2008), which goes hand in hand with a *"widening range of photographable situations"* (Schwarz, 2010: 166). Digital photography clearly affords new possibilities (Larsen and Sandbye, 2013: xxiii), but it remains to be empirically investigated how those affordances are used in particular contexts and practices (Hand, 2012: 19), and how different ways of engaging with the same affordances might evolve (Hjarvard and Petersen, 2013: 5). The relation of change and continuity in an ongoing transformation from analogue to digital photography is challenging. Pickering (2013) calls for more, in-depth empirical research, stronger differentiation, less generalisation and less extrapolation

only from the newer uses of personal photography. Nevertheless, there is an obvious shift regarding the most commonly used hardware, as the smartphone camera is increasingly used instead of the digital pocket camera, and sales of pocket cameras go down – which most probably is related to the (ongoing) qualitative enhancement of sensors, image resolution, and software in smartphones (Donegan, 2013; Payson, 2013).

2.2. The smartphone and mediated mobilism²

As a *"networked multimedia device that is always at hand as part of one's everyday life"* (Larsen and Sandbye, 2013: xxiv), the smartphone is at the heart of current changes not only in personal photography, but is also an indicator and motor of the mediatization of everyday lives (Miller, 2014: 218). Research on mobile media and their networked connectivity is expanding as a crucial field in our discipline and as Wei puts it polemically, *"mobile media-supported communication appears to have hammered the latest, and perhaps the last, nail in the mass communication coffin"* (Wei, 2013: 52). Researching mobile media means researching a complex interplay of communication practices between mobile- and computer-mediated, between digital and non-digital exchange (Linke, 2013: 35), which calls for an integrative, in-depth empirical approach (ibid.). Miller conceptualises the smartphone as an interface with continuous global connectivity, engaging *"deeply personal and emotional social interaction and self-identity as well as being an irreplaceable instrument in the practical negotiation of everyday life"* (Miller, 2014: 210 f), amalgamating familiar media along with new ones (ibid.: 211).

3. Generation and age

While most of the small amount of research on digital (photographic) practices focuses on younger people, often related to their use of social media platforms (Neumann-Braun and Autenrieth, 2011; Van House, 2011), other (older) age groups are under-researched. Exactly those groups could, however, shed light on the complex entanglements of changes and continuities regarding the technological development of personal photography, as major innovations have taken — and still take — place throughout their lifetime.

There is a general lack of in-depth qualitative studies regarding the appropriation of digital and networked media in old age (Schorb, 2009: 327), and when included, old age is often analysed from a mainly deficit-oriented perspective (Schäffer, 2006: 17). At the same time, the share of the 60+ population is growing and the *"grey market"* is becoming economically relevant. Exist-

ing findings concentrate mainly on practices related to TV and radio, showing that retirement is often a break within media biographies, and that there is a variety of ways in which media are integrated in everyday lives, dependent on, for example, education, milieu, media biography and preferences (ibid.). Still, generation-specific similarities regarding habitual media practices can be reconstructed empirically (Schäffer, 2003), and seem to be grounded in a "*naturalisation*" of media practice during youth, which is a predisposition for the adoption of new media technologies throughout lifetime (ibid.)[3]. Shared layers of experience (Mannheim, 1998) become decisive for collectively similar practices, but also regarding habits of seeing and generation/age-specific visual conventions (Baxandall, 1972), which might become visible in photos that are shared on the smartphone.

The underlying question is if – and if yes, how – generation-specific media cultures determine the showing and sharing of personal photos through the smartphone; the aim is to understand how two contrasting age groups integrate the showing and sharing of personal photos through smartphones in their everyday lives, and how such practices become meaningful in various contexts.

4. 'The elderly' - an empirical glimpse

4.1. Methodological approach

The aim of the empirical study is to reconstruct how teenagers and seniors use smartphones for showing and sharing personal photos. In my fieldsite Austria, nearly all teenagers use smartphones, but only a third of the elderly do[4]. Both teenagers and seniors are included in the study, participating in in-depth case studies. Each group is interviewed and observed, and participants provide some of their own pictures that they have shown and shared with the smartphone. This triangulation of ethnographic field (also online) observations, group discussions, and picture interpretation reflects the theoretical dimensions of analysis that seem to be crucial for understanding pictorial practices. Data collection and interpretation is conducted within the framework of the Documentary Method (Bohnsack, 2008; Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014), a qualitative, reconstructive approach that is based on the analytical differentiation of explicit and implicit meaning. The method aims at reconstructing habitual orientations, making explicit otherwise implicit layers of meaning that are coalesced in text and image (Bohnsack, 2008). For interpretation of texts, this has already been elaborated, while the systematic interpretation of pictures for social scientific analysis is a quite young phenomenon.

Why use photos as empirical data? A photograph can be understood as a visual document of (1) the photographer's habitus[5], the site of production, (2) the visible, represented scene, person or context, the site of the image, (3) the site of audiencing, and a specifically defined context beyond production or image[6] (Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014: 147; Rose, 2012: 19). The researcher has to define what kind of evidence photographs constitute within a specific study, and reflect on how she or he co-constitutes the production, authorisation, and choice of photos as empirical data (ibid., Tinkler, 2013, p. 2). Through photos, we are capable of gaining access to socially and visually constructed slices of life and especially to embodied and incorporated aspects of sociality, as they are shown rather than verbalized (Goffman, 1987: 10).

In my study, the photographs that are provided by the participants are understood as documents for their habitus as photographers but also as a visual account of something that they find relevant to share with someone through their smartphone, which is then further investigated in the interview.

4.2. The case of Poldi

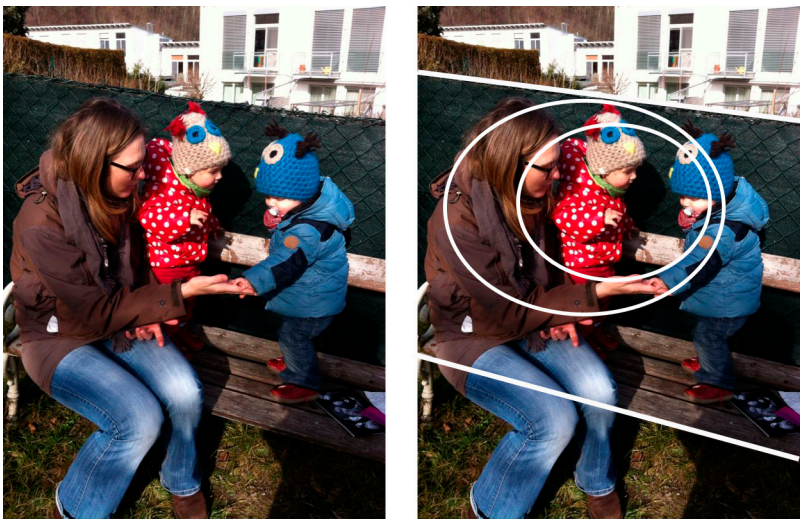
Poldi is a 62-year-old woman from a small town close to Vienna, Austria, whom I interviewed together with her photography-savvy husband Otto. Poldi got her smartphone as a Christmas-present from her husband, and getting used to the new device was *"not natural"* for her; she frames it as a relatively slow learning and change process, describing the smartphone as *"certainly a different league"* compared to her old *"normal"* cellphone. She did not use the camera from the beginning on: *"I didn't need it. I didn't use it. For me taking photos in everyday life just was not, was not a topic"*. The birth of her two grandchildren changed her smartphone photo practice drastically: She spends a lot of time with them and started using her smartphone for taking their pictures and showing/sharing them on a regular basis.

Important for Poldi is the combination of the instant possibility of taking photos but also *"because you just always also have the photos with you. To show them."* Asked about situations in which she shows photos, the thematic focus is again confirmed: *"children's pictures, when someone asks you: how tall are they now? – [performing her reaction to the question, M.S.:] well, wait I have a picture with me."* Showing photos to others on her own device is her main mode of showing and sharing. Poldi also uses the messaging service *WhatsApp* to receive and share photos either with colleagues, her husband or her children, but *"only sporadically, if I really like something and think maybe that is interesting for them and them;"* though her husband Otto added that Poldi once sent him mouth-watering photos of a nice dinner she was having while Otto was on a diet and therefore at home. Communicating her location

visually is one main feature of how Poldi shares photos via *WhatsApp*: *"you send it to someone whom you want to show where you are"*. The mediation of presence and creation of proximity is perceived as one crucial affordance of interpersonal visual communication through the smartphone (Hjorth and Pink, 2013; Villi and Stocchetti, 2011). Poldi uses this instantaneous possibility of communicating her physical location mainly with people who are very close to her anyway – emotionally and geographically.

Her non-networked digital pocket camera is described as something she would mainly take on holidays, *"it is not my constant companion, but my constant companion is the smartphone."* Poldi distinguishes between different kinds of pictures that she takes: with the smartphone she mainly takes pictures that she labels as everyday snapshots, a mode of photography that has become easily accessible for Poldi, mainly because she always has the device with her.

Fig. 1: Picture provided by Poldi (left), formal composition of picture drawn in by author (right).



The picture that Poldi provided shows an intimate family moment; the interaction of her own daughter with her grandchildren on a wooden bench in an outside setting. The framing and composition of the picture emphasizes the circular arrangement of the group, who are turned to each other; the woman on the left turns towards the children – but does not hold them and they are not clinging to her. The inner circle sets itself apart from the straight dark fence and the straight white houses in the background. The children employ

the wooden bench as a little stage, but they are under secure supervision; the mother is visible in the photograph, and also the grandmother's gaze is visible in the photograph: Grandmother Poldi is looking down on the situation from a top down perspective. As oldest present member of the family she reiterates the mother's supervision of the situation from a standpoint outside the frame. The photograph makes visible how the depicted mother acts towards the depicted children: she creates a free, but finite space for the children on the bench. This attitude is mirrored in the way in which Poldi as mother and grandmother depicts the scene: she lets them be, but positions them in an enclosed surrounding.

The photo shows the unison and intimacy of inter-generational family relationships. Moreover, this visual document is not only something Poldi wants to keep for herself, but also something she show to others. While the documentation and construction of family life has been a typically female task in analogue photography as well (Rose, 2003), the added value of smartphone photography seems to be the *constant companionship* of the smartphone, ubiquity, and mobility not only of the camera, but also of the storage device. It easily allows for photos that are intimate snapshots of routine practices rather than staged line-ups at special occasions. Nevertheless, the social function and meaning of the showing/sharing practice in this social context does not change dramatically. What remains to be investigated more thoroughly is how the ubiquity and mobility of the smartphone camera might change how the device is embedded in the scenery and which kind of aesthetics are created on a visual level, maybe allowing for a specific instanteneity, intimacy, and closeness of the smartphone snapshot compared to the (analogue) camera snapshot[7]. To summarize, Poldi's mode of showing and sharing is strongly framed by the urge to constitute instant intimacy through (showing) and with (sharing) her loved ones. The smartphone facilitates and enforces this practice conveniently.

5. Further research and future perspectives

Poldi's case is a first step and starting point for further in-depth case studies, as only through comparative analysis with other seniors, on the one hand, and teenagers, on the other hand, can similarities and differences of sharing and showing photos on the smartphone be worked out and analysed. First findings show that an in-depth qualitative approach is capable of reconstructing the fine distinctions of how specific software (Apps) and hardware (Smartphone) configurations become relevant. There seem to be differentiated *picture politics* regarding what to show where and to whom. Also, the content of visual communication seems to be strongly related to age-specific challenges and developmental tasks (Paus-Hasebrink, 2010): the peer-group, for example, is

the main motif and communicative counterpart for teenagers, as is the family for seniors. Based on further case studies, it will become possible to outline *photo-media-cultures* and question their alleged age-specificity in a field that is undergoing major changes. New findings will be generated regarding the relation of pictures and practices and their pivotal point, the smartphone.

Notes

1 Medium.com, data for 2013, https://medium.com/social-media-and-business/a51d76038c6e (28.5.2014).
2 Hartmann 2013.
3 Or as Douglas Adams (2005, p.111) puts it: "Anything that is in the world when you're born is normal and ordinary and is just a natural part of the way the world works. Anything that's invented between when you're fifteen and thirty- five is new and exciting and revolutionary and you can probably get a career in it. Anything invented after you're thirty-five is against the natural order of things."
4 People who used the internet on their smartphone outside their home or work: 89.5% of 16–24-year-olds, 38.3% of 55 – 64-year-olds and 27.3% of 65 – 74-year-olds. % of people who used the internet within the last three months. Statistik Austria 2014. Downloaded 28 October 2014 from http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/informationsgesellschaft/ikt-einsatz_in_haushalten/022210.html
5 "The group places this practice [photography, M.S.] under its collective rule, so that the most trivial photograph expresses, apart from the explicit intentions of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group" (Bourdieu, 1996: 6).
6 For example, when a framed photo of a grandchild is given to the grandparents as a present, a photo of a beach is posted on Facebook, or a Justin Bieber poster hanging above the bed is admired by a teenager, etc.
7 A historical comparison with older photos from this family could be done in order to take a closer look at this question.

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Biography

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Section Three

Photo: François Heinderyckx

Bringing qualities back in. Towards a new analytical approach for examining the transnationalization of public spheres

Alexandra Polownikow

Abstract

In the article, I develop a normative argumentation and an analytical concept to further the study of transnationalization of the public sphere by incorporating media content qualities. With the ongoing expansion of politics beyond national borders, there has been a debate about its 'public sphere deficit'. As a response, the concept of transnationalization of the national public sphere has been introduced: With national media covering international and transnational politics, the public can inform itself and potentially participate in discussions on these issues. So far, research has mainly measured the extent of transnational media coverage. However, this approach for empirical examination of the transnationalization of public spheres poses a contradiction to its critical 'public sphere deficit' rationale and the normative basis of public sphere theory. To resolve this discrepancy, I suggest the incorporation of media content qualities into transnationalization research. Therefore I discuss the concept of media quality in the context of public sphere theory and examine the few studies that have already dealt with the quality of transnational media coverage. On this basis I develop my own qualities concept. And finally, to investigate these qualities, I outline the research design for a quantitative content analysis. Here the juxtaposition of transnational with national media coverage marks the main analytical contribution, since national coverage can serve as a benchmark for evaluation. This new approach constitutes a good starting point for further normative discussion on the transnationalization of the public spheres.

Keywords: transnationalization, public sphere, media quality, media coverage, quantitative content analysis

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1. Introduction: The public sphere deficit of transnational politics

At a time when the crises of financial markets or climate change are just two examples of pressing transborder challenges, and when a heightened sense of mobility as well as technological advances shape our everyday life, national borders are becoming continuously more permeable. To keep pace with this development, international cooperation is increasing and a transfer of political decision-making from the nation-state to the inter- or supranational level is taking place. These processes are studied under keywords such as Europeanization (e.g. Radaelli, 2003) or Global Governance (e.g. Zürn, 2012), and have sparked an extensive debate about the democracy and legitimacy deficit of institutions like the European Union (EU) (e.g. Follesdal and Hix, 2006; Moravcsik, 2002; Scharpf, 2009) or Global Governance regimes (e.g. Keohane, 2011; Zürn, 2004). In these cases a public sphere deficit is often diagnosed as a core problem (de Beus, 2010). Since the creation of a uniform European – let alone global – public sphere is neither likely nor debatably expedient (Risse, 2003: 4-6), the *transnationalization of national public spheres* poses a possible response to the lack of public sphere and citizen support. Only if citizens – who are still mostly situated in a national framework – can access information about transnational political processes, can they potentially contribute to the discussions and decision-making on these issues. At this point, national media is introduced as the most important actor in the creation of a public sphere, as well as a forum for the citizenry and the political system (Koopmans, 2004: 3). Hence the qualities of media coverage of transnational political processes move into focus – a fact that has mostly been neglected in studies on the transnationalization of public spheres.

In the article, I focus on the transnationalization of the public sphere and develop a theoretical argumentation as well as an analytical concept to further the research by incorporating media content qualities as an additional dimension of analysis. Therefore, I first define the concept of transnationalization of public sphere and present central empirical results. Second, I point out a contradiction between the normative background of transnationalization studies and the mostly empirical approach for measurement. From that I develop the central theoretical argument: the need for incorporating media content qualities into the research of transnationalization of public spheres. Furthermore, I introduce studies that have already dealt with the quality of transnational media coverage and use them as a point of reference for the next part. In this, I outline a research agenda by bringing together the theoretical backdrop of public sphere theory, and the approaches used in media qualities research, condensing them into my own empirical design. Here the main contribution is the

utilization of national media coverage as a benchmark for analyzing the qualities of transnational media coverage. In conclusion, I discuss the implications of the new approach for the research on transnationalization of public spheres.

2. Theory and state of research I: Studying the transnationalization of public spheres

Transnationalization is most often examined from the perspective of Europeanization with a focus on the European public sphere. Research activities can be differentiated broadly into two perspectives. The first discusses the (im)possibility, necessity and theoretical understanding of a transnational public sphere (e.g. Habermas, 2001; Schlesinger, 1999; Splichal, 2006; van de Steeg, 2010), whereas the second is more analytically orientated, and focuses on the empirical measurement of the transnationalization of media coverage and the public sphere (e.g. Hepp et al., 2012; Wessler et al., 2008; Wessler and Brüggemann, 2012). The difference between the perspectives is not clear-cut, since empirical studies often base their rationale on normative discussions similar to the first strand. However, there is a tendency to center on the second perspective, i.e. on the transnationalization of the public sphere as an empirical concept.

According to this notion, the transnationalization of public spheres is understood as the extension of public communication flows beyond the national frame of reference (Brüggemann et al., 2009: 395). National public spheres are not replaced by transnational ones, but they keep on existing in and beside each other (Wessler and Brüggemann, 2012: 64). Transnationalization of public spheres is a long-term process of structural transformation with different social-spatial scopes (e.g. European, Western, global) and can be characterized according to different dimensions (Wessler et al., 2008: 9).

In a newer concept the dimensions that constitute the transnationalization of public spheres are the extension of infrastructure, actors, the audience and media content beyond national borders (Wessler and Brüggemann, 2012: 64-67). However, transnationalization of public spheres is commonly conceptualized as the transnationalization of media coverage and measured with the following dimensions[1]: 1. Monitoring governance (also called vertical transnationalization), 2. Discursive integration (horizontal transnationalization), 3. Discourse convergence, and 4. Collective identification. The first dimension of vertical transnationalization refers to the visibility of supranational actors and/or policies in media coverage (e.g. reports on the elections of the EU-parliament or the current Secretary-General of the United Nations). Horizontal transnationalization denotes media coverage of foreign institutions, actors and/or policies (e.g. the crisis in the Middle East, or the US Secretary of State). Discourse convergence goes one step further and refers to the similarities in

different national media discourses concerning the perceived relevance and definition of a problem, similar discourse coalitions and repertoires of justifications (e.g. similar coalitions of pro-life and pro-choice activists debating the matter of abortion in different countries at the same time naming similar arguments). The fourth and most demanding dimension refers to a collective identification, described as the acknowledgement of certain collectives (e.g. the Europeans, the Western world) and the expression of belonging to these collectives (e.g. us Europeans, our Western values) (Wessler et al., 2008: 10-12; for a specification of vertical and horizontal transnationalization see Koopmans and Statham, 2010: 38).

Central empirical results – which mostly focus on the Europeanization of public spheres – point to an increased vertical Europeanization in print media outlets, though still to a minor degree. Indications of foreign European actors and policies stagnate on a rather high level. Discourses in different European countries are convergent with respect to the topic and cited actors, but not as much regarding the focus of the argumentation. Collective identification in form of collective references as (us) Europeans are infrequent (Hepp et al., 2012: 63-83; Koopmans, Erbe and Meyer, 2010; Wessler et al., 2008: 40-52). Furthermore, the degree of transnationalization highly depends on the policy field that is covered by the media (Koopmans, Erbe and Meyer, 2010: 76-79). Moreover, each national public sphere bears differences – e.g. the British *Times* is Europeanized very little vertically as well as horizontally, whereas within the coverage of the French *Le Monde* the vertical dimension is strong and in the German *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* the horizontal dimension dominates (Wessler et al., 2008: 63-70).

The different patterns of Europeanization between media outlets can be explained by the number of foreign correspondents and the editorial mission of the quality newspaper as well as the power and the size of the reporting country (Brüggemann and Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2009). The last important influence on the degree of Europeanization is the type of media outlet – tabloids and regional newspapers are far more nation-oriented than quality newspapers (Brettschneider and Rettich, 2005: 148-150; Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2012).

Recapitulating, the transnationalization of public spheres can be summarized as a multi-segmented and somewhat steady process over time, thus becoming more relevant on the level of national public spheres.

3. Theory and state of research II: The need for a media qualities perspective

The aforementioned studies on the transnationalization of public spheres reveal a contradiction between their normative background and the merely analytical measurement of the phenomenon: On the one hand, citizens' EU-skepticism and the need for public debate vis-à-vis a deepening and widening of European integration or the public sphere deficit are chosen as a rationale behind empirical examinations. On the other hand, measurement of the transnationalization of the public sphere neglects the implications of public sphere theory as well as the perspective of informing the citizens, because it merely focusses on the extent of vertical and horizontal transnational media coverage or similarities in discourses, and the quantity of expression of commonalities. My suggestion – following the comments made by Fraser (2007) and Trenz (2010) – is to reestablish a normative component in the research on transnationalization of public spheres by paying closer attention to the theoretical basis of the public sphere concept. To be able to do so, I first need to consider what generating a functioning debate and public sphere entails theoretically.

In accordance with the idea of transnationalization, the public sphere can be conceptualized as a network of forums of public debate that are linked by communication flows (Wessler and Brüggemann, 2012: 57). A public sphere is essential for establishing a relationship between citizens and the political system, providing a forum for public debate, hence attributing legitimacy to political processes and decision-making. Various democracy theories mention different requirements for public spheres (Ferree et al., 2002a). One of the more normatively demanding yet realistic models for the functions of public spheres has been conceptualized by Neidhardt (1994: 8-9): According to his precise and thus operationalizable concept, a public sphere needs to provide transparency and validation. This in turn results in a reflected public opinion offering orientation for citizens as well as for the political system. If on the input level the public sphere is to fulfill the function of transparency, it needs to allow for all societal groups, topics, and opinions (principle of openness). On the throughput level, a public sphere meets its function of validation if the debate is led in a discursive manner (principle of discursivity).

Mass media play a crucial role in establishing a public sphere: Due to the fact that the media can (at least in theory) reach the whole population, on the one hand, they constitute the "*master forum*" (Ferree et al., 2002b: 10), where issues of interest to the society as a whole are depicted, evaluated and discussed. On the other hand, it is the media's public function not only to depict political and societal processes, but through news selection as well as implicit and explicit commentary in the media coverage serve as an independent actor for shaping the debate. Whereas the first role of the media as a mirror of polit-

ical processes has been considered in transnationalization research, the latter as an advocate for public debate has mostly been disregarded. Thus, I propose that – to enable an informed public debate and ultimately a functioning public sphere – *the media's performance and thereby the quality of media coverage needs to be incorporated into the research on transnationalization of public spheres.*

In general, the term quality is a relative measure (Rosengren, 1991: 22), describing the accordance of an aspect or product with certain expectations or demands, thus always depending on the point of reference. So far, there have been many suggestions on how to structure the abundance of research on media content quality, some differentiating between the points of reference for evaluating quality (Arnold, 2009: 80-104; Neuberger, 2011: 35-74). Concerning the topic of transnationalization of the public sphere, one strand of quality research proves especially useful: The normative strand that alludes to democratic and/or public sphere theories as point of reference to deduce criteria for media content quality[2] (e.g. McQuail, 1992). Even though most research uses *quality* as a central concept, I want to establish the term *qualities*: Since defining quality criteria is always a matter of perspective, and talking about quality might imply a judgment about what is better and what worse, I want to employ a more neutral terminology by conceptualizing qualities as characteristics of media coverage that are deduced from a theoretical point of view. This allows for a more open examination without an anticipated outcome; the normative evaluation is left for the interpretation of empirical results.

However, before I can develop my analytical concept for qualities in transnational media coverage, the few studies explicitly dealing with the issue require mentioning: Four studies – curiously all in the German language – examine the quality of transnational media content in a relative manner, comparing the quality of media coverage in different countries (Dietzsch, 2009; Kantner, 2006), points in time (Engelmann, 2009) or media outlets (Brantner, 2008). As criteria they mostly focus on the inclusion of actors from civil society in the public discourse, the rationality and balance of articles as well as the variety and extent of coverage on the EU. The results cause a worrisome assessment: Despite Europeanized media coverage in German print media being rather balanced and rational (Engelmann, 2009: 49-51), only an average 15 percent of civil society actors are taken notice of (Brantner, 2008: 228-231; Kantner, 2006: 156-158), and the coverage lacks extent as well as variety (Dietzsch, 2009: 159).

Even though these studies mostly reference public sphere theory, the interpretation of the results proves difficult due to the lack of context. Therefore for further research, it is worthwhile to go back to the theoretical point of departure to provide a solid theoretical base as well as a benchmark for interpreting findings.

4. Considerations on a research design: Towards a new approach

Following Neidhardt's (1994) principles of the public sphere (see table 1), first and foremost *openness* can be demonstrated as a distinct variety of actors and positions within the media coverage. This aspect is one of the most basic and widely used criteria in media quality studies; similar descriptives would be diversity or pluralism (e.g. McQuail, 1992; Zerback, 2013). In the assessment of the second principle, *discursivity*, there is an abundance of literature, starting with the considerations on deliberation by Habermas (1990, 1992) and taking a more empirical turn with concepts on how to measure discursivity. For example, Steenbergen and colleagues (2003: 27-30) develop a quantitative Discourse Quality Index, applying dimensions such as the level and content of justification, respect for other speakers' positions and the mention of counterarguments. Similarly, Wessler (2008: 4-5) operationalizes deliberativeness, among others, through justified counter-argumentation as well as the civility of discourse. Besides these qualities, balance is another central criterion for discursivity (e.g. Dryzek, 2000). The quality criterion of balance goes one step further than variety; as positions or arguments do not need to be many and different, but above all need to have a similar status within the media coverage to provide a nuanced picture.

Fusing the theoretical and empirical approaches from quality research with the previous studies on the quality of transnational media coverage (Brantner, 2008: 232-239; Engelmann, 2009: 50-51), it becomes possible to divide the principle of discursivity into the qualities of discourse rationality (operationalized by the degree of justification provided for an argument), balance (between arguments in favor of or against certain issues) and civility (as the lack of extremely negative or disrespectful evaluations).

Table 1: Category system for measuring the qualities of media content

Public Sphere Principles	**Qualities**	**Operationalizations**
openness	variety	variety of actors mentioned
		variety of arguments
discursivity	rationality	degree of justification and proof for argument
	balance	ratio between positive and negative arguments/evaluations
	civility	tone of evaluation of actors and arguments

As mentioned before, going back to the hitherto existing results on the qualities of transnational media coverage, the contextualization and interpretation proves difficult. Therefore, I suggest using national media coverage as a benchmark.

Such an approach carries the risk of wrongly turning the national media coverage into an ideal. However, while taking into consideration that the national public sphere might be deficient in the first place, only the comparison between the national and transnational media coverage enables the interpretation of the transnationalization process within the frame of reference of a changing and evolving public sphere.

A second pitfall might be the comparability between national and transnational media coverage, since political decision-making processes on different systemic levels follow different logics and patterns. Also there are sound assumptions and empirical evidence that journalistic news gathering and reporting vary in their national and transnational media content (Balčytienė and Vinciūnienė, 2010: 146-153; Statham, 2008). Nevertheless, the final product – the media coverage – needs to fit into the same media outlet, follow similar style and production rules, and cater to the same target group. From the perspective of the domestic audience, politics from different systemic levels are part of the same information routine and thus comparable. By examining the qualities that stand out and interpreting these vis-à-vis different public sphere theories, different political logics can potentially be traced within different media coverage.

Combining the theoretical and empirical standpoint, I consider the question of qualities of national and transnational media coverage worthwhile and suggest a quantitative content analysis to account for potential patterns. Since there is empirical evidence on different degrees of transnationalization in different types of media outlet and policy field, examining a broad picture of the media landscape as well as different political issues is beneficial. A multi-step analysis is to be applied. First, the articles need to be categorized according to their degree of transnationalization. Taking into account that even inherently transnational topics or events might be covered from a merely national perspective, there is a need to establish which media coverage is to be considered national versus transnational by measuring the media content. The second step of analysis entails a comparison of the articles with a high and a low degree of transnationalization per topic and media outlet according to their qualities. The relative comparison can prevent confusion by keeping the relevant attributes constant, only varying the degree of transnationalization.

5. Conclusion: What does the new approach (not) provide?

In the article, I showed that the research of transnationalization of public spheres can benefit from incorporating a qualities perspective into its agenda. For developing my own qualities for transnational media coverage, namely variety, rationality, balance and civility, I discussed central criteria from public sphere theory, referring to a strand of quality research and previous studies. For the empirical analysis, I outlined a multi-level research design, first categorizing media coverage according to its degree of transnationalization, secondly forming extreme groups of lowly versus highly transnational articles and, finally, analyzing them according to their qualities. Using national media coverage as a benchmark poses an essential analytical contribution: Only by comparing the qualities of national and transnational media coverage can we estimate the characteristics of the transnationalization process of public sphere and acquire a deeper understanding of what and how the domestic audience gets to know about transnational political processes. Even though this approach doesn't allow for insight into why the qualities might differ, knowing the difference can provide a starting point for interpretation vis-à-vis diverging public sphere theories, and thus bring the normative perspective back to the research on transnationalization of public spheres.

Notes

1 The analysis of media coverage as an approximation of public sphere is a common approach in empirical communication studies, even though equating these two entails theoretical as well as empirical problems. One downside is, for example, that the debate depicted in media discourse is prone to an elite bias; thus, depending on the media sample, the public discourse portrayed may not be completely accurate. However, it can be assumed that media coverage in high quality outlets, and/or outlets with a broad reach can satisfactorily reflect and even shape the public discourse.

2 Other strands for the quality evaluation of media content are 1. a more functional approach, focusing on professional journalistic norms, or 2. a market- and user-oriented approach, dealing with the preferences of the audience.

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Three levels of the crisis of the media – and a way out

Hannu Nieminen

Abstract

In the course of the past 30 years, the role of the media has fundamentally changed. Together with other epistemic systems, including the education system and cultural institutions, the media — first newspapers, then radio and television — was once elemental in the construction of civic identity and citizen subjects; which was necessary for the consolidation of European national democracies. As a result of the globalisation and financialization of the economy, however, the competence of nation states to provide welfare for their citizens and to serve their national economies has withered. This has weakened the ability of the media to bring nations together in the same ways it did in the 1970s and 1980s. As a result, it is claimed that the media has lost its historic role in serving the process of the formation of the political subject (an informed citizen). To re-establish the historical relationship between media and democracy, it is argued that because of the changes in the modes of production, the growing level of education, and the increase in free time, civic subjectivity has already transformed and continues to change into a more self-reflexive and autonomous individuality. And it is here, in the organisation and mobilisation of the new global political subject, where the media in all its different forms can play a crucial role today.

Keywords: media crisis; media system; communication policy; media regulation

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1. Background

As a result of major transformations in the capitalist mode of production between the 1970s and the 2010s, fundamental changes have taken place in all areas of social and cultural relations. Although these transformations began in the economic sphere in the late 1960s and early 1970s, their repercussions were fully felt (and understood, at least partly) in the media much later, from the 2000s onwards.

In the development of the modern state, the role of the media — originally the newspaper press, then radio and television — has been elemental, as its central function was the national organization of interests. In this way, the media has been pivotal in the social and cultural construction of modern nations and can be compared to other major nation-building institutions, such as the education system, the church, the national army, and the civil service.[1] They all can be characterised as epistemic institutions, creating and reproducing a form of knowledge that is centrally constructed around national concepts and symbols (see Nieminen, 2010).

Different media sources have served this process in different ways. The early newspaper press was established, from one viewpoint, to allow the organization of competing interests (between different classes and social strata). This competition was housed firmly within national frames, requiring the recognition of different interests, but sharing a common imaginary or symbolic reservoir (as in the concepts of Englishness, Finnishness, etc.). As a result of this form of external pluralism, something like a class-based understanding of citizenship emerged, promoted by the newspaper press, with the shared concept of citizenship as a common denominator.

European radio broadcasting (and later television), represented a different form of interest organisation. Instead of the particular interests presented by newspapers — and the form of external pluralism that they represented — radio broadcasting epitomised public interest, in a sense that particular interests were negotiated and organised within a single medium. This form of internal pluralism promoted the idea of universal citizenship rather than class-based citizenship. The commercialised newspaper press, which took over from the party press of previous decades in Europe between the 1930s and 1970s, offered still another way of organising national interests based on universalised internal pluralism: a market-based organisation (consumer identity) in which the market became a non-partial arbiter of particular/private interests.

National epistemic institutions were especially important during the European reconstruction after WWII, when economic recovery required the integration of all social groups. In most countries, the reconstruction process took place from the late 1940s to the end of the 1960s/early 1970s. This period was characterised by the use of an extensive mode of reproduction, in contrast to

the intensive mode adopted later. The central focus was large-scale industrial production: factories, Taylorism, the division of labour, etc. For the effective organisation of industrial production, a policy of social and political pacification aimed at reducing class differences was adopted. This policy was applied in different countries in different ways.[2]

From this 'critical functionalist' perspective, the role and function of the media — like all epistemic institutions — began to change profoundly from the 1970s onward. The basic mode of capital accumulation changed from an extensive to an intensive mode, which did not require the same kind of integrative social and cultural policies. As an early step towards the increasing financialization of economies — that is, the disengagement of a speculative financial economy from the real economy — there was a shift in societal polices. Instead of seeking policies that aimed to equalise societal differences, policies producing social disintegration and segregation were adopted because they promised better economic benefits, at least in the short term. This social shift was the promise of the neoliberal turn that had started to gain a foothold in the US and UK in the late 1970s, with later adoption in most European countries.

At the same time, the traditional global system based on a negotiated balance between nation states, of which the United Nations (UN) was an emblematic example, appeared to have run its course: the political and economic sovereignty of nation states now created an obstacle for the accumulation of global capital. If European countries and companies were willing to compete with the US and Japan in the global market, the establishment of a single European market would be required, supported and enhanced by social and political structures.

This movement towards global competition in the form of a unified European economic and political framework undermined the basic dynamics of the 'old' epistemic order by doing away with the old regime of nation states. The previous epistemic order was based entirely on the idea of nation state democracy and national institutions.

2. Three levels of crisis

To understand the historical context for the changes and crisis in media regulation, it might be helpful to make a distinction between three different levels of the crisis. The first concerns a more general crisis of capital accumulation, which had direct consequences on the functioning of the media; the second concerns the economic crisis of the media system, which is partly a reflection of capital accumulation but has a logic of its own; and the third level is a crisis of media regulation. First, in very general terms, I will clarify how these three levels are related; next, I will study the crisis of media regulation more closely.

2.1 The 1970s crisis

Before the first oil crisis in 1973, Western European countries, together with the US and Canada, had enjoyed a long period of continuous economic growth.[3] This 'Long Boom' brought with it rising standards of living for most of the population. The expansion of educational opportunities provided increasing social mobility. Increased free time combined with new affluence invited the growth of new industrial branches, especially those in the area of symbolic production. Entertainment and leisure industries, tourism, mass media (television, sound recordings, glossy magazines) and other forms of mass culture started to proliferate. All of this — combined with the Keynesian (or social-democratic) welfarist social policy — amounted to the pacification of social relations: the economic growth had a smoothing effect on class conflict.

By the early 1970s, the Western economy began to suffer from structural problems. Starting with the US, economic growth stagnated, joined by rapidly rising inflation ('stagflation'). Social and political stability, long controlled by the fruits of growth, faltered and resulted in increasing signs of mass discontent (students' and workers' revolts in France and many other countries; world-wide movements against the Vietnam War; etc.). Terrorist activities also became prevalent in Germany, Italy, and the US. At the same time, hopes for liberal changes and *'socialism with a human face'* created tensions within the socialist block, resulting in a conservative backlash in Poland and Prague. Political and military tension between the parties involved in the Cold War heightened and led to an escalating arms race.

The Long Boom officially ended in 1973 when the first Oil Crisis paralyzed the Western economy. The economic dynamism (increasing consumer demand in an expanding market place) that had guaranteed constant growth for the previous almost 20 years was worn out, and Western capitalism had to re-programme itself. The new programme was slow in developing and got its shape only step by step, through several new crises. Depending on the criteria, additional periods of recession were experienced in 1979, 1991–92, 2000–02, 2008–09, 2011–13.

Solutions to the crisis and a means to return to higher rates of growth were sought from several directions, some traditional and some new. They included:

- Lowering the costs of industrial production: Transferring production to low wage countries, flexibilizing labour contracts (crushing union power), substituting computerized work processes for human labour (post-Fordism), and removing global and regional trade barriers.

- Reconstructing the financial mechanisms to promote growth (financialization of economy): Expanding the non-productive sector of economy (banking, insurance, taxation), creating a global financial market, and inventing new instruments to intensify the circuit of capital (options and other incentives, hedge funds).
- Exposing the previously non-market functions of society and culture to market logics (the process of commodification of the symbolic sphere): Privatisation of public utilities and services, adopting the *'New Public Management'* principles to public administration, commodification of culture and symbolic production (education and sciences, cultural institutions, and the media).
- Re-redistribution of wealth: Promoting private monopolies through privatising public utilities (windfall profits), rewarding the capital owners and other high income groups with tax redemptions paid by cuts in public services.

How is this connected to the media and communications? Briefly:[4]

First, the new political consensus needed popular legitimacy. The media had a major role in constructing public consent to support the new policies, which in many cases involved undermining the previous achievements in social policy and labour relations.

Secondly, as entertainment and cultural industries became increasingly important areas of commerce, media and communications policies were met with new pressures and expectations to open the market by reducing public regulation of these areas (i.e. broadcasting and telecommunications).

Thirdly, the new global economic and financial order required the rapid expansion of a computerised information network — the Internet. In the name of efficiency, all societal institutions and organisations needed to be linked to the network, including industry, administration, and households. The Internet (or new information and communication technology more generally) promised to fulfil several mutually beneficial economic functions:

- providing a necessary conduit for economic and financial information (b-t-b);
- creating a new business arena in itself (Google, Microsoft, Apple, Facebook, mobile telephones);
- opening up new global business opportunities and models for business; creating new unforeseen potential for control and monitoring by authorities;
- offering new ways for interaction between the opinion makers (political, economic, cultural elites) and citizens.

And lastly, the more dependent the global status quo (economic and military relations) has become on the ICT and the Internet, the more intensely both the contents of online traffic and the online behaviour of users have been monitored by the security authorities. This reality has been graphically illustrated by the recent disclosures from Edward Snowden and others (Greenwald, 2014).

2.2 The economic crisis of the media system

There are several possible paths that can be followed when studying the crisis of the media system. However, based on my analysis, the primary crisis is due to a failure of the traditional capitalist economy; out-dated business models did not function any more. Politically, they could no longer provide the socio-political stability and cohesion that they did during the reconstruction period after WWII, and economically, people's consumption patterns changed at the same time that the costs of media production began spiralling.

Before the 2000s

The crisis of the media system in Europe can be divided in two (or three) main phases. As stated above, my starting point is that this crisis is actually an economic crisis that also has significant political and cultural reflections. The sources for this are at least twofold. First, because the media was, as a result of general shifts in the capitalist economy, now considered an independent industry, it was expected to generate significant profits. For a number of years, the media was very profitable. For example, in Finland, the rate of profit in media industries (especially the newspaper industry) was steadily between 15 and 25 percent. Second, because of increasing free time and cultural consumption combined with higher education levels, various forms of media consumption kept rising. The newspaper circulation in Finland was at its all-time highest in 1989: 824 copies per 1,000 inhabitants (in 2011 the figure was 509). Daily average television viewing time in 1990 was 109 minutes (in 2012 it was 183) (Lehtisaari, 2014).

However, from the late 1980s and early 1990s on, changes in people's free time activities and consumption patterns led to a decline in the traditional business models of media industries. People, especially the youth, began to look for other sources of information and entertainment. In the early 1990s, the circulation of newspapers began their long and steady decline. Although radio listening has remained popular, it has clearly declined among younger age groups, along with television watching.

The newspaper market in particular has become more and more competitive as companies are fighting over fewer and fewer readers. Both traditional sources of newspapers' profit became endangered: the number of subscriptions and single copy sales declined from year to year, and the income from advertisements decreased as advertisers paid less for having access to the dwindling number of readers. In 2000, the advertising income of the dailies in Finland was 528 million euros; in 2012 it dropped to 404 million euros (Finnish Mass Media, 2011; Mainostajat, 2013).

In the rapidly developing European electronic communication business, competition has been difficult as well. As the European television industry was, to a great extent, privatized and deregulated in the 1980s and 1990s, new businesses entered the market in great numbers — especially in the fields of cable and satellite television. Although governments attempted to regulate the market by imposing obligatory licensing for access to radio frequencies, the competition for satellite and cable transmission was virtually unregulated.[5] One of the results was a push for control of the market by cross-ownership, leading in many countries to the formation of big media houses, some of which expanded to become major transnational actors (such as Fininvest, Bertelsmann, News International, and Vivendi).

Increasing competition directly influenced media content, too. Commercial value was more heavily emphasized in the selection and framing of news, leading to a major change in the relationship between journalism and reading audiences. This has been characterised as a shift from citizen-oriented to customer-oriented journalism. As stated previously, this has naturally caused a major change in our understanding of the media's role in democracy (see e.g. Curran, 2011; Nieminen and Trappel, 2011; Nielsen, 2010).

After 2000

Although these two long-term developments — the financial decline of the traditional media and the commercialization of media content — began in the 1980s, they were greatly intensified with the introduction of digital media technology in the 1990s and 2000s. On one hand, new ICT opened up new opportunities for developing and improving the production processes in many ways, including the computerization and automation of manual tasks. However, with the advent of the Internet, the traditional strengths of the 'old' media (speed, connectivity, and engagement) were now captured and accelerated by different forms of new media.

The challenge of the new media to traditional media comes from at least two directions. Firstly, because the Internet was able to deliver news and other traditional newspaper contents 24/7 as a 'free' service for users, without the

traditional subscription or single copy fees, Internet news sites gathered an increasing audience. This led advertisers towards the Internet, too, worsening the negative income spiral for newspapers. The decreased number of readers and subscription fees was further aggravated by a loss of advertising money.

The digitalization of television has created the same challenge for traditional television companies. Audiences shifted in great numbers to the competing niche channels first, which led to a decline in advertising money. Traditional television companies attempted to counter by offering additional paid subscription channels for movies, sports, and lifestyles, but this didn't block audiences from shifting to the Internet and its 'free' offerings.

And secondly, social media sites such as Facebook and YouTube are a particular threat to traditional media due to their effect on advertisers. These sites offer much more effective channels for advertisers to target their desired consumer groups, thus diverting advertising money from newspapers, both in their print and online forms. This advantage challenges the viability of traditional media business, especially in small national markets as advertising money begins to flow from national media platforms to the 'global' platforms of Google and Facebook, drying up national advertising income.

Traditional media companies are still struggling to transform their business models and become profitable in the online environment. Newspapers are experimenting with different ways to make money from their online versions, both by personalised advertising and by experimenting with forms of 'pay walls', but at this point, most of them still haven't found a financially sustainable solution.

Television companies have a different problem: although the total audience figures have stayed constant or even increased slightly, because audiences are spread to a number of smaller digital channels, traditional channels are losing advertisers. As a counter tactic, companies are beginning to develop their pay-online services, but have realized that they must compete with specialized international (or US-based) over-the-top OTT service companies such as Netflix, HBO, and Hulu.

For newspapers, the solution has been to seek commercialization at the cost of traditional journalism. The costs of production must be brought down by any means; each unit of 'output' must be able to create income. The whole culture has been oriented towards making money. A reduced number of journalists must produce more material. The 'new' journalism is lighter, more opinionated and personal, less edited, and aimed at being interesting and gathering attention. (e.g. Nielsen, 2012; Barnett, 2009). However, a new dichotomy is forming between high-quality online journalism or 'slow journalism',[6] aimed at an elite audience willing to pay for content, and the cheaply made popular journalism, aimed at mass audiences.

From the viewpoint of traditional representative democracy, with the demise of traditional news and information services and the lack of corrective news and information provision, the ultimate loser is the informed citizenry.

3. The crisis of media and communications regulation

As a result of the changes in media systems since the 1980s, the old regulatory framework was plunged into crisis. The old system of regulation is not capable of facing the new three-level challenge. First, the challenge posed by the neo-liberalist belief in the virtues of the market (a long-term trend); second, the challenge of digital convergence, which undermines the traditional sectoral regulatory framework (a mid-term trend); and third, the challenge of the immediate media crisis after 2008 (immediate crisis).

As the general crisis of the media system has long historical roots, so does media regulation. There are three recent phases in the development of media regulation (see Gibbons and Humphreys, 2012; Michalis, 2007; Harcourt, 2005). The first period, between the 1980s and the early 2000s, was characterised by regulatory liberalisation (de-regulation) and privatisation of public communication facilities. This shift was based on the belief in market self-regulation; governments only provided suitable conditions for the market to survive. In the EU this was exemplified by the Television Without Frontiers Directive (TWFD, 1989).

The period between the Dot Com crash and Telecoms crash (2001–2002) and the crisis of 2008–2009 was, from a regulatory viewpoint, a period when it became clear that market self-regulation is not sufficient and cannot guarantee fair competition and consumer choice as expected. What followed was a regulatory re-engagement of the state to establish proper conditions for competition, or regulation for economic benefits. This included strengthening the role of independent national regulatory authorities. In the EU an example of this approach is the Telecoms Package of 2002–2003.

The third phase of media regulation started in the aftermath of the crisis of 2008–2009, and is characterised by the emergence of a number of issues which neither market self-regulation nor the state's competition regulation were able to solve. New issues included hate speech/mail, protection of minors, protection of privacy, data protection, the digital divide, consumer protection, and copyright infringements. It is expected that regulatory responses must now include more emphasis on the social dimensions of regulation. A possible future regulatory framework may combine all three elements: market self-regulation, state-led competition regulation, and regulations promoting social and cultural

values. The EU's predicament in this most recent phase of regulation can be seen in the incoherence of the European Commission (EC) in its recent discussion on the application of Network Neutrality in Europe.[7]

The main problem facing the future of the media; however, is the deepening systemic crisis of the European economy that has resulted in increasing social and political polarization. Currently, in the summer of 2014, we don't yet know if and how Europe will solve this crisis. Nor is it known how the general European social, political and cultural landscape will look after this.

4. Conclusions and further questions

This paper began with the notion that in the course of the past 30 years, the role of the media has fundamentally changed. Together with other epistemic systems including the education system and cultural institutions, the media — first newspapers, then radio and television — was once elemental in the construction of civic identity and citizen subjects, it was necessary for the consolidation of European national democracies. As a result of the globalisation and financialization of the economy, however, the competence of nation states to provide welfare for their citizens and to serve their national economies has withered. This has weakened the ability of the media to bring nations together in the same ways it did in the 1970s and 1980s. As a result, it is claimed that media have lost their historical role of serving the process of shaping the political subject (an informed citizen).

Based on this foundation, we can present two main scenarios of the future role of the media, one pessimistic and one optimistic.[8]

1) The industrial social contract — which is based on the recognition of mutual interests between owners and workers, and regulated within the framework of democratic nation states — has been dismantled because of the one-sided processes of globalisation and financialization of the economy. There is no sign of a new global social contract being seriously negotiated, likely because no political subject has yet emerged capable of balancing and restraining the forces of the financialised economy.

In these circumstances, the role and function of the media has changed, too: as a result of the downfall of the old social contract there is no longer a democratic political subject to be served. Consequently, instead of aiding in the formation of informed citizens, the media industry is seeking its own profit and promoting one-sided consumer identity. Have we already entered the era of post-democracy, characterised by a majority of 'dumbed down' ex-citizens, consuming tabloids freely online, with a small minority of enlightened elite who enjoy quality journalism and are willing to pay for it?

This perspective does not provide much leverage for the democratic regulation of the media. The playing field is defined and dominated by commercial media, and what they need is competition law to fight monopolization and to promote fair play, not regulation for social and cultural aims.

2) Although still fragmented and dispersed, some claim that we can see (or feel) the elements gathering for the formation of a new global political subject. We should not, however, look for the 'old' type of subjects, organised within the framework of nation states. The claim is that 'society' in the way it was traditionally conceived, organised and mobilised around class-based interests, does not exist anymore. The new political subject and its subjectivity are based not on interests, but on values and universal human rights, which are not tied to the interests of any specific social category or class. Examples of the drive towards the formation of this new subjectivity are the movements and communities concerned with environmental conservation, sustainable development, gender issues, and social and cultural minorities.

Because of the changes in the modes of production, the growing level of education, and the increase in free time, civic subjectivity has already transformed and continues to change into a more self-reflexive and autonomous individuality. And it is here, in the organisation and mobilisation of the new global political subject, where the media in all its different forms plays a crucial role today.

Even if we agree with this optimistic scenario, it does yet provide many conclusions from the viewpoint of democratic regulatory policy. An initial conclusion can be formed based on the level of policy and political initiatives: instead of concentrating on national media reforms, we should concern ourselves more with reforms concerning regional and transnational organisations, such as EU, UN, International Telecommunication Union ITU, World Intellectual Property Organisation WIPO, and World Trade Organisation WTO.

Notes

1 Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined community" is rather thin in this respect. See Anderson, 1991.
2 Ralf Dahrendorf's concept of the peaceful settlement of societal conflicts was influential in these processes. See Dahrendorf, 1959.
3 From the aftermath of WWII and the reconstruction period until the early 1970s, the OECD member countries enjoyed a real GDP growth rate averaging between 4 and 5 percent in the 1950s and 1960s, compared with 3% in the 1970s and 2% in the 1980s. See Marglin and Schor, 1990.
4 For more background, see e.g. Crouch, 2004; Michalis, 2007.
5 In satellite transmission, however, the TVWF directive stipulated the 'country of origin' principle, which functioned as a guiding principle.

6 On the concept of slow journalism, see "Slow journalism spreads fast". Downloaded on 4 November 2014 from http://www.almamedia.com/investors/quarterly/Slow-journalism-spreading-fast/
7 See European Commission's viewpoints: "Net Neutrality challenges". Downloaded on 4 November 2014 from https://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/net-neutrality-challenges
8 I follow here at least the spirit, if not always the exact words, of Alain Touraine, 2014.

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Biography

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Beyond space and place.
The challenge of urban space to urban media studies

Simone Tosoni

Abstract

Within Urban Media Studies, current research on media practices in urban space is by and large informed by a phenomenological conceptualization of space directly derived from traditional audience studies of the 1990s. This conceptualization has as its linchpin the distinction between *space* as abstract location, and *place* as space endowed with symbolic meanings and affections through practices of *place-making*. This approach has the merit of going beyond deterministic hypotheses of media-related *placelessness* and clarifying how specific media-related practices can contribute to fostering people's attachment to places and to endowing them with symbolic meanings. Yet, as shown through a discussion of an original case study on *"captive audience positions"* (situations in which we are somehow forcedly put in the position *"to audience"* a media spectacle), this conceptualization seems less adequate to addressing the relationship mutually shaping space and practices enacted in urban space, whether media-related or not. These limitations could be overcome by extending the phenomenological conceptualization of space into a fully fledged relational one.

Keywords: Media-related practices, audience studies, ethnographic approach, relational space, phenomenological space

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1. Urban media studies and media practices in urban space

In the last years, an ever-growing disciplinary interest for urban communication and for mediated urbanism has given birth to a new and specialized area of research within media studies: a subfield that can be labeled as "*Urban media studies"*. One of the most lively and promising research programs in the field focuses specifically on media practices, aiming to clarify how they are enacted in urban space, and how they contribute to shaping the fabric of urban daily life (Graham, 2004). Launched in continuity with the audience studies' ethnographic approach to media consumption, this line of inquiry aims to extend the disciplinary attention outside the household where, notwithstanding relevant exceptions (e.g. Lemish, 1982; McCharty, 2001), it had been confined until ten years ago. The relatively recent transformations of our media environment have in fact finally drawn scholars' attention to the fact that domestic media usage represents just a part of our interaction with media, rushing them to update their research agendas. In a few years, the literature dedicated to urban contexts of media usage (e.g. transportation systems, transit places or squares), as well as to the engagement with mobile and outdoor media has quickly grown in size.

Yet, so far, this research effort has not been backed up by an adequate critical consideration of the methodological framework inherited by the tradition of audience studies. Methodological essays remain in fact sporadic, while empirical research on media practices is by and large characterized by the attempt to *"stretch"* the audience studies methodological framework to the new research context. The key concept of *"space"* that will be focused on in this discussion makes no exception: when dealing with urban space, current approaches tend to read its relationship with media-related practices through methodological lenses that are directly derived from the ones that had been conceived for the private and circumscribed space of the household. In particular, they generally (although often implicitly) assume as their lynchpin the same distinction between *space* (as abstract location) and *place* (as a location endowed of symbolic meanings and affections) that the audience studies' ethnographic tradition had derived from the Phenomenological Geography of the 1970s (Seamon, 1979; Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976). Our hypothesis is conversely that, when interrogated from the standpoint of its relationship with practices, media related or not, urban space poses theoretical challenges that elude the grasp of a phenomenological conceptualization of space, and call media scholars to methodological rethinking.

To make these points, we will proceed in three steps: the next section will address the heritage of phenomenological geography for the conceptualization of (domestic) space as elaborated in the '90s within audience studies, and will propose a quick overview of Urban Media Studies to show how this concep-

tualization still characterizes current approaches to media practices in urban space. The following section will point out some limitations of this approach by discussing two different examples taken from an original and ongoing case study on "*captive audience positions"* in urban space: situations in which, during our urban practices and routines, we are somehow forcedly put in the position *"to audience"* a media spectacle. The final section will clarify how those limitations could be circumvented by extending the phenomenological conceptualization of space into a fully relational one.

2. "Other places like home": Space and media ethnography out of the household

In empirical research, the concepts we adopt deeply inform the phenomena we observe, highlighting some of their aspects as relevant, and leaving others in the background as (explicitly or implicitly) negligible for our investigation. The ethnographic tradition within audience studies relies on a conceptualization of *"context of media usage"* multilayered and accurately articulated. This conceptualization has been developed and progressively refined to address people's engagement with media by and large in domestic contexts (Moores, 1993). In one of its most refined and influential elaborations, Silverstone (1994) indicates three distinct, yet interrelated dimensions of domesticity: *"[…] domesticity is at once a phenomenological, a socio-cultural and an economic reality. These dimensions of domesticity can be addressed through various differently focused conceptualisations […]. I will identify these different dimensions of our domesticity as home, family and household"* (Silverstone, 1994: 25). While concerns regarding the "spatial geography of the home" (the physical position of media devices in the house) are by no means ignored (Morley, 2000), the heart of this take on space is to be found in its conceptualization of the phenomenological dimension of domesticity: in domesticity as 'home'. As clearly stated by Roger Silverstone:

> *[U]nderlying any discussion of the home is a prior distinction. It is the distinction between place and space […]. That distinction is an expression of an experiential difference between those areas of the world, large or small, for which we have no feeling and those for which we do. Places are human spaces, the focus of experience and intention, memories and desires. They are not abstractions.* (Silverstone, 1994: 27)

From this phenomenological perspective, places (and homes) are never 'given' once for all. They are the result of a continuous process of *place-making* that consists of the attribution of symbolic meanings and of the formation of affective attachments:

> *"Home […] is a manifestation of an investment of meaning in space. It is a claim we make about a place. It is constructed through social relations which are both internal and external and constantly shifting in their power and significance"* (ibidem: 28).

Silverstone warns against any form of romanticism, reminding us how home can be *"positively or negatively experienced"* depending on contingent situations or on the power unbalance of domestic relations. Whatever its connotations, home depends anyhow on the formation of a *"habit field"* (Tuan, 1974; Moores, 2012) that transforms it in a space of habituation through *"physical presence, familiarity, ritual, possession, control and restoration"* (Silverstone, 1994: 28): home is made through the daily practices and routines that are performed within the domestic domain. Media practices play a relevant role in this process, being a constitutive part of domestic routines (Morley, 2000): the attempt to account for the relationship of mutual shaping between domestic (and place-making) routines and media related practices represents the main research objective of the ethnography of media consumption. Thanks to this refined methodological framework, audience studies could distance itself from the early formulations of medium theory (Meyrowitz, 1985) – as well as from phenomenological geography itself – and its deterministic hypothesis of a loss of sense of place related to media diffusion, and address the relationship between media practices and place as an ambivalent relationship of mutual shaping (Morley, 2000).

Shaun Moores (2006; 2012) has recently advanced several proposals for a vigorous update of this methodological framework, advocating at the same time its extension outside the household to account for media usage in mobility and, complementarily, for the construction of *"habit fields"* in the interaction with media devices and mediated environments. Drawing on contemporary non-representational theories in human geography (Thrift, 2007; Anderson and Harrison, 2010) and on social anthropology (Ingold, 2000), Moores points out how the endowment of a *"cognitive"* symbolic meaning describes only a limited part of our engagement with places (and media). The analysis of place-making practices should consequently include all those forms of *"habituation"* that involve body memory and *"pre-cognitive"* forms of affects. Again a key relevance is acknowledged to repetition and routinized practices, even if this time a specific attention is dedicated to bodily movements in mediated and not mediated environments. While stressing the urgency to *"sociologise phenomenological analysis"* to adequately consider the *"historically and culturally specific conditions, including the social divisions, within which […] relationships of familiarity are formed"* (Moores, 2012: 60), Moores confirms the centrality of the phenomenological take on space for ethnographic approaches to media usage beyond the boundaries of the household.

In current research on media practices within urban media studies, this same phenomenological conceptualization of space drives researchers to investigate how mobile and outdoor media are appropriated, *"domesticated"* (Hartmann, 2013) and embedded in those urban daily practices that make urban places familiar, endowing them of symbolic meanings and affections. In particular, great efforts have been devoted to clarifying how practices of portable and geolocative media usage change our experience of urban space. For Adriana De Souza e Silva they would merge *"the borders between physical and the virtual"*, creating hybrid spaces (De Souza e Silva, 2004; 2006) and *"net localities"* (Gordon and De Souza e Silva 2011) that would lead people to *"perceive urban spaces in a different way"* (De Souza e Silva, 2004: 22). For Itō, Okabe and Anderson (2010) media would multiply the ways in which people appropriate public and semipublic places: ways that may include the creation of private media *"cocoons"*. The perception of the public nature of urban space is a central concern for many studies in the field. In this regard, Hampton and Gupta (2008) clarify how different practices of wi-fi usage have different consequences on the perception of the public or semi-public nature of the places where they are enacted: while the practices of *"true mobile"* users would promote *"public privatism"*, users that they significantly label *"placemakers" "embrace […] the wireless internet precisely for its ability to connect to the activities afforded by public space"* (Hampton and Gupta, 2008: 844). Complementarily, Lee Humphreys (Humphreys, 2010; Humphreys and Liao, 2013) interprets the redefinition of urban spaces in terms of *"parochialization"*, *"the process by which […] the public realm, where people had previously encountered strangers, starts to feel more familiar due to the social exchanges through the network"*. Similarly, Didem Özkul (2013) explores locational information sharing practices clarifying how they reflect (and sustain) place attachments and attribution of individual meanings. As a last example, in one of the more systematic studies on the topic, Zlatan Krajina (2014) describes how the deployment of public display screens can disrupt the habitual perception of urban space, but also how people involve – or escape – the interaction with screens in their daily urban routines, finally including their presence in *"the taken for granted"* of their daily urban experience. Repetition and rountinization in fact play a key role in the author's *"recursive domestication"* model, which describes how people *"tame"* urban screens, developing specific forms of resistance through habituation to their presence: the same process of *"habituation"* that makes a place familiar or, more properly, that makes a place out of space.

3. (Stress) Testing the phenomenological approach: Captive audience positions in urban space

The phenomenological conceptualization of space drives researchers to address the relationship between urban space and media from the standpoint of the practices in which they are involved, and to focus primarily on experience, perceptions, affections and habituation. In contrast with the deterministic hypothesis of *"media-generated placelessness"*, this approach has the merit of clarifying how media related practices can foster people's attachment to places and contribute to their attribution of symbolic meanings to specific localities. Yet, it seems less adequate to a full understanding of the mutual shaping relationship between space (and in particular urban space) and practices, media-related or not. On the one hand, in fact, practices do not simply *"affect"* the way space is *"experienced"* (at a cognitive or pre-cognitive level): they leave traces in space, they occupy and encumber it, they wear it out or they renew it. They continuously shape and reshape its materiality and structure through time. Moreover, practices contribute to define the conditions for other practices enacted in the same place: they open new possibilities for other practices, they force them to a coordination, or they rule them out in a conflictive way. From this point of view, urban space is *"public"* not only in the sense of being *publicly accessible*, but also of being *forcedly shared* by different social actors. On the other hand, urban space is conceived and designed to organize practices, to host some activities instead of others, to rule out unwanted behavior, with cases of "hostile architecture" (Tosoni and Tarantino, 2013) or of *"unpleasant design"* (Savičić and Savić, 2013) being just the most evident and controversial examples.

Media play an increasingly relevant role in this relationship (Tarantino and Tosoni, 2013), urging Urban Media Studies to a systematic rethinking of their methodological frameworks. The nature of the relationship of mutual shaping between space and practices, and the role media play in it are in fact of primary relevance both under a theoretical and political point of view: in fact, while actual practices can never be fully pre-determined (De Certeau, 1980), this relationship reflects, reinforces and contributes to reproduce power asymmetries between social actors. And it does this, notwithstanding any form of *"habituation"* to space, that may in fact contribute to the naturalization of unbalanced power relationships.

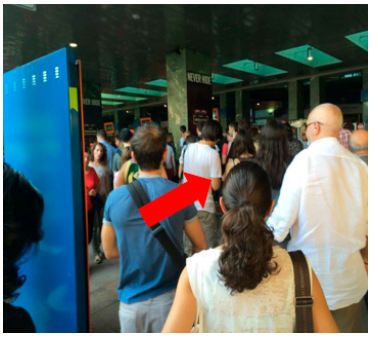
A comparison between two examples can better account for the methodological limitations of the phenomenological conceptualization of space. Both examples are taken from a case study on *"captive audience positions"* in urban space (situations in which we are somehow forcedly put in the position *"to audience"* a media spectacle), and describe a segment of the daily routines of

Picture 1: Cadorna Station (Milan) from the neighboring Square.

Picture 2: Captive Audience Positions within the station.

Picture 3: From the platform to the station's hall.

Picture 4: Toward the central turnstiles.



the over one hundred thousand travellers transiting each day through Cadorna Station in Milan, a medium-sized station serving the Northern area of the Lombardy region.

Picture n.1, shot by the author in June 2014, shows the station from the neighboring square. The red phone booth standing out at the square's center is a temporary installation, and is part of an advertising campaign. The strategy of this campaign can be easily addressed through a phenomenological methodological framework. It aims to capture people's attention through a *"rupture"* in their ordinary visual perception of the square, deploying in the urban space of Milan the clashing symbol of the urban space of a different city: London. While potentially efficient (at least until 'habituation'), this strategy does not attempt to catch people's attention through any *"discipline"* imposed to their bodies. Conversely, the strategy at play in picture n.2 consists exactly of arranging travellers' bodies in a physical position presumably apt to audience the electronic screen visible in the upper part of the picture. And this, for a duration that varies - depending on the time of the day - from twenty seconds to almost three minutes: an impressive amount of time for a transition point. The screen in the picture is just one of 68 synchronized screens that since 2011 furnish the station, displaying loops of advertising and news. Yet, only four of them are part of the captive audience position we are addressing. Those four screens are positioned above the uninterrupted line of turnstiles that since 2007 separates the platforms' area from the rest of the station. Turnstiles have been configured to grant passage only in one direction, with the central ones allowing passengers to exit the station, and the lateral ones allowing them to enter. Furthermore, since 2012 they have been configured to open only after a ticket validation, to reduce both free riding and ticket inspectors. At each train's arrival people walk down the platforms and converge to this hall to exit the station, with a turnout that is particularly intense from 7 to 9 for office hours. Validating a ticket is an operation that requires time: the ticket must be found and taken out, oriented in the proper position and inserted in the turnstiles.

People gather in the hall, forming a slow chaotic queue that heads at first toward its center (picture 3), and then moves to the central turnstiles granting the way out (picture 4). It's from this point on that people enter the captive audience position (picture 2). The four screens encountered from this point on are not very wide, and consequently what they show is not clearly visible from afar (picture 3). This would imply for the travelers walking out of the station a short time of potential exposure were they not slowed down and kept facing the screens for a longer time by the bodies of all the other commuters involved in the same routine. This crowd moves forward in a chaotic line following the rhythmic beat of the turnstiles opening and closing: it's only once they cross the barrier that people are freed from this captive audience position, but only to meet the other synchronized screens located on the other side. Here bod-

ies are less constrained in their movements, but the soundscape of the station suddenly changes. While in the hall the sound coming from the screens is not clearly audible due to environmental dispersion, here it is amplified by a sort of "resonating chamber effect" granted by the station roof.

In this second example, the phenomenological framework seems less apt to describe how this capturing space shapes the described segment of the commuters' daily routines and their encounter with the screens. For sure, habituation remains relevant: probably a commuter wouldn't look at the *"domesticated"* screen, while a traveler coming to Milan for the first time would pay it more attention. Yet, both of them would be captured in the same way by the captive audience position: the phenomenological sensitizing concept of *"place"* is sensitizing the researcher in an incomplete way. What is at play in this example is in fact a very complex interplay of heterogeneous elements that can be accounted for only through a more elaborated conceptualization of space. Attention must be paid, first of all, to the technical device, the screen, and its position in space: the screen is located in a position that is high enough to intercept the line of sight of people standing in line. The screen's contrast and luminosity – enhanced by the protection from light granted by the station roof – and its non-glare surface makes it clearly visible at any hour of the day. As relevant as the screen's size, technical features and position is the architectonic structure of its surrounding space (the wide hall where people can gather), and the presence of another technological device (the turnstile) that triggers the formation of a crowd and of a chaotic line. However, it's not enough to focus on the materiality of space and of what it contains to account for the way this *"capturing space"* works, since what really keeps people in front of the screen for several minutes is the presence of the moving bodies of the other travelers, involved altogether in a very complex choreography. People's activities in space are in fact an integral part of the captive audience position: in a sense, it uses people to capture people. From a methodological point of view, this implies a dismissal of any preconceived distinction between the media device and its physical context and, even more relevantly, between the capturing space and the practices (enacted in space) it aims to capture. Symbolic meanings and representations also play their role, since this capturing strategy can be adopted only because of the specific interactional frames that characterize the social situation at hand: waiting in line to validate a ticket is annoying, but in a station it feels more acceptable than being held immobile, or just even slowed down, by a screen displaying advertisements. Finally, the way this captive audience position operates cannot be understood without paying analytical attention to multisensoriality (even if in this example the relevance of sound emerges only once the barrier has been crossed), and to the choreographies and the rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) of the bodies moving in space: in fact, this capturing space does not *"work"* continuously, but in waves, at each train's arrival.

In sum, this captive audience position is produced by the complex interplay of the materiality and structure of station space (including what it 'contains', i.e. technological devices such as the turnstile), the activities therein performed, and the interactional frames that are implied by the symbolic meanings and social representations of the station. Such a complexity eludes the analytical grasp of a phenomenological perspective, and of its basic distinction between space and place.

4. Extending the phenomenological conceptualization of space into a fully- fledged relational one

Human geography and urban studies have since long reworked their conceptualizations of space, underlining how space, place, and time are *"co-constituted, folded together, situated, mobile, and multiple"* (Wilken, 2008: 46). As pointed out by Rowan Wilken (*ibidem*), *"it is productive to conceive of place in ways that account for the interactions that occur within, between, and across specific places"*, that is relationally. As observed by Jane Jacobs, *"relational thinking is […] not a coherent or singular theoretical turn [but] […] is interpreted and put into action in quite different ways"* (Jacobs, 2012: 412). In line with Lefebvre's early insights (1991), and drawing on post-structuralism and STS approaches, one of the different and sometimes *"irreconcilable grammars of relationality at work in contemporary urban geography"* (Jacobs, 2012: 412) conceives space as emerging from a complex *"interaction"* between constitutive elements that are heterogeneous in nature (Jones, 2009). This elements can in fact be material, performative, and symbolic. This methodological approach seems better suited to account for the complexity of the relationship of mutual shaping between practices and space described in our *"stress-test"* case study. This relational perspective doesn't dismiss, but extends, the phenomenological take on space. It circumvents the distinction between *"space"* and *"place"* to fully acknowledge the processual nature of *"space"* itself: from a relational perspective, *"place-making"* is just a part of a broader process of *"space-making"*. It calls media scholars to address media and media usage as fully participating in the relationship of mutual shaping between practices and space. Consequently, it stresses the relevance of bringing back in the analysis the overlooked relevance of bodily enactments of (media related) practices in space, as essential to taking on the methodological challenge represented by urban space.

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Biography

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Employing a rhetorical approach to the practice of audience research on political communication

Magnus Hoem Iversen

Abstract

In the present chapter, I argue that the tradition of rhetoric includes certain perspectives that can be employed in the 'cultural tradition and reception analysis' – especially if one's area of inquiry is different forms of political communication. As originally practiced, reception analysis had a certain tendency to draw inspiration from the tradition of rhetoric. Consequently, there are certain shared perspectives, preconditions and conceptions between the two traditions. In the following, I argue that one should further examine how rhetoric can strengthen contemporary reception analysis. I present two approaches, or concepts, that I maintain are useful in this regard: a) a view of communication as intentional and b) a rhetorical view of argumentation. Integrating these tools into reception analysis will enable a further understanding on how traditional and emerging forms of intentional, political communication are perceived and interpreted by audiences. It will also encourage those practicing reception analysis to pay greater attention to the production of media texts, as well as engaging with the texts themselves.

Keywords: Rhetoric, reception analysis, political communication, argumentation.

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1. Introduction

Within the field of audience studies, reception analysis (McQuail, 1997: 18) has tended to draw inspiration from the tradition of rhetoric (see Merton, 1946; Morley, 1980; Gentikow, 1998: 153). Consequently, there are certain shared perspectives, preconditions and conceptions between these two traditions of scholarly interest. Mindful of this, we should examine how rhetoric can strengthen contemporary reception analysis. In this chapter, I present two approaches that I regard as useful for reception analysis: 1) a rhetorical view of intentional communication, and 2) the concept of rhetorical argumentation. I propose that these approaches are useful on two levels: Firstly, they can guide and inform the research questions and interview guides employed by audience researchers, and, secondly, they are beneficial in the actual analysis of informants' responses. Integrating these tools into reception analysis will enable a further understanding of how traditional and emerging forms of intentional, political communication are perceived and interpreted by audiences.

1.1. Classic inspiration and common ground

The idea of employing rhetorical perspectives in the exploration of audience response is not new. The tradition of cultural studies, which later evolved into "reception research" (Jensen and Rosengrehn, 1990) and which is also known as "the cultural tradition and reception analysis" (McQuail, 1997: 18), demonstrates this. Reception analysis has its origins in reactions to traditional audience studies' lack of focus on meaning construction, and certain perceived limitations concerning the methods that have hitherto been employed (Hagen, 1992: 42). One pioneering study for cultural studies was Merton's *Mass Persuasion* (1946). Morley explicitly writes about this study as a work of high sophistication and ambition in his cultural studies classic *The Nationwide Audience* (Morley, 1980: 3-4). In *Mass Persuasion*, Merton draws on the rhetorical tradition in an attempt to understand the changing media landscape of the 1940s, the new medium of radio, and what seemed like a singular case of mass persuasion at the time. This mixture of old and new is typical of Merton's methods in general (Simonson, 2006: 275). It is also a testament to the fact that, even in times of change, there are still some things that are fixed within human communication: "In every age, the artifices of rhetoric have moved men to act – or to refrain from acting" (Merton, 1946: 1). Another asset of *Mass Persuasion* is that it takes into consideration several chains of the communicative process. It combines a rigorous, qualitative analysis of persuasive communication with interpretations and analysis of both the socio-cultural context and actual audience response (Morley, 1980: 3-4; Gentikow, 1998:

159). This study is now somewhat outdated. Theory, tradition and methodology have evolved since it was published. However, the radical potential in *Mass Persuasion* has curiously not been followed through to any notable degree. Combining the rhetorical perspective with audience response could arguably help solve several problems in reception analysis research. Gentikow (1999: 153) mentions the twin traps of either paying too little attention to the persuasive texts themselves, reducing them to their readings, or paying too much attention to them, through placing too much emphasis on close reading. A third trap where reception research has been found wanting is that of neglecting the processes involved in the production of media messages (Hagen, 2006: 104, Morley 1993: 16).

1.2. Active audience theory and agency

A central perspective in reception analysis is the conception of the audience(s) as active, as co-creators and co-interpreters of media messages. Meaning is negotiated between producer, text and audience. This approach – often named the *active audience theory* - has also come in for its fair share of criticism. The notion of *polysemy* – that one text can have more than one denotational meaning, can be 'read' in different ways – has been much debated. Concerns have been raised around a tendency to overestimate the freedom of audiences in reception (see, for instance, Budd, Entman and Steinman, 1990: 169). But as Morley reminds us:

> *Hall's (1981) original formulation of the encoding/decoding model contained, as one of its central features, the concept of the preferred reading (towards which the text attempts to direct its reader) while acknowledging the possibility of alternative, negotiated or oppositional readings* (Morley, 1993: 13). (My emphasis)

Morley is critical of what he calls the "facile insistence on the polysemy of media products" and an "undocumented presumption that forms of interpretative resistance are more widespread than subordination" as well as an "unfortunate […] tendency toward an overdrawn emphasis on the polysemous qualities of texts […]" (Ibid). When applied to highly intentional or rhetorical communication, the term 'polyvalence' is more appropriate in some cases. 'Polyvalence' is a condition where there is a shared understanding of the literal meaning of the text, but disagreement about the evaluations of the literal meanings (Ceccarelli, 1988; Condit, 1989). Another important distinction here is that some texts are more polysemous than others. One can, for instance, expect a fiction film to be more polysemous than a political advertisement. Considering this, Hall's thoughts on encoding-decoding and Morley's explorations of these thoughts still provide some interesting insights, because they emphasize the idea of ne-

gotiation and the relationship between producers' intentions, manifestations of these intentions in the text and how these intentions are interpreted by audiences. This perspective is very much in line with the rhetorical perspective and the debate on *agency*. Leff (2003) discusses the ambivalence in the rhetorical tradition with regard to agency. Who is it who actually holds power in the communicative situation? Is it the speaker and the text, or the audience? Rhetoric can be said to contain a "strong, almost totalizing […] emphasis on the agency of the rhetor" (Leff, 2003: 136). A review of the tradition leads Leff to state that: "[…] rhetoric valorizes and centers itself on the individual agent" (Ibid: 138). At the same time, there are indications of the very opposite, because "the power to move and persuade an audience requires accommodation and adaptation to its sentiments […] if orators are to exert influence, they must yield to the people they seek to influence […]" (Ibid). In *The New Rhetoric* (1958) of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, what is central is a theory of rhetorical argumentation that is part continuation and part amplification of the Aristotelian tradition, together with the notions of *audience* and *adherence*. It is claimed that "[…] argumentation aims at securing the adherence of those to whom it is addressed, [therefore] it is, in its entirety, relative to the audience to be influenced" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 19). In this view then, persuasion is seen as a modest attempt at gaining adherence from an audience (Gentikow, 1998: 153). Aristotle also puts considerable emphasis on audiences, as they represent the very *telos* - the goal, of the utterance (Kjeldsen, 2006: 33). This is a view that empowers the audience (Gentikow, 1998: 145). Continuing this thought, large parts of rhetorical argumentation can be seen as dialogical (Ibid). A *rhetor* must respect and listen to her/his audience, and put him/herself in their place, mentally speaking, if (s)he is to have any success at all (Kjeldsen, 2006: 21). The formation of arguments must build on shared beliefs and norms (*doxa*) between the speaker and the audience. One can argue that this grants a lot of power to the audience, and to their responses. Audiences will always be co-creators of rhetorical utterances (Kjeldsen, 2008: 55). In other words, the dialogical nature of rhetoric confers on the audience considerable power of agency. One can perhaps talk of negotiation, instead of mere persuasion.

2. Approach A: A rhetorical view of intentional communication

As already mentioned, there has been a certain tendency within reception analysis to underemphasize the power and intentions of the producers of media texts. Morley, for instance, is wary of what he calls unfounded assumptions, claiming that: "reception is, somehow, the only stage of the communications process that matters in the end" (Morley, 1993: 15). The implication here is

that reception analysis needs to incorporate insights into production issues, as well as analytical insights into the text itself – in order to avoid reducing media texts to their readings. A rhetorical perspective on communication as intentional can be of use here.

In this chapter, when using the term 'rhetoric', I am referring to the theoretical, empirical and normative science of rhetoric – the study of (attempted) persuasive communication. In this view, rhetoric is the domain of "purposeful and effective communication" (Kjeldsen, 2006: 24-26). Not so far removed from the theories of speech acts of Austin and Searle (1958, 1969), language use is seen as "Acting with communicating" (Kjeldsen, 2014: 12). Rhetoric then can be seen as "[…] language-based communication consciously shaped to achieve a specific intent in the receiver" (Kock, 2012: 9). Central to these definitions is *the intent to persuade*. Language is seen as intentional – as something presented with a point and a purpose. It is the attempt to achieve certain goals in relation to a certain audience. Not all human language is intentional, of course, but some language is certainly more intentional than other types. Political communication is a case in point. The communication and language use of powerful political elites, for instance, political parties, can be said to be a domain of highly intentional language use. Examples include political advertisements, the work of spin doctors, press releases, politicians' speeches, the language used in debates, the visual and verbal language of a political party's web page, and so on.

Treating rhetoric in this way is called taking a *narrow persuasio* position (Kjeldsen, 2006: 18-20). In the *narrow persuasio*, one is studying and dealing with intentional communication that seeks to persuade. I would like to make use of this term in the argument I am making in this chapter, but would also like to introduce the concept of *broad persuasio*. In the *broad persuasio* sense, one is dealing with any form of communication that posits a subject in a way that an audience experiences or understands it. Such a perspective can be useful for analyzing works of literature or musical compositions, but can also be applied to the pedagogic skill of a teacher in a classroom – and to a wide range of other types of human communication (Ibid: 18).

3. Approach B: Rhetorical argumentation

Morley (1992: 121) suggests that the term 'decoding' within reception analysis masks several other processes, and that one should rather split the term 'decoding' into multiple other processes. For instance, one could operate with processes of identification, cognition and argumentation (to mention but some),

and study these phenomena individually. What rhetoric can offer reception analysis is both an apparatus and a number of analytical concepts for studying argumentation.

A rhetorical sense of argumentation differs from the logical and dialectical sense in several ways (Tindale, 2004: 4-6). Logic is concerned with "the products of statements collected in the relations of premises and conclusions". (Ibid) Argument is here seen as an outcome or a product (Ibid). The dialectical perspective of argument is interested in "the argumentative exchanges within a dialogue and the moves that might be involved" (Ibid). A dialectical perspective sees argumentation more in terms of a procedure. Rhetoric, on the other hand, sees argumentation as a process of interaction between speaker, audience and context: Attention is paid to the means used between the person making the argument and the audience addressed: "Questions are asked about the nature of the audience […]" (Ibid: 5). All three perspectives are valid and useful, but some argumentation is not about what is true, but about what to *do* (Kock, 2007: 180). When dealing with such argumentation, a rhetorical perspective can be usefully employed. Rhetoric is concerned with deliberations around future actions and future choices. It is "debate about choosing action" (Ibid: 188). What is important here is the clear focus on the audience, and thereby the introduction of subjectivity into argument appraisal (Ibid: 188-189). What is a valid or strong argument is dependent on the situation, the context and the audience.

According to Cicero, an attempt at persuasion contains several elements (Kjeldsen, 2006: 35), namely the dimensions of *movere* (moving or engaging), *docere* (informing) and *delectare* (pleasing). Cicero connects these concepts to the rhetorical proofs of logos, ethos and pathos, first described by Aristotle. Logos is concerned with intellectual stimuli, the logic of a message - ethos and pathos with emotional stimuli (Jørgensen, 2011: 14). When informing, the speaker should employ logos, the persuasion that is created through the arguments presented. When pleasing, the speaker should employ ethos appeals. Ethos is concerned with the persuasion that is created through the character of the speaker, judged through categories of trustworthiness of the speaker. For instance, to what degree does the audience feel they can trust the source, sender or producer of a message (Ibid: 14f)? As ethos is a continually changing factor, one usually operates with concepts such as 'initial', 'derived' and 'final' ethos (McCroskey, 2000 in Jørgensen, 2011: 15). When attempting to move or engage an audience, the speaker should employ pathos appeals. Pathos appeals attempt to put the audience in a certain frame of mind, for instance of anger, compassion or joy (Ibid). These categories are analytical concepts. From a rhetorical point of view, it is impossible to craft a message using solely emotion, or only credibility or logic. In the rhetorical perspective, each utterance will to some degree contain all three – but each of them can be more dominant

in some cases. It is also the case that researchers can choose to focus more on some than on others. That every utterance contains appeals to both reason and emotion is a central perspective that has been maintained since Aristotle.

4. To what use can this be put?

At the start of this chapter, I stated that the two approaches of an intentional view of communication and rhetorical argumentation could be useful for both the formulation of research questions and interview guides as well as in the actual analysis of informants' responses. To briefly give an example of how useful this can be, I will use a study of the encoding and decoding of a political web advertisement as a backdrop.

In Norway, the use of political advertising seems to be growing in popularity among all political parties. This is especially true of advertisements distributed via radio, print newspapers, in cinemas and, last but not least, the Internet. A recent example is the campaign video "Taxi Stoltenberg", produced and distributed in connection with the Norwegian national elections of 2013. The advertisement was produced for the Labour Party by TRY/APT, the most acclaimed advertising agency in Norway. The advertisement shows a series of candid-camera shots taken in a taxi with the then Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, playing the part of taxi driver. The advertisement "went viral" shortly after its release, sparking considerable media attention and debate both in Norway and abroad.

Considering Norway's unique position when it comes to both regulation and legislation of political advertisements on television, the results and findings of this study may very well be interesting to an international readership. Considering the ban on televised political advertisements in Norway, the whole genre is so to speak forced to migrate to other media, including the Internet.

More knowledge is needed about how advertisements make greater use of emotional arguments, and the visual components of political web advertising (Kaid, 2012: 44-45). The increased use of YouTube and other online video sites for political parties has been noted (see Ridout, Fowler and Branstetter, 2010, 2012). An increased focus on how political advertisements can go viral should also be noted. These strategies can be seen as necessary to combat the selective exposure-tendencies observed in "the current environment of remote controls, timer recordings […] and the transfer of advertising directly to the web" (Kaid, 2012: 44). However, as the 'Taxi Stoltenberg' episode illustrates, in Norway these phenomena are not only trends, but can be seen as necessities – given that there still is a formal ban on political advertising on television. How are we to understand this new form of political advertising? A possible means of reaching a better understanding is to utilize the combined strengths

of rhetoric and reception analysis. Such an approach has yielded good results in past explorations of changing media environments, as the work of Merton (1946) has shown.

4.1. Approaching intentions

Perhaps the most important contribution of a rhetorical view of communication as intentional is that such a view forces researchers to take multiple factors into consideration in their attempt to establish what is going on in the communicative process. In other words, this approach forces reception analysis to consider the entire process of communication to a much greater degree. In this manner, the concept of intentionality can help in the formulating of the research questions, and in the researcher's concern to incorporate aspects of production and textual analysis into their study.

In the case of political advertisements one can presuppose a high degree of intentionality. They will have been made with the purpose of achieving specific ends. In the broad sense, one goal may be to make someone vote for or against a particular person or party. The strategies for achieving this will be specific to situations and contexts, each of which will entail an attempt to persuade or influence voters. Those conducting a research study will then be able to examine these intentions, or at least the producers' own conceptions and explications of their intentions. The best way of doing this may be to go straight to the source: to conduct interviews with the producers of the political advertisements and, if possible, to observe them in the course of this activity. In so doing, one should try to establish what the intended function of the political advertisement is. How do the producers intend the advertisement to be read? Who do they think they are addressing? And if the advertisement comprises different components, how do the various components (visual, verbal and auditory) combine with each other to achieve their communicative effect? In short, what is it they are trying to accomplish?

Such explorations give researchers a yardstick for further research and inquiry. Intentionality can be compared across the communicative process. If one has established the intent of producers, one can begin to analyze the text itself to further explore how the intent can be said to manifest itself in the text. And most importantly, how do the intentions of producers compare with the actual reception by 'readers'? How do people react to the advertisements, and how do they evaluate them? What are the audiences own explications of what they see and how do they perceive the intentions of the imagined producers? Another question is whether advertisements are decoded in the way that the producers intended? If yes, then one should try to explain possible reasons for this success, and if no, one should try to understand why the producers and the

advertisements "failed" to get across their message. Venturing further into such misunderstandings and mis-readings can give many insights into the processes of attempted persuasive communication.

4.2. Approaching argumentation

As with the intentionality approach, if we assume that producers are making a case or arguing for something in their advertisements, then we can as researchers explore this form of argumentation. This perspective enables researchers to question the exact nature of the argument: how it moves through the chain of communication, how the argument is set up, how it is made manifest in the advertisements themselves. In addition, how is the argument perceived by different audiences and how do these audiences make sense of the arguments presented? How do audiences reconstruct the argumentation – if at all – and how do they form their own judgments if these chime with or are opposed to the arguments they extract from the political advertisement? Asking such questions, researchers can gain insights into the kind of appeal producers are attempting to encode in their ads. Are they making appeals to emotion, credibility or the audiences' 'common sense', or something else? Do producers attempt to move, to inform or simply to please the electorate? If they are trying to create emotions of trust with regard to a particular candidate, what kinds of argument are inserted into the advertisement, explicitly and implicitly, to achieve this? On the audience side, researchers can explore the informants' explications of their cognitive evaluations of these appeals through interviews or by other means. Argumentation analysis, and reconstructing rhetorical arguments from statements made in advertisements, is also a useful procedure for making the implicit explicit. This makes this approach useful for researchers who want to examine the assumptions, norms and values that might underlie such utterances. The rhetorical perspective on argumentation is not concerned with true statements, or deliberative norms and the rules of the game – it is concerned rather with the sometimes highly subjective type of argumentation that people persistently use, including the type of argumentation that political parties use in every election. This makes rhetorical argumentation analysis useful for scrutinizing and analyzing informants' answers – from interview texts, for instance. Deciding how to analyze interview texts is a constant challenge in reception analysis (Gentikow, 1998: 154). In *The Nationwide Audience* (Morley, 1980), Morley uses a version of proposition analysis to analyze the interview tapes. Inspired by Gerbner, he aims to "make explicit the implicit propositions, assumptions or norms which underlie and make it logically acceptable to advance a particular opinion or point of view" (Morley, 1980: 35). This stance is quite similar to what rhetorical argumentation analysis is

aiming to do. However, as we have seen above, rhetoric is concerned with the domain of deliberations concerning future choices and as such with, the realms of probability rather than with those of truth-telling, traditionally attributed to logic or philosophy. Paired with the view of argumentation as a process, this is a good analytical position to take when the subject matter to be scrutinized is political advertising. Political messages produced in connection with an election are, after all, a very clear example of deliberating on future action.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have concerned myself exclusively with political advertisements. Nevertheless, the approaches and concepts I have introduced are applicable to other areas as well. For instance, how do citizens perceive online political communication through pre-video-YouTube ads? What about the visual and verbal rhetoric employed on a political webpage? What strategies are devised and presented in the "ground games", the canvassing and door-stepping practised by political parties in order to 'get out the vote', and how is this type of personal political communication perceived by citizens who actually open their doors for the campaigners? Or leaving the narrow *persuasio* for the broader version, how are protesters and activists, the actual embodiments of bodily rhetoric perceived by audiences at street level and through media representations? And crucially: How do intentions reflect reception? How do producers make appeals through *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*,– and how do voters respond to these appeals? How do producers try to construct *ethos* for their politicians, their parties and within their messages - and how do voters perceive these attempts? The field of reception analysis has something to learn from rhetorical scholars who "scrutinize words, texts, and utterances to see how people use language to act" (Kock, 2007: 179).

In this chapter, I have proposed two approaches: communication as intentional and argumentation as rhetorical. This is certainly not a one-way process. By undertaking such efforts, the tradition of rhetoric can gain further empirical insights into audience response, something that has been somewhat lacking to date. A rhetorical perspective in reception analysis, with a rigorous qualitative orientation, and taking into account the multiple parts of the communicative 'chain' can also have more general application in the field of 'political communication'.

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Biography

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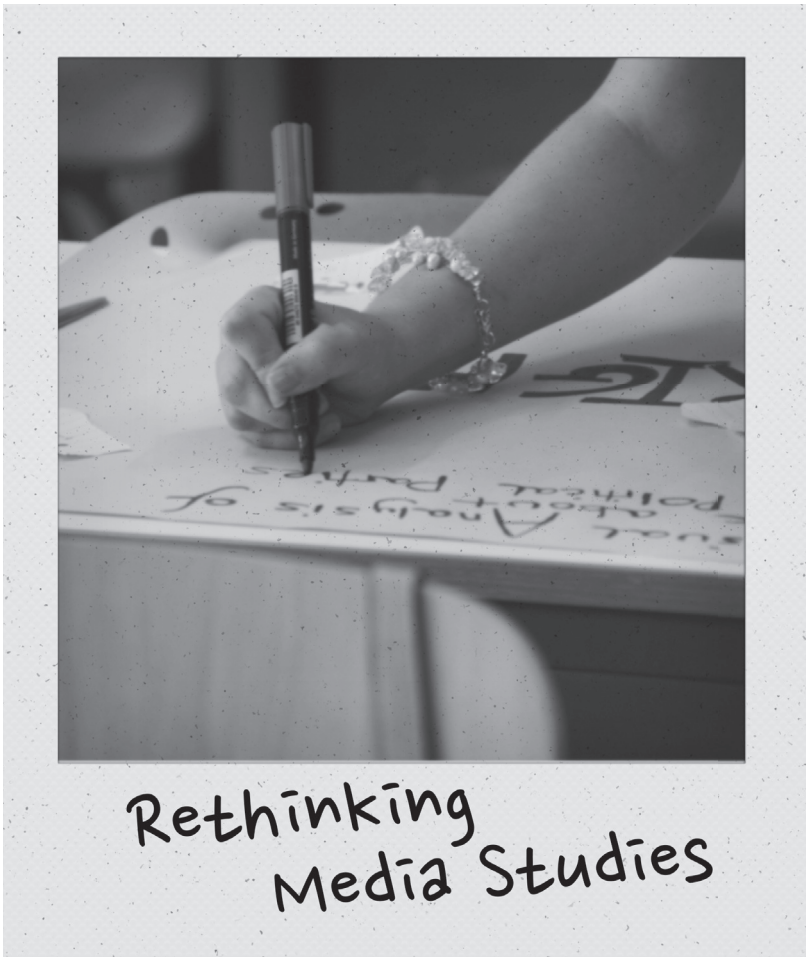
Section Four



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Socialist feminism and media studies. An outdated theory or contemporary debate?

Georgina Newton

Abstract

'You've come a long way, baby' may be the message to feminist media scholars today. Developments in recent decades such as the recently emerging fourth wave feminist movements, self-proclaimed post-feminist heroines within media texts, the 1990s 'girl power' imply concepts and theories from second and third wave feminism are outdated and passé. However, this chapter argues media studies needs and desire critiques, such as those offered by socialist feminism. Socialist feminism attempts to 'marry' Marxism and Feminism, and theoretically examines and challenges concepts such as patriarchy and capitalism, thus offering a challenge to the white, middle class, male dominated media industry. This enables theorists to confront the media texts, messages, and wider power imbalances the ideologies within the media reinforce (Couldry, 2000: 8). The chapter initially examines the origins and criticisms of early socialist feminism and then the more recent developments, such as the disregard for class in the 1980s and 1990s and problematic notion of essentialism. Drawing on these developments, engaging with intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, in Nash, 2008: 2), and examining media representations of class, this chapter argues socialist feminism remains an important critique within the media studies academic field. Socialist feminism should no longer be seen as the theoretical territory of white working class females, rather it should acknowledge all women that are subjected to the capitalist and patriarchal media.

Keywords: feminism; media; class; socialism; gender; intersectionality; equality; fourth-wave

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1. Introduction

> "It's not easy being overweight and on benefits, says 25 stone mother-of-two who wants MORE money from the government to help her diet!" (Daily Mail, 25 September 2014)

Another day, another headline in a British newspaper showing a moral and ideological judgment about working class women. News coverage like this is not uncommon, with those on benefits, in particular, being subjected to the title 'scrounger', and women such as this one criticized for being on benefits, having children when 'she' can't provide for them, and her weight as evidence of a lack of control and intelligence. The 'chav' representation of the working class as, *"bigoted, slothful, aggressive people who cannot look after themselves…"*, (Jones, 2012: 121) appears to be ever present in the media today.

As classist representations proliferate within the media, class as a critical framework has re-emerged, according to Tyler and Bennett (2010: 376). This chapter argues a socialist feminist perspective must be embraced, revisiting the integration of feminism and socialism to understand the double bind working class women face. This would challenge the media texts and industry, interrogating the role this plays in the construction and maintenance of patriarchal and capitalist ideologies. Class, gender, race, and sexuality cannot be seen as separate concepts but rather powerful structures that oppress women. Patriarchy continues to be a persuasive force within society, with the media subsumed as a site of patriarchal dominance, whilst capitalist ideologies are evident across the media. Claims the feminist movement and women in general have 'come a long way', can still be answered with 'not far enough'.

The aim of this chapter is to engage with debates about socialist feminism and its place within media and cultural studies. This will identify the development of socialist feminism, and criticisms of this theoretical perspective, discussing how socialist feminism and class disappeared from the agenda in the 1980s and 1990s. This chapter will also examine intersectionality as an approach that can inform socialist feminism and highlight issues of essentialism. The chapter will end by arguing that socialist feminism continues to have a place in media and cultural studies, focusing on the representation of the working class and the ideologies prevalent within media texts.

2. The origins of socialist feminism

Socialist feminism emerged as a key theoretical perspective during the second wave feminist movement, and differentiated itself from liberal and radical perspectives by identifying capitalism alongside patriarchy as forms of oppression women faced. This placed an emphasis on the interaction between

class and gender (patriarchy and capitalism), and highlighted the economic and ideological basis of the oppression of women. These two structures of power work together to maintain women's position, they are *"…not simply autonomous systems…They are mutually dependent."* (Eisenstein, 1977: 203)

Class was seen as the obvious and biggest division between women during the second wave of feminism, the position of middle class women was significantly different the working class. It was the voices of the middle class women that were heard, *"From the onset of the movements women from privileged classes were able to make their concerns "the" issues that should be focused on…They attracted mass media…"* (Hooks, 2000: 37) Therefore the voices of the working class women were silenced. Socialist feminism provided an opportunity to focus on issues important to the working classes. Rowbotham (in Humm, 1992: 92) suggested socialist feminism depended on working-class women, as they understood the double layer (patriarchal and capital) of exploitation and oppression.

Early socialist feminist ideals, to some degree, borrowed from Engels, with consideration of how the family and private sphere contributed to inequalities in society. Engels (in Eisenstein, 1977: 200) focused on the family and private property as a source of class difference between men and women. The family reflected power inequalities in society and this suggested women needed to become economically independent, but women participating in the workplace has not led to equality rather sexism is stronger under capitalism. (Zaretsky cited by Hartmann, in Sargent, 1981: 5) Additionally the role of unpaid labour within the home still often falls to the women.

Both Marxism and Feminism draw on conflict within society, and highlight inequalities that may be portrayed as natural. Ehrenreich (1976: 71) suggests *"Both seek to understand the world…in terms of antagonisms."* This is continued by Bryson (2004: 17) who argues socialist feminism understands equality for women will be meaningless in a society whereby working class men are exploited. Class and gender must be both be challenged as both are inextricably linked to the social and economic context.

3. Challenges facing socialist feminism

The first key challenge in combining Marxism/Socialism with Feminism is the risk of class detracting from patriarchy, whereby the exploitation of women is secondary. Hartmann critiques socialist feminism and claims Marxism and Feminism is an *"…unhappy marriage…"*. (Sargent, 1981: xxiii). This is supported by Zaretsky (1976: 82) who suggests socialists do not distinguish between the oppression experienced by women and more generally the working class.

Additionally socialist feminism has been criticised for excluding differences such as race, sexuality, age, and disability. Attempts to address this arguably resulted in an, *"...increasingly complicated and incoherent theoretical project, which until now has not produced a satisfactory account of the way material and cultural conditions interact."* (van Zoonen in Kearney, 2012: 29). This is supported by Aziz (in Mirza, 1997: 75) with the suggestion combining *"...grand theories of 'race', class and gender may be unworkable"*. This results in the need for these 'grand' theories to be maintained but to find a way for them to acknowledge difference whilst sustaining their individual focus.

A third, and significant obstacle for socialist feminism is essentialism, treating class and gender as fixed and unchanging categories. Academics have discussed essentialism and gender, and attempted to destabilise the category of 'woman', to allow for difference amongst women and reject classic binaries built along the lines of biology. Smiler and Gelman (2008: 864) suggest *"...in the realm of gender, essentialism would suggest that differences between males and females are stable, unchanging, fixed at birth..."*. The need to problematize and question essentialist categories such as gender, class or race stems from concerns that if differences are naturalised and treated as fixed at birth the differences become unquestionable and inequality a natural consequence. Crompton and Lyonette (2005: 616) argue essentialism is linked to political ideals. This can be seen within neo-liberal discourses such as 'blame the victim', and claims of a meritocratic society, whereby the position of the working class is legitimised as due to the absence of natural ability.

There is a lack of depth to discussions about class and essentialism, and theories attempting to address class divisions have been accused of falling into the essentialist 'trap'. Phillips (2010: 49) suggests there are four meanings to essentialism, these include the attribution, and naturalisation of certain characteristics to everyone within a category, the suggestion of a collective due to this and treating shared characteristics as the defining ones. It is clear by treating class as an essentialist category this denies the *"...complexity of real lives",* (Goldenberg, 2007: 142), and ignores the diversity of the 'working class'. It is important to adopt a non-essentialist perspective that identifies and defines class as a social formation. As argued by Warnke (2005: 96) these social formations are constructed by institutions, social relations, and histories. Socialist feminism must understand working class women have a range of histories, experiences and backgrounds that contribute to their individual identities, whilst sharing the oppression and exploitation of being categorised as a working class woman. Socialist feminism must problematize the construction and assumptions of shared class experiences whilst maintaining an understanding of how class boundaries and inequality has developed. Phillips (2010: 48) argues essentialist constructs are part of our social reality, they are recognisable and cannot be ignored.

Theorists have pointed to the role of ideology and culture as a site whereby essentialist notions have not only been utilised but also naturalised. Whelehan (1995: 55), claims *"…the perpetuation of a society divided along gender lines is primarily assisted by the action of ideological apparatuses which naturalize such social divisions…"*. This leads to another need for socialist feminism to critique how the media contributes to the essentialism of gender and class, and constructs a normative view of difference that naturalises inequalities.

4. Intersectionality

Socialist feminism almost disappeared from academic and theoretical discussions throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Feminism's third wave had different priorities and ontologies, which Goren (2009: 2) describes as follows: *"... hallmarks typical of third-wave writing and thinking include…breaking down the essentialist construction of gender and insistence on women's diversity; the notion that identity is multiple, intersecting, and shifting rather than conceptualized as a unified self; ..."* Moreover, feminism as a 'grand' theory was critiqued for its white middle class focus, whilst the post-feminist discourse suggested feminism was over, replaced by the neo-liberalist focus on individualism and choice. Against this socialist feminism could be perceived as outdated, class an unpopular theoretical stance, and its existence disputed by politicians. Kearney (2012: 13) suggests the virtual disappearance of class within cultural and media studies was reflected within social and political discourses, although this doesn't mean class was not evident as a problem but was denied.

As class was disappearing other differences among women were emerging, particularly that of race. Black feminists prioritised race as a critical lens through which women's positions were seen and can be used to inform socialist feminism. The notion of intersectionality, suggested by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 that, *"…articulates a set of ideas…understanding that social positions are relational rather than additive and the need to 'make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it'…*" (Gill, 2009: 142). Intersectionality answers some of the criticisms of socialist feminism and the essentialism of class by highlighting complexities within a person's identity. Intersectionality focuses on the differences between women, primarily race or ethnicity, but more recently has addressed sexuality, age and attempted to introduce class and how these unique elements are constructed and interact to inform differing life experiences (Barnum and Zajicek, 2008: 107). Collins (2000, in Jackson, 2013: 47) supports this and argues intersectionality examines the interactions of racism, sexism, classism and heterosexism, whilst DeFrancisco and Palczewski (2014: 20) claim intersectionality is useful because it prevents scholars from *"…falling into a spe-*

cific type of generalization called essentialism…". The lack of focus on class, or centrality of class to intersectionality, suggests there continues to be a need for feminism to address class within its theoretical discussions to examine how this interacts with gender, race, and sexuality, and how class contributes to the oppression of women.

5. The need for class as a critical framework

Class has re-emerged as a site of discussion within recent years, with scholars highlighting representations of class within news media, the obsession with celebrity and TV genres that comment on class. Tyler and Bennett (2010), Skeggs et al. (2008), Skeggs and Wood (2008), Raisborough et al. (2012) and Jones (2012) have debated the position of class within popular culture and particularly the primacy of class identities within British reality shows. This can be seen in TV shows such as *Wife Swap, X-Factor, Big Brother, The Only Way is Essex, Ladette to Lady, What Not to Wear* and most recently *Benefits Street*.

Jones (2012: 121) claims these shows are dedicated to ridiculing working-class Britain, with representations serving to isolate the working class and judge them as 'lacking' and 'morally corrupt' against middle class ideals. This is particularly obvious in self-improvement programmes, DeFrancisco and Palczewski (2014: 19) state, *"…the underlying message is usually about class…"*.

'Chav' is the term often applied to people in reality shows and describes, *"…young, white, working-class men and women as shiftless, tasteless, unintelligent, immoral or criminal."* (Tyler and Bennett, 2010: 379) 'Chav' is synonymous with white working class, with newspapers often reinforcing stereotypes (Pickering, 2013: 584). This is supported by Jackson (2013: 48) with the suggestion the news is *"rooted in white, patriarchal, capitalist culture…",* whilst Skeggs (1997: 11) maintains the media legitimates the symbolic power of the middle class. Raisborough et al. (2012: 258) highlight how coverage of Jade Goody (from Big Brother) labelled her a 'chav', but allowed her to 'save' herself with her ability or attempt to be a 'good mother'. The understanding of a 'good mother' is measured against middle-class notions of mothering, and is central to hegemonic femininity. Socialist feminism is needed to address and deconstruct these messages and challenge how working class women are positioned strive to be 'better' (eg middle class). Female celebrities are further ridiculed because of their lack of ability to *"perform femininity correctly"* (Tyler and Bennett, 2010: 381), which distinguishes working class celebrity from the middle class respectable femininity upheld by the media.

Capitalist patriarchy is supported by the media's normalisation of the middle class, the essentialisation of the working class woman, and focus on consumption as a way of improvement. Socialist feminism can interrogate how this maintains women's position as oppressed and exploited, for the benefit of the economy and the 'status quo'. McRobbie (2009: 130) argues ideals of aspirational femininity link women to class and consumption, messages that demonstrate women have to undergo self-improvement to meet the ideals, will continue the oppression of women and maintain profit, through consumption, for the bourgeoisie. Meanwhile the working class celebrity can be used to show evidence of a meritocratic society, that politicians would suggest we inhabit, whilst at the same time can be used to demonstrate appropriate behaviour, those deserving wealth and ridicule others due to their lack of appropriate 'class'. Redfern and Aune (2010: 188) suggest, *"Inequalities of social class are at the heart of celebrity culture..."*.

It is not only the notion of celebrity and reality TV igniting class debates but also the sexualisation of women's bodies. Gill (2009: 142) argues the sexualisation of women's bodies is both shown through a class and racial lens, with the women primarily being represented as white, and a clear distinction between the sexualised yet *"respectable"* middle class woman and *"slutty"* sexuality of working class women. Also the discourse of media effects is often informed by concerns about class and adopts a paternalistic tone, whilst representing the working class as, *"...vulnerable to imitating what they see on television because of this lack of social capital."* (Tincknell, 2005: 93)

Central to these debates is the concept of ideology, and from a socialist feminist perspective how dominant ideologies work to reinforce gender and class oppressions. Academics such as Kellner (in Dine and Humez, 2015), Cooky et al. (2010), Couldry (2000) and DeFrancisco and Palczewski (2014) discuss the power of the dominant media to construct frames, to create representations, determine who is seen, heard and normalized, and give a voice to particular sections of society whilst silencing others. Couldry (2012: 106) revisits this discussion suggesting the media naturalizes a particular image of the world, *"...an ideology of the social."* This hegemonic system is not claimed to be all powerful (Dow in De Francisco and Palczewski, 2014: 255), but is repeated, reinforced and modified to create social norms and in the case of gender and class these are often essentialist norms.

6. Socialist feminism 2.0?

The question is therefore posed as to what should socialist feminism look like today. The theory must learn from intersectionality and the ideas of diversity and difference this approach has, rather than assume to speak for 'working

class women' as an entire entity. Perhaps an 'Intersectional socialist feminism' would be a more fitting label, highlighting the necessity of appreciating the complexity of female identities that are encompassed under the 'umbrella' structure of working class. Ebert (2005: 38) suggests class is the primary concept in the fight for equality, arguing although race, gender and sexuality are sites of power struggle, the division of labour has made them so, whilst Stern (2012: 182), and Banyard (2010: 206) argue race, gender, class and sexuality must all be considered when examining popular culture, as this will identify the layered complexities of media texts. Meanwhile Wingfield and Mills (2012: 358) suggest class and race are key not just in the construction of text, but in how audiences interpret them. All calling for the acknowledgement of class as one of the elements that informs the position of women.

Additionally class cannot be measured purely on economic grounds. It is suggested economic factors, ideological forces and "*habitus"* (Bourdieu in Calhoun et al., 1993: 4), must be considered when discussing social class. (Lull cited in Dines and Humez, 2015: 39) This links to essentialism, with class being constructed by economic and ideological forces. As suggested by Haraway (2004: 13-14) *"Gender, race, or class consciousness is an achievement forced on us by the terrible historical experience of the contradictory social realities of patriarchy, colonialism, and capitalism…"*.

Socialist feminism needs to embrace difference and allow for a number of approaches to help explain, analyse and challenge inequalities. As Coole (in Bryson, 2004: 15-16) suggests, there is a need for a range of approaches that are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Socialist feminism does not offer all of the answers, but it brings another dimension to the discussion within media studies about the position of women that cannot be ignored.

7. Conclusion

> The only genuine hope of feminist liberation lies with a vision of social change which challenges class elitism….Given the changing realities of class in our nation, widening gaps between the rich and poor, and the continued feminization of poverty, we desperately need a mass-based radical feminist movement that can build on the strength of the past…a visionary movement would ground its work in the concrete conditions of working-class and poor women… (Hooks, 2000: 43)

As shown by Hooks social inequalities exist, and are widening so to discard a theoretical stance that challenges this cannot be justified. What has become apparent is these social inequalities, gender and class, are mirrored in the media, with media texts using class as entertainment but also as a construct to support dominant ideologies. In addition to this the voices of the middle class continue

to be heard, whilst those outside of this are silenced. This is coupled with the ongoing fight to hear women's voices and challenge representations of women in the media.

Socialist feminism is needed to start addressing these inequalities in media and cultural studies and whilst differences such as race, sexuality, and disability cannot be ignored, class has to be given a position within feminism. Socialist feminism must acknowledge the variety of differences and experiences within working class women's lives, therefore must resist using essentialisms that may imply inequalities are natural. Socialist feminism cannot or should not be accused of prioritizing the voices of white working class, but rather identify and embrace the variety within the working classes today.

While class and gender inequalities continue to be naturalized in society and the media, arguments can exist that suggest working class women are naturally suited to their position, therefore one of the fundamental roles of socialist feminism is to critique this use of essentialism. The media's role in this cannot be denied and therefore a socialist feminist challenge to these representations has the potential to challenge perceptions and social norms. As discussed by Crompton and Lyonette (2005: 616) essentialist notions can be linked to political ideals, to problematize these essentialist categories that are shown within the media can call into question the wider structural inequalities.

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Biography

Georgina Newton is a PhD researcher based in the Media School at Bournemouth University. Her current area of research is focused on working class girls, their media consumption and reception, and socialisation processes that contribute to their future identities. General areas of interest are: gender, class, feminism, intersectionality, youth, women's studies, participatory research methods and audiences. Georgina completed her BA (Hons) at Leeds University in Combined Studies (Journalism and Media) and her Masters Degree at the University of West Sussex in Women's Studies. She lectures at Bournemouth on the BA Public Relations within the Corporate and Marketing Communications academic group.

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Theoretical framework for the study of memory in old and new media age

Irena Reifová

Abstract

This chapter looks at the blossoming discipline of memory studies and aims to shed light on concepts which are useful starting points for enquiry into connections between memory and the workings of communication media. The chapter argues that there is a close nexus between memory and media which manifests itself in the ways memory is produced "in", "by" and "through" media (Frosh and Pinchevski, 2009). It pinpoints principal sites of media memory scholarship with emphasis on journalism, media's engagement in the stimulation of individual memory, media's involvement in sedimentation of collective memory (mainly in channelling potential social hegemony) and transformation brought about by the transfer of memory processes on the digital platform.

Keywords: media, memory, collective memory, networked memory, cultural studies

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1. How time was made a social variable?

The concept of space entered imagery and the conceptual apparatus of social sciences resolutely and briskly, having been galvanized by the process of globalization, which had become of interest in many disciplines from philosophy to economics (Wallerstein, 2004; Featherstone, Lash and Robertson, 1995; Lash and Urry, 2002). In contrast, the concept of time has been theorised in much more restrained fashion. Although the roots of the first philosophical treatises on time date back to the 19th century (Hegel, 1977; Hegel, 2012; Bergson, 2007; Heidegger, 2002), "time" took quite long before it grew into a perspective which enchants social scientists in droves.

We cannot say that there were no actual social processes inspiring the studies of how time flows, changing the present into the past which then remains accessible solely through history and memory. (Past, history and memory are the grand terminological triumvirate into which the social scientists' concern with time is translated.) Indeed there are two types of social processes that attracted social scientists to reflect upon time flow and its social consequences (and eventually made it a sound concept): the advent of modern society with all its stages in general and a number of more specific socio-political turnovers in the course of the 20th century, which carried the grand ideological narratives, and aspired to provide corresponding versions of history and even collective memory.

The overall process of modernization - transformation of the feudal world into the modern society - carved out a rupture between the two epochs which brought new awareness of the phenomenon of time. Its constitutive concepts of progress and change had the production of past as something that is divided from the present embedded in them. The modern world started to be understood as the future of the old world; just as the internal phases of modernity are understood to be its own pasts and futures. Legitimating the present by separating it from and juxtaposing it with the past - i.e. making *time* a social variable - is everywhere, starting from Enlightenment's refusal of the "obscurantist" tradition, and going to the swift replacement of fashions, styles, subcultures and generations by new ones in contemporary marketing.

The past-present dichotomy was captured by Walter Benjamin's interpretation of the Angelus Novus by Paul Klee.

> A Klee painting named Angelus Novus shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. […] The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole of what has been smashed. But the storm irresistibly propels him into the future […]. This storm is what we call progress. (Benjamin, 2003: 392)

In Benjamin's view, Angelus Novus represents modernity swept along by the urge of progress. Modernity's worship of progress, future and forward horizons also explains how the past, history and memory eventually entered its hype-period in social sciences. Modern ideals including modern obsession with the future were revisited and critically revised within the late modern (or postmodern) turn, which resulted in re-direction of focus towards "past", "history" and "memory".

Except the general framework of the shift from the traditional to the modern and the postmodern, there is a number of smaller-scale (but still gigantic), institutionalized ruptures between diverse socio-political orders which increased societies' sensitivity for thinking along the time axis and acknowledging the representations of the past to be a crucial part of their presence and future. The twentieth century produced a considerable number of "post-societies" - societies which had and have to accommodate various dislocations, discrepancies and discontinuities in the accounts of their pasts: post-war Germany, postcolonial countries, post-Franco/Salazar Iberian countries, post-apartheid South Africa, post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe, post-Soviet states on the territory of the former USSR, the post-dictatorship Latin American countries … This is an impressive collection of societies whose development was fractured into incompatible ideologies and which are consequently prone to see reconcilement with their pasts through memory and history as a paramount problem. It is important to stress that these ruptures are underlain by strong continuities: genuine memory senses it intuitively from the beginning, and academic reflection arrives to this state of knowledge after it manages to deconstruct the narratives of the past-present divides, which are usually imposed by ideological official histories.

2. How media made its way to memory studies?

Looking at the ways memory is intertwined with media is a relatively new thing that does not go beyond 2000s. The works published before that usually showed only marginal interest in media or most likely no interest at all.

This was the case not only of the initial philosophical works in the 19th century (Hegel, Bergson) but also of Maurice Halbwachs, who coined the term "collective memory", and whose work serves as the seminal book in the sociological study of memory. He first published his book "On Collective Memory" in French in 1950 without making a reference to the role of mass media, although he emphasized that memory is formed in the midst of social relationships between individuals as well as social groups so that "*memory is constantly made and remade from the perspective of those on the outside*"

(Gaarde-Hansen, 2011: 18). Nonetheless, it is arguable that Halbwachs' definition of memory which sees it as "*an awareness of the past in the present*" has not been surpassed yet (Halbwachs, 1992: 54).

Another milestone on the way to the inclusion of media into memory studies was the work of the school of French historians known as École des Annales (from the journal title "Les Annales d´histoire économique et sociale") who, rather ironically, attempted a "dehistorification" of history. The Annales School, represented e.g. by Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Jacques Le Goff or Philip Arries, paralleled the big history rooted in important dates and political events with a focus on the history of quotidian social and economic processes. Pierre Nora, one of the late adherents of The Annales School, has been extensively echoed in the context of media memory studies thanks to his concept of "the sites of memory" (lieux de memoire). According to Nora, sites of memory are situated on all levels of social life and encompass "*any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community*" (1996: xvii). The broadness of this concept already enables us to refer to mediascape as one of the "memory places" while on the other hand showing that mediation is an inbuilt affordance which all "memory places" have, because they ensure connection between the past and the present.

The heyday of media and memory scholarship arrived after cultural studies had been well established as a commonplace university programme, had freed its hands from some self-protective debates and started to diversify thematically in the 1990s and 2000s. An on-line catalogue of the U.S. Congress lists 14 books with "media" and "memory" in their titles published in the period 1980-2000, and 274 books searched for using the same keywords in the period 2000-2014. "Memory boom" (Winter, 2000) in media cultural studies owes its explosion to the actual political, economic and technological developments as well. Focus on niche audiences – especially in the television industry – brought about the rise of specialized television channels, with history channels as one of the most popular specializations (apart from e.g. art, sport or children programming). We could say that television enquiry became the flagship of media memory studies in the 1990s, with television taken to be "*the principal means by which most people learn about history today*" (Edgerton and Rollins, 2001: 1). The media and memory debate was further endorsed and heated by technological re-constitution of the process of symbolic exchange and its transposition on digital networked platforms. Affordances of the digital technologies tickle the old human utopia about absolute memory capable of recording, storing and flawlessly retrieving life in its entirety (van Dijck, 2007: 149). However naïve this can be, even the most sceptical observer must acknowledge that the pace and scope of digital documenting and archiving has

been transformed far beyond the original meaning of these practices. Internet archives are not fixed repositories, but always unfinished sites of digital liquidity with ephemeral, emergent data.

3. What kind of nexus is there between media and memory?

Media act as agents of memory, together with other social institutions which have acquired positions enabling them to narrate the past (such as schooling system, museums, art, etc.). In many cases these "retrospecting institutions" seek to comply with the accounts of the past provided by the science of history, taking it to be the prime measure for the accuracy of their presentations. Nonetheless, the past must not be in every case equated with history. Whereas "the past" is a non-fabricated complex of events and processes which occurred in the past times, "history" (as a product of the science of history) is an account of the past constructed by professionally trained historians according to specific methodological rules. The way media inspect the past is unique precisely because they allow for a relatively low involvement of the official event history as an unparalleled source, or, more precisely, they combine it with other forms of access to the past based on memory. Media, compared to, for instance, education, do not take the historical account of the past to be the only correct and verified source of knowledge on the past. On the one hand, media give voice to the other institutional agents of memory; on the other hand they act as an agent of memory in their own right. "*Thus among possible memory agents, the media serve as a meta-agent because they constitute the most prevalent and quotidian site of recollection in modern national societies*" (Meyers, Neiger and Zandberg, 2011: 11).

Media involvement in sedimentation of collective memory is a complex and multi-faceted business. Paul Frosh and Amit Pinchevski identified three forms of articulation between media and memory: memory "in" media, "by" media, and "through" media (Frosh and Pinchevski, 2009: 1). Memory "in" media points to cases in which media provide space for other retrospecting institutions or individual direct witnesses. Original "mediawork" (Deuze, 2013) resulting in the stories of the past manufactured by media refers to memory "by" media. Popular appropriations of the mediated past and memories of the past constructed and shared by the audiences meet the definition of memory "through" media.

The nexus between media and memory is thus delimited by the three dimensions which represent intersections of memory sedimentation and media operations. These are dimensions of how the past is represented *in* media contents, how it is constructed *by* media professionals and how media audiences produce it *through* the uses of the two above sources.

4. Sites of media memory scholarship: Journalism

Media genres which aspire to transcend time and stimulate memory are remarkably diverse and different in their nature and functions. The range of media genres relevant to sedimentation of memory covers everything from news and documentary to historical costume drama. Notwithstanding this diversity, journalism, out of all segments of media production, has somehow privileged status in the field of media and memory convergence. One reason is that journalism's outline of current affairs and today's facts is seen as something that will become the chronicle of tomorrow. It is not an accident that many newspapers still bear the word "chronicle" in their titles. Robert E. Park already put it like that in 1940: "*Once published and its significance recognized, what was news becomes history*" (1940: 676).

The proximity of journalism to records of the past has been more often referred to as an uneven relationship in which one (journalism) does a worse job than the other (science of history). Journalism was originally depreciated for its fiddling with ephemeral actuality, focusing on the here and now; "*the popular assumption has been that it provides a first, rather than final, draft of history*" (Zelizer, 2008: 379). Barbie Zelizer (2008) further explains that this assessment was thoroughly re-evaluated and journalism is now understood as an efficient agent of memory in at least two ways: The past helps journalists to interpret the present; a glance at the rear-view mirror functions as a genealogy of present affairs, and provides better understanding of original contexts, causes and consequences. Journalists also refer to the past in a rather autopoietic way by learning about past events from their own previous media outlets, not the history textbooks or archives. This practice can be defined as a creation of what Andreas Huyssens (2003) calls "palimpsestic memory". Media write and rewrite their previous texts and that leads to a layering of the strata of cultural meanings with original historical connotations wiped out of them and re-filled with up-to date appropriations.

5. Sites of media memory scholarship II: Individual memory

Media production and the ways it is used by the audiences contribute not only to the dynamics of the collective memory sedimentation - collective memory being understood as public opinion about the past - but also to "memory work" (Haug, 1987) on the individual level. Personal identity is inconceivable without individual memory; the way I understand myself deeply rests upon how I remember who I was in my previous life. Personal, private or individual memory is tightly interconnected with communication media, in this case especially in the "through" mode (as explained earlier). Uses of media memory artefacts

(such as old audio cassettes, long playing records or watching re-runs of television programmes) engender associative processes of reflection upon what they represent or refer to. These processes have been studied predominantly in case of old photographs or entire family albums. Anette Kuhn (1985) compared browsing through family photographs to "memory work" consisting of phases of reminiscence, trauma, therapy and reconciliation. Marianne Hirsch (1997) discovered that memories stimulated by photographic images often refer to realities that the users could not witness personally. It inspired her to coin the term "postmemory" - the memory which is not entirely ours but which we remember - which we inherited from our cultural predecessors.

6. Sites of media memory scholarship III: Collective memory

Maurice Halbwachs, who coined the concept of the collective memory, has broken a monopoly that psychology and neurology had over the concept of memory. As Jerome Bourdon (2009: 7) put it, Halbwachs attempted to: "*sociologize data that were thought to be individual and therefore belonging to the domain of psychology*". Halbwachs was convinced that "*the mind reconstructs its memories under pressure of society*" (1992: 51). He developed the idea that the way we remember our past is grounded in the broader social environment in which we are embedded and which draws us into the collective ways of remembering. He emphasized various types of social groups, starting with family, to be elementary "farms" where memories are developed. Collective memory is collective in two meanings of the word: one refers to the collectively-relevant layers of the past that are remembered; the other refers to collective mode in which it is remembered. Collective memory stores the segments of the past which affected large numbers of people in the past (usually political, cultural, public events) and which are remembered by large numbers of people today. The forms of collective remembering and remembrance can vary from symbolic acts like reading about and reflecting on the past to instrumental activities like taking part in the ceremony or visiting memorial sites or museums.

From psychological and neurological perspectives, individual memory is a function of the specific organization of brain tissue. Therefore it is taken for granted - not only by science but also by many popular metaphors - that individual memory resides in our heads. The question "Where does the collective memory reside?" is much more complicated. Wulf Kansteiner (2002: 180) makes a difference between "memory producers" (institutions which have capacity to act as memory agents) and "memory consumers" (ordinary people who receive their framings of the past). Definition of the memory producers and consumers is useful although the asymmetrical relationship as outlined by Kansteiner is untenable in the field of media cultural studies. With some

modifications we could say that collective memory resides at the intersections between producers' institutional performance of memory and culturally autonomous appropriations by memory users.

Although we assume the memory users to be self-determining subjects with significant capacities for peculiar interpretations, collective memory - as almost any collective, social process - is always endangered by conformism. Jeffrey Olick (1999) emphasizes that collective memory is different from "collected memories". Collective memory is not an aggregate of individual memories (which can be dubbed "collected memories") but more closely connected to mythologies, ideologies and dominant master narratives. Memory is a rather flexible substance. It was already Maurice Halbwachs who emphasized that collective memory is highly reconstructive and we remember the past only imperfectly, selectively and incompletely (Garde-Hansen, 2011: 19). The way we reconstruct the past is largely dependent on the interpretive schemes of the present moment which can derive from dominant ideology or deep-seated hegemony. When explaining reconfigurations of memory, Halbwachs noted: "*Here it is only one framework that counts – that which is constituted by the commandments of our present society and which necessarily excludes all others*" (1992: 50). Collective memory is inherently social; it is constituted in and by its social setting. Nonetheless, it can also result in enforcement of the "official" versions of the past that are perpetuated and cemented by powerful memory producers. The selectivity of collective memory may become systematic - the parts of the past which are uncomfortable from the perspective of the present hegemony then get systematically lower chances (or no chances at all) of being represented, remembered or memorialized. Collective memory is relatively open to substitution of some of its parts by memory reconfigurations compliant to the present social order.

Media representations feeding on collective memory are frequently blamed for the lack of accuracy and authenticity in their recollections of the past and for commodification of the past. These aspects of collective memory stand out especially when they are looked at from the perspective of critical theory. The field of film history is a basis for this kind of media bashing because film and television insights into the past fail to satisfy historians' notion of historical fidelity, and do not meet their expectations of faithfulness to history (Rosenstone, 1995). They often argue that media's accounts of the past are kitschy, superficial and biased and that they provide flawed input for the collective memory work. Garde-Hansen (2011) counter-positions Spielberg's Schindler's List and Lanzman's Shoah to show the example of two cultural products of which the first one is condemned as Holywood cinema and the second one is highly appreciated.

7. Sites of media memory scholarship III: Digital technologies

The enormous boom in memory scholarship incited by social processes described at the beginning of this chapter was further amplified by the spread of digital technologies. The roots of this frenzy probably go back to the moment when Charles Babbage made his packet of punched cards instruct his arche-computer in the 1830s (Freidman, 2005: 22). Since then "memory" refers more to pathways which lead to the decomposing and re-creation of information than to simple preservation of information in its fixed shape. Computers' capacity to store and retrieve immeasurable amounts of data together with the interconnection of computers in global networks fundamentally impacted on both embodiments of human memory: memory as function and memory as archive. The entire World Wide Web, with its ever-changing, shimmering content, is now an archive, "location" accumulating newer and newer information, which then immediately trans-morphs into the memories of the past. Growth in the speed and extent of memory-making leads to viral proliferation of memories. Today we store and retrieve much more data than we can actually utilise in real remembrance.

Just as the entire digital world does, digital memory provokes reactions from the two oppositional camps: humanist essentialism and technooptimism. Alison Landsberg (2004) as a representative of the first approach developed a notion of "prosthetic memory", suggesting that human memory relies upon an alarming amount of technological facilitation, which leads to deterioration of spontaneous memory. Andrew Hoskins, on the other hand, adopted the logic of technological determinism, especially when writing on transformation of the archive. Networked memory with an influx of updates on websites, social network sites, weblogs, wikis, internet forums or in databases is always in a state of emergence, memory is always "memory on-the-fly" (Hoskin, 2009: 94). According to Hoskins, archive was liberated from space and materiality: "*The idea of the static archive as a permanent place of storage was replaced by much more fluid temporalities and dynamics of permanent data-transfer*" (2009: 97).

8. Brief conclusion

Independently of their paradigmatic identity, a majority of scholars in all disciplines under the umbrella of memory studies would agree (at least to some extent) that the field of memory was fundamentally penetrated and accordingly transformed by digital technologies. Apart from extent and speed, the range of actors contributing to the vault of digital memory has also changed. This transformation empowered non-institutional memory agents, in particular, the group which now embraces everybody who publishes on-line. Thus a concise

theory of collective digital memory has not been put together yet - and it might never be. Collective memory is unconceivable without Halbwachsian "pressure of society" while cyberspace has been mostly understood as the exact opposite, the province of bottom-up processes. On the other hand, plurality, or even abundance, of approaches to collective memory is useful in the continuum of the old and new media age. Potential attempts to compress them into a unified theory might bring simplifying reductionism instead of theoretical fixity. Digitisation of memory processes points to a fatal tension between societal pressures on and individual uses of the narrations of the past. Current paradigmatic diversity within memory studies ensures that both massive conceptualizations – "memory-as-structure" as well as "memory-as-agency" – are given well-deserved attention.

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Biography

Irena Reifová is an assistant professor and researcher in the Department of Media Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. She is a Vice-Chair of the ECREA CEE Network. She teaches courses on critical media theories, cultural studies and media audiences. Her major scholarly interests are in televisual popular culture, focusing especially on Czechoslovak and Czech serial television fiction, theories of popular culture and the convergence of popular culture and "the political". Between 2006 and 2009 she was a member of the Editorial Board of the Czech and Slovak journal Media Studies; in 2009-2010 she was an editor of the journal Media Studies and a member of the Editorial Board for the Iluminace journal. Currently she is a research coordinator in the Institute of Communication Studies at Charles University in Prague.

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“I have nothing to hide”. A coping strategy in a risk society

Maria Murumaa-Mengel, Katrin Laas-Mikko & Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt

Abstract

The right to control and limit access to one’s information is increasingly discussed not only in the context of governments, but also within big multi-national companies. Estonia is proud of its emerging e-state, where increasing number of services are being provided online with more and more data collected about citizens. The Soviet past of living under the watchful eye of “Big Brother” makes Estonia an interesting and unique case for studying informational privacy. Many have argued that in the modern society, if you have done nothing wrong, then you have nothing to hide, using this argument as a way to legitimize loss of privacy. This article explores how the “nothing to hide” -argument can be conceptualized as a coping strategy in complex informational privacy situations. We will introduce some of the results of a nationally representative Estonian survey, “Right to privacy as a human right and everyday technologies”, aimed at studying people’s general understanding of privacy and perception about various potentially privacy invasive situations. Whether acknowledged or not, people are in a state of constant stress – they think many of the actors (the state, employers, enterprises and other people) could jeopardize their privacy, and yet at the same time, they are routinely in situations where their information is collected. To cope with the privacy invasive situations and practices, many have adopted the belief that they have nothing to hide. This strategy, while functional for the individual, means that structurally people adopt self-censorship strategies or slowly lose trust in the society at large.

Keywords: informational privacy, coping strategies, survey data on privacy, Estonia

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1. Introduction

The concept of privacy can include a wide variety of interests, rights and aspects. Daniel Solove (2002) names six aspects of privacy: the right to be left alone; restricted access to one's person (physical person), or the possibility to protect oneself from unauthorised access; the right to hide certain things from others; control over personal information; protection of one's dignity, individuality and persona; and intimacy – the right to control and limit access to information that concerns intimate relationships and aspects of life. In this study, the right to hide information is chosen as the main focal point.

Although the literature on privacy stresses the subjectivity and context-sensitivity, there have been several attempts using questionnaires to examine privacy-related perceptions (e.g. European Commission, 2011). Our study focuses on perceived threats to privacy and people's general beliefs and attitudes towards the access, collection and use of their data.

In order to open the discussion around the "nothing to hide" argument in Estonia, we rely on data collected from face-to-face personal surveys using a standardised questionnaire carried out from May to June 2014. The representative sample (n=1000) consists of permanent residents of the Republic of Estonia aged 15-74. Interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes in either Estonian or Russian, as roughly 25% of the Estonian population is Russian (Population by sex, ethnic nationality and county, 2014). For proportional representation respondents were chosen randomly and separate weighting was carried out in accordance with the theoretical model of the target group. The final number of respondents was 959. The results of the survey can be extended to the whole Estonian population of the appropriate age, as the margin of error did not exceed 3.09 per cent.

Estonia is a particularly interesting country to analyse privacy-related discussions. On the one hand, the country's population is very enthusiastic about new technologies, accepting new inventions very easily. On the other hand, past experience with the Soviet regime should have made Estonians wary and apprehensive about any kind of surveillance. In his discussion at the Estonian Institute of Human Rights conference Prof. Simon Davies pointed out this conundrum and was baffled about the lack of concern among the Estonian population about privacy (Video Recordings of the Conference, I Panel, 2014). The following article briefly shares some of the results from the aforementioned survey to problematize the "nothing to hide" paradox in a post-Soviet context. In order to do that, we will briefly give an overview of the Estonian context and the theoretical discussion surrounding the "nothing to hide" argument. We then introduce the Estonian data and conclude that in order to cope with privacy risks and confusing practices, many respondents have indeed adopted the belief that they have nothing to hide.

2. Estonia – from Soviet to Skype

Estonia's history as a member of the Soviet Union is a prime example of mutual surveillance and collective correction (Zdravomyslova and Voronkov, 2002), although as a border-area, both Western and Soviet conceptions and patterns were always present and combined in Estonian everyday practice (Kannike, 2006). In the Soviet Union, people were mostly unable to execute their right to privacy, as both working life and family life were subjected to state observation and control (Zdravomyslova and Voronkov, 2002). Furthermore, Kannike (2006: 216) claims that while in "*Western civilization privacy is intimately connected with the notion of home, the concept of privacy has never been a feature of Russian or Soviet culture*". It could be argued that during the Soviet period Estonians did not have much control over their information, so instead they valued privacy in physical space – their homes (Kurg, 2004). In addition, people in different over-controlling regimes have throughout history developed coping mechanisms and strategies to maintain their privacy, at least to a certain extent (boyd, 2008).

Presently, Estonia has earned positive recognition in the world for its diverse and widely used national e-solutions (electronic identity card, electronic tax returns, e-voting, paperless government, e-health, e-commercial register, e-school, education information system, etc.). Over 80% of Estonians use the internet regularly (Information technology in household, 2014) and find that online services have had a clearly positive impact on their lives by helping them save time and making paperwork easier to handle (Kalvet, Tiits and Hinsberg, 2013). These two factors – perceived usefulness (with a focus on the objective) and perceived ease-of-use (with a focus on the process) have a central position in the technology acceptance model (Davis, 1989). A couple of years ago, every second Estonian had used the state portal eesti.ee (Citizens' satisfaction with with state's public e-services, 2012), which combines state and municipal e-services, information on various areas of life and the contact data of public authorities. The state portal eesti.ee also enables the cross-usage of data between different registers and databases based on the identity code of the person and the technical data exchange layer called X-road. In our experience, this is a practice Estonians are proud of, but would not be possible in many other countries which, contrary to Estonians, see the link between the identity code, which is a unique personal identifier, and cross-usage as a very problematic mass surveillance-enabling practice (See also discussions in Germany Hornung and Schnabel, 2009). As new registries and databases are created and the old ones are updated, modern (democratic) states need to pay attention to different aspects of citizens' privacy.

Although data is nowadays collected, processed and stored in many databases and cross-used, most people pay little attention to this, or they find it unimportant – only 40% of Estonians agreed with the 2011 Eurobarometer claim that the government is asking for more and more personal information, whereas the European average was much higher – 64% (European Commission, 2011). In Estonia, the reason people don't consider it to be that relevant a question with regards to their privacy may be due to the policy decision that wherever possible, data is reused from existing databases, and new data is only collected on a need-to-know basis. Also, people are able to retrieve information about who has used/seen their data from the same eesti.ee online portal or in related databases.

3. The "Nothing to Hide" fallacy

The nothing to hide argument is frequently used in public discussions about the legitimacy of surveillance practices. It appears in different forms. This argument usually justifies the mass surveillance by bearing down on the conscience of people, where the example claim could be: "if you have nothing to hide, then you have nothing to fear" (for other different forms of argument see Solove, 2007). While originally nothing to hide arguments referred to the surveillance practice of governments, since arguably only governments have limitless resources to conduct mass surveillance, today this appears to be not true. Google, Amazon and Facebook, U.S. tech giants certainly have the motivation and resources. In order to discuss what is wrong with the argument "I have nothing to hide" we need to open up the concept of privacy.

The concept of privacy can include a wide variety of interests, rights and aspects. We focus primarily on informational privacy, which concerns the data collected, recorded and shared about a person. Several privacy theoreticians (Westin, 1967; Rachels, 1975) consider the central notion of privacy to be control over personal information. Westin (1967) defined privacy as the right of individuals, groups or institutions to decide when, how and to what extent the information related to them is communicated to others. This means that the extent of privacy or the feeling of whether privacy has been violated or not depends on the data subject's choice as to how well and what kind of information he or she wants protected. This is based on the liberal idea of self-determination – a person determines his or her self and decides freely the values that he or she holds dear. The idea of control seems all-encompassing and absolute, which is why the modern concepts of privacy tend to narrow the scope of the term, and emphasize a person's right to decide who and to what extent someone can access and use information concerning him or her (Rössler, 2005; Moore, 2008). In this respect, the right to privacy includes control over access

as well as over information usage rights. At the core of this right is the person's (informed) consent to have his or her personal data collected/accessed for a specific purpose, such as the purchase of something from an online store. This consent does not automatically mean that the data can be used in some other context or circumstances for some other purpose, as often is the case of surveillance.

Discussions over privacy that take place in the public and academic spheres reflect the risk discourse – privacy is perceived as a constantly endangered value, which undoubtedly needs protection. Therefore, it is important to discuss what we protect while protecting privacy and what is at risk when we don't.

Some scholars, such as Simson Garfinkel (2001) and David Brin (1998), have claimed that privacy is dead and that we should get used to the thought that our society is extremely transparent. Mark Zuckerberg, the founder of Facebook, has said (Kirkpatrick, 2010) that the era of privacy is over and that only those people who have something to hide worry about the lack thereof. The inherent logical error of this argument has been pointed out by Solove (2007), who says that the claim is based on the false presumption that privacy means hiding bad deeds and wrong behaviour. The people who play the I-have-nothing-to-hide card often mean that they do not have anything to hide from a *particular* audience whom they imagine while sharing information. They do not mean that they have nothing to hide from absolutely anyone who could potentially reach that information, especially in online settings (Siibak and Murumaa, 2011).

According to Valeria Steeves (2009), privacy helps us create meaningful relationships with others. She argues that striving for privacy is a social practice which allows social actors to draw a line between themselves and others, thereby, being open or closed to social communication. In accordance with this theory, social actors are capable of choosing what is most important for them and defining themselves in relationships. The protection of personal autonomy and the right to define him- or herself in social context is the reason why we should not give over our privacy.

Value conflicts and choices between different values are seen today as a natural part of the pluralist society and privacy should be weighed against other important and sometimes incomparable values (Steeves, 2009; Nissenbaum, 2010). We risk daily the invasion of our privacy by publishing sensitive information about ourselves in significant relationships or social environments; generally, we do not want "perfect privacy" – that is, complete separation, anonymity or exclusion from social relations. Therefore, as mentioned earlier – context matters.

When comparing value of privacy against value of security, privacy is often characterized as an individual and security as a societal value or interest; in a value conflict, the societal interest will be preferred. (Himma, 2007; Solove, 2007). Violation of the right to privacy can result in many undesirable consequences for a person, such as identity theft and access to person's property or benefits; injustice caused by misuse of certain information; unequal treatment or harm to one's dignity. Some scholars (Gavison, 1980; Steeves, 2009) claim that privacy also has societal importance; it is essential to democratic government or social relations since it fosters the moral autonomy of persons, who are central to those concepts. However, privacy violation risks to society are difficult to assess because as a rule we are dealing with so-called soft impacts and impacts in degree (not totally). We cannot say exactly how many people need to feel that their privacy has been invaded and in which context it needs to happen so that people would lose trust in government institutions or that democracy would be endangered.

The asymmetrical information and lack of transparency of surveillance practices and how the data are analyzed puts citizens in a disadvantaged position. The surveillance practices do not violate only the right of privacy, but personal autonomy. As noted by Solove (2007), this is a structural problem. The question here is not that all surveillance practices are inherently unjustified. Rather, there is a need to discuss these issues in public, declare and enact clear principles about justified surveillance practices and technologies; maintain independent and democratic control mechanism to get oversight how these rules are followed.

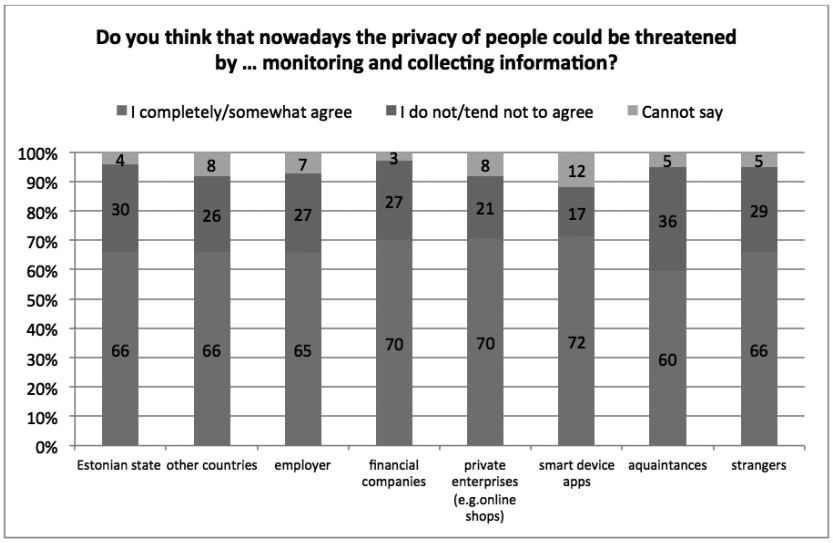
In our empirical sections we first explore, through data, which actors are perceived as a threat to people's informational privacy. Then, we look at the attitudes people express about collection, access and use of their information in general.

4. Everything is a threat to privacy...

To establish if the discussions about privacy are only relevant in the academia and the policy domains, we asked our respondents to which extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement "The worry about the safety of personal data is exaggerated". The majority of respondents (53%) were of the opinion that being worried about personal data is relevant, however, the share of people who find that the whole issue has been exaggerated is also significant – 41%. This shows that while many people are concerned about the issue, many have adopted an attitude of not caring as one of their coping mechanisms in this confusing situation.

In order to understand who and what is perceived as a potential threat, we asked the respondents to rate different actors on the basis of whether those would be considered to be threatening to people's privacy (Figure 1). A majority of respondents find all the listed actors to be potential risks (60-72% agreement rate regarding different actors).

Figure 1: To what extent are different parties perceived as threats to privacy (% of respondents, n=959)



People find the biggest threat to their privacy to be information collection via smart devices (mobile phones, tablets) and applications, but there were also many who answered "I don't know" (12%) because they simply had not come into contact with these technologies. Acquaintances were seen as the least threatening in relation to the monitoring and collecting of information.

"*Everything is a threat*" or that "*we live in the risk society*" (Beck, 1992) perception is undoubtedly partly rooted in the media frames related to the topic – subject matter included in public discussions is adopted into personal risk perceptions. In the aftermath of 9/11, a "securitization" discourse also emerged in which security issues are dealt with at an accelerated rate and therefore may be allowed to violate normal social rules (Hansen and Nissenbaum, 2009). This has enforced the view that national or collective security is by default more important than other rights and values, especially privacy. In recent years, the

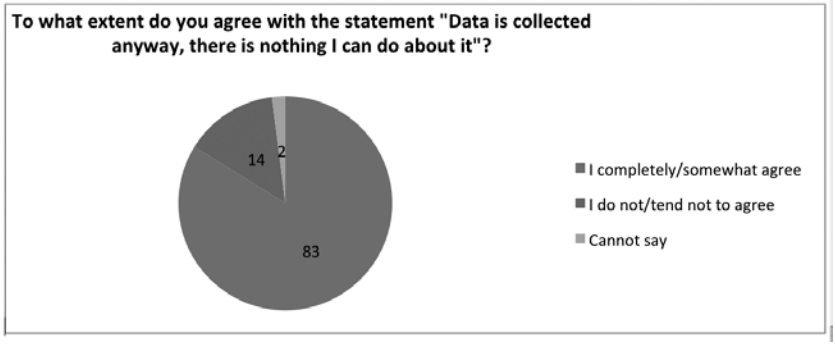
media have covered many cases of information misuse by tech giants (Google, Facebook, etc.) and governments, which have raised awareness of the topic among citizens.

Returning to Figure 1, we see that 66% of respondents think that the Estonian state could be a threat to people's privacy. Curiously, when in another question we divided "the state" into more specific actors (medical and educational institutions, local government) and posed the question in the form of "*how do you feel your data is being used*", contradictory evidence emerges: the level of trust was 89-71%. We can notice contradictions and confusion in people's answers, as it is often a topic that is hard to grasp. People seem to perceive risks to privacy and the topic as relevant, so one might presume that they should see their role as active.

5. ...but there is nothing I can do about it!

A sort of fatalist attitude, an accepting of the unpleasant state of things, which became evident in the Eurobarometer privacy survey (European Commission, 2011), can be seen in our study as well. 83% of the respondents agreed with the statement about data being collected anyway and a person ultimately having no control over it (Figure 2).

Figure 2: To what extent do people agree to the claim about data being collected despite their preferences (% of all respondents, n=959)



In addition, as pointed out in the previous section, a large proportion of people think that it is important to be worried about the protection of personal data, but 74% of respondents also agreed with the claim "I have nothing to hide". To a limited extent, we see that this is more common in the case of older people (70% among 25-34-year-olds, 79% among 65-74-year-olds). Considering Estonia's totalitarian regime history and people's experiences and past everyday practices that many still remember, this could be interpreted as a distancing coping mechanism. Folkman and Lazarus (1988) said that such avoidance, among other emotion-focused coping strategies, that was oriented toward managing the emotions of stress and everyday life in USSR was a source of deep cultural stress (Kannike, 2006). On the other hand, as Kannike (2006: 225) points out, during many Soviet years, "*the main slogan was opening up the private sphere to the state and the collective*", and this message might still be embedded in collective consciousness, which is why we see a higher percentage of agreement in older age groups. This finding is rather paradoxical, as Soviet history has also left people with the practices of counterculture, hidden meanings, double thinking and practices (one for the public self, one for the private self) (Kreegipuu, 2011).

There are a couple of possible explanations behind previously mentioned contradictions in our results - everything is perceived as a potential threat, but at the same time people express trust in particular institutions and feel they have nothing to hide. From a utilitarian perspective the perceived trade-off can simply be appealing enough and this makes it easier to hand out information about oneself and friends. The most common motivator for a trade-off is tied to the consumption of a product or service – to use a web environment one needs to disclose personal data. A step further – in order to use the service or product even more easily or efficiently, one needs to provide more information, and so on. The Eurobarometer study on privacy (European Commission, 2011) shows that the most significant reason as to why people disclose personal information is to use a service in either a social network or e-commerce (61% and 79% respectively). Similarities occur in other domains as well (e.g. communication with the state is less complicated via e-channels, it is easier to find one's data in one cross-database, etc.).

Additionally, Estonians stand out in cross-country comparisons because of significantly higher government trust rates – in 2014 trust in the government was 44% in Estonia, the EU average was 26% (European Commission, 2014). One possible explanation can be that the positive discussion around Estonia's e-state and the advances around it make critical discussions and considerations almost invisible even in the mainstream public debate/sphere. The years of living under foreign rule may have meant that "Estonia's own state" is regarded with trust and sense of ownership that allows less uncritical attitudes.

6. Conclusion

We should ask ourselves why we as a society should not tolerate the claim, "I have nothing to hide". In reality, everyone has something to hide from others (Solove, 2007). We are not only talking about covering up socially unacceptable or embarrassing behaviour, thoughts and convictions by sheltering behind the shield of the right to privacy. Privacy is primarily valued because it protects people's freedom of choice to disclose personal information as they see fit.

Nowadays, personal responsibility is often stressed and the public has accepted the discourse - people frequently think that the responsibility for personal data on the Internet falls on the individual (European Commission, 2011). For regulators and legislators, it is easy to see the individual as responsible (for digital literacy as well as privacy) and people have adopted this point of view. Privacy decisions are based on complex, subjective perceptions of threats and potential damage, psychological needs, and actual personal returns play an important role and affect our decisions (Acquisti and Grossklags, 2007). But the problem is that we usually lack complete information about technologies which themselves are very often technically complex and non-transparent regarding data processing practices and possible consequences. Once again, such a complex situation can trigger mental disengagement from the subject, and acceptance of the "I have nothing to hide" argument.

If the state or large corporations ignore the right to privacy, it primarily violates an individual's freedom of choice and decreases general trust in these institutions (and in the state in general regarding state authorities). Such practices could encourage the spread of the self-censoring strategy. Several researchers have stated that the strategies that are based on minimum content creation and users' low activity level can have a negative impact on maintaining and developing friendships (Marwick, Murgia-Diaz and Palfrey, 2010; Larsen, 2007).

Whether acknowledged or not, people in Estonia and in many other countries saturated with modern technologies are in a state of constant stress – they believe their privacy is threatened by various parties but have to cope with an everyday life context in which their information is constantly accessed, collected and used. We have argued in this text, that "nothing to hide", while routinely used as coping strategy, is not an acceptable solution. Instead, the state and big corporations need to take steps to support the individual by making their information use more transparent and helping people to understand more clearly whether and to which extent they need to fear about information being disclosed. In the society where we live, these responsibilities need to be shared in order to be adequately managed.

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Section Five

Photo: François Heinderyckx

Recognizing difference in academia[1]. The sqridge as a metaphor for agonistic interchange

Nico Carpentier

Abstract

In this chapter I will be reflecting on conflicts in academia, an issue which has, all too often, been swept under the carpet of academic corporatism. I will begin these reflections by considering the different types of conflict that exist within academia. These include political and paradigmatic conflict, struggles between critical and administrative research, as well as linguistic, cultural, organisational, personal, resource-driven and competition-driven conflicts. In the next part of the chapter, I will discuss two trajectories for overcoming these antagonistic conflicts. One of these strategies, based on the fantasy of homogeneity, is considered to have insufficient strength to overcome antagonistic academic conflict, indeed it will often tend to enhance it. The second strategy, an agonistic approach to academia, is more promising in that it acknowledges that there are different pathways for theorising and researching social phenomena, especially through the use of emphatic and self-reflexive openness to facilitate dialogues between conflicting positions. In the conclusion, two metaphors - the 'bridge' and the 'square' - are integrated into the amphibious term: the sqridge, referring to a discursive tool that signifies agonistic academic spaces.

Keywords: Conflict; antagonism; academia; homogeneity; agonism; dialogue; bridge; square; sqridge

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1. Introduction – Divisions in academia

Academia has a long history of division. As one of the social fields, embedded in national contexts and their political realities, academia has not been untouched by these divisions. Let me start by briefly alluding to one older divide, one that is deeply (geo-) political. During the Cold War, when - to use Winston Churchill's ideological phrase – an iron curtain had descended across the (European) continent, most academics found themselves disconnected from their colleagues on the 'other' side of this curtain. The circulation of knowledge was obstructed by a combination of material and discursive elements, such as the lack of mobility and ideologically-inspired distrust. Of course, some academics were able to overcome these limitations, as Richmond's (2003) book, with its rather telling title Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain, shows. High-profile collaborations, such as the Nobel prize winning collaboration between the economists Koopmans and Kantorovich (see Bockman and Bernstein, 2008), and academic peace activism, such as the Pugwash movement (which also won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995) (Evangelista, 1999) certainly existed, but at the same time the obstructions caused by the East-West divide played a significant role in limiting academic exchange and knowledge-sharing. To give but one example: One cannot but wonder whether the role of the Tartu–Moscow Semiotic School (see Waldstein, 2008) could not have been more influential, and the work of academics like Yuri Lotman could not have found a wider readership, if they had not found themselves on the 'other' side of the divide to French structuralism.

This political divide illustrates the obvious point that academia cannot escape the dynamics of antagonism, but also that academia is one of the locations where attempts are made to overcome such divides. Secondly, this short narration about a political divide also illustrates that (academic) divides are not only material, but also discursive, where both sides (can) become entrenched in opposed ideological positions, fed by distrust and the suspicion of ulterior motives. As narrations about the cold war divide contain many elements that characterise antagonism in academia, they form the starting point for some reflections on the different antagonisms found there. This, in turn, raises the question of how to overcome these academic antagonisms. After a discussion of different antagonisms, grounded in the European (academic) experiences of the author, the chapter then turns its attention to two trajectories that have the potential to overcome these divides: the fantasy of homogeneity, and the recognition that conflict can be transformed from antagonism to agonism, thus redefining enemies into opponents whose positions are considered different but still legitimate. The second trajectory is grounded in Mouffe's (2005, 2013) work on agonism, which will be applied to academic conflict and combined

with a series of examples. In the conclusion, the second trajectory will also be enriched by a discussion on metaphors that try to capture dialogue and collaboration within a framework of diversity and conflict.

2. Antagonistic conflict in academia

Beneath a layer of academic civility, fierce struggles often take place, the objective of which can be described by making use of Tuchman's (1972) concept of symbolic annihilation, and its three structuring aspects (omission, trivialisation and condemnation). The ruptures (or frontlines, to use a military metaphor) in academia often take the form of antagonistic divides, whereby particular academic ontologies, epistemologies, axiologies, methodologies, and other (academic) practices are defined as alien to academia, and become constructed as its constitutive outside.[2] These antagonisms also impact on academic identities, where propagators of particular knowledge are positioned using the friend/foe distinction. Inspired by Mouffe (2005), we can return to the work of Schmitt (1996: 27) in this connection, and to his definition of the enemy as whoever is "in a specially intense way, existentially something different and alien, so that in the extreme case conflicts with him are possible." Sometimes, these antagonisms are organised on a spatial basis, pitching different regions against each other, or are time-based, when ideas of different eras (and generations) conflict, but in many other cases these antagonisms characterise (and disrupt) particular academic communities within the same space and time zones.

Obviously, these antagonistic divides only very rarely result in violence,[3] but this does not mean that their intensity is limited. Despite common beliefs,[4] there is much at stake, as antagonistic positions all have very strong claims on the understanding of social reality, and the resulting power struggles are located at every possible level of academia. These micro-physics of power are played out in publications (and the reviewing processes that allow texts to be published or not), at conferences, in appointment and promotion committees, and in departmental meetings, with the objective of eschewing particular approaches, and of trivialising and condemning particular knowledge. At the same time, the intensity of these struggles is cloaked by academic politeness, professional group solidarity and collective interest, a lack of academic self-reflexivity, and a lack of dialogue between the sociology (and philosophy) of knowledge and other academic fields and disciplines. Although academic analyses of academic struggle and antagonism exist, such as Scandalous Knowledge by Hernnstein Smith (2006), the dark sides of these conflicts are often exposed in more literary works, such as, Hermans' (1975) critique of a Dutch university in Onder Professoren [Amongst Professors].

One area where academic antagonism has manifested itself is in the so-called paradigm wars. Paradigms are significant, because, as academic ideologies, they structure academic knowledge production. In Ritzer's (1980: 7) words, "a paradigm is a fundamental image of the subject matter within a science." As such, it combines three basic dimensions (ontology, epistemology and axiology[5]). Focussing on sociology as a "multiple paradigm science", Ritzer (1980: 158) explicitly points to the existence of struggles between fields and disciplines, where "each of [the] paradigms is competing for hegemony within the discipline as a whole as well as within virtually every sub-area within sociology." Before Ritzer, Kuhn (1962), using a more mono-paradigmatic approach and in a rather depersonalised way, described the struggle between paradigms and the scientific revolutions that lead to the replacement of one paradigm by another (which can be translated as their symbolic annihilation).

One of the most fiercely contested areas where the paradigmatic battles have been fought is the struggle between constructivism and realism. Smith (2006), for instance, refers to Mohanty's (1992) work on literary theory, which (in Smith's reading) uses the "common dismissal of relativism as transparently absurd" in arguing that "contemporary literary/cultural theory is beset by a debilitating scepticism about the possibility of rational argument and objective knowledge that would be relieved by better acquaintance with the accounts of knowledge and language developed some years back […]." (Smith, 2006: 34) Another example is the Sokal hoax, in which a physics professor at New York University managed to get a fake article published in Social Text (which at the time was not peer reviewed). Later, in the book Intellectual Impostures, co-authored with Bricmont, Sokal (1998) thoroughly critiqued the use of science jargon in postmodern theory; a critique which was problematically conflated with a much less well-argued critique of the ontology of postmodern theory itself.

A second area of paradigmatic struggle is between critical and administrative research (see e.g. Melody and Mansell, 1983; Smythe and Van Dinh, 1983; Nordenstreng, 2009). Here, the confrontation is mostly located at the axiological level, between academic positions and identities that defend a "confrontation with unnecessary and illegitimate constraints on human equality, community and freedom" (Carpentier and Dahlgren, 2013: 304) and the belief in an academia that can (and has to) be value-free. Related to this we can find (mainly, but not exclusively, with critical researchers) a concern about the instrumentalisation of research, and "the need to sometimes privilege non-functionality (not unlike in the Arts), or to maintain control over which types of relevance are privileged." (Carpentier, 2010: 131 – my translation) This is related to another realm of fierce academic debate, namely the struggle between academia and policy-makers.

Another significant area of antagonism is related to the development of English as an academic lingua franca, which is one of the most visible effects of the westernisation of academia. The introduction of a lingua franca has benefitted communication and exchange within academia, particularly in Europe. To use McQuail's (2008) words: "The wide use of English as a lingua franca has, somewhat paradoxically, been itself a vehicle for convergence and for the emergence of something like a European identity for the field." Yet there are a considerable number of negative consequences linked to the domination of a lingua franca, and this has provoked resistance from academic communities in other parts of the world, often located in the global South, but also in European countries such as France. We should not forget that language is for many people more than just a communicational tool. This is an argument well-expressed by De Cillia (2002: 8) when he says that "languages are far more than just media of communication […] the mother tongue is the central symbol of individual and collective identity, a symbol which represents belonging to a certain ethnic group, to a certain language community." It is also argued - and I tend to subscribe to this argument - that the domination of one language might reduce conceptual diversity and impoverish our academic language(s) and writing styles. Livingstone's (2005 – see also Meinhof, 2005) mapping of the signifiers 'audience' and 'public', shows how different words in different languages allow different aspects of the meanings of these crucial signifiers to be emphasised. In other words, social-communicative processes are not easily captured by one specific concept, and linguistic diversity does play a significant role.

As academics are (in most cases) embedded within universities, with their particular structures of departments, faculties and schools, these organisational structures become the prime locations for these antagonisms, as academics enter into competition with their colleagues over allocation of scarce material and symbolic resources. These struggles are intermingled with and strengthened by interpersonal conflicts triggered, for instance, by clashing personalities. One illustration of these departmental wars comes from a blog posting by Tallmadge (2010), describing the conflicts that one colleague found himself embroiled in:

> As we traded stories, it became clear that he had actually fought in many battles, from which he still bore scars. He had nurtured junior colleagues only to see them denied tenure; his scholarship had been publicly attacked by ideologues; he had arm-wrestled with deans for the resources needed to sustain a nascent environmental studies program that is now regarded as one of the best in the nation; he had been tempted by offers of high-ranking administrative positions that would have given him power at the expense of family, community, and teaching.

Weber, in Science as a Vocation (2004[1918]), formulated a more disturbing perspective on academia, when discussing what to say to young scholars who came to seek advice about their habilitation[6]. Provided they were not Jewish, according to Weber[7] they must be asked this question: "Do you believe that you can bear to see one mediocrity after another being promoted over your head year after year, without becoming embittered and warped?' Needless to say, you always receive the same answer: of course, I live only for my 'vocation' – but I, at least, have found only a handful of people who have survived this process without injury to their personality." (Weber, 2004[1918]: 7)

An even stronger formulation of a critique relating to the narrow-mindedness and shallowness of academics in dealing with colleagues (and thus the internal antagonisms) can be found in the above-mentioned Dutch book Onder Professoren [Amongst Professors], published by Hermans (1975). The author of this fictional account was a geographer at the Dutch State University of Groningen from 1952 until 1973. After resigning from his position, Hermans wrote a vitriolic critique of academic life, centred on the main character of chemistry professor Rufus Dingelam, who in this story wins the Nobel Prize for a discovery made 20 years earlier. This award-winning substance (Alicodrin) is a whitener that can be used for washing, but derivatives are also used as a medicine to combat epilepsy and to increase potency. After the announcement is made, Dingelam is subjected to his colleagues' jealousy and hostility, self-interest and hypocrisy. Together with a student occupation of his laboratory, this eventually forces him to flee to Monaco.

The internal struggles and competition for scarce material or discursive resources are further enhanced by existing cultures of competition within academia and by the increasing role of market-driven forces. An academic competitive culture is based on vertical hierarchies that are grounded in quality criteria. Refined categorisation systems (often created by academics themselves) are used to produce these hierarchies, which are fed by the idea that is it possible to rank its objects, align them according to a particular scale and determine the existence of a very best. Examples can be found in the awarding of prizes (the Nobel Prize is one such example), but also in the ranking of universities[8], the categorisation of academic journals or of candidates for academic positions. An academic competitive culture is structurally different to a culture of excellence, which is not grounded in a ranking system, but in a threshold system that defines criteria for excellence but does not feel the need to discriminate within the category of the excellent, and that is equally interested in developing support strategies to achieve excellence for those who have not achieved this status (yet). For instance, in relation to journal reviewing, a culture of excellence stimulates journal editors and reviewers to work with

authors to improve their texts, while (the worst excesses of) an academic competitive culture, or what Gill (2009: 239) calls "the peculiarly toxic conditions of neoliberal academia" results in reviews such as the following:

> This paper will be of no interest to readers of x (journal name). Discourse analysis is little more than journalism and I fail to see what contribution it can make to [an] understanding [of] the political process. It is self evident to everyone except this author that politics is about much more than 'discourse'. What's more, in choosing to look at the speeches of Margaret Thatcher, the author shows his or her complete parochialism. If you are going to do this kind of so-called 'analysis' at least look at the discourse of George Bush. (anonymous reviewer quoted in Gill, 2009: 238)

Secondly, also the increasing role of market-driven logics enhances antagonism. One area in which these market-driven logics have had a severe impact, is academic publishing. The dominance of commercial publishers has had a problematic impact on the accessibility of academic writing[9], has removed the (textual) ownership from academics, and has excessively used free (academic) labour. In a recent interview, Dozens (2014), professor of Genetic Medicine at the University of Cambridge and yet another Nobel Prize winner (in Physiology/Medicine in 2002), vehemently criticises these exploitative publishing models, and the antagonism embedded in them:

> [...] the journals insist they will not publish your paper unless you sign that copyright over. It is never stated in the invitation, but that's what you sell in order to publish. And everybody works for these journals for nothing. There's no compensation. There's nothing. They get everything free. They just have to employ a lot of failed scientists, editors who are just like the people at Homeland Security, little power grabbers in their own sphere.
> If you send a PDF of your own paper to a friend, then you are committing an infringement. Of course they can't police it, and many of my colleagues just slap all their papers online. I think you're only allowed to make a few copies for your own purposes. It seems to me to be absolutely criminal.

In some cases, the market-driven approach of academic publishers has provoked stronger resistance, as in the case in 2006 when the entire editorial board of the mathematics journal Topology resigned, to protest against Elsevier's pricing policies. In their letter of resignation[10], they argue that this pricing policy "has had a significant and damaging effect on Topology's reputation in the mathematical research community." At the end of 2013, Schekman (2013) – yes, yet again a Nobel Prize winner – announced his boycott of what he called "luxury journals": "chiefly Nature, Cell and Science."

But also university themselves have not been spared the effects of market-driven logics. Stabile (2007: 3) argues that, from the earliest days of the university, there have been those who have advocated "a competitive market approach to academia by stressing monetary gain as an incentive." Interestingly enough, Stabile links the non-market driven approach to virtue, and

the market driven approach to sophism. More recently, universities and their employees have been exposed to what Gill (2009: 230) calls the "increasing corporatisation and privatisation of the University", which produce new and more intense antagonisms:

> These include the importing of corporate models of management into University life; the reformulation of the very nature of education in instrumental terms connected to business and the economy; the transformation of students into 'consumers'; and the degradation of pay and working conditions for academics, as well as the increasing casualisation of employment, yet with little organized resistance from trade unions or other bodies. (Gill, 2009: 230-231)

For instance, at the level of university governance and project management, market-driven management uses discourses of modernisation, responsibilisation, rationalisation, cost-reduction and efficiency. The struggle is still ongoing and some universities have maintained their decentralised decision-making structures that aim at guaranteeing internal (organisational) democracy and autonomy, for instance through the rotation of positions of power. Moreover, in these more traditional models, universities are governed by academics who take on administrative-managerial tasks, and not by managers who remain detached from academic activity as such. The increased entry of market-driven managers into the university's decision-making structures is leading to a different managerial culture that both fundamentally alters the power balance within the universities, and produces antagonistic relations within the university, often to the detriment of academics.

3. Trajectories for overcoming antagonistic conflict

The antagonisms described above are widespread, but not omnipresent. Academia is also characterised by many forms of co-existence, recognition of diversity and various types of collaboration. But at the same time, conflict remains very much part of academia itself. Following the discourse-theoretical position (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), which is very much influenced by a sociology of conflict, conflict is seen as an ontological condition which structures the social, and which thus also impacts on academia. But at the same time, antagonistic conflict is only one way of articulating conflict - based on a dichotomised friend/foe structure. There are also other ways of overcoming the antagonistic articulation of conflict without ignoring the existence of conflict itself. The re-articulation of antagonism into agonism is one such trajectory that will be discussed here (in part 3.2), but before doing so, we need to discuss one other trajectory that deals with antagonistic conflict, and that is its denial by reverting to the fantasy of homogeneity.

3.1 Trajectory 1: The fantasy of homogeneity

The fantasy of the universality and homogeneity of academic spaces 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 social as a whole whose components are all equal and similar. As a fantasy, it is of course not restricted to academia, and we can find many of its variations in other spheres of the social. For instance, in the nationalist variation of this fantasy, there is a national community that is an inseparable whole; while in the populist variation, the people are seen as the whole. In the academic variation, the fantasy of homogeneity consists in the desire for a consensus at the paradigmatic level (and its sublevels of ontology, epistemology and axiology), for complete understanding despite linguistic differences, for the transcendence of political and cultural conflict, for frictionless collegialities and interdisciplinary dialogues, for the perfect collaboration with other segments of the social, and for the final and ultimate resolution of difference.

One illustration of this fantasy can be found in the fragmentation/cohesion debate in the field of communication and media studies, as described in Craig's (2008) summary of the successive special issues of the Journal of Communication on The Future of the Field: Between Fragmentation and Cohesion from 1993. There Craig writes:

> Some saw the continuing fragmentation of the field as a problem; others celebrated fragmentation as an invaluable source of adaptive strength. Some called urgently for efforts to define the intellectual focus of the discipline; others just as urgently insisted that any such effort to define a theoretical core would be not only useless but counter-productive.

Particularly on the cohesion side of the debate, there is a strong belief that such a cohesion-generating consensus can (and has to) be achieved, effectively defining the core of the discipline, and using the problematising label of 'fragmentation' to describe academic (paradigmatic) diversity.

It is important to stress that the notion of fantasy is used here in a non-orthodox Lacanian sense. Common-sense meanings of this concept tend to be almost exclusively negative, but in Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, fantasy is conceptualised as having (among others) a protective role (Lacan, 1979: 41), and remains connected to drive and desire, thus also displaying fantasy's generative capacities. With respect to academia, this implies that the fantasy of homogeneity is a driving force for academic collaboration and exchange, grounded as it is in the belief that mutual (and full) understanding can be achieved, and that all conflicts can eventually be resolved.

At the same time, the academic fantasy of homogeneity becomes frustrated by a number of contingencies and dislocations which make diversity reappear. Not unlike Lefort's (1988) reflection on the empty place of power

in contemporary democracies, we can say that the heart of academia, and its disciplines, is empty, although filled by a continuous stream of practices at the level of research, pedagogy, representation and (public) intervention. Different paradigms, pedagogical ideologies, individuals and organisations struggle for control of the empty heart of academia, in order to position themselves on one of the thrones of knowledge, only to find themselves dethroned soon afterwards or to discover that the phantasm is disrupted by the presence of other academic discourses or institutions with similar claims.

There is also a dark side to the academic fantasy of homogeneity, as it can feed hegemonising strategies that make antagonism reappear by excluding 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." To use nationalism as an example: Žižek (1993: 201) points to the enjoyment this sense of belonging generates. He writes:

> 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 can occur in academia, when a particular paradigm, approach, group, … has achieved a hegemonic (power) position that can enable them, in a very post-political way, to declare the fantasy of homogeneity realised, at the expense of a series of others.

3.2 Trajectory 2: Agonism and academia

The problem with the first trajectory lies in the post-political ignorance of conflict and diversity, which contradicts the need to structurally acknowledge the existence of conflict at the ontological level. This means that we should avoid articulating the notion of conflict as intrinsically problematic, or as avoidable, but attempt to find ways of reconciling conflict and diversity with the (democratic) principles of academia. Consequently, the issue is not to suppress conflict, but to encapsulate it in a democratic-academic order.

To provide a theoretical basis for this second trajectory, we can make use of Mouffe's (2005) reinterpretation of the work of Schmitt (1996) (and his friend/foe distinction) in order to theorise the need to shift from an antagonistic enemy model to an agonistic adversary model. Agonism is seen to transform the antagonistic relationship into a "we/they relation where the conflicting par-

ties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents." (Mouffe, 2005: 20) In other words, an agonistic relationship does not hide the differences in position and interest between the involved parties; they are "in conflict" but "share a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes places." (Mouffe, 2005: 20, see also Mouffe, 2013: 7).

In the context of academia this position first of all implies the acknowledgement of conflict within academia, and of the conflicts between academia and other fields of the social (e.g., commercial publishing, academic policies, …). From this perspective, conflict, and the diversity that lies behind it, is unavoidable and should not be ignored (as the fantasy of homogeneity does), or erased and (symbolically) annihilated (as antagonism does). The agonistic position leads to a multi-perspectivist, contextualised and dialogical approach to academia that stimulates communication between different academic positions, but also accepts that they are sometimes irreconcilable, and that enforced reconciliations lead to a weakening of academia rather than a strengthening of it.

Agonistic approaches to academia recognise that there are different pathways with which to theorise and research social phenomena, and that the combining of approaches (whether the elements are articulated or not) enriches a particular field of study. These approaches also take into account the contexts of the different academic positions, in order to understand and appreciate their different histories, geographies, politics, sociologies and philosophies. Equally important is an emphatic and self-reflexive openness that facilitates a dialogue between these different conflicting positions, and avoids ultimate truth-claims and zero-sum game debates. These encounters have the potential to generate academic alliances and to produce new, dialogically-established, knowledge without artificially enforcing consensus, and are supported by acknowledgment of the importance of structural irreconcilability within academia.

Crucial to the establishment of these agonistic academic spaces is the removal of a series of thresholds that hinder these dialogues. Of course, we should also acknowledge that many academics are already (implicitly or explicitly) committed to the creation of agonistic communicative academic spaces, either at the level of every day academic practices, or in specific projects. But, at the same time, we should not remain blind to the existence of these thresholds. One significant threshold is language, an issue that has, for instance, been discussed extensively within IAMCR,[11] as this academic organisation has three official languages (English, Spanish and French), though here again English has become the dominant working (conference) language. There is a need for more linguistic creativity to deal with language diversity by using translations,[12] but also moving beyond translations by using multi-linguistic strategies. A second and even more structural threshold is created by sources of antagonistic conflict. Particularly important here is the need to decrease the

impact of academic competitive cultures and of market-driven logics within academia as they tend to lead to the incorporation of antagonistic conflicts, and to work against the creation of agonistic communicative academic spaces. But also violations of the human and labour rights of academics[13] by university management personnel or by government actors are significant problems that require more attention. As I, together with Dahlgren, have argued elsewhere (Carpentier and Dahlgren, 2013: 304), this implies the need to recognise academia as a semi-autonomous field, and to engage "in joint knowledge production and dialogue, e.g. in civil society, to engender participatory knowledge construction." At the same time one will need to resist attempts at incorporation and to protect academia's independence.

4. Conclusion

In my conclusion, I want to briefly reflect on two metaphors, and their capacity to signify agonistic academic spaces. The first metaphor is the bridge, which can be seen as a metaphor for respectful academic exchange. In its implicit reference to an absent space – the space that needs to be spanned by the bridge - it brings in the notions of distance, difference and conflict, and the intense effort and investment it takes to build a connective device. The fragility and locatedness of the bridges also signifies the complexity of these dialogical endeavours. Also, the bridge metaphor shows that the construction of academic connectors is possible, even when it is difficult. Yet, at the same time, there are problems with the bridge metaphor, as its connecting-two-shores structure grounds itself in a logics of dichotomisation. It also sets up the idea that once the bridge has been constructed, it is easy to cross (Hall and Minnix, 2012: 67), and that a particular artefact (a bridge, and thus a theory, a method …) can play this connecting role (Repko, 2012: 27).

The second metaphor is that of the square, which serves as metaphor for the opportunities of interchange, (re)presentation and debate (see, for instance, Iveson's (2007: 3) definition of public space). Squares are accessible meeting places, which can be approached and entered from different sides. They are often the nerve centres of cities, where main buildings (town halls, churches, commercial headquarters …) are located. They are also places of celebration, protest and surveillance (Yesil, 2006). As a metaphor for academic encounters, the square signifies the existence and accessibility of multiple common spaces, but also the possibility to easily leave these spaces (and return to the home). But again, this metaphor has its problems, as it downplays the efforts that the engagement in agonistic practices require and moreover tends to (over)emphasise either the unity and homogeneity of the visitors, or the antagonism of the occupants (with respect to whoever/whatever they are protesting against).

But the combination of these two metaphors, into what I propose to call the sqridge[14], serves my purpose of signifying the agonistic academic spaces quite well. The sqridge metaphor incorporates the notion of diversity and conflict, which should not be erased but recognised, acknowledging that there are different positions (or river banks) in academia, which are structurally irreconcilable, but which can be connected. At the same time we should move away from a polarised way of thinking, bearing in mind, for instance, Haraway's (1985: 96) critique on binary oppositions. This is nicely captured in the following sentence from the Cyborg Manifesto: "One is too few, but two are too many." Here, we need the symbolic strength of the square and its reference to the easily accessible meeting grounds that will allow for more communication, collaboration and contestation, without the impediment of barricades but with agonistic respect for diversity.
In short: Academia needs more sqridges.

Notes

1 This is a shortened version of the following article: Carpentier, Nico (2014) 'On Walls, Squares, Bridges and Sqridges A framework to think about North-South dialogues in communication and media studies', Journal of Latin American Communication Research, 4(1), http://www.alaic.net/journal/index.php/jlacr/article/view/88
I want to express my express my gratitude to Journal of Latin American Communication Research for their kind permission to publish a shortened version in this book.
2 As Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argued, we should not forget that antagonisms have both negative and positive aspects, as they attempt to destabilise the 'other' identity but at the same time desperately need that "other" as a constitutive outside, stabilising their own identity.
3 As always, there are notable exceptions, such as the Unabomber (Chase, 2003).
4 This implies my disagreement with Sayre's law, with states: "In any dispute the intensity of feeling is inversely proportional to the value of the issues at stake issue—that is why academic politics are so bitter." (quoted in Issawi, 1973: 178)
5 Sometimes methodology is also mentioned as a component of paradigms.
6 The habilitation is a qualification for (full) professorship, which is obtained after the PhD. This system is, for instance, used in a number of countries, including Germany.
7 Disturbingly, for Jewish students the advice is different: "lasciate ogni speranza" (Weber, 2004[1918]: 7), which translates as: "Abandon all hope."
8 For an analysis of the universities' "competition to become prestigious" (Breault and Callejo Parez, 2013: 2), see Breault's and Callejo Parez's (2013) book The Red Light in the Ivory Tower.
9 Commercial publishers have resorted to using a semi-open access model, in which authors (or their funders) now pay very considerable amounts of money to provide readers with unrestricted access to their work.
10 math.ucr.edu/home/baez/topology-letter.pdf. See also Shapiro (2006).
11 See, for instance, http://iamcr.org/lang-use-trans, http://iamcr.org/201103-lang-policy, and http://iamcr.org/langdebate.
12 For its book series at Palgrave, established in 2014, IAMCR has committed itself to including one English translation of a non-English publication per year.

13 See http://iamcr.org/resources/latest-news/1209-turkey, for a recent IAMCR statement regarding academic labour rights and free speech in Turkey.
14 Arguably, Jože Plečnik's triple bridge, called the Tromostovje, over the river Ljubljanica in Ljubljana, Slovenia's capital, comes close to the sqridge.

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Biography

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A practical guide to using visuals to enhance oral presentations in an academic context

François Heinderyckx

Abstract

An oral presentation in front of an audience remains the most common way to share ideas, arguments and research results. Recent technological developments offer a range of exciting possibilities to enhance one's oral presentation with visuals. Lately, audiences have grown so used to speakers using visuals aids that it has become almost a requirement. This chapter offers guidance in deciding whether or not a presentation should be accompanied by visual aids before detailing strategies to design effective visuals that will serve and enhance a talk while avoiding to divert the attention of the audience. The chapter also argues against the tyranny of the bulleted lists that have come to dominate visuals as a result of docile submission to poorly designed templates that almost impose these lists as the standard format. Cognitive and technical considerations are discussed. The chapter recommends caution when sharing visuals after a presentation as they usually don't constitute an autonomous narration and could therefore be misunderstood when considered by themselves, without the accompanying talk that it merely illustrates.

Keywords: oral presentation; visuals; visual aids; slide show; bulleted list

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1. Introduction

One of the most common ways to share one's scholarly work with peers is still the traditional oral presentation. Even in the age of teleconferencing and digital collaborative platforms, conferences, workshops, lectures, and presentations are still predominantly consisting of one person addressing an audience to convey a number of ideas, facts, and arguments. A range of technologies has become standard equipment in lecture halls and conference centres to facilitate and enhance the act of addressing an audience. Some of these technologies are related to sound: microphones, amplifiers and speakers make it easier for the audience to hear the speaker and allow the use of other sounds as required; wireless microphones allow speakers to enjoy voice amplification even while moving around.

Yet the most significant set of innovations was developed to allow the use of visuals to accompany speeches: slide projectors could display static photographic images on a screen; overhead projectors could project images from transparencies that could be pre-printed or written upon by the speaker during the presentation; movie projectors could show moving images using reels of cellulose film. Then along came digital display technologies: screens, data-projectors and computer-generated graphics. In principle, digital display technology (i.e., a computer and a display device) offers a wide range of possibilities to show still and moving images. However, sophisticated technologies are only as useful as the skills and talent of their users. In the absence of structured teaching of such skills in schools or universities, the experience will range from dazzling all the way down to appalling, from powerful enhancement down to a noisy distraction. This chapter aims to understand how visuals can contribute to the clarity of an oral presentation and to the credibility of the presenter, and how applying a few simple principles can improve this type of communication significantly.

2. What visuals (if any) can do to an oral presentation

An oral presentation is a performance. Although what a speaker will say should be centre-stage, a number of other factors will be decisive in the impression left by the presentation: eloquence, body language, eye contact, staging, and visuals. Visuals can take many forms: the speaker can write and draw on a blackboard or a whiteboard or a flip chart; or project and draw on transparencies using an overhead projector; or project a film or photographic slides with film or slide projectors. Increasingly however, speakers are expected to project computer-generated images and animations on one or several screens visible to the audience. In recent times, the use of such visuals has become a standard

feature, and the absence of any kind of illustration is too often perceived as a shortcoming, a missed opportunity and a sign of dullness. The urgency to add visuals to oral presentations is reinforced by the aesthetics of contemporary media. On television, if an anchor-person or a politician is shown talking, motionless, behind a desk or a lectern more than a few seconds, moving pictures of something vaguely related to the topic will be shown either in full screen or at least in a split-screen. On the web, sophisticated illustrations are commonplace, whatever the topic. Likewise, when we attend a lecture, we expect to be entertained with eye candy, or at least something to look at other than the speaker, sadly enough.

Although the abundance of tools and technologies used to create and share visuals should be seen as a positive development, it would be a mistake to consider visuals are a requirement. Visuals can be of little value to the audience, and all too easily, they can become a liability or even a nuisance. When preparing an oral presentation, the benefit of using visuals must be carefully assessed. Visuals are typically valuable when discussing topics that are essentially visual (photography, cinema, visual arts), but also topics involving complex results requiring data visualization (graphs, maps or tables), or when the presentation includes long quotes (seeing the text of the quote and the full reference will be appreciated by the audience) or when the complexity of the argument can be made more accessible by visual representations.

If no visuals seem necessary or desirable, then the presentation should be prepared without visuals, or with minimalist visuals, i.e. a title slide (showing the title of the talk, along with the name, affiliation, and contact details of the speaker), and possibly an additional slide showing the structure or the outline of the talk. Such bare visuals as a visual backdrop will be preferable to the desktop of the computer, the last slide of the previous speaker or the blue screen projected by the data-projector in the absence of input.

2.1 What visuals should not be

If visuals seem worthwhile, they should be designed following general guidelines as to what they should and should not be. Visuals are too easily a **diversion**, an invitation to split the audience's attention. This can be caused by an element of *distraction*, which is typically any visual element that is significantly disconnected from what the speaker says at that particular point. A common source of distraction is found in touches of visual humour. While humour is generally welcome in a talk, it should not be conveyed only by a visual that is superimposed on the talk, for it will, like all other sources of distraction, split the attention of the audience. A sure sign of the presence of an element of distraction on visuals is when audience members make comments among them-

selves while pointing at the screen. The divided attention can also result from visuals that are an *addition* to the talk. This happens when the speaker provides significantly more details on the visual than in the talk, almost like footnotes or, in extreme cases, like an annex to the talk. If the audience is interested in those details, a significant amount of attention will be diverted towards the visuals, at the expense of the talk. The visuals can even constitute a *rival* to the speech. This will happen when the speaker mentions, in passing, a notion or a study that will not be developed in the talk (for lack of time), but is somewhat detailed in a slide for those who might be interested. These tentative extensions usually result from difficulties in time-management, i.e. when a speaker wants to squeeze more into the presentation than time allows.

In every one of these cases, the speaker is not supporting, but sabotaging his or her own presentation by offering audience members opportunities, invitations even, to branch out and divert their attention from the words spoken and towards stimuli which, because they are visual, will easily appeal to the senses. Even if the audience resists the temptation and remains focused on the talk, the diversions will at least create discomfort and require additional efforts of concentration.

Visuals that consist in literal transcriptions of the talk should also be avoided, except in specific cases of a deficit in language skills among the audience (and even in this case, it is preferable to show the main points in the language of the audience to help them bridge the gap). Full-text slides will inevitably catch the eye of the audience which will then lose visual contact with the speaker, thus transforming the presentation into a kind of academic karaoke.

2.2 What visuals should be

Effective visuals support the presentation. Whether they summarize, visualize, symbolize or merely illustrate, they must *enhance* the talk by clarifying, magnifying and reinforcing the meaning of the words of the speaker. The enhancement requires a strict synchronization between text and visuals: at any point of the presentation, what is shown must match what is said. Yet, not every part of the speech requires visuals. All too often, presenters laboriously develop visuals so that every idea, argument or paragraph can be matched on the display, resulting in a large proportion of weak visuals, with little or no added value. Instead, speakers should not hesitate to insert blank visuals (a simple uniform black will minimize distraction) to be shown between two segments that require visuals. Each of the visuals-free segments will return attention to the speaker while providing a welcome alternation. When visuals are next used, they will draw all gazes back to the screens with renewed attention and anticipation.

The speech and the visuals must blend into one integrated presentation. Any disjunction between the two or any sources of divergence (see above) will split the performance into two distinct presentations, one visual, the other oral, both of which will run in parallel, competing for attention instead of enhancing each another.

3. Creating effective visuals

When preparing an oral presentation, the development of the structure, of the arguments, and even of the full text will usually precede any consideration of the accompanying visuals (provided that the use of visuals is deemed worthwhile). One easy way to start the creative process is to first identify the parts of the texts which can be enhanced with visuals, then sketch a simple storyboard showing roughly which succession of visuals might best serve which sections of the speech. It is important to determine which visuals would be static, and which animated. If illustrations are considered, it is best to start collecting the necessary material as soon as possible.

3.1 Choice of formats and tools

On the basis of the storyboard or any other rough sketch of which visuals are being contemplated, a format and a platform will have to be selected. The choice must take into account which technologies and skills are available. As much as possible, technologies should be selected to best serve the project. This might require the acquisition of new technologies and new skills, within reason, obviously. If we limit ourselves to computer-generated visuals, there are a number of options. **Mind-maps** are quite efficient at showing structures that can be unfolded gradually, thus guiding the audience through a complex description or argument. Yet, such visuals will be better received by those who are used to mind-maps; others might find them distracting or even confusing. Another possibility lies in technologies creating sophisticated transitions that are variations of zoom in or out and rotation to present a succession of visuals that are all embedded in one large vectorized image. The likes of **Prezi** are popular because they produce spectacular animations and intriguing effects of embedding and tree structures. The use of such formats should be strictly limited to visualizations where the representation as a unified structure, within which the audience will navigate as the argument unfolds, is meaningful. In other words, if the result is just a succession of frames with dazzling transitions combining rotations and strong zoom effects, the visuals will create a distraction (and possibly induce bouts of nausea). In some cases, the presentation

will just require an excerpt from audio-visual material. In that case, it is best to have that extract ready as a stand-alone computer file (to avoid having to browse media to the right segment). If the extract is required alongside other visual material, it is recommended to embed it in the main presentation so as to avoid a discontinuity within the presentation (and the inevitable technical glitches that come with switching from one to the other). Certain presentations will require the use of a browser to navigate the web. This requires access to the internet, which must be checked in advance. Should internet unexpectedly not be available, it is best to prepare a few screen shots of the web sites that were to be shown for minimum rendering.

3.2 The curse of the bulleted list

The most common technology used to prepare and show visuals during a presentation is that of computer-generated slide shows. Generally referred to by the genericised trademark "PowerPoint" or "PPT" (in reference to the software that pioneered the genre and the suffix of the files it produces), the slide shows can be designed using a number of programmes (PowerPoint, OpenOffice/LibreOffice Impress, Keynote, to name a few). The sophistication of these programmes has evolved over time, but the possibilities they offer are still remarkably limited. Because these programmes are relatively simple to use, they are very popular as they allow very quick production of a set of simple visuals. The widespread use of these programmes to create quick-and-dirty visuals has fed a culture of poorly designed visuals.

Because these programmes emphasize ease of use, they strongly encourage users to work on the basis of pre-defined templates. Although these templates are convenient when they combine tasteful choices of fonts, colours, and background, they force users into a very limited set of layouts that tend to be accepted as the only possibilities. One of these layouts has become a signature feature of visuals developed using the programmes: the bulleted list. This standard feature of the most popular slide show presentation programmes from their earliest versions has imposed, as the default layout of slides, a centred title followed by a list of words or short sentences each preceded by a bullet. When required, the bulleted list can feature more than one level of bullets.

The title-and-bulleted-list format has become the unchallenged standard format to present, visually, just about any kind of project, argument, or analysis. The consequences of the bulleted-list conformism are daunting. The format is so deeply ingrained that people don't realize that not everything should be reduced or bent into a bulleted list which will all too often distort the argument. Bullet lists should, in principle, be used only to display enumerations, i.e. to list items that constitute a series: variables, parameters, causes, steps, names,

companies, dates, etc. The bullet list is not suitable to summarize what would be the successive paragraphs of the text of the talk or anything that would be understood as an enumeration while it is not.

What is more, bulleted lists are a particularly poor form of visualization. It often looks more like a set of poorly designed cheat sheets than like actual visual aids. The cause of the persistent poor quality of most visuals lies in the lack of skills. At best, users have followed training sessions or tutorials that, unfortunately, tend to focus exclusively on how to use one particular software package and all its fancy features, leaving aside even the most basic notions of visualization, aesthetics, semiotics or sense-making. Education is technologically centred, with a strong emphasis on software operation and features. As a result, creating visual aids is seen as a process that starts from the tools, from the programme that one uses and was trained for. Given that these tools encourage a limited range of options within their default templates, the tendency to use only these options is self-reinforced. Showing bulleted lists as a backdrop of one's oral presentation, though very inefficient —often even counter-productive— has become standard. While preparing an oral presentation, people ask themselves "How can I make my talk into a PowerPoint?" i.e. in most cases, obediently filling a template of bulleted lists. The creativity is so constrained that it is difficult to produce anything but very common, unsophisticated visuals that will rarely achieve the full potential of visual enhancement.

3.3 To design ad hoc visuals instead of filling up templates

The proper way to proceed is the exact opposite. Visuals should be what the speaker wants them to be. Visuals must be conceived on the basis of what the speaker would like to show at different points in the speech, not as a template to be filled as best as possible. The tools must serve the presenter's creativity, not impede it. Choices should be made with one central aim in mind: visuals should *enhance* the talk. Visuals must then be imagined with a very open mind, not in terms of whatever the computer programme of choice does most easily, but in terms of what the speaker wants to show the audience during the presentation.

The question must be "How can visuals help me get my point across?" and not "How can I make that into a PowerPoint?" The approach must be "What do I want to show or display?" and "How can I best achieve that?", not "How can I fill that template?" and "What words can I put in that bullet-point list?". Each slide is a blank canvas where one must decide to set-up a layout that best serves the message.

Only once the wanted visuals have been conceptualized should the speaker seek the most appropriate way to produce those visuals. If working with standard presentation software, it is best to start from a blank presentation and build up the desired visuals gradually, importing pictures, inserting text, drawing shapes as required; not obediently filling a template as imposed. Software should serve a speaker's ambitions, not dictate the terms and appearance of a template-constrained, inevitably dumbed-down presentation.

4. Guidelines for efficient visuals

Once the idea that visuals can be something other than a bulleted list is accepted, the range of possibilities is only limited by creativity and imagination (and a bit of astuteness as required). Every part of the talk that has been identified as requiring visual aids must be treated individually. We could call them *scenes*. Each scene will require a specific set of visuals. The set can be just one static slide, or it can be a succession of steps within one slide, or it can be a succession of slides. It is important to dose the amount of visuals in connection with the corresponding part of the talk so as to ensure that the two blend into an integrated presentation.

The layout of each slide must be designed with a very open mind ("What do I want to show on the screen?"), yet a few principles should be considered. These principles relate to cognitive and technical considerations.

4.1 Cognitive considerations

Every oral presentation we witness must contribute to our understanding of what works and what doesn't. When it comes to visuals, what doesn't work is quite obvious, and yet all too common, even among experienced speakers. Often, the speakers themselves come to realize their mistakes as they speak and bluntly rub it in when apologizing for the fact that "you can't read the small text" or "you cannot clearly see this graph because the colours don't show well."

The audience has cognitive capacities that are known to the speaker because they are his or her own. With just a bit of experience, it is quite simple to avoid exceeding the cognitive comfort zone of the audience. The number of slides should be kept to a minimum, dazzling an audience with a quick succession of visuals will only create confusion. What is shown on each slide must be comfortably legible, even if the screen is much smaller than expected; text that is too small, colour combinations that are insufficiently contrasted must be avoided. What is shown on each slide must be effortlessly understood; cryptic messages or unnecessarily complex visuals should be avoided. Slides must not

be overloaded; if a lot of content must be fitted, it is best to use a succession of slides rather than try to squeeze it all on what becomes a microfilm-type of visual. Animations and fancy transitions must be used scarcely, only if they add or enhance meaning; the line-by-line animations are often a nuisance—with the "slide-in" variation being a climax in annoyance—, even to the speaker who might have to wait until all is in place on the slide before continuing, not to mention fancy transitions that are essentially a source of distraction and mockery. Visual noise and interference must be muted and eliminated; most templates include logos and background images that simply parasite the visuals in ways that impede their perception by the audience by reducing the signal-to-noise ratio. Each visual can be completely different from the others, yet some stylistic consistency should run across the whole presentation; everyone should develop their own style, and that style should be at least vaguely recognizable.

In keeping with the central aim to enhance the talk (not disturb it or compete with it), visuals must favour meaning, clarity, and concision. Visuals all too easily create stress and irritation in the audience, when they should be soothing and enlightening. One slide should not illustrate more than one idea or one group of ideas (there is no point in piling up ideas on a single slide simply because there is room left—unlike paper, there is no cost-per-slide when projecting visuals). It is also good practice to display, as a last slide, a summary of the main argument of the presentation. This is particularly important if the presentation is followed by a discussion. A summary (and possibly contact details of the speaker) will be much more appropriate than the "Thank you for your attention!" or "Questions?" that usually, and seemingly by mere conformism, conclude most presentations.

4.2 Technical considerations

No matter how sophisticated the technologies available to prepare visuals, their limitations (and the limited skills of their users) must be taken into consideration. The most common computer programmes used to prepare visual aids are ever more sophisticated, yet they are surprisingly limited when it comes to anything out-of-the-box, i.e. going beyond the classic ways imposed by the templates (bulleted lists, etc.). Animations (i.e. useful, meaningful animations) are surprisingly difficult to implement. Yet, with a bit of imagination and perseverance, the existing features can be gamed and bent to produce the intended effect. The result can be impressively efficient at enhancing the talk, but the time required to develop such sophisticated visuals might be considerable, as is the risk that the actual presentation might not deliver as expected if, for example, the computer used in the conference room has a different version of

the software that doesn't support some or all of the required features. As a fold back solution, should there be a real issue with software compatibility, it is also good practice to bring the visuals in the form of a PDF file (all programmes used to prepare the visuals offer the possibility to "export" or "save as" in this universal format). Displaying the PDF (in full screen mode) will limit the visuals to static slides, with no transitions or animations, but it will at least provide a robust set of slides that will bring a fair level of enhancement to the talk.

One key technical reality to take into consideration is related to display technology. The screens that we use on our personal computers, laptops and tablets rely on extremely effective technologies providing excellent comfort and rendering of colours. The equipment used to display visuals in conference rooms and lecture halls relies on very differing, and much less effective technologies. In particular, data projectors are very problematic. The image they produce is projected on a white screen, so that even a very powerful projector can only do so much. The main weakness of the projection technology is the lack of contrast of the resulting image. It is very simple to understand why: on a computer screen, dark or black portions of an image are produced by blocking the light on the corresponding spots of the screen. Blacks are more or less […] black. Data projectors, by comparison, can only reduce or block any projection on the corresponding portions of the screen, but because that screen is naturally white, blacks are actually non-illuminated whites. Current technology cannot project blackness. To fully understand the difference, simply compare the appearance of a computer screen when it is turned off with the appearance of a white screen in a conference room while the data projector is turned off. This is as black as it will get. Taking this difference into account is crucial when preparing visuals. They will never look like they look on the computer used to prepare them. They will necessarily be lighter and, most importantly less contrasted. As a result, when preparing visuals, it is essential to ensure ample contrast (particularly between text and background) so that it will still be contrasted enough when projected. One efficient method to ensure contrast is to select colours for text and background that, defined using the RGB scales (a value between 0 and 255 for red, green, and blue), differ as much as possible, especially on the green and red attributes[1]. Some combinations must be avoided altogether because they create visual discomfort (orange and blue, red and green, red and blue).

5. Sharing visuals

One of the most common questions at the end of a dense presentation is "Can we have a copy of your slides?" and the speakers usually gladly comply. Yet, in most cases, they should politely decline. The best visuals are designed to

illustrate and enhance the speech that they accompany. As such, they do not constitute an autonomous narration but only visual cues that are part of a larger narration that encompasses the words spoken, the non-verbal communication of the speaker (intonations and body language) and the broader context of the presentation. So if the visuals are circulated on their own, isolated from the other constituents of the presentation, there is a significant risk that they will be misunderstood, misinterpreted and that the speaker might be misquoted.

It doesn't mean that visuals cannot be shared. They can if they are designed (or reworked) so as to be an autonomous text, a self-supporting narration. A similar argument seems more obvious when it comes to movies: would anyone share a movie without its soundtrack? No, unless it is a silent movie, i.e. a movie designed to convey its meaning without a soundtrack. When it comes to a speech, the best way to share material is to produce a document integrating both the text of the speech and the visuals (inserted in the right places). It does require some additional work, but if the text has already been written up, just inserting the visuals will easily produce a very rich document that will be highly appreciated by those who found the speech inspiring, and even for those who missed it.

Note

1 The World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) has developed a method to evaluate contrast based on RGB attributes and a combined calculation of colour brightness and colour difference (see: http://www.w3.org/TR/AERT#color-contrast). A number of user-friendly tools can be found online by searching "colour contrast calculator" on any search engine.

Biography

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The digitization of science. Remarks on the alteration of academic practice

Leif Kramp

Abstract

Digitization changes academic practice fundamentally: With the proliferation of the Internet, the exhaustive expansion of broadband networks and the implementation of efficient transmission, storage and analysis technologies, research and development, teaching and studying have already undergone a profound transformation process. Empirical research can be conducted more effectively and efficiently than ever: using digital technology, complex study designs can be implemented quickly and collaboratively. The analysis of 'big data', visualization techniques, globally coordinated research projects: Here, digitization undoubtedly enriches academic practice. Also in the field of teaching and learning, digitization offers assistance, e.g. in the form of e-learning features, and enables the implementation of new forms of communication. On the other hand, E-Publishing has already changed the perception of science and the way scholars communicate among each other and the public. The following remarks focus on some profound alterations in academic practice that can be attributed to the impact of digitization, and have consequences – among others – for the career opportunities of young scholars, but also downsides that threaten academic integrity.

Keywords: digitization, mediatization, transformation, data security, science communication, plagiarism

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1. Levels of alteration

The primary task of science can be described as to create, to examine and disseminate knowledge through theoretical and empirical research as well as critical academic discourse. Science is responsible for societal progress, especially in education, via its research insights and its scientific-technological innovations. Thereby, science is indeed an independent socio-cultural field and a functional system that is indispensable for modern society. However, it will also always be an integral part of society, and is therefore subject to specific imperatives, which can be both of regulatory origin, such as with regard to science policy, but also, for example, of a technological nature.

Nowadays, digital technologies are crucial for generating and communicating knowledge and scientific insights, not because technology has changed science per se, but because the actors involved – the researchers and teachers themselves – transform their field of action by the use of digital technologies which they use intentionally or unintentionally for their academic practices. Here, science takes over a significant interface function both as an observer, commentator and an authority that offers orientation and fulfills the role of an innovation driver. Science does not only use digital technologies, but also developed them (further). Not only Earth and Space can be measured and understood more comprehensively with innovative technologies, even man with his body and acting becomes more and more a quantifiable individual. When research is done for example in medicine, production technology or computer science with the help of digital technologies, these research endeavours in turn provide important insights for the further development and fine-tuning of processes and technologies. Science in universities and industry is a key driving force for technological progress, whether in the development of digital storage standards (from the MP3 audio file format and the GeoPDF format that is used in cartography and geodesy to Web Archive Format WARC), or with face recognition or data security, to name just a few of countless examples. Not coincidentally, the Internet itself derived from a scientific networking project – the ARPA-NET.

Even in the social sciences and humanities, the digital is rated high as a subject matter and research tool. In the Digital Humanities for example, innovative mapping technology helps to apprehend how Homer had rembered his famous and extensive catalogue of ships for his mammoth work "Iliad" through a mental itinerary. Moreover, civil engineering and architectural researchers together with historians reconstruct historical cities in the form of digital city models that promise new insights into the urban life of preceding centuries. In its digitized form, the cultural fundus becomes usable and analysable with automated procedures in all its complexity. This offers new research potentials. Even those who nowadays want to explore the transformation of social relations cannot ignore the digital as it is common by now to

interact socially through social network services (e.g. Facebook, Google+), short message services (e.g. Whatsapp, Twitter), but also on dating portals, online forums and through other digital forms of communitization (cf. van Dijk, 2006; Hepp/Berg/Roitsch, 2014).

Schäfer (2014) speaks not of the digitization, but of a mediatization of science, which is not confined to the field of media and communication studies, but changes communication in all disciplinary fields and niches of academic practice. Nevertheless, especially digital technologies have triggered the diagnosed mediatization boost significantly; so, in many ways, mediatization goes along with digitization: Interpersonal communication in science is increasingly mediatized, for example through Internet-based videotelephony and virtual conferencing (e.g. Skype, Google Hangouts, Adobe Connect), but also interactive communication between humans and machines is more widespread through the use of computers for data collection and analysis. Finally, scientists address the public directly and therefore become actors in the mass communication of scientific knowledge more and more often by publishing their articles in electronic journals or on their own website, by writing research blogs or by posting on Twitter or Facebook. Subsequently, academic practices change at different levels:

The *review of the current state of research* is less time consuming when scientific publications are available and searchable in full-text due to digital databases.

Research methods in the laboratory, the observatory or the field change as digital measuring instruments can record more exact, broader and higher volumes of data than before.

New *research questions* can be gone into, as more and more data are digitized (also retrospectively) and therefore come into question for a digitally automated statistical analysis.

Academic project management develops differently when scholars can communicate digitally independent of space and time strains and work together on digital documents.

The *production and publication of academic texts* is accelerated because the digital infrastructure of the Internet allows a self-determined publication at any time.

Since both science and other societal fields such as business, politics, but also religion and the everyday lifeworlds of the population are under the lasting influence of digitization and mediatization, similarities and overlaps can be observed in certain areas of action and phenomena. This includes the requirement to handle complex data, whether it is empirical research data, statistics, public administration, business figures or, more generally, the perceived oversupply of (unverified) information through the Internet. Dealing with ‘big data’ (cf. Mayer-Schönberger/Cukier, 2013) engages a number of academic disciplines,

including some where previously procedures of statistical analysis only played a minor role. One of the major challenges is trying to fit the inevitable appreciation of such procedures in the respective research logic.

2. Ambivalent data security

Science needs sources. Science reviews, analyzes, summarizes, whether based on self-collected or secondary data, documents, images, sound or video recordings. Without sources science would be nothing more than reasoning. The physical condition of sources in science befits a key role: If they exist on a material medium, e.g. on paper or on magnetic tape, they have a limited availability and are exposed to decay. Digital information technology provides a glimmer of hope for a solution in the fight against deterioration. So, the 'Digital Age' is also a 'Digitization Age' where retro-digitization of cultural heritage is high on the agenda (cf. Bachi et al., 2014). Preservation organisations assume the future of archiving in the digital encoding of material storage, i.e. binary strings without physical reference. The risk of obsolescence seems far less threatening when relying on high-performance digital technology compared to analog and physical preservation technologies instruments. More urgent is the issue of reliable long-term preservation, which culminates in the debate on the pros and cons of the digitization of analogously stored heritage since the advent of computerized information processing. What could be priorily experienced as a conglomerate of different cultural techniques with all their senses, is now a mere code consisting of two digits: the zero and one – the digital copy only as a temporary glow of transistors on a screen: the *"flat, cold, glassy glare of a computer screen"* (O'Sullivan, 2005: 70).

In addition, there is a plethora of ethical problems connected to digitization when it comes to safeguarding the textual integrity of the data. Even if a deletion of digitized content is not readily possible, it can be manipulated imperceptibly through its underlying alphanumeric code. Not only the conversion of data structures can automatically lead to a distortion of the original content by a repeated migration of digital data. It also increases the risk of criminal interference. A digitally stored document, if not write-protected, can be changed arbitrarily without the changes being replicable: no etchings, cuts or glue marks or other indications of editing can be found in a skillfully manipulated electronic document. The identification of digital traces is a research field of its own: IT forensics are specialized in detecting cases of manipulation to back up, analyze and work up data. However, even scholars who know how to deal with analog sources professionally do not necessarily have the required technical expertise and experience in handling digital sources (cf. for research on digital traces: van Baar/van Beek/van Eijk, 2014).

In this respect, the inexperience in handling digital sources is a dangerous void in academic training, not only with regard to the verifiability of digital and digitized resources, but also with regard to the threat of data loss. Protecting one's own research data is in most cases not subject of professional standards at universities. Whether electronic data can be legible after ten years or later depends not only on file formats, but also on the integrity of the storage and the awareness of constant migration of the data to new storage media. Hence, reliable measures for long-term archiving are regarded as one of the most important measures not only for digital public administration, but also for the science sector (cf. APARSEN, 2015). Especially for protecting personal research data, the scientific community needs easy-to-use certified standards for digital preservation. Ultimately, access often goes above security, as in everyday work digitally stored sources seem to be potentially more comfortably accessible than analog sources; but often digital storage lacks data security, involving risks of manipulation and data loss. This applies to most of the research disciplines that work without direct working relations to computer science or information and technology studies.

3. Sharing is caring

The ubiquitous demand for interdisciplinarity has gained steam through the current transformation processes (cf. Laužikas, 2009; Scanlon, 2011). The transfer of knowledge across disciplinary boundaries meets the strong expectations of the knowledge society: reliable knowledge production and the availability of knowledge as well as connections and cross-references in an increasingly connected life. When interdisciplinarity means a demanded escape from narrow specialist perspectives, while respecting subject-specific skills and expertise, the main objective is to reach a more synergetic clarification of border issues and hybrid problems (cf. Katz/Martin, 1997). This claim is more than ever justified before the background of digitization as it offers an optimized working and communication framework, precisely because it needs a high degree of communication. The research cultures of the historically evolved specialized disciplines have to continue to conciliate their theoretical schools of thought, traditional definitions and methodological specifics with adjacent or wholly foreign research traditions productively (cf. Corley/Boardman/Bozeman, 2006).

The growing demands in terms of interdisciplinary cooperation, the development of international research networks, and a more complicated multi-unit project management require an integrative oriented knowledge management which helps to optimize communicative, cognitive, institutional and organizational aspects of collaboration between the participating researchers (cf. Vasileiadou, 2012). This can be achieved by exploiting the advantages

of online communication and digital organisational tools. This involves inter alia overcoming communication problems, avoiding friction losses, reducing duplication, sharing research data to develop methods of analysis and evaluation instruments collaboratively to organize meetings to coordinate public relations, etc. The digital infrastructure ergo favors the infrastructure requirements for multi-site collaborative research.

Overcoming spatially segregated science areas with digital information and communication technologies to the benefit of a transnationalization of research cultures (cf. Olson/Zimmerman/Bos, 2008) has, however, also increased the pressure to communicate and publish in the English language. Anyone acting solely in their own language area (non-English), threatens to be – under certain circumstances – disconnected from relevant research discourses. Those who overcome the language barrier have the opportunity to make contacts via the Internet in no time through the direct addressability of academic colleagues in their own field of research and to engage in conversation. Formerly, this required a considerable effort and was mostly only feasible, for example, at international conferences. The transnationalization of science, which was impelled by digitization, has at least the potential to make the academic exchange of opinions, ideas, data and knowledge overall more open and heterarchical – and thus strengthen young researchers. The popular phrase "Sharing is Caring" in this context is a signal sense of responsibility for the promotion of young researchers: Overt hierarchical structures in academia fade into the background to the benefit of a thematic and concept-centered exchange. So, research topics, research interests, and the originality of research achievements come to the fore as well as the talents of young researchers that can be assessed more fairly (cf. Arora, 2013; Esposito, 2013). This is primarily an opportunity for next generations of researchers who get the chance to present their research more efficiently and to draw attention to it.

4. Communicate or perish

Communication barriers between science and the general public crumble, too. The overall benefit of science becomes tangible when research findings, be they theoretical knowledge or conclusions from empirical data, are distributed, appropriated and applied in different ways and in a variety of contexts in order to reach for an improvement of conditions or procedures. As much as university research is increasingly dependent on external funding, the demands on the social relevance and transparency of research – ascribed by different social groups – increases, as well as the demand that science should contribute to finding solutions for specific issues. In particular, applied research and in many parts contract research is subordinated directly under this purpose. Even

in basic research, an increased demand for explanations and development can be determined in relation to digitization. However, it remains basically controversial whether science as a functional system should respond to claims of usefulness for concrete social problems or not. After all, science cannot only solve problems; it also creates new ones with its findings.

Against the background of general participation efforts pursued in the context of digitization and mediatization processes, it seems natural that deliberative aspirations for the inclusion of citizens in social negotiation and decision-making emerge. This involves all social fields and functional systems equally. As they are less technical obstacles in the communication between experts and citizens in politics or journalism: the dialogue between academics and the general public is now at best a matter of education levels, mediation and appropriation skills, and the willingness of all parties concerned to engage with each other. Such an infrastructure creates opportunities for participation, inclusion and transfer which were hardly feasible before.

Derived from the ironic motto 'Publish or Perish', which describes the pressure to publish in the scientific community to gain relevance for individual research, academic practice under the impact of digitization follows rather a mandate of 'Communicate or Perish', utilizing the broad variety of new phenomena of academic communication, be it the sharing of empirical data, open publication, educational practices or engaging in social debates through the mass-media or directly with citizens on a personal blog or via social media: *"it's also about being open and opening up the world of knowledge and understanding, for as many people as possible."* (cf. Scanlon, 2014: 19)

For scholars, active participation and organization of social debates on the criteria and insights of scientific work are as important as the capability to tie in with academic discussions, if science is to be understood as a "public science" (Könneker/Lugger, 2013). In this respect, digitization has encouraged a trend that complements the "scientific ethos" (Spinner, 1985) with differentiated requirements for a cooperative attitude to their own communication skills. A conception of this kind of attitude has been introduced by a loose association of so-called "Hard blogging Scientists" (www.hardbloggingscientists.de) who encounterd the digital sphere as an opportunity to use it for critical exchange of thoughts, ideas and approaches (cf. Sterling, 2007) in order to respond to societal debates, to feed back their research with social realities, and to provide insights also to lay persons in an understandalbe manner. Besides, many scholars have internalized a similar spirit without necessarily following this specific initiative, and write blogs or communicate their thoughts and insights regularly to a broader public.

Currently, the new approachability of science rather finds its expression in the use of social media by scholars to communicate about their work. Globally, an increasing number of scientists communicate regularly via Twitter and

show especially how transnational and instantaneous academic discourses have become, also how radically the communicative conventions have altered at the interface between science and the general public with the potential to strengthen and expand the traditional educational mission of science: "Bildung durch Wissenschaft" [Education through Science] (cf. Groppe, 2013) not only means an excellent education behind university walls, but also describes expectations of science policy and media for the presentation of science to the general public (cf. Peters, 2013). In this way, the idea of the unapproachable, introverted intellectual converts into an image of a communicative thinker who does not conduct research disconnected from society, but stands for progress of knowledge in the service of and in dialogue with the public.

It is not only obvious and overdue from a normative perspective that the widest possible public ought to be allowed an insight into the results of research, but also into their motives, systems, methods and further backgrounds. In Germany, legal initiatives aim to increase the transparency of research projects financed by extramural funding sources by the timely availability of respective information – not especially limited to civil clauses and military research. According to these claims, universities should be obliged to publish data of third-party funded projects including the focus, duration, funding source and funding sum (cf. Naumann, 2013; Lehmann, 2015). This kind of full disclosure would have been quite unthinkable without the Internet.

It is becoming apparent that – connected to digitization – academic publishing will be turned upside down in the medium run: Not only that more scientific publications than ever are available digitally and online, whether in the form of books, journal articles, research reports, lecture manuscripts or drafts – and not to forget that also students can publish their Master and Bachelor theses and even their seminar papers easily online, whereas in the pre-digital era a publishing house would rarely have agreed to do the same. Additionally, access to the collected scientific knowledge that has been previously preserved on library shelves and in magazines is being digitized bit by bit and becomes searchable in full-text online. Here, traditional academic publishing houses are no longer the only driving force, even corporations like Google distinguish themselves as potent service providers of science, whether concerning the retro-digitization of library holdings or as a directory and (personalized) citation manager for scientific publications of all kinds (cf. critically on the role of Google: Jeanneney, 2006).

An actual break is marked by Open Access and Open Science Initiatives (cf. Cribb/Sari, 2010) that are encouraged by scientists themselves and aim to overcome existing obstacles like high costs for access to scientific publications, making them freely available online. As an alternative, in many disciplines new free accessible online journals (open access journals) were launched. Their biggest challenge was and is to ensure the prevalence of qual-

ity assurance procedures, most notably maintaining existing standards of scientific assessment, which remains a major reputational factor for journals and authors. It is a not unusal but legally controversial practice for authors to post articles of their own that are already accepted by prestigious scientific journals on their private or institutional websites in order to increase the visibility of their research through unhindered access. For this, however, they have to deal with an ambiguous legal status and copyright agreements that most publishers demand (cf. Laakso, 2014). The regulation of citation practices by corporate interests seems – in this respect – often antiquated while expectations grow to access cited texts immediately without any restrictions, as Patrick Dunleavy puts it:

"Referencing should instead be about directly connecting readers to the full text of your sources, ideally in a one-stop way. Using URL referencing of the kind I employ in this blog, or other innovative methods, readers should be able to go directly (in a single click and in real time) to the specific part of the full text of source that is being cited. In other words, modern referencing is not about pointing to some source details for books that cost a small fortune and are buried away in some library where the reader is not present; still less about pointing to source details for an article in a pay-wall journal to which readers do not have access. That is legacy referencing, designed solely to serve the interests of commercial publishers, and 90% irrelevant now to the scholarly enterprise. If that is the best that we can do in connecting readers to our source texts, then it will have to do. But let's face it, it's not much use in today's world." (Dunleavy, 2014)

The urge to make their own research widely accessible is a side effect of the changing criteria of scientific success through digitization. Online portals such as Academia, Kudos, Mendeley, or ResearchGate promise the necessary visibility of individual publication records and networking opportunities with the international research community, an important prerequisite to be read and get cited. For academic reputation management in the digital sphere, publications in leading scientific journals, so-called 'A-journals', continue to be a main criterion, but even more the way these articles can be accessed and taken up by other scholars. The individual figures in various citation indexes are not infrequently a decisive criterion in application processes. Not long ago, it was an extensive affair to determine the publication relevance of a researcher that could only be afforded by research institutions. Today, Google and Microsoft offer free instruments for researchers by means of which they can – with a few clicks – determine their personal impact factor based on citation indexes (cf. Butler, 2011).

5. Copy and paste

Teaching and learning are affected by digitization at least in a similar way as research and become a testing ground of new multimedia and interactive innovations: e-lectures, virtual guest lecturers, online learning platforms, mobile apps, intelligent tutoring software, and so on characterize the learning contexts of many students today. In everyday university life, time and space are no more categories that are mandatory prerequisites for successful learning. Although the problem of overcrowded classrooms is far from being a thing of the past, complementary e-learning offers an alternative to the overload problems in popular study programmes and more flexiblity for many students who strive for an arrangement of their studies, part-time job and family obligations.

Digitization is also responsible for a heated public debate on scientific reputation: In Germany, plagiarism scandals that involved federal ministers and other high-ranking politicians and were accompanied by intensive mass-media coverage in recent years show indeed that the copy-and-paste method is not an invention of the digital age. However, the exposure of prominent cases of plagiarism has also shown how effectively academic writings have become falsifiable by non-scientific actors with the help of digital technologies. At Internet portals such as "Vronigplag" or "Politplag", academics and laypeople collect fragments of publications that are suspected to have been copied from other works without regard to scientific citation standards (cf. Weber-Wulff, 2014). The quality management of doctoral supervision came under increased pressure to justify practices in light of this new corrective.

Whether academic practice needs an external "watchdog" (cf. Cooper, 2006) or "Plagiarism Hunters" (cf. Wasley, 2006) to monitor its integrity is ultimately a question that has arisen out of digitization: It provided tools and platforms with which potentially anyone is able to practice scientific critique collaboratively and publicity. In teaching, plagiarism software has been used for years to check student essays and exam writings because here the dark side of digitization manifests itself regularly: Seminar papers are sometimes akin to patchwork texts, compiled from a potpourri of online publications. Here it becomes clear that while it is easy to compile fragments of other texts, it is not less difficult to unmask the compilation as such. The supposed ease of digital knowledge aggregation lures, but it leads to the risk of sloppiness or fraud. Another serious issue is the constituent misconception that all essential knowledge is available online (and the library visit therefore pointless). This may not be a simple consequence of convenience, but possibly also an important side effect of a rapidly evolving digital culture of knowledge (cf. Rubin, 2007).

It remains a necessary and laborious cognitive process that digitization does not make thoroughness and reflectiveness in academic practice obsolete. Eventually, these examples also show mobilization potential that arises from

online interaction on academic matters. This should encourage to drive forth the discourse on scientific self-conception and its change under the influence of digitization – not exclusively in academic circles but in the midst of society.

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Biography

Dr. Leif Kramp is a media, communication and history scholar. He is the Research Coordinator of the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI) at the University of Bremen. Kramp authored and edited various books about media and journalism. His research focuses on the transformation of journalism, media appropriation, public and political communication in the digital era as well as audiovisual heritage management. He is a founding member of the German Initiative "Audiovisual Heritage" and of the Association of Media and Journalism Criticism (VfMJ) that publishes the online-portal VOCER.org. Kramp serves as Editorial Manager of "Communications - The European Journal of Communication Research", as a jury member of the Initiative News Enlightenment (Initiative Nachrichtenaufklärung) and as coordinator of the European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School in cooperation with the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA).

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The European Media and Communication
Doctoral Summer School 2014
and its Participants

Part 2

Photo: François Heinderyckx

Abstracts of the doctoral projects discussed at the 2014 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School

Immaterial music formats at the intersection of downloading and streaming practises

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My PhD project is a qualitative study of the everyday uses of immaterial music formats, specifically compressed audio files and audio streams. Overall research question: How do young Danish users, professional creators and distributors of music use immaterial music formats at the intersection of downloading and streaming? Answers to my research question are based on the following three core concerns:

1. Technical understanding of the format – from platform (pc, smartphone etc.) through software (iTunes, Spotify etc.) on to digital files (mp3, flac etc.) - e.g. what do the three groups of users use and why?
2. Perceived sound quality of the user interface - e.g. what meaning does sound quality have for the three groups' uses of music files and streaming?
3. The potentials of music formats (affordances and multimodality) in everyday use - e.g. how do music files and streaming function for the three groups?

The theoretical basis takes its starting point in the recent interdisciplinary field of sound studies along with an emphasis on sociocultural media studies. My main theoretical focus will be on format theory and taking my inspiration from the American professor Johathan Sterne's recent book on the mp3 format (Sterne, 2012). He tentatively proposes a format theory based on a historical media analysis of the mp3 format which will be discussed using Danish professor Niels Ole Finnemann's internet theory, which situates itself as second generation medium theory (Finnemann, 2005). The examination of the interplay between immaterial formats and physical infrastructures is also present in mobile studies, mobile music studies and internet studies, which will figure prominently in my interdisciplinary approach.

Empirical data for the project will be gathered in Denmark and will consist of individual interviews with thirty respondents in three groups to allow for a maximum variation sampling and theoretical sampling: sixteen high-school students, ten professional musicians and key managers at four international companies dis-

tributing music to the Danish market by offering downloads or streaming services: Apples iTunes, TDC Play, Spotify and Wimp. When/if? possible, observations will be made of the respondents' interaction with the digital music formats looking at hardware, software and the actual music files.

The project aims to offer a sociocultural and qualitative contribution to the burgeoning understanding of the influence of ubiquitous mobile units and digital music formats on music use. My approach is motivated by the high penetration of downloading and streaming behaviours among Danish media users and the scarcity of sound empirical evidence of what this entails in an empirical as well as a theoretical sense.

News comments as mediated participation: Preconditions, preferences, practices

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Previous research on news and user generated content (UGC) usually focused on one out of three areas: How do differences in technological features restrict user independence? What is the quality of discourse? Or, how are user contributions perceived among journalists and users? One point of departure for this dissertation is the argument that these approaches need to be complemented, as they tend to treat user comments as a homogenous phenomenon, feasible to study regardless of the news theme characteristics where the comments were posted.

In order to compensate for this, and to allow for a more empirically inclusive approach, the project is built up in consecutive steps which, theoretically, departs from theories of civic participation. Peter Dahlgren's analytical framework for civic cultures is used as the analytic entry point. The framework consists of six components systematically probed in several steps; spaces, practices, identities, knowledge, values and trust.

The study starts out by mapping out how access to conditioned participatory spaces — that allow for user-generated content — differ across types of news sites and across news themes Which content characteristics determine which user comments on news are allowed? The second step is to look into how content characteristics relate to practices, that is, how participatory practices differ across different types of online news sites and news themes. The final step focuses on the relationship between the conditioned participatory space and the participatory practices. This is done by a) a comparative approach to how user engagement is formed under different conditions, and b) users' reception — expressed in user comments — to different types of news content.

While research in the field previously focused on either restricted user independence or, occasionally, user practices, this study's main contribution is to connect these approaches across a range of different online news sites, affiliated with professionally produced newspapers — with local and national character, with morning versus evening distribution — in order to capture the essence of participation in online news outlets.

This approach requires, initially, quantitative content analysis, ensued by qualitative text analysis, or more specifically a combination of analytical tools from reception analysis, discourse theory and conversation analysis, probing news and adjacent user comments as well as interviews with users. This encompassing approach aims at giving new insights into why the practice of participation takes the shape it does in the context of professionally produced news online.

Empowerment as a communicative process in online health communities: A Bourdieuian perspective

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The participation in online health communities (OHCs) (in Slovenia) has remarkably increased in the last decade. The motivation of social actors to participate in OHCs mainly originates from the inability of contemporary health care systems and practices to overcome physical-medical treatments and increasing individualization of care for health. In this perspective, OHCs have been highly associated with the empowerment process; as such communities can provide people with social support in health-related issues, access to health-related information, possibility to meet their health care needs, and support in overcoming the gaps that are present in the existing health care system. This study aims to demonstrate how empowerment process evolves, develops and occurs in OHCs on the basis of two main objectives: First, to develop theoretical framework for understanding multidimensional process of empowerment in the context of online social spaces, such as OHCs. Second, on the basis of provided conceptual framework propose a methodological model for researching the process of empowerment in the OHCs. The first objective of the study is based on the conceptual issues of the empowerment concept which is often defined as ambiguous notion with a lack of conceptual consistency and a valid definition. This research discusses such ambiguities and aims to show how the process of empowerment in online social spaces could be understood through Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power. Thus, the study establishes a theoretical understanding of the online social space through Bourdieu's interconnected triad of (online) practices – habitus – (online) social fields on the basis of which the analytical framework of studying empowerment is build. In the

course of conceptualizing empowerment process (in OHCs) the study leans on the Hur's (2006) meta-theoretical analysis of the empowerment process which is integrated with Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power. Such integrated framework draws investigative attention to empowerment as a communicative process that proceeds through five stages: existence of social and/or individual disturbances, conscientizing, mobilization, maximizing step, and creating a new social order. In Bourdieu's view communication practices not only create meanings of the social actors, but are also indispensable for the establishment of power relations, which represent the core of the concept of empowerment. The further challenge of this study lies in the question how to methodologically and empirically grasp the process of empowerment in OHCs, using a Bourdieuian theoretical perspective. The challenge of researching empowerment process in OHC will be applied on the case of the biggest Slovenian OHC, Med.Over.Net.

A visual discursive analysis of far-right discourse on Facebook

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How are far-right parties in the UK represented on Facebook? My PhD research is a discursive visual analysis investigating how far-right parties use Facebook to disseminate prejudice online and manage accusations of racism. This is important to investigate because social media is becoming a significant platform for far-right parties to communicate to a wider audience. I am investigating how far-right parties and opponents debate and use images to construct arguments. I am also focusing on how anti-far-right groups make accusations of racism towards far-right parties. I aim to demonstrate the benefits of conducting visual analysis of racist discourse.

While far-right parties in the UK have increased in popularity, they receive criticism for their anti-immigration policies, which people argue are racist. While prior discursive research has examined how far-right parties attempt to appear reasonable and non-racist, there is a lack of research addressing visuals used by the far-right, and how far-right parties use social media to communicate.

For my research, I am collecting data from the official pages of far-right parties such as the British National Party and the English Defence League, and anti-far-right pages. Analysis will be informed by an integration of Critical Discursive Psychology (e.g. Wetherell and Edley, 1999), an approach that focuses on how actions are achieved through discourse, alongside the multi-modal approach, which involves analysing components of images in relation to text (Machin, 2007).

Early findings identified from my data indicate the use of derogatory and animalistic language and images towards Muslims. I have also identified anti-far-right groups recontextualising images from far-right pages that have subtle racist

connotations, and using these to expose and mock far-right parties' racist ideologies. Recontextualisation refers to the notion that an element of text is taken from its original source, and inserted into a new context to be given a new meaning.

This research uses discursive visual analysis to examine the representations of far-right parties on Facebook. This project considers the impact of visual racism, and aims to make an original contribution to the theoretical and methodological debates on the analysis of visual discourse in social scientific research. I aim to show how visual analysis can provide valuable knowledge regarding racist discourse.

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Formation policies and storytelling methodology (Working title)

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The research focuses on *self-representational* digital stories of refugees and asylum-seekers employed in processes of empowerment, capacity building and social change.

This project seeks to investigate the manner in which Not for Profit organisations, in contact with refugees and asylum-seeker, collect testimony and use storytelling and how this relates with refugees' identity-contruction.

For some years, storytelling has been a methodology which has found many uses in the field of professional training, higher school education and adult learning for which McDrury and Abbey (2007) offer interesting arguments concerning the use of reflective narrative experience in order to improve the learning process. The basic idea of the storytelling methodology is to develop reflected learning, made up of all those "affective and intellectual" activities which participants undertake in order to explore their experiences and in order to arrive at new insights and interpretations, both individually and as a group (Bond and Walker, 1991). It can be said that each person is not only the result of his or her experiences or relationships (Bruner, 1991), but even more so is the sum of their histories and backgrounds in the context that are being created around situation (Bateson, 1976).

The analysis is based on a case study of a European project called *IntegrArt,* led by *Fotomemoria Foundation* between November 2012 and July 2014. I conducted a participatory observation, qualitative in-depth interviews with the representatives of the organisations involved in the project.

The aim of the *IntegrArt* project was to map and present the personal stories of refugees and asylum-seekers in different regions of Europe, highlighting their non-ordinary lives and empowering them to express their feelings, thoughts and to simultaneously share their problems. The focus of the project was to explore the use of the digital storytelling method in social work with refugees and asylum-seekers. It was also to give voice to the experiences of asylum-seekers and refugees, to challenge dominant largely negative media and political discourses on immigration and in particular to encourage more culturally sensitive, empathic and unprejudiced attitudes and to think more critically about the identity-construction of refugees. The research goal is to show the complexities of the refugees' 'representation' within the institutional framework of these aid organisations.

Policymakers' responsiveness to the virtual public sphere

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Online media have become a new sphere of political discussion among citizens. This has spurred scholarly debate on the virtual public sphere. In terms of democratic legitimacy it is important that policymakers (politicians as well as administrators) are responsive to online public debate during processes of policymaking. In my PhD research I focus on the question to what extent, under what conditions and how policymakers are responsive to the virtual public sphere. I study this question with regard to a specific policy issue; migrant integration. Migrant integration is a politically contested issue. The policy field is not fixed and problem definitions and proposed solutions vary strongly. In such a policy field, external events and public opinions that are debated in (online) media may have a great influence on the political and policy process. Governments' responsiveness to the virtual public sphere is thus particularly important with regard to migrant integration. My PhD research embedded in the FP7 project 'UniteEurope' that is developing a social media analysis tool that is specifically designed to monitor and analyse discussions about migrant integration. My dissertation is based on empirical articles that each address a sub-question of my main research question.

In the first phase of my research I have studied (1) the characteristics of local integration policies in three European cities (Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam), (2) how problem definitions and proposed policy strategies in current integration policy frames in Antwerp and Rotterdam do not always match, and (3) how ethnic minorities themselves are using online media before, during and after migration. Based on a systematic literature review of earlier studies on

governments' responsiveness towards online debate I demonstrate that (4) policy actor, institutional, media and issue characteristics are conditions that determine the responsiveness of policymakers towards the virtual public sphere. The final article of my dissertation offers an analysis of online media debate concerning two trigger events in the policy field of migrant integration. Online media debate is analyzed in its broader media context of traditional media data and compared with attention and framing of the events on the political agenda. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with government representatives to reveal the meanings and considerations underlying their practices of dealing with online media information. I demonstrate that policymakers are not passively undergoing media influence, but are actively and strategically selecting online information that is taken into account in the policy process.

The influence of online successes of political campaigns in the US on Belgian political communication

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This research aims to identify the tactics that are being used in political communication in Belgium and to what extent they are Americanised. Today, we experience a definite influence of the US on online tactics in political communication in many countries- not only in Belgium - following the groundbreaking way in which social media were strategically used in Obama's 2008. Because of this general development, I aim to gain more insight into the use of online tactics and to describe the online political communication of the complex political landscape of Belgium. The research will be conducted from a political marketing point of view. Data has been gathered across different social media channels for both political candidates and parties. The timing for the data gathering are the elections that were held in May 2014 on a national and European level. Through a classic quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis, and in combination with interviews with communication experts, this research aims to describe the use of online tactics across the different social media channels and how they are influenced by party ideology, budget and language (French or Dutch speaking parties). Inspired by previous research on the Americanisation of Nordic campaigns, I expect to find an influence of the American tactics, such as the aspect of negative campaigning, but not an exact 'copy and paste' of the strategies.

Euroscepticism in Romania
Trends and evolution in the context of the economic crisis

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The current economic crisis sheds a new light on the issue of Euroscepticism. For the first time in the history of the European Union, public contestation threatens the stability and continuity of European integration. The scholars in the field of EU affairs focus on some key arguments that constantly fuel Euroscepticism: European institutions concentrate power in excessively bureocratic structures in which the decision-making process is opaque and vague, the EU has become very distant from its citizens, the EU supports unpopular politics that threaten the sovereignty of the nation state, the extended Union is imbalanced and suffers greatly from the North-South and East-West lines of fracture.

Furthermore, both researchers and European leaders are forced to acknowledge and deal with the growing discontentment of the masses. Public opinion surveys across Europe suggest that, for the first time in history, the process of European integration is no longer taken for granted.

In this context, we investigate from a theoretical and practical perspective the connection between rising Euroscepticism and the economic crisis. We argue that economic difficulties overlap with other pre-existent vulnerabilities of the European project, turning an economic and financial crisis into a crisis of the European Union as a whole.

The project aims at identifying the manner in which, what we call "the crisis of the EU", is perceived in Romania, a new (and still largely supportive of the EU) member state. In addition, we explore the arguments behind pro or anti-EU stances. We take advantage of the investigative possibilities offered by three methods: secondary data analysis using official Eurobarometer data from 2009 to 2013, focus groups, and content analysis on media coverage of the eurozone crisis.

Our study will contribute to the general knowledge in the field by providing an in-depth perspective on the Romanian public opinion. We expect both the general public and the media to perceive the crisis of the EU in a rather superficial manner and to remain fairly Euroenthusiastic. Another novelty is related to methodology. Existent studies on Euroscepticism have focused almost exclusively on quantitative methods of analysis. In addition to these approaches, we consider focus groups as a viable option for an exploratory study on the motivations and intricate network of arguments behind Euroenthusiastic and Eurosceptical attitudes.

The mediatization of student social cohesion: Mainstreaming representation for gay male students at risk of suicide

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Gay male students have a significantly higher risk of suicide ideation and attempt, resulting from factors such as structural exclusion, bullying and a lack of social cohesion. Following a number of internationally publicised suicides of US-based students, multiple media-driven prevention campaigns were launched to raise awareness of the acute vulnerability of gay students despite the increase in legislative equality.

This project of my doctorate focuses on the dynamics and role of the media in two critical elements of the functionality of suicide prevention campaigns. The first is the journalistic response to the suicide of Tyler Clementi, a Rutgers University student whose suicide polarised global media responses to the issue of homophobia and also led to the creation of user-generated digital media campaigns to construct new 'safe' environments and relationships for gay students.

The second aspect of this project focuses on the intervention campaigns and the various models of protection and inclusivity they promote. There is a new reliance on digital, socially generated media to construct communication pathways between gay and heterosexual students as a tool for building positive, supportive friendships. These channels are typically delivered with heterosexual men as 'gatekeepers' and have been redistributed internationally with particular exposure in countries with problematic equal rights policies, including Moldova and Russia.

This project seeks to understand the dynamics of journalism that led to a student's suicide becoming the foundation of a new movement towards student inclusion. It also seeks to gauge the efficacy of media-based campaigns that utilise the guidance and leadership of heterosexual males as effective channels of suicide prevention for gay males.

Young prosumers: children and adolescents as agents of social change through digital contents creation

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In the last few years the development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) has increased the ICT access and the ability to generate content by any user. Teenagers have become participant actors ('prosumers') in this context. They have acquired internet impact through their activities on the Net; their online content generation has had more impact than professional media content several times over. This fact indicates their relevance in the field of communication nowadays. This fairly well advanced project focuses on the practices of online content creation by young Internet users and on how the communication produced in different communication rent platforms such as blogs, webs, networking sites, or forums can contribute to social change. This investigation presents –through different methods combining qualitative and quantitative tools, and scientific theories- a complete vision to achieve the main objectives: a conscientious case study of celebrity children that have managed to improve their environment. Malala Yousafzai, Isadora Faber, Robby Novak or Marshall Reid have inspired other young people around the world as well as attracted the attention of some of the most important international media such as BBC, NYT, The Guardian, or La Folha do Brasil, through their internet platforms. They have been featured in tv interviews, newspapers reports, opinion columns, press articles, and thousands of online posts in digital editions. Intimidated and scared of the power of these children, there have been some politicians who tried to censor the contents. On the other hand, characters of social relevance have discovered that these young people can be presented to society as examples of good conduct, and they have collaborated in the exhibition of their online activity as a model to follow in order to promote change. To conduct the research, the analytical survey technique was used and based on a validated rating scale of 29 items, where the level of participation on the Internet and the creation of content by young people are given a value. 1187 contributions from Spanish young people aged between 9 and 18 years old were analyzed. The results show that 90.6% of participants believe that through their content published on the Internet, they contribute to a small change in their environment. Such actions are principally focused on: helping someone improve their immediate environment, contributing to a good cause, amusement and entertainment, providing useful information, helping to study by sharing results or making other people happy. The results show that new technologies are not an instrument for accommodating youth, but a tool to promote their projects, to find other like-minded individuals, who share their social and solidarity concerns and to strengthen their claim that they are active assets. "The idea that young people struggle only for symbolic targets and are not involved in achieving their own material conditions cannot be sustained" (Krauskopf, 2008: 168).

Examination of an urban image – Possibilities of urban image development

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The aim of my research is to illustrate the constitutive elements of an urban image and to analyse the possibilities of developing an image by applying the tools of urban communication.

This research postulates that urban image is not only a good website, or a well-done advertising campaign, but it is a more nuanced approach that includes comprehensive strategies, such as understanding public opinion, creating in-depth communication strategies, and a heavy focus on economic and cultural development.

One of the most important theorists of urban image was Kevin A. Lynch (1960). The focus of his urban research were the relationships between a town and its inhabitants. In the field of place marketing, the work of Philip Kotler (1993) and Gregory John Ashworth (1990) are also very important.

This research, with the help of this scientific background, plans to examine the urban image as an interdisciplinary process, which is influenced by urban sociology, political science, economics, history and ethnography, architecture, art history, ecology, etc. The available tools of communication help transform these elements into an urban image. The aim of town and city marketing is to develop those parts of the image that differentiate one town from another.

There are two important images of a town: one, what residents think about their own town and two, what local governments want to communicate in marketing and political campaigns. I maintain that these two images have to be close to each other, because we cannot promote the city for a long time without the support of the residents.

As a first step in my research, I define the meaning and the elements of an urban image, and I conduct a comparative town analysis regarding the various aspects of their urban image. The methodology of the town research consists of three main parts: analysing the current situation in the selected towns and the imagery chosen to promote a particular town; conducting interviews with the members of the local government and other stakeholders; distributing a questionnaire to understand the inhabitants' opinions about their lives in town better.

The significance of this research is its potential to add new aspects to Hungarian urban marketing theories, and to create a practical handbook for local governments to develop their urban image by using communications' tools and involving inhabitants. This research emphasises that the most important basis of a successful town is its society.

Journalistic deployment of emotionality. A cross-national comparison

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One of the core debates in journalism concerns the dichotomous division between the rational and the emotional. A dimension in which this debate visibly manifests is the professionally institutionalised emphasis on impartiality and objectivity in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of 'hard news' or 'serious' news journalism. This leads inevitably to a tension with the idea of a general emotionalisation of society which has tremendously gained ground in the past years in the writings of Frank Furedi or Barry Richards who coined the term 'emotional public sphere'.

This trend is observable internationally, but little research has been done so far to understand this phenomenon on a broader scale (e.g. by scholars like Pantti or Wahl-Jorgensen). The Ph.D. looks therefore upon the deployment and presentation of emotions in broadcast news journalism in a comparative international perspective between two cultures quite different from each other. India is known for a dramatisation of news in a highly competitive television news market, while in the UK the British channels BBC and ITV leave behind old paths of reporting in search for (new) audiences.

Using a qualitative content analysis as a method, I aim to provide an account of the status of emotions in current and past news journalism. Based upon a sample of recent television news, I look upon the variety of representation or absence of emotions in the visual, sound, semantics, narratives, symbol, and subsequently the '(un)emotional' discourse generated by it.

In a second step, I aim to relate the findings to professional practices of news production and the epistemology of journalists in broadcasting organisations, to question their ideas and assumptions about an 'emotionalising' news coverage and its relation to the principles of objectivity. This takes into consideration the present news environment which involves fragmented audiences, citizen journalism and the pressures of multiplying media offers. The methods used for this second part of the research will be the qualitative interview, and the method of retrospective thinking aloud.

This work includes the different emotion philosophies of Western and subcontinental traditions which allows an understanding of divergent emotional concepts across cultures. In the summer school, I aim to present the first findings of how 'emotional' news journalism across continents is manifested. The comparative case study design will investigate moments of different emotional intensity, like the Nairobi shopping mall attack and routine news coverage. My preliminary results shall be discussed in relation to professional practices.

Pitching for parliament: Exploring production, rhetoric and audience reception in political communication through the case of political advertisements.

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This project will investigate how Norwegian political moving-image advertisements can shed light upon the process of political communication between political parties and voters. My goal is to explore the entire chain of communication, paying particular attention to the use of visual and emotional argumentation and appeals throughout, both in the process of production, the advertisements themselves and in the reception of voters.

A central premise regarding reception is that these films, often referred to as very powerful, harmful and manipulative propaganda in the public debate as well as government white paper, will be received with variation across basic demographic factors as well as pre-existing identification with political parties, trade unions or other political organisations. I speculate that a lot of interpretative power lies in the texts themselves – but that the evaluations of the fixed textual meanings vary from respondent to respondent. What is interesting here then, is the how: How do people decode highly intentional and strategic messages that argue heavily through visuals and pathos-appeals? If they are in agreement or disagreement, what argumentative strategies are employed to oppose, support or negotiate the messages presented? Although political advertisements have received bountiful scholarly attention, more knowledge on the use of emotional arguments and the visual components of political web advertisements has been called for.

My research questions are as follows:

- RQ1: Production: How are visual and emotional appeals facilitated by political parties and the advertising agencies?
- RQ2: Content analysis of advertisements: How do concrete examples of political moving image advertisements argue visually and emotionally?
- RQ3: Media reception: How do journalists, commentators and experts treat these messages and the argumentation inherent in them?
- RQ4: Reception of empirical voters: How does concrete respondents relate to the visual and emotional appeals in these advertisements?

Methodology: I will carry out production studies in connection with the national election of 2013 as well as the local elections of 2015 utilising expert interviews as well as observation. The contents of the advertisements themselves will be analysed rhetorically, the media reception through qualitative content analysis, and the response of different voters will be examined using focus groups.

Theory: The empirical data collected will be analysed in light of theories of the deliberative democracy and rhetorical argumentation theory as well as theories of professionalisation, hybridisation and globalisation of national campaigning.

The newspaper as community

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The market crisis of the newspaper is a fundamental challenge to the public sphere in all Western countries. Not only because the newspaper is a prime supplier of quality journalism, but also because no other content carrying medium – new or old – as strongly as the newspaper has been able to combine two functions, vital to the public debate among citizens in democratic societies:

- Bundling of heterogeneous content.
- Bridging otherwise separate audiences.

The technological development since the 1990's has unbundled the newspaper on both dimensions. The dynamics of the media market favours personalised use of content and media catalysing social interaction between people, thus creating niches of media catering to specific audiences. These developments are threatening the basic business model and the functions of the newspaper – and thus its value to the public.

Whereas much attention has been given to the question of how to save the production of journalism, the social functions of the newspaper as an institution bridging different groups of citizens have been rather overlooked. However, older studies of the readers' use of the newspaper, reveals that content itself might not be its prime deliverance. In its "golden age" in the twentieth century, the newspaper was equally valued for its social, practical and emotional offers in the everyday routines of the citizens.

Through a reformulation of theories of the value(s) of the newspaper and empirical studies of the relations between newspapers and citizens the project explores the possibilities of the newspaper to strengthen its relations to the audiences. The overall research question is: What are the actual and the potential relations between the newspaper and the citizens in the Western countries in 2015?

The project involves three activities:

- Theories of the newspaper will be explored and in order to create a pragmatic conceptual framework enabling empirical studies of the newspaper under its contemporary market conditions.
- Case studies of Western newspaper companies that have succeeded in strengthening relations to their users will be conducted in order to create typologies of relationships between newspapers and citizens.
- Qualitative and quantitative research of the uses and value of media among Danish citizens will be carried out in order to test the validity and relevance of the typologies developed in the theoretical studies and case studies.

The ambition of the project is to unite these three activities into the construction of a conceptual model.

Centre and periphery in the European public sphere? A comparative analysis of the European debates on the most popular newspapers'websites in the UK and Bulgaria

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As a researcher, I am dealing with the current transformations of the European public sphere and especially the issue of a possible centre-periphery division within it. I focus on the role of media as an actor within the public sphere and at the same time, as an arena where citizens could participate in European debates and decision-making processes, in order to address the "democratic deficit" problem. My central research question is whether a centre-periphery division is emerging in the European public sphere, based on the intensity of the public debates on European issues, presence of European actors and European perspective. The study also aims to define causes (factors) shaping the process of centre-periphery division as well as consequences of it; to highlight the role of media in shaping a "two-speed European public sphere" and to suggest possible strategies to neutralise (mitigate) the effects of this process in terms of media practice. My research hypothesis is that instead of a single European public sphere, a system of interfering national public spheres exists and European debates take place in the dialogue between these spheres. Depending on the level of presence of the current European debates in a national public sphere, we can highlight centre and periphery in the European public sphere, in analogy with the geographical, economic and social centre- periphery divisions in the EU. I expect the comparison between the UK and Bulgaria to show that regardless of the prevailing attitudes towards the EU (anti-European or pro-European), the UK is active (centre) and Bulgaria - passive and disinterested (periphery) in respect of the current European debates. In my views, the periphery is not an objective location (depending only on the economic situation, living standards, or geographic location) - being in the periphery means a refusal to participate in European debates. It means voluntarily quitting your seat at the table where decisions are made. My case study is a comparison between the coverage of the European elections campaign in the British and in the Bulgarian press (February-June 2014).

Developing museum participation through digital media

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My PhD thesis "Developing Museum Participation Through Digital Media" aims to put into practice the debate on participation in Latvian museums. The development of alternative sources of entertainment, learning and dialogue increases the need to pay attention to the role of visitors and their needs in authoritative cultural institutions. In order to explore how museums work with their audiences a rather comprehensive concept is needed to understand institution's relationship with audiences and therefore study focuses to different online and on-site audience engagement modes and influencing factors. The museum constructs relationship with audience under specific conditions and therefore study also pays attention to broader economical, political and cultural factors, including post-socialist society influences. The Thesis relays on data coming from semi-structured qualitative interviews reflecting the plurality of Latvian museum professionals' opinions, structured interviews with visitors of national museums in Estonia and Latvia and social media content monitoring of Estonian and Latvian museums. The research mostly focuses on the practice of Latvian museums; however data also provides insight into certain aspects in Estonian museums. Museum work with an audience incorporates a number of different type of activities and researchers have used diverse terms to describe them. It is challenging to understand the mutual relationship among often used terms such as *audience engagement*, *participation*, and *interaction*. The preliminary results of research focus to the nature of participation in Latvian museums. Institutions display a range of participatory projects in collaboration with specific target groups and individual professionals holding expertise the museum needs and recognise their investments no matter if it is a local, regional or national museum. In all studied institutions collective expertise produced by general audience is welcomed, however, museums have not yet developed a system to use all the potential of general audience even if they display positive attitude towards collective expertise. The online participatory activities among Latvian museums reveal how museums manage to reach a balance between participation and marketing paradigms. The empirical data allow arguing that the amount and quality of online participatory activities do not always correspond to on-site participatory activities. In the next stages of the PhD Thesis the relationship of the museum with visitors will be explored from the wider perspective of audience engagement to stress the mutual relationship between museum and active audience and to incorporate into the research previously excluded museum' and audience's performances.

Public television: the relationship between generalist televisions and proximity televisions in a moment of transition towards Internet. The case of Catalonia.

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The model of local public television in Catalonia has been evolving in the past decade and has adapted to the digital era. The change from analog to digital television has caused several changes in the television system, particularly regarding its structure and function. In the analog era, there were many local channels which worked autonomously in a local area of coverage. Since digitalization, the television system is now formed by supralocal channels that broadcast in a larger area of coverage, named demarcation. This new model forces local governments to reach agreements in order to manage television stations, and effectively ends the historical relationship that associates one channel with one single town. The structural problems of the model and the economic crisis have resulted in the closure of some public local channels. The digital terrestrial television coexists with the phenomenon of Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) which is coming back to the localisation of proximity television. However, this kind of television presents doubts about how to organise public service and how to guarantee independence from public power. Technological changes not only affect the way we consume media and interact with them, but also reshape the social sphere and the notion of space. The organisation of media has several repercussions in the social life of an urban extension as well as in a democratic system and in the concept of identity. In an interconnected society of information, local television develops a central role in the preservation of local identities for the citizens who look for cultural proximity and their own identification in a global communicative space.

Youth and convergent news media environment in Pakistan

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This paper aims to address the emerging trends of young audiences in the convergent news media environment. Relying on Media Displacement theory, Uses and Gratification theory, theory of Involvement, Selected Perception and Media Practice Model, this study proposes that a careful revision is required before applying old theories to the audience of convergent media. The tremendous growth in technology has provided newspaper organisation owners with multiple platform options for the news distribution. Consequently, the news audience have now, more than ever before, devices and platforms usable to access news (Kolodzy, 2006). Almost 70% of the Pakistani population posess mobile phones and the recent Government's ICT policy shows that it has plans to subsidise smart phones in the country, which will further boost a digital environment in the country. To embrace the future and keep themselves in the business market, newspaper organisations also have to keep examining the needs of their audience in the digital age (Picard, 2011).There is clear evidence that young readers and students are the target of news organisations when it comes to planning their future news business. The news consumption patterns of young university students through these convergent devices can provide them with the valuable data for further planning. This paper addresses some main questions. The first question is 'How news usage pattern of Pakistani university students have been changing in the convergent media environment'? The second question is 'How Pakistani university students are using convergent media especially for accessing news'? This research aims to understand the emerging practices of news seeking patterns of 1000 Pakistani university students through comprehensive surveys and in-depth focus group discussions.

An investigation of the role of the media in the gender socialisation of young working class girls

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The research examines the role the media plays in the socialisation of young working class females and their post-educational goals, with a particular focus on the media representations of women in the workplace. The key focus of this research is to investigate what role the media plays in contributing to the decision young females make about their futures. This seeks to question what media young working class girls use and engage with, how these media texts and platforms represent women and particularly women in the workplace and will investigate if there are any links between the reception of these media representations and their own future aims.

The research is motivated by continuing gender inequalities within the workplace, whereby females are concentrated in lower-paid, lower-level positions and part-time positions. Occupational segregation exists despite equality legislation dating back to the 1970s and young females now out—performing males in education. Evidence suggests segregation emerges from educational choices and therefore draws attention to socialisation processes that occur prior to leaving education and entering the workplace. Neo-liberal and post-feminist critiques argue differences are due to individual choices; particularly when positioned against the "successful girls" narrative, which highlights the progress females have made and implied 'dominance' girls have in education. This research will examine how far young working class girls perceive they have choices, and seeks to identify if the media contributes to these perceptions and socialisation, through analysing the audience reception of the media. The theoretical focus of the study is based within critical frameworks such as feminism, post-feminism, neo-liberalism and the concept of 'retreatism' (Tasker and Negra 2007).

The analysis of the media will emphasise the representation of women working outside of the home; the messages and values attached to the role of women and the occupations women are shown in. Previous research has examined the importance of role models, parental influence and academic ability for young women when choosing careers, but has neglected to focus on the media or the impact of social class on these goals. The methods employed will consist of the participants keeping diaries of media usage, and focus group discussions about the future goals of the participants and their reception of media texts.

The concept of hegemony in media studies

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The aim of this study is to critically consider the uses of the concept of hegemony within the media studies. By doing this, this work intends to think about the possibility of a different use of the concept hegemony which is more dialectical than the uses in the media field, by turning directly to Antonio Gramsci, the most well-known theorist of hegemony. For this purpose this work focuses on two main paradigms derived from Marxism in media studies: cultural studies and critical political economy of communication. By following Gramsci's translatability notion this work looks for an answer to the question "is translatability between cultural studies and political economy possible?". The concept of hegemony has obtained an important place in media studies since the 1960's and 1970's. The interest in hegemony arises mostly in the field of cultural studies. Such that cultural studies is commemorated with Gramscianism. The commemoration of cultural studies within Gramscianism is substantiated with Stuart Hall and his theory of articulation. Hall, in his own words, is in a search of "Marxism without guarantees" (Hall, 2005a). Gramsci was the main figure that Hall benefited from for overcoming the question of reductionism and economism. According to Hall, Gramsci's importance for British Cultural Studies is precisely the degree to which he radically displaced some of the inheritances of Marxism in cultural studies. Hall insists that "The radical character of Gramsci's 'displacement' of Marxism has not yet been understood" (Hall, 2005b: 265-266). One of the assertions of this work is that there is a fundamental epistemological and methodological difference between Hall's structuralism-oriented approach and Gramsci's dialectical approach; and these differences lead to abandoning the wholistic aspects about media by cultural studies. By turning to Gramsci again and thinking within the terms of hegemony, hegemonic apparatus and translatability, we can theorise media as a part of the hegemonic apparatus. This kind of theorisation can help media theorists to see media as part of a whole and to situate media in the complexity of the capitalist system and it may offer a translation between cultural studies and political economy as well.

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Media representation of the News of the World phone hacking scandal and the Leveson inquiry

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The *News of the World* Phone hacking scandal turned the British political-media complex upside down. Newspaper editors, media owners, journalists and private investigators were placed in the spotlight for their malpractice. The scandal resulted in the closure of a newspaper that had existed for 168 years and led to the setting up of the Leveson inquiry. But most importantly, it stirred up a debate on the role journalism plays and is expected to play in a democratic society. Subjects of this debate include press freedom, public trust, the public interest, privacy, media ownership and arguments bordering on whether or not the British media need more regulation, if at all.

This study aims to analyse the media coverage of the debate that arose from the phone hacking scandal and the Leveson inquiry. In it I explore how the press covers itself and the implication for democracy. Most arguments on the media's role in a democratic society are based on lay and specialist normative theories of the press. The normative theories employed in this study are the libertarian and the social responsibility theories.

The libertarian theory advocates that the press should be a free market place of ideas while the social responsibility theory extends this argument by stressing the importance of a pluralistic, comprehensive and socially responsible press. My analysis also employs various perceptions of the public sphere with special focus on the media as a democratic forum for public debates. Central to the various theories and concepts in this study is the media's role in democratic societies. This is due to the wide conception that journalism is legitimated by its role in the sustenance of democracy.

While there is a good number of articles and news reports on the debate that arose from the *News of the World* phone hacking scandal, there is still a dearth of scholarly literature on these arguments, much less an analysis of how the subjects of the debate were represented by the media itself and what consequence this could have for democracy. This study aspires to fill that gap using a combination of content and discourse analyses. My study sample consists of the textual content of British national newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids). This study strives to show how the press covers debates on the press and the implication for democracy.

Representation of science in estonian Media: Elements of mediatization of science

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Mediatization is a term used to describe the adaptation of different social fields or systems to the institutionalised rules of the media, the so-called "media logic" (Couldry and Hepp, 2013; Plesner, 2010). In science, the orientation towards the media manifests itself for instance through organising press conferences and other media events and the occurrence of scientific media stars (Weingart, 1998; 2005).

Not only in Estonia, the scientists have been encouraged to communicate more to the public due to the perceived crises of legitimity of science, lack of public acceptance and STEM students. National science communication programs, like TeaMe in Estonia, contribute to the mediatization process of science through media trainings. The "legitimation discourse" of science is seen taking place primarily in the media (Weingart, 2005; Rödder, 2009) and scientists are encouraged to adopt media logic to achieve their strategic goals.

The first Estonian satellite EstCube-1 has been a public darling from the beginning. Announced in summer 2008, the satellite was finally launched in May 2013 with much media interest throughout the process and the emergence of scientist media stars. In the end of 2013 the project was awarded several high public recognitions such as Estonian Person Of The Year by national newspaper Postimees (to the project leader) and Deed Of The Year by Estonian Public Broadcasting.

There are several components to their success such as the novelty of being Estonia's first satellite. However, elements of mediatisation are easily detected in the activities of the research group and can account for the wide attention the project received.

According to their own words, the project team, comprising mostly of undergraduate and graduate students, knew very little about media work at the beginning of the project. Based on the interviews with team members, this thesis studies the process of mediatisation. Through which formal and informal channels did the team members learn about media logic? Which experiences changed their mode of action in respect to media? What modes of action did they adopt during the project? These questions should lead to a better understanding about the mechanisms of mediatisation and help to map the influencing factors.

The thesis also attempts to identify the elements of mediatisation from the media coverage of the case.

Internet and citizenry mobilization: Social media and Platform of People Affected by Mortgages (PAH)

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My PhD research will focus on the Internet use of a new social movement as a tool for coordinating actions at the same time as spreading a message to their supporters.

The consolidation of the Internet as a mass media, its ubiquity and the power of mass self- communication coincides with the communicative demands of this type of citizenry initiatives. The case study is an organisation called Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH) (People Affected by Mortgage) and its use of social media.

The use of digital social networks could be helpful in solving the conflicting relationship between social movements and press. Frequently, these organisations argue because they are not satisfied with the way they are described. The rise of user-generated content (UGC) websites allow certain independence when it comes to the creation of their image as well as their ability to convey their version of events and messages to their followers, independently of the mainstream. The Internet is also becoming important with regard to internal communication, already present in the social movements of the 90s which successfully coordinated their actions and displacements thanks to the use of it.

The objective of my PhD thesis is to analyse the characteristics of the dialogue between PAH and citizens in social networks, more specifically on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube, in a separate way, highlighting the fact that every single social network works in a different way and that users' behaviour is conditioned by a given point of time and that the content shared differs considerably from platform to platform. Another aim of mine is to take into account the corporate website as a platform for information and resources for activists.

Another goal is to observe PAH organisation, its functioning, modus operandi, its targets, resemblances and differences with new social movements, taking into consideration a horizontal structure which encourages participation and transparency. The use of APIs (Application Programming Interface) for the three above-mentioned social networks has been proposed in order to collect and handle a large volume of information and data, and also to reconstruct the image of PAH expressed by the Internet users by framing theory use.

Deceptive communication: the case of fake online reviews

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People have always engaged in deception, elaborated mechanisms both to deceive and to avoid being duped. However, recent developments of communication and information technologies have given an advantage to deceivers, enabling facilitated and diversified options to create and maintain false beliefs in others, thereby jeopardising trust in media platforms, existing habitudes, and people's well-being. This research focuses on one of the most prominent type of new media deceptions: online reviews. This source of information is empirically proven to impact consumers' beliefs, attitudes, purchase intentions, and communication and consumption behaviour.

The thesis is divided into several parts: first, establishing theoretical groundings, academic trends and interest, and research gaps in marketing and commercial communication literature through a scientometric study. A multi-step analysis first captures the whole field of deception research (24.000 articles) and then narrows down to the social and managerial disciplines (8.000 articles). Out of the reduced sample only 2000 articles correspond to the chosen research scope and definition. The results show increasing interest in the topic, focus on face-to-face and court-room interaction, and by far neglect of online environment as well as behavioural and emotional impact of deception. Scarce marketing and commercial communication literature on the topic (113 articles) lacks in up-to-date research beyond deceptive advertising.

Further on, via netnography we strengthen the scientific interest with the identified societal confusion, identify the need of a solution, and uncover important dimensions of the phenomenon. When analysing the content of 1500 online comments on periodical articles discussing fake online reviews, the conflict of interest between consumers struggling to get reliable information and entrepreneurs ready to go to great lengths to get positive reviews becomes evident. Besides the topicality of the issue and its important impact on the decisions and emotional state of the consumers, it is obvious that the affecting and affected factors depend on the precise media (online reviews) and industry (arts, electronics, or tourism).

The next step of the research consists of experiments and aims to establish fake online reviews detectability and to construct the best way to detect the deceit. Further analyses are to unveil the negative impact of exposure to deceit on consumers' behaviour and emotional state, and to suggest ways to minimise this negative influence. The ambition of the project is to gain insights important from personal, societal, as well as corporate point of view into managing online peer communication and neutralising deceit damage.

Why the transnationalisation of public sphere needs a quality perspective. Comparing national and transnational media coverage

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The PhD-project contributes to the research on transnationalisation of public spheres and raises the question of media content qualities. Its main empirical benefit lies in the comparison of the qualities of national and transnational media content in German news media.

Following the ongoing expansion of political processes and decision making across national borders – for example the considerable increase of international cooperation and transnational integration – there has been a controversial debate about their 'public sphere deficit'. As a response, the transnationalisation of public spheres has become a normative demand.

Since the media serve as a forum for public discourse as well as independent actors that through selection and commentary contribute to public debates, media coverage plays a crucial role in establishing a functioning public sphere. Thus, only by providing high quality media coverage on transnational politics, media can ensure the information and potential participation of citizens.

So far empirical research has focused on measuring the extent of transnational media coverage: Main results point to a somewhat stable multisegmented transnationalisation. However, the qualities of media coverage on transnational politics have not been the topic of extensive research. The few existing studies show a rather balanced and rational transnational media coverage. However, its extent and variety as well as its little mentioning of the civil society are perceived critically. For all that, the interpretation of these findings proves difficult, since the qualities of national media coverage are not used as a benchmark.

Thus, the PhD project offers an elaborate theoretical argumentation of how qualities of media coverage – derived from public sphere theory – can serve as an asset for studying the transnationalisation of public spheres. Furthermore, an instrument and a research design for a quantitative content analysis of the qualities of national and transnational media coverage is developed. The comparative study focuses on fiscal and monetary as well as labour market policy in six German print media outlets in the year 2013.

Creative input of consumers in the sustainability brand storytelling in social media

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Environmental degradation and perpetual social injustice are among the main challenges facing the modern world. Transition to sustainable development, which takes into account not only economic growth, but also environmental protection and social justice, is often cited as a strategy to contain these problems. Arguably, nation-states alone are no longer capable of managing this shift. Therefore, the responsibility for the process of sustainable development is currently being passed on the individuals, acting sustainably in their capacity as consumers and citizens.

The project focuses on creative input of consumers in the sustainability brand storytelling in social media as a consumer/citizen-driven step in achieving sustainable development. The phenomenon is studied within the framework of environmental citizenship. On the one hand, sustainable consumption is a way of fulfilling the major duty of an environmental citizen to lead a sustainable life so as to secure the well-being of others.

On the other hand, engaging through social media in new forms of environmental dialogue that revolves around green products is a form of citizen activism towards sustainable development.

In more detail, the study investigates the ways in which consumers contribute creatively to sustainability brand storytelling, as well as motivations driving these contributions, especially with regard to environmental citizenship. To complement the picture, the qualities and actions of sustainability brands that render them compelling to consumers are being looked at. The outcome of the project will provide insight into communicating sustainability in effective ways, but also – indirectly – into practicality of individual sustainable consumption as a pathway to sustainable development.

The research analyses social media communities of two sustainability brands: Finnish Costo and Polish Pizca del Mundo. The brands represent the domains of zero waste and fair trade respectively. In order to provide comprehensive data, the brands originate from both different sectors and countries. The countries represent two distinctive attitudes towards advancement and implementation of sustainability strategies: Finland appears to be a pioneer in this context, while Poland has not yet fully embarked on the endeavour.

To best achieve the objectives of the study, netnography has been chosen as a primary research method. The main material comprises of user-generated content retrieved through an ongoing participant observation of the social media communities, and 30 in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with 15 consumers of each brand. In addition, the content posted by the brands in the studied communities is collected and analysed by the means of social semiotics.

Internet in rural Indonesia: Collective identity and collective self-representation in villages' official websites of desa.id

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> "Previously, it was about how we see the world. Now, it's about how the world sees us." (Personal interview with one local village officer in Melung, Central Java)

Since 2013, there are already 1029 villages in Indonesia that run their official websites under a specific domain, which is "desa.id", in order to support good governance practices. The decision to use the word "desa" instead of "village" is taken because the villagers deliberately wanted to keep their local identity and maintain Indonesian language. This decision is assumed to be crucial in forming a shared sense of collectivity in their identity as a part of village community. However, the local village officers are not alone in this action. Their collective initiative is supported by a group of activists, with whom they form a social movement called Gerakan Desa Membangun (short: GDM or Village Building Movement). Their joint action in embracing and using new ICTs in and for Indonesian villages is due to their optimistic view about the contribution of new technologies for social development. The decentralised characteristic of the internet in the sense of information (re)production offers its users – in this case, the villagers – a more active role in development communication process and therefore better opportunity for their opinion to be heard in public discourse (see Hafez, 2007: 113-117). This is an important step for Indonesian citizen towards participatory democracy given their history of having been ruled by two authoritarian regimes for tens of years until 1998. This advancement also marks a new chapter in the government-citizen relationship that had been very centralised in the hands of the central government in Jakarta. This study is interested in finding answers to questions such as: (1) why did the local village officers choose the internet as a medium and their website as a platform to support their work? What is the meaning of internet in general and their website in particular for them? How is that particular meaning generated? (2) How is such a collective identity formed among members of GDM, who have run village official websites under *desa.id*? Does *desa.id* campaign give influence on their collective identity formation, who until recently 'isolated' in their localities? If yes, how? If no, why (not)? (3) Why and how do they (collectively) represent themselves in their official websites? Why do they represent their websites in the manner that they are doing it? And how can we identify their self-representation in their websites?

Local government-media relationship in China: Will the duality lead to democracy?

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During the last three decades, media marketisation in China has decentralised the whole industry to some extent. The Chinese government, however, has still kept media a mainly party-owned, censored "monthpiece" rather than transformed it into a democratic public sphere platform. Propaganda theory remains the dominating ideology of the communist-party government, while media is far from a supportive power for democratisation. How is the non-democratic media system perpetuated? Is there a possibility that the perpetuation mechanism might break down, leading media towards a democracy-supportive power, especially with the emergence of new media is possible? Linz and Stepan (1996) find that guiding ideology still officially exists in the post- totalitarian country, but has weakened its faith in itself. It is also argued that in current Chinese politics, there is a wide duality of institution/official expression and practice/thoughts and that this has become an important driver of reform (Xu, 2009). This question will be answered through an empirical study on institution and discourse factors that relate to the state control on media, in order to examine the existence and effect of duality within government-media relationship. A county (or "Xian" in Chinese) has been chosen because it, while there are several layers in China's political system, is regarded as the basic unit in local governance. The analysis is based on first-hand sources, including official documents, materials collected through semi-structured interviews with state bureaucrats, news reports and online contents. After looking through the historical relationship in a county since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the research will explore the current structure and function in practice of the administrations, including Publicity Department, Administration of News and the command chain of bureaucracy, to see how the government keeps the binary control and is aware of any attempt to decentralise power. The interaction between government and different media, that is, local, party and market-oriented media, will be studied respectively. Secondly, the core elements of discourses on the media's role will be mapped out to find constraints and support for the democratic norms. Further, there will be discussions on the existence of duality within institution and discourse, and their effects on democratisation. Special attention will be paid to the new media, especially through a case study during a protest. The result will provide an insight for understanding the topic, which has been mostly unexplored, and is open for further research on political communication and democratisation theory.

Patient-involvement, governance and power in "patient-centred" health communication: A dialogic communication analysis of multi-actor meaning-making

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The Ph.D. thesis is a collaborative research project between the Zealand Region (one of 5 administrative regions in Denmark) and Roskilde University involving patients and health-care professionals in Odsherred municipality in Denmark. According to the Zealand Region health-care-administration, the healthcare system faces serious challenges in relation to cross-sector collaboration and communication with respect to giving patients an experience of greater consistency and quality of treatment. Particularly patients with multiple diagnoses and patients in complex courses of treatment often have the experience of "falling between two stools". This might be explained by the fact that they are simultaneously subject to several courses of treatment across health-care sectors involving different health professionals such as the general practitioner, addiction centre, and community psychiatry. This increases the demand on cross-sectorial collaboration, dialogue and coordination between professions.

The research questions of the thesis are as follows:

How are patient voices – each constructing particular knowledge forms and subjectivities – articulated in inter-sectorial and inter-professional health care? What are the implications with respect to involving patients and their voices in the treatment?

The Ph.D. follows two research strategies, both based on an ethnographic, practice-oriented and participatory design. The theoretical framework is based on Mikhail Bakhtin, Dialogic self-theory and poststructuralism in order to analyse the multiplicity of the knowledge production and more specific the complexities of multiple voices. The first is an approach that investigates how patients experience their course of treatment. Through the construction of narratives, this approach investigates how patient subjectivities are constructed through the positioning of self and other. Moreover, an effort is made to work on the basis of dialogic, relational research ethics and research narratives as a dialogic endeavour thinking with instead of about the stories. The second approach focuses on a "newer" dialogic approach towards treatment and network meetings called Open dialogue (see Jaakko Seikkula). Open dialogue creates a therapeutic dialogic setting inviting patient and relatives and the network of the health professionals to collaborate on the further coordination of the treatment. Telling stories is central to the Open dialogue approach. The Ph.D. project is interested in how these stories become dialogic phenomena and how they can be analysed as performance in context. The Ph.D. investigates how patient subjectivities and knowledge are negotiated in the multiple-actors-dialogues and the implications with respect to patient-involvement, and governance and power.

Everyday theories about media change: Coping with mediatization processes in everyday life

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This PhD project investigates how people perceive media change in their everyday life and how media change becomes constructed narratively into everyday theories.

The meta-process of mediatisation serves as the theoretical starting point. It refers to the increasing saturation of media in our society, culture and everyday life and provides a concept for analysing the interrelation between changes in media communication on the one hand, and culture and society on the other as a social process (Hjarvard, 2008; Krotz, 2007; Hepp et al., 2010).

Starting with this concept, media change can be seen as a transformation not only of the media themselves, but also of media communication, our communicative environments and our communicative possibilities. Presuming our reality is a result of individual communicative constructions (Keller et al., 2013), in which everyday knowledge plays a crucial role for reducing our reality's complexity (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), the aim of this PhD project is to analyse how people perceive and define this transformation by using everyday theories.

The main questions in this context are: how do people construct media change in their own individual perspective by narrating it? What kind of everyday theories do they construct in order to grasp media change in its everyday context? And finally, how do those everyday theories point to practices of coping with mediatisation processes?

To examine these questions in my PhD project, I am going to conduct a secondary analysis of two data sets, consisting of about 100 qualitative interviews, which were conducted with people between 30 and 60 years of age within the context of the projects "A Qualitative Longitudinal Study About the Mediatization of Social Relationships: Testing and Improving the Methods" (DFG Priority Program "Mediatized Worlds") and "The Transnationalisation of Public Spheres in the EU: Citizens' (re)actions" (CRC "Transformations Of The State").

The main point here is that none of the interviews has addressed the question of how the interviewees perceive media change. A closer look into the interviews however shows the interviewees make statements about media change without being asked to do so. Therefore, it becomes evident that media change is a topic that highly affects people's everyday life, not only in a practical context, but also in a reflexive one. First results show that everyday theories used to describe media change are charged with positive and negative emotions, contain judgements and identifications and are generationally specific.

Showing/Sharing. Age-specific photographic practices in a digital age

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Current research regarding personal digital photography addresses the complex entanglement of media technologies, practices and sociality. The smartphone as networked multimedia device that is always at hand is at the heart of current changes not only in personal photography, but in the mediatisation of our everyday lives. The project aims to investigate how personal photos show something and are themselves shown and shared through the smartphone by teenagers and seniors.

Showing and sharing photos has always had and still has various social functions like bonding and communication, demonstration of identity and belonging, preservation and retention of memories. However, the ways these functions are practiced have changed and changes are related to technological innovations and convergence. Digital photography affords new possibilities, but how those affordances are used and how different ways of engaging with the same affordances are evolving, remains to be empirically investigated.

One factor of variation are different generation- and age-specific technological experiences that seem to constitute different ways of engaging with media. While considerable research has been done on younger people and their digital photographic practices, the so-called 'digital immigrants', have not received as much attention and the notion of 'natives' vs. 'immigrants' remains questionable.

Consequently, the aim of the project is to examine contrasting age groups and their highly habitualized doings, sayings and showings that constitute diverging practices of showing and sharing photos through the smartphone: How do teenagers and seniors integrate these practices in their everyday lives, how is showing and sharing photos meaningful in which contexts? (How) Are social meanings comprised in the photos themselves? Which (age-specific?) aesthetics and visual conventions become visible?

Methodically, the project is based on a triangulation of media ethnography, interviews and picture interpretation. Data collection and analysis are conducted within the framework of reconstructive qualitative research and the interpretive paradigm. In-depth case studies of (groups of) smartphone users of different age (teenagers: 12-19 yrs./ senior citizens: older than 60) are included in the research.

Theoretical concepts of media dispositifs (Hickethier, Lepa), generation-specific media cultures (Schäffer) and double/triple articulation (Silverstone, Hartmann) have proven to be helpful in the analysis of photographic practices; Preliminary findings suggest that socio-technological configurations of hardware (smartphone) and software (e.g. Instagram, Whatsapp) contain various affordances that are employed for diverging needs: individual identity work and phatic communication in the peer-group (teenagers) and documenting and sharing routine family life (seniors).

The social imaginary of the humanitarian discourse. Media representations of suffering and the culture of public problems

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The media's success or failure in engaging our moral imagination and creating a public with a sense of responsibility towards others, particularly the suffering of others portrayed through humanitarian imagery, has been considered in recent scholarly debate as a strong indicator of the current climate in which we feel, think and act. In this context, the present paper approaches the humanitarian imagery in terms of the structuring effects generated by the symbolic circulation of media representations of people suffering and tries to connect these representations with the discursive production and reproduction of a mobility/immobility dialectic.

Taking as a paradigmatic example the case of the so-called "orphans of migration", children with one or both parents working abroad, the paper constructs the concept of "melodrama of mobility" as a series of visibility patterns informing the Romanian media discourse on the issue of suffering and mobility. To the degree that mobility has become an ideal fostered and reinforced by the capitalist logic as well as a source of anxiety, movement being the object of intense surveillance and regulation, the way in which the distinction between mobility and immobility is discursively negotiated bears significant impact on who is seen as having legitimate access to this resource.

"The melodrama of mobility" dramatises the structural changes Romanian society has been going through in the light of a clash between sedentarism and movement as meta-narratives through which an ongoing negotiation of loyalties, moral affiliations and responsibility is taking place. To the degree that mobility is seen as undermining attachment and belonging, it becomes a threat towards community understood as physical and moral proximity, while, seen as a right streaming from the liberal conception of freedom as movement, mobility becomes a resource whose unequal distribution generates new forms of suffering. In either cases, rather than being a strictly empirical reality, movement is also a socially constructed reality whose existence depends on "both physical bodies moving through material landscapes and categorical figures moving through representational spaces" (Delaney, 1999 apud. Cresswell, 2006: 4).

The symbolic struggle between threatened communitarian loyalties and the individual pursuit of one's well-being abroad thus takes the form of a search for exemplary victims, heroes and perpetrators informed by media representations of suffering. This broad understanding of humanitarianism as a sensibility fostered by media-projected identities and regimes of meaning which draw upon historical themes and genres, particularly melodrama and theatre, reveals the major role played by the mediated visibility of suffering by illuminating the dramaturgical aspects of public culture.

Reception of paratexts to nonlinear media texts

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This PhD project studies the reception of paratexts to nonlinear media texts. It is a currently underdeveloped field despite the vast number of widely available paratexts, the significant budget allowances of production companies towards paratexts and paratexts' viewership often surpassing that of a main text.

Over time, media studies have established their three main focus points, also called "the three pillars of media studies" – media content, audiences and industries. This practice has left an important part of media ecosystem – paratexts – out of scholarly interest.

Paratexts can be understood as vestibules or shopping windows that inform potential viewers about the existence of a main text and let them decide whether they want to approach it or abandon it. Our media environments are overflowing with paratexts, such as trailers, posters, behind-the-scenes or sneak-peaks.

Despite the slowly increasing academic interest in paratexts, not much space has been given to the study of their reception. Majority of works on paratexts are built upon close readings of selected paratexts, potential effects on audiences are merely inferred from formal qualities of given paratexts. With my own research, I aim to fill this void and study the audience reception empirically.

The tradition of paratext study is rooted within the realm of linear media texts, beginning with Gerard Genette's analyses of literary paratexts to Jonathan Gray's recent call for off-screen studies – a systematic effort to explore film and TV paratexts. Until now, paratexts to nonlinear media texts (or cybertexts) were studied only briefly.

Channeling Espen Aarseth's influential work on cybertexts, I assume that there will be major differences between paratexts to linear texts (e.g. movie trailer) and paratexts to nonlinear texts (e.g. video game trailer), including the way audiences receive and use them. I will focus on the analysis of the reception of video game trailers, video game patch notes, board game errata and other examples of paratexts to nonlinear media. A multi-method approach will be used that combines qualitative analysis of online user discussions (and comments) and focus groups to account both for publicly expressed opinions and for more casual reception of paratexts.

The goal of the PhD project is to build upon the foundations of Genette's paratext framework, reorient it towards the actual audience reception and at the same time explore the perceived specificities of paratexts to nonlinear media texts.

Images of journalism: The use of press photography in the periods of changes in Hungary

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In my project I refer to photographs as cultural products of a society, and when it's about meaning a social construction. The discussion focuses on the role of the press photography in the Hungarian press, knowing that it's been undergoing significant changes in the last decades. By relating to Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt we assume that understanding the role of production and reproduction of news photography reveals the nature of what photos represent and what the barriers of representation are.

Photography is considered both representer and means of social change in the last third of the 20th century in Hungary (and Central-Eastern Europe). News photography is significant from the early 1970s when photo reportage and photo essays became widespread in the Hungarian press, at first in the magazines. The rise of photography in the political dailies dates back to the 1980s, and especially to the late 80s, around the fall of the Iron Curtain and the turning of the political system.

During this time traditional dailies established a photo section, improving their photo coverage, recruiting young talents, acknowledging the relevance of photography in the news within the editorial. As a consequence, new ways of visual approaches and storytelling drew attention to social issues, even taboos of the era (eg. poverty, drug addiction, skinheads, minority issues), bringing up topics for the public sphere. It was both a cause and an effect of renewal of visual language. Meanwhile, the quality of news coverage turned towards dynamic and realistic instead of the previous static, protocol and propaganda images. Photos and photojournalists seemed to enjoy somewhat a greater freedom in the press comparing to written news. During this period, the prestige of journalism as well as of photojournalism observed a rise in society.

The use of photographs brings up several methodological questions: What do we get to know from photos? In what sense could photos be contextual information when researching society? These are relevant questions when we want to take (news) photographs into consideration within researches that focus on social chang. We focus on what we get to know from photographs from the perspective of representation, giving an insight of the news processes, the state of news workers, their professional identity in the given era, based on both interviews conducted with photojournalists and pictures examined in their contexts.

Diaspora and ethnic media in the age of migration. The role of the Polish ethnic media in the process integration of poles in the United Kingdom after May 2004

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The scale of migration of Poles to the UK after Poland joined the EU in May 2004 has been one of the largest in the post-war Britain. The Home Office records show that 540,000 Polish citizens have migrated into the UK since 2004. In fact, Polish nationals constitute the second biggest and the fastest growing migrant communities in the UK. As Burrell puts it: 'It is difficult to think of another migrant group, which has established itself so quickly and so widely, in the British history (Burrell, 2009:7; Mori, 2014).

However, the ongoing migratory process is often associated with social tensions, misunderstandings and sometimes hostility between the migrants and the host society. The settlement process of Polish migrants continues at a time of a retreat from multiculturalism in the UK (Castles Miller, 2009; Bailey et al., 2007; Knott and McLoughlin 2010), the unprecedented population growth, particularly in metropolitan areas, and the rising public expectation of the British government to reduce immigration (The Migration Observatory, 2012).

Consequently, the management of immigration, and particularly the social integration of migrants and race relations, have been one of the most important political issues in Britain today. As the authors of the recent Mori rapport titled: 'Perceptions and reality. Public attitudes to immigration' underline: 'it is clear that immigration is a top concern for people in the UK over recent years, it has some relationship with immigrant numbers and we are more worried than nearly all other major countries'. Around 70-80% British people consider immigration a problem for Britain (IPSO Mori, 2014:12).

The main aim of the research project is to explore what the role of the Polish ethnic media in the United Kingdom is in the process of integration of the Polish diaspora living in the country. More specifically, what is their role in the processes of social, cultural, political and economic integration of the migrants? Since the British government has started putting a stronger emphasis on social integration, and has abandoned the politics of multiculturalism (Communities and Local Government, 2012), it is interesting to explore what role the ethnic media play in building socially integrated multicultural society.

Time for change: Finnish political journalism in the 21st century

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This PhD project finds its starting point in the societal, political, technological and cultural changes in recent decades, which have altered the dynamics of the political public sphere by blurring the lines of hierarchy between the political system, the media, and citizens. Relations between journalists and politicians have become more adversarial; politicians increasingly bypass journalism and turn directly to citizens for support; and journalists are ever more frequently required to take into account the wishes of citizens who repeatedly challenge them – as well as politicians – with the help of ICT.

These changes have also resulted in a debate about the validity of theories of political communication. Critics point out that the current complexities in the field are not adequately represented in many theories, which are also questioned for a lack of geographical and contextual sensitivity. In this dissertation, I will join the theoretical debate by examining developments in one country, Finland, where many of the above-mentioned changes – for instance, journalism's more substantial differentiation from politics – have only truly begun to appear in the new millennium, much later than in other Western countries. Moreover, some of the changes, as more adversarial journalism, still generate resistance among citizens, journalists, and politicians alike.

In this state of flux, I am interested in journalism and journalists. Despite the resistance, past studies have indicated that decisions made and practices used in political reporting in the past can no longer be regarded as "carved in stone" – they increasingly require re-evaluation and questioning. How do journalism and journalists manoeuvre in the rapidly-changing environment amidst pressures from many angles, and what strategies do they use to (re)position themselves in relation to citizens and politicians in the political public sphere?

To find out about changes in Finnish political journalism and the changing dynamics of the political public sphere, and to position the developments in a larger theoretical debate, I will do 5 case studies for my thesis and use multiple methods. I will investigate longitudinal changes in Finnish political reporting through content analysis, use ethnography to examine political journalists' working practices, gauge citizens' views on political journalism with the help of statistical survey analysis, plus observe how Finnish journalists and politicians analyse changes in political communication through interviews and surveys. International comparisons are made wherever necessary and useful.

The emotional anatomy of political scandal

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The objective of my dissertation is to reveal the emotional logic and dynamics of the political scandal. For that purpose, I analyse how emotions are articulated in the public discourse: how they are represented, constructed, evaluated and normed.

Political scandal is an event defined and interpreted by the media. It attracts attention of and shocks the citizens, but their participation in this media event rarely exceeds the symbolic level. However, to be taken seriously, scandal requires emotions, and in order to shape this intensity in the way favourable for the scandal development, emotions should be managed. In this respect, specific emotions dominating the scandal, e.g. anger, outrage, contempt, pity, are not spontaneous reactions to the violation of the political norm or mistreatment of the scandalised politician, but guidable and changeable phenomena which should be elicited, accumulated, amplified, intensified at the beginning of the scandal, transformed as the scandal progresses and attenuated at the end of it.

Theories of Symbolic interactionism (especially Erving Goffman) and Symbolic politics (Murray Edelman) as well as some approaches of Constructivism/Post-structuralism and Cultural studies build the theoretical foundation of my work. My methods – Discourse analysis, Discursive psychology, and Sociology of knowledge approach to discourse analysis – are also based on these theories. However, as emotions in political discourse are rarely expressed directly, e.g. in emotion labels, to be able to "catch" emotions discursively, I also make use of some insights from the psychological theory of cognitive structures of emotion, and in order to understand emotional influence of language, its capability to move people, I also draw on the tradition of rhetoric and some works in linguistics.

Specifically, I will analyze the coverage of two institutionally and thematically differently anchored German political scandals, using online editions of four newspapers which vary in their quality and political orientation. As in Cultural studies, I understand media as reflection of the public discourse which is both, produced and reproduced by it. In critical situations, media take control over public emotions, but in that they are dependent on the prevailing structures of the discourse. Therefore in my analysis, I concentrate not on the concrete emotion labels used in the discourse, but on how and when they are displayed, how they are culturally coded and legitimised by connecting them with generally accepted norms.

Family discourses on screened disability - A qualitative textual analysis and audience research on television representations of people with disabilities

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Almost ten percent of the population in Flanders has a disability, but this is not reflected in the mainstream mass media. People with disabilities are rarely seen on screen, and if they are represented, it is often in a stereotypical way. They are either victims in need of care, or superheroes who are able to 'overcome' their disability and live full, happy, goal-oriented lives. The idea that these biased representations (and symbolic annihilation) not only affect society's image of disabled people, but also have implications for the self-concept of people with disabilities and the way their immediate entourage looks at them, is the basis of this research. Inspired by a theoretical framework that draws on representation (Hall, 1997), identity construction and stereotyping (Pickering, 2001), this study aims to obtain a better insight into the role of (non-) representations of handicaps for children with disabilities and their immediate entourage. How do these children and their families make use of the current media content? Do they actively look for representations of disability? How do they give meaning to these representations in relation to their own identities and/or the identities of their child, brother, sister, et cetera?

To answer these questions, an ethnographic study of twenty* families with a child that has a disability will be conducted. By combining participant observation with in-depth interviews over a period of two years, I hope to achieve more insights into the roles played by television texts - and the family discourses about these texts - in the social construction of identities of disability. In order to explore the current hegemonic discourses on disability in society, this ethnographic study will be combined with a textual analysis of television content pointed out by the research population. The content will be evaluated in relation to a human rights perspective, which focuses on the person, not the disability; equal rights for all and the structural limitations of society disabled people have to encounter. Hereby I distance myself from the medical perspective which addresses disability merely as a medical problem residing within the individual. With this research I hope to stimulate a more fair and inclusive treatment of people with disabilities on and off screen.

Visual information structure: Communication design in online news websites

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The emergence and wide spread of virtual space has challenged traditional journalism. The changes of technological development and people's habitual setting of reading news have acquired growing importance in online reader experience in an era when competition between media houses has increased. It brings not only the fact that the circulation of newspapers has been affected, but a new way of working as a connection with a mass of people to time and space as audiences. Therefore, the biggest impact in new media is the demanding requirements for creative workers. This research project seeks to fill in this gap by focusing on communication design innovations of visual information structure in online news websites. In order to make everyday online newspapers possible, editorial processes are bound to follow some highly structured rules, so that the workflow can be continuous and extremely regulated. In so doing, the practice of creative workers is reduced and even gradually eliminated. Finland is among the top countries that started online newspapers quite early, yet the implementation of new media performance led to enhanced journalism has been overlooked, especially in Northern Finland. Nowadays, there is a gradual establishment of a strong concern of sustainable development for online publishers in the new media revolution. The challenge, perhaps, is no longer to prove whether readers are passive objects in their engagement with the media, but to argue to what extent new modes of communication affect people's lives, and how to improve reader experiences in news websites. In the interactive world, more attention would be focused on the cultural differences of narratives in technological and social moments, by asking and answering what the interrelations of pictures, texts, readers, genres, and interpretation are. In this sense, it requires ethnographic observations when monitoring the development trends of newsroom cultures and visual designers' professional identity. The research consists of investigations, in two Finnish newsrooms as representatives of Northern Finland and Southern Finland, on visual journalists' daily routines and their practices affected by organisational cultures. A slight view of marketing and journalists through interviews and surveys will also be taken into consideration to ensure as profound knowledge as passable actors and factors that affect visual journalism in the whole organisational culture. The ultimate goals are to create awareness and to promote the implication of visuals and cultural differences in online media and to facilitate the experience of reading online news.

Who is afraid of social media: How British B2B publishers respond to the impacts of social media

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Business-to-Business (B2B) publishing is becoming a complex media sector that is drastically different from its old profile as trade press. This research integrates perspectives from journalism and business (resource-based view) studies to analyse how the B2B publishers in the U.K. control their content and service products to cope with the impacts of social media.

A literature review showed that there has been little academic study of this subject and that academics have considered trade press as a sub-branch of magazine journalism. The next step was to try to identify the core values that differentiate B2B journalism from other forms of journalism. This research identifies the core value to be offering useful and accessible content and services to assist the financial activities of businesses and the career development needs of professionals. Further research has enabled differentiation of three content genres (Business Data, Intelligence, and Knowledge) and a range of service offerings (response-driven advertising, product advertising, branding and marketing, community networking and events).

Social media enabled professional networks and user generated content to disrupt the journalistic value chain and the entrenched relationships between publishers and information sources, readers, advertisers and clients. This research argues that social media provide publishers with opportunities in engaging stakeholders and marketing promotions. However the research also argues that, B2B publishers differ in their sensitivity to social media impacts according to the genre of content and service offerings. The research analyses the source of this differing sensitivity in terms of two variables: *timeliness* and *confidentiality*. Based on this analysis the research hypothesises that B2B publishers will respond to the impacts of social media by attempting to control the level of *timeliness* and *confidentiality* of content and services. Five hypotheses are proposed.

- H1. Publishers of content with high timeliness and confidentiality (e.g. financial data, legal, and medical journals) are less sensitive to social media impacts
- H2. Publishers wishing to decrease the risks associated with social media impacts will increase the timeliness and confidentiality of their content (e.g. moving into business data provision).
- H3. Publishers offering services with high timeliness (e.g. classifieds and product catalogues) are more sensitive to the impacts of social media
- H4. Publishers wishing to decrease the risks associated with social media impacts will offer services with lower timeliness level (e.g. exhibition events)
- H5. B2B publishers are restricted in their responses to social media impacts by their available *resources*.

Risk discourse in news media: Horizontal analysis of intersecting areas of risk

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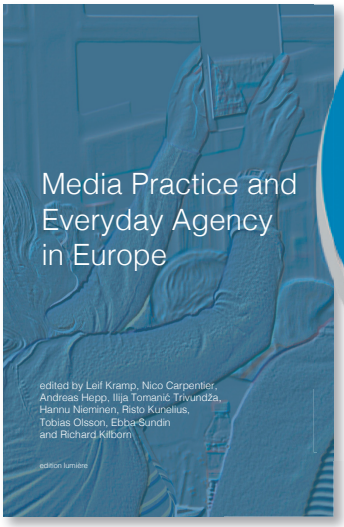
The 21st century is being marked by a host of large-scale disasters including different kinds of pandemics, natural catastrophes, terror attacks, political tensions, technological accidents, etc. These and other instances make the thesis of risk society (Beck, 1992) sound relevant and contribute to the raising awareness of living in a risky world. Even if risk finds its starting point in objective calculations it becomes socially visible in the process of the social construction. The media are crucial players in the construction of, and communication about, risk (Kitzinger, 1999). It can impact the perception of risk by choosing what information to present and, perhaps more importantly, how to present it. Although the field of risk reporting research is quite abundant there is still a lack of studies analysing discourse of risk in the holistic approach. The major part of research focuses on the framing of separate risks in the mass media, for instance, health, ecological and technological risks, etc. However, the atomistic approach to reporting risk does not give the opportunity to reveal the whole flow of information about various risks which reach consumers of news media at the same time, e.g. during one television news programme. Many risks that we face tend to be complex and systemic (OECD 2003) rather than simple and linear (van Asselt and Renn, 2011).

This project focuses on the investigation of risk discourse developing in news media applying the holistic approach that includes a systematic analysis of different areas of risk such as social, economic, political, cultural, environmental, technological, health, etc. The theoretical basis of this project is primarily rooted in the theoretical approach of social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann 1999) and also includes theories of discourse (Foucault, 1998; Fairclough, 1995), framing (Entman, 1993) and risk society (Beck, 1992). With references to these theoretical paradigms the meaning of risk, as socially constructed and not inherent in objects or events themselves, is analysed. In this dissertation project the methodology of discourse analysis is going to be used. This enables us to find the answer to the main research question – what structure and content does the risk discourse gain in news media? The empirical material on news coverage of risk is going to be taken from different data sources including printed, broadcast and electronic Lithuania news media. The findings are expected to offer a systematic generalisation of social construction of risk in news media taking a wide range of areas of risk into account.



European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School

ECREA

„Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe". Bremen: edition lumière. 375 pages, ISBN 978-3-943245-28-8, EUR 19,80

It is our pleasure to announce the publication of the 2013 ECREA Summer School Book "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.

The topic "Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe" is dedicated to the fundamental question: How is media change related to the everyday agency and sense making practices of the people in Europe? This volume consists of the intellectual work of the 2013 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, organized in cooperation with the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) at the ZeMKI, the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research of the University of Bremen, Germany. The chapters cover relevant research topics, structured into four sections: "Dynamics of Mediatization", "Transformations", "Methods", and "The Social".

Contributors are (in alphabetical order): Auksė Balčytienė, Bertrand Cabedoche, Nico Carpentier, Fausto Colombo, Nick Couldry, Benjamin de Cleen, Rosa Franquet, Ane Møller Gabrielsen, François Heinderyckx, Andreas Hepp, Anne Kaun, Erik Knudsen, Leif Kramp, Friedrich Krotz, Risto Kunelius, Sonia Livingstone, Knut Lundby, Anna-Laura Markkanen, Dorothee Christiane Meier, Maria Murumaa-Mengel, Hannu Nieminen, Tobias Olsson, Svenja Ottovordemgentschenfelde, Riitta Perälä, Irena Reifová, Minna Saariketo, Andra Siibak, Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen, Christian Schwarzenegger, and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža.

The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School brings together a group of highly qualified doctoral students as well as lecturing senior researchers and professors from a diversity of European countries. The main objective of the fourteen-day summer school is to organise an innovative learning process at doctoral level, focusing primarily on enhancing the quality of individual dissertation projects through an intercultural and interdisciplinary exchange and networking programme. This said, the summer school is not merely based on traditional postgraduate teaching approaches like lectures and workshops. The summer school also integrates many group-centred and individual approaches, especially an individualised discussion of doctoral projects, peer-to-peer feedback - and a joint book production.

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