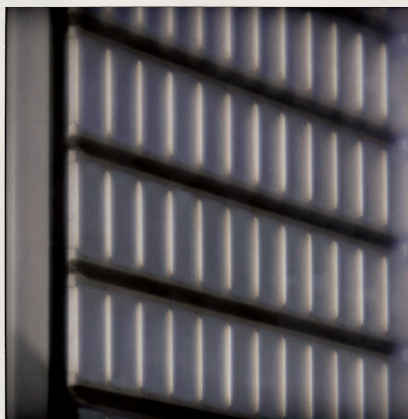


Critical Perspectives on the European Mediasphere



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THE RESEARCHING AND TEACHING COMMUNICATION SERIES

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE EUROPEAN MEDIASPHERE

THE INTELLECTUAL WORK OF THE 2011 ECREA EUROPEAN
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION DOCTORAL SUMMER SCHOOL

Ljubljana, 2011

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE EUROPEAN MEDIASPHERE.

The Intellectual Work of the 2011 ECREA European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School.

Edited by: Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Nico Carpentier, Hannu Nieminen, Pille Pruulmann-Venerfeldt, Richard Kilborn, Ebba Sundin and Tobias Olsson.

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INTRODUCTION



**SUMMER SCHOOL
SPIRIT**

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

Introduction:

The intellectual work of the 2011 ECREA European media and communication doctoral Summer School in Ljubljana

Ilija Tomanić Trivundža and Nico Carpentier

1. THE SUMMER SCHOOL'S HISTORY

The Summer School was established in the early 1990s by a consortium of ten (Western) European universities, initiated by the Universities of Stendhal (Grenoble, France) and Westminster (UK). From then on, these participating universities have organised annual summer schools for communication studies PhD students, which lasted for one or two weeks and took place in a wide range of locations, including Grenoble, Lund, Barcelona, London Helsinki and Tartu. In 2010, the Summer School moved for the first time to the Department of Media and Communication Studies of the University of Ljubljana. In 2011, it ran from 14 to 27 August. Together with the University of Ljubljana, 22 universities participated in the consortium: Autonomous University of Barcelona (ES), Charles University (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 Arts Berlin (DE), University of Bergen (NO), University of Bremen (DE), University of Erfurt (DE), University of Roskilde (DK), University of Sacred Heart Milano (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). Additionally, the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), the Finnish National Research School, and COST Action IS0906 Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies were affiliated partners of the programme.

In line with this process of expansion, the following four objectives were selected for the 2011 Summer School:

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

2. THE PEDAGOGICAL AND DIDACTICAL APPROACH OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL

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

The Summer School provides this support through **structured, high-quality and multi-voiced feedback** on the work of each individual PhD student, combined with numerous opportunities for informal dialogues. The feedback consists of a series of extensively elaborated analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the PhD projects, which allow PhD students to structurally improve the quality of their academic work. Although the feedback is provided by experts in the field of Communication and Media 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 always contribute to the analysis of a specific 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 PhD 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 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 choose for conversation and dialogue, and not for conversion and conflict. Its commitment to diversity in approaches can only be made possible through an evenly 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 construction 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 city, avoiding disconnections with civil society, business and state.

In order to realise these principles, the thirteen-day 2011 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 student-workshops, which are oriented towards providing the PhD students with the structured, high-quality and multi-voiced feedback that was mentioned above. For this purpose, the following specific procedure was used. After their application is approved, participating PhD students each send in their 10-page papers. On the basis of the papers, the PhD students are then divided into three groups or flows, and each student is attributed a lecturer-respondent and a student-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 student-workshops' flows for the entire duration of the Summer School.

During the student-workshops, each PhD student presents his or her project, which is then commented upon by the student-respondent, the

lecturer-respondent and the flow-manager, and finally discussed by all participants. At the end of the series of student-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 provided the PhD students with more practical training on issues related to making posters, publishing, abstract-writing, comparative research, literature review, oral presentation skills, communication of scientific topics to non-scientific audiences, interactive teaching to larger groups, interrogating sources, and creative on-line writing. They were combined with a number of lectures, which aimed to deal with specific content, focussing on specific theories or concepts. Finally, the working visits gave the participants more insights in Slovenia's media structures, politics, cultures and histories.

3. THE PEOPLE / THE HALL OF FAME

At the 2011 Summer School, 46 PhD students participated.

The yellow flow group consisted of Agnes Aljas, Andrea Davide Cuman, Antonija Čuvalo, Caroline Didier, Dalma Lőrincz, Hatice Çoban Keneş, Heidi Frank Svømmekjær, Leen Van Brussel, Marta Orsini, Michael Rüb-samen, Nilyufer Hamid-Turksoy, Pınar Yıldız, Tal Morse, and Viorela Dan.

Ana Castillo, Francis Shennan, Ilse Mariën, Jelena Dzakula, Jernej Prodnik, Joergen Skrubbeltrang, Juho Vesa, Lilly Korpiola, Maria Jufereva, Marius Gurskas, Niina Niskala, Nina Kvalheim, Patrick Fitzgerald, Rasa Laurinavičiūtė, Trisha Meyer, and Tuomas Näveri were the blue flow group.

Alexandre Kondratov, Feriella Podgorski, Guiquan Xu, Janis Juzefovics, Jaroslav Svelch, Jeoffrey Gaspard, Julia Roll, Katleen Gabriels, Lorenzo Coretti, Luchino Sívori, Martina Mahnke, Ödül A. Gursimsek, Pika Založnik, Sylvie Fiserova, Ulli Samuelsson, and Wibke Duwe formed the green flow group.

All of their abstracts, and a selection of six chapters based on their work, are included in this publication.

The 2011 Summer School also had 21 academic lecturers: Anthony McNicholas, Aukse Balčytienė, Bart Cammaerts, Bertrand Cabedoche, Burcu Sümer, Ebba Sundin, Fausto Colombo, François Heinderyckx, Friedrich Krotz, Hannu Nieminen, Heiner Stahl, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Jan Jirák, Jens E. Kjeldsen, Maria Heller, Michael Bruun Andersen, Nico Carpentier, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Richard Kilborn, Risto Kunelius, and Tobias Olsson.

In addition to the activities of the Summer School lecturers, the programme also included a study visit to student radio station *Radio Študent* (www.radiostudent.si/), visit to autonomous social centre *Metelkova mesto* (www.metelkovamesto.org/) and a guided tour of *Slovene Ethnographic Museum* (www.etno-muzej.si/). Additionally, a guest lecture on European and Balkan cultural identities by Aleš Debeljak and a round table with Slovene journalists Lenart Kučič, Seku M. Konde, and Jernej Verbič, moderated by Igor Vobič on media ownership in Slovenia were also organised as a part of the supplementary programme, provided by the *Slovene Communication Association*.

Ilija Tomanić Trivundža was the local director of the Summer School, supported by the international director and ECREA liaison, Nico Carpentier. Ebba Sundin, Hannu Nieminen, Nico Carpentier, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Richard Kilborn, and Tobias Olsson acted as the Summer School's flow-managers.

4. THE EVALUATION

The 2011 Summer School was again characterised by a high level of student (and lecturer) satisfaction. During the evaluation workshop at the end of the Summer School and in the (written) individual evaluations, the participants expressed their enthusiasm about their Summer School experience. The following citations from the individual feedback forms provide us with a good overview of the most common reactions to the general (evaluative) questions:

It's been an excellent experience! Thank you very much!

Summer school is good, no major changes needed.

Make incremental improvements but don't lose the spirit of the summer school.

Keep on with the great job.

The Summer School remains a rewarding but very intensive experience because of its duration, which is a reoccurring topic in the evaluations. But the Summer School evaluations have also produced quite some critical advice for future improvements of the Summer School format. For the most part, the advice focused on allocating more workshops or time to workshops which deal with generic topics of PhD research, such as for example on selection of theories and paradigms. Improved time management of the lecturers was repeatedly emphasised, as was the preference for lectures tied not with specific research cases but with broader theoretical or methodological aspects.

In addition to the positive internal evaluation, the Summer School has received a reward for excellence from Centre of the Republic of Slovenia for Mobility and European Educational and Training Programmes (CMEPIUS). The Summer School programme was awarded second place among Erasmus Lifelong Learning Programme – Intensive Learning Projects, funded by CMEPIUS in 2009 and 2010. The awarded programmes are promoted as cases of best practice since they excel in their content and in promotion of international cooperation.

5. THE SUMMER SCHOOL BOOK

A significant part of intellectual work of the 2011 Summer School is included in this book, which takes a liminal position in the field of academic books, oscillating between conference proceedings and a reader, and containing chapters about work in progress and completed research. It remains a reviewed book, but the review process is aimed at improvement and inclusion (without giving up on quality), and less at merciless critique and selection.

The main part of the book has four sections, which provide a general overview into the diversity of the topics addressed at the summer school and indicate one of the main strengths of the summer school and academic research published in this volume – the pluralism of both theoretical and methodological approaches in studying the nature of contemporary (mediated) communication. Most of the chapters, published in this volume, cut across various disciplines and consequently reveal not only the richness of contemporary perspectives on media and communication, but at the same time also highlight the growing need for thorough theoretical understanding of the analysed phenomena and clear definitions of theoretical frameworks and concepts.

The chapters of the first section address precisely this pressing concern. Friedrich Krotz's chapter explores the theory of mediatization in the light of communicative action while Bart Cammaerts' chapter looks at mediation and resistance, connecting the field of political science with that of media and communication studies. Nico Carpentier's and Leen van Brussel's chapter presents how discourse theoretical analysis can be used for development of a secondary theoretical framework. Similarly, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža's chapter on the *flâneur* draws on discourse theory in order to develop a structured understanding of a much contested theoretical concept. Viorela Dan's chapter addresses the popular analytical concept of framing and relates the frame to similar analytical concepts, such as narratives and discourses, while the closing chapter of this section by Michael Rübsamen is devoted to outlining an analytical framework for analysis of celebrities as reflections or embodiments of cultural ideals and values.

The five chapters of the second section address pressing issues of contemporary journalism by addressing topics of the quality of journalistic reporting through the concept of noise (François Heinderyckx), global news flows and news values through odd and bizarre news stories (Ebba Sundin), legal protection of professional journalists and non-professional news reporters (Francis Shennan), strategies of political actors seeking to avoid publicity in the media (Juho Vesa), and through questioning the role of journalistic work in enabling the functioning of democratic political systems (Manuel Parés i Maicas).

The third section reveals the complexity of the contemporary approaches to the analysis of European mediasphere through five cases that scrutinise the societal and cultural dimension of the analysed phenomena. They range from Jens E. Kjeldsen's and Anders Johansen's analysis of televised political speeches in contemporary Norwegian politics and Janis Juzefovics' analysis of public broadcasting in post-Communist societies with a focus on Latvia, to Heiner Stahl's application of the concept of acoustic space to the work of foley artists and Pika Založnik's and Jeoffrey Gaspard's reflection on the consequences of "marketisation" of the European University that is changing academic practices and conceptions of the public role and missions of the university as well as academics.

Section four consists of four chapters on methodological and pedagogical approaches. Burcu Sümer's chapter offers much welcomed clear guidelines for doing a thorough literature review for PhD projects and Bertrand Cabedoche's chapter provides an insight into the backyard of a research

process and its stages of gradual development and maturing. Pille Pruulman-Vengerfeldt offers an insight into a different backyard – that of lecturing – focusing on a pressing issue for many lecturer's in today's academia, that of ensuring interactiveness while lecturing to a large audience while Jan Jiráček's chapter focuses on the challenges that media studies face *vis-à-vis* their readiness to provide a specific programme of media literacy education.

The second part of the book contains the abstracts of the projects of all 46 PhD students that participated in the 2011 Summer School. In the third part of the book, the text of the most creative joint workshop presentation summarising the paradigms, theories and methods used in the yellow flow is published because it very clearly represents the true spirit of the Summer School – a mixture of academic seriousness, playfulness and creativity. Throughout the book, a series of pictures selected from the immense Summer School archive are also included. Ilija Tomanić Trivundža produced the cover. Our special thanks to our photographers: François Heinderyckx, Jeffery Gaspard, Andrea Davide Cuman, and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža.

6. A FINAL WORD OF THANKS

The Summer School is supported by a wide range of individuals and institutions. The (old and new) consortium partners, ECREA and the EC all provide invaluable support to this long-standing initiative. Lecturers and flow managers have over the years invested a lot of energy in lecturing and providing PhD support. The PhD students themselves have shown an eagerness which can only be admired and applauded. Of course, most of the credit goes to the organisers: the Department of Media and Communication Studies of the University of Ljubljana and especially to the Summer School director, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, who made it all possible, and to Maja Turnšek Hančič, Igor Vobič and Kaja Pogačar for their enthusiastic support. Additional thanks goes to Irena Brinar from the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Maja Kostrič from Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Jasna Babič from Peace Institute and Tomaž Zaniuk from Radio Študent.

Even this book illustrates the intensity of the ongoing collaborations, with its many contributors and editors.¹ Being produced within an almost im-

¹ Also our thanks to our language editor, Kyrill Dissanayke and book designer Vasja Lebarič, for their much appreciated work.

possible time frame just after the end of the Summer School, this book bears witness of the Summer School spirit, which every year creates a unique learning experience. For this, all involved are thanked (in many of the Summer School languages) for their intellectual investment and the (learning) pleasure they have generated: thanks to you all, merci pour vous tous, danke euch allen, bedankt aan iedereen, aitäh kõigile, paldies visiem, gracias a todos, gràcies a tots, tack till er alla, tak til jer alle, kiitos teille kaikille, grazie a tutti voi, kærar þakkir til ykkar allra, köszönöm mindnyájatoknak, takk til alle sammen, obrigado a todos, go raibh míle maith agaibh, shukran, ačiū jums, dziękuję bardzo Wam wszystkim, as-ante sana and hepinize teşekkürler, and najlepša hvala vsem.

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 Centre for Educational Programmes in Archimedes Foundation
<http://www.archimedes.ee/hkk/>

The Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana
<http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/>

The Slovene Communication Association
<http://www.kom-drustvo.si/>

PART ONE

RESEARCH



LECTURE BY
FAUSTO COLOMBO

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

SECTION ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND APPLICATIONS



**INDIVIDUALISED
FEEDBACK**

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

Media as a societal structure and a situational frame for communicative action: A definition of concepts¹

Friedrich Krotz

1. INTRODUCTION

We live in a historical phase of ongoing, ever-accelerating development. Globalisation, individualisation, commercialisation, mediatization and other concepts are used to describe specific aspects of this development. These all are concepts which can be called metaprocesses (Krotz 2007:25ff). With this label we describe long-term developments that take place in different cultures and geographic areas at different speeds, and maybe even different goals, at least at the same time. In social sciences a process is usually defined as a development that can be measured: a development that has a reason or cause, that takes place in a clearly defined geographic area and that can be described by changing values of one or more variables. In communication studies, a typical example is the diffusion of innovations as described by Rogers (1996).

But not all developments can be understood in this way. Modernisation, globalisation, enlightenment or industrialisation – each one of these long-term developments happens everywhere, but takes place in different cultural contexts and geographical areas in specific non-simultaneous ways and forms (but, of course, in the long run, in a similar way). In addition, they do not have a clear beginning or a clearly defined end. For example, the invention of science was part of the metaprocess of enlightenment that aimed to make people independent of the direct influence of gods, ghosts and devils, as science creates rational explanations for what happens. But when the idea of “science” was created, there was, as we know, no dif-

1 A portion of this chapter formed part of a virtual panel at the 2011 ICA annual conference in Boston, together with papers from Nick Couldry, Andreas Hepp and Jost van Loon. I would recommend reading the other texts as well.

ference between astrology and astronomy, and thus, at the beginning of the idea of science, astrology may have been part of enlightenment. In the centuries that followed, however, astrology and astronomy became separated, and later astronomy remained a science, while astrology, as the explanation of human fates by the movement of the stars, lost the status of science. And today, the reconstruction of a science called astrology would serve to de-enlighten the people. Thus, there are long-term developments that are more complex than processes, and these we call metaprocesses: a process consisting of processes.

In communication, media and cultural studies, as a consequence, we should understand the development of communication and media and its consequences for culture and society as a mediatization metaprocess. With the invention and use of signs and symbols that may transport meaning, as well as with the invention of language, a specific group of apes started to become human beings: they used language to coordinate their work and their forms of living together, and for them communication was different from the automatic reaction of most animals to signals. Today, in this world, it is we who are able to use highly complex forms of communication and, at the same time, depend on these forms of communication. In addition, we can assume that, with the invention of communication, people began to create media, as they could serve, for example, to store information or to present information even if no person was present: this is what media can do. People did so by producing aesthetic works, painting pictures and posting signs into the ground, as they did, for example, at Stonehenge. Thus, we should assume that media are as old as human communication and as humans.

Today, we live in a historical phase in which more and more media are coming into existence and the media environment surrounding us is becoming more and more complex. This was the reason for creating concepts of mediatization, for studying the history of mediatization, for describing the metaprocess of mediatization and for developing a theory about it. Thus, we can speak of an emerging topic in communication studies, as the concept of mediatization tries to grasp the implications of media development for democracy and civil society, for work and leisure, for culture and sense-making processes and for identity and social relations (Lundby 2009, Hepp, Hjavard, Lundby 2010, Krotz 2001; 2007).

This chapter will present the concept of mediatization and will develop a semiotically oriented concept of media in order to be able to study how mediatization is proceeding.

2. DEFINING MEDIA AS A TECHNOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND AS A SITUATIONAL SPACE OF EXPERIENCES

In this chapter we intend to define the concept of media. We do this by taking books as an example and generalising what we can learn from these earlier forms of media that can be applied to more recently constructed types of media, such as TV, radio, mobile phones and computer games. However, we do not call books books here: instead we call them media that visually present complex texts. Thus, we try to avoid the word "book". The concept of "book" is an ideologically highly loaded one, as is the case with related concepts like "reading" or "libraries". These concepts generally refer to the accumulated knowledge of human beings, to the core of human culture, and thus reading and writing are frequently seen as basic human technologies which appear to be almost as important as language. From this perspective, all other media are frequently seen as deranging or even destroying culture. We want to avoid this sort of ideology, and are therefore referring to the concept of Friedrich Kittler (1985), who spoke of "Aufschreibssysteme" (systems of noting) and, in the case of printed matter, of typographical systems of noting, which is a much more functional view. We prefer the expression "visual medium of text and image representation" - we often use both descriptions and sometimes also the word book.

With "book" or "visual medium of text and image representation", two things can be addressed: (1) a specific visual medium of this type, or (2) the whole class of these media, that together represent what a "book" is as a medium. Both cases must be discussed separately.

First: such a medium contains a specific text and specific images; it can be read by a person and it is produced on a specific material base, today usually on paper or on a screen, connected via a network with other machines. We are able to buy many of these things at online stores such as Amazon.com, provided we own a credit card, or book stores, if we only have cash. To produce them, an alphabet or any other system of symbols that is shared by writer and reader must exist. Additionally, you need a technology to produce such a visual medium of text and image representation: it may be photocopied, it may be printed, as conceived by Gutenberg, it may be written by hand and it may even be presented in another medium, like TV or the internet. Further, we should differentiate between the person or group of persons that produced that specific media, those who handle distribution and storage and others that read or more generally use this specific medium.

In an implicit way, we also assume that there are *people who buy such media and even read them* and that there are institutions that buy them so that they can be read by people. We further assume that these people are able to interpret the texts and understand the relationship between the images and the texts. We even assume that many people are interested and highly motivated to do so again and again and that they enjoy and learn a great deal by doing so. We are also sure that, in doing so, they support and further develop our culture. In other words, we assume that there are people who use such a medium as a space for experiences and think about these experiences – that is, they assimilate the content of such a medium so that they can give it meaning.

If we use the concept of media of text and image representation in this concrete sense, we call this *the situational or pragmatic dimension* of such a visual medium of text and image representation, or a book. This dimension refers to the fact that such a medium is produced by a person or a group of persons, and that it is read by a person or a great number of people, who use that media as a space for experience. For example, a book is written by one or more authors and is read by the readers. If one uses the medium of the telephone, one person is speaking in a situation, the other is listening, and this changes while the phone is in use, in contrast to reading or writing a book, where the author and the reader have fixed roles – but writing, reading, speaking and listening are still the relevant situational activities required in order to use a medium. This is shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: The situational dimension of a book: a visual media for representation of text and images that can be read



Secondly: if we speak of a book or a visual medium for texts and images, we can also address the whole class of such objects – all books that exist in a culture, for example. Thus, we do not speak of a specific medium, but of a type of medium; by this we mean all texts that can be summarised under this label. It is evident that in this case we speak of a cultural structure and a societal institution that is called a book: we address *the specific technologies by which these texts are produced and which make them usable*: books are a technology to preserve and present texts such that they can be read by people. In addition, we assume that there are social institutions, like enterprises or other organisations, which produce and distribute these types of media. We also take into account that there are institutions like Amazon, or traditional bookstores with their distribution systems, that make these media part of the economic system. Further, we assume that there are libraries and similar places where books are stored and can be used. We also address the fact that there are other institutions, for instance legal institutions, that may forbid the buying and selling of such media. This view of books as a technology and a social form as a set of social and cultural institutions, as Raymond Williams' put it, is independent of the single book.

But there is even a word to describe people who are able to read and understand such media: we call them *readers*, who are also known as *literate*. In principle, we assume that most people in our society are literate. We think it is a relevant task of the government to ensure that everyone becomes literate, and we even accept that parents and educational institutions should force children to learn these cultural practices.

If we use the concept of media of text and image representation in this general sense, as technology and social institutions, if we thus include in our thinking and our social action the technical base and the societal form of these media, we then see a book or such a visual media in its *structural dimension*, as shown in the following figure.

Figure 2: The structural dimension of a book or a medium: technology and social institutions:

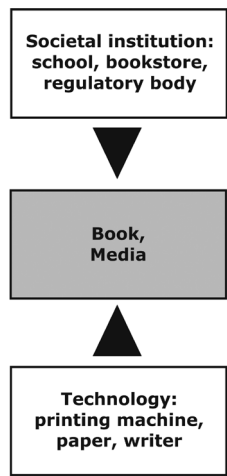
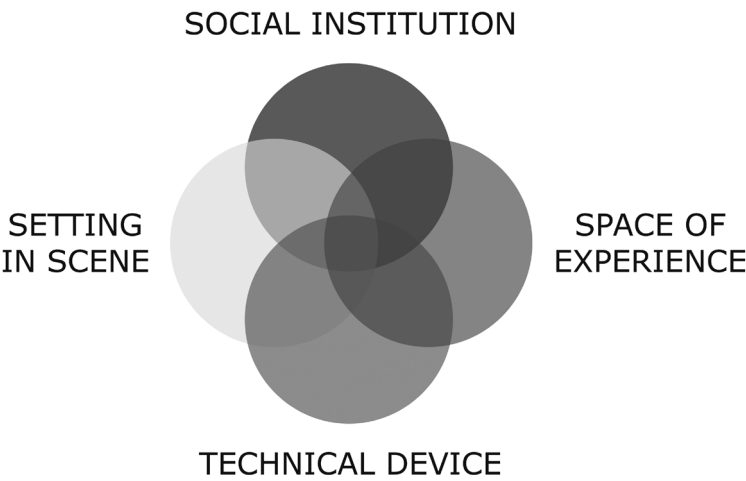


Figure 3 serves to show both dimensions with the four ways of using the concept of a medium, and thus may serve as a definition: a medium is a complex object that serves to transform and modify communication. In the sense outlined above, it consists of a structural (or societal) and a situational (or pragmatic) dimension.

Figure 3: Media in its structural and situational dimension



Now, let us close this chapter with some additional remarks that should help to understand what is meant here.

First, it is important to understand that no technology is a medium by “nature”. Instead, a medium is constructed by people in the frame of a culture. It may start with a technology, but this technology only becomes a medium if it is used by people for communication. If people do so, they modify it for their own goals and interests, and if a great number of people do so, fixed experiences in the respective culture and social institutions come into existence around this technology and its use. The users are then labelled as readers, TV users, internet users and so on –through them, technology becomes a medium.

Second, it is evident that the above description of what a medium is does not hold only for books or media of visual presentation, but also for any other communicative media of similar type. These are media that were formerly known as mass media, and what should today be called *media of standardised content*, which is addressed to everybody. This includes TV, radio, internet sites, the cinema, all printed media and others. They all present content in a given way and a user can only select which content he or she wants to receive. His or her activities are then called media reception.

However, there also exists another type of media, those of *mediated interpersonal communication*, e.g. phones, letters or a chat: within these types of media, a socially guaranteed structure and technology evidently also exist. They depend on technologically given hardware and software, and, as an institution, a medium consists of those enterprises and institutions which organise the networks or distribution, access rights and so on: telephone enterprises, social software owners like Facebook, regulatory bodies that supervise the right to use a telephone within the framework of the law and so on. Of course, the situational dimension is rather different, as the participants themselves must look after content and interpretation, and may change the roles of the producer and the alter ego who watches or listens and so on. But this does not make a relevant difference, as there is still a situational dimension in which the medium is used, a structural dimension as a technological service is necessary, and social institutions supervise what happens. Thus, this type of media also fits the definition given above.

And finally, there is a third type of media, those of *interactive communication*. Let us define “interactive” in the same sense as McMillan (2004): she speaks of interactive media if the media is a full hardware-software system, that “answers” in an individual manner given by its software to any action of the user. Typical cases here are computer games, GPS systems, or communication with computers or robots. Only this version of interactivity is truly interactive and responds to the person’s actions in an individual way (Krotz 2007). This type of communication also fits the above model as, here again, there is a situational dimension of use, and a structural dimension of a specific technology, and social institutions such as regulatory bodies, game publishers and so on. We thus conclude that the above media definition is adequate for all communicative media as they are analysed in the frame of communication studies.

Third, as noted above, media are transforming and modifying communication. Media then have, as we have argued above, a situational dimension of production and experiencing, and a structural dimension that catches media as technology and social form, together with social and cultural institutions.

In this view then, media have a similar form, as is the case with language: if we follow Ferdinand de Saussure, then language is, on the one hand, a structure; on the other hand, it is a situational practice. Language vs. parole was Saussure’s concept of this duality (Saussure 1998). Because media, following the definition above, have a structural and a situational dimension, we can say that we have a semiotic concept of media here. Nevertheless, it should be clear that, in this view, language is not a medium. This is because media are seen as transforming and modifying communication, but language does not modify or transform communication. Language is instead the basic form in which human communication is possible: through language, humans become humans. A language is thus a requirement for a medium and is thus much more than a medium. In addition, a language is a special defining quality unique to human beings: only they have and need a language. We may thus define humans as beings who have the ability to speak, but, at the same time, are confronted with the necessity to communicate in a highly differentiated way – language is therefore much more than a medium; it is at the same time a condition and a requirement for media.

To sum up, we see that a medium is a rather complex cultural and societal entity that consists of a technology, has a societal and cultural structure

and is the object of situational communicative actions among people *for whom this social structure and technology can be understood as a frame*. Thus, in some ways, communication is always reduced but also extended, if one compares mediated and face-to-face communication.

Now we shall go on to use the above definition of a medium and its connection to communication to define mediatization in a sense-making way.

3. THE MEDIATIZATION OF COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

With these concepts, we can now approach the concept of mediatization in a specific but basic sense. We shall do this on the basis of a report on other definitions of mediatization which regard as not so helpful.

Until now, most writers have been using the word 'mediatization' in a rather general way and have begun with the fact that media are currently of growing importance in culture and society. An example of this is the use of the concept 'mediatization' in some branches of political communication research. There this concept is understood in the following way: mediatization means that the media are becoming more influential actors in the political arena, and, if media, political parties and institutions have learned that, one can speak of "after mediatization" (cf. e.g. the European consortium of political communication²).

This approach thus understands mediatization as a process in which media become new political actors. This of course happens, but it is only a small part of what may be meant by mediatization. For example, the internet or Twitter are frequently used to organise forms of political protest. This does not, of course, mean that media have become opponents of a government or that there must be institutions that organise this protest; it is also possible that people are just coordinating what they want to do. Further, there are computer games like "Civilization" that can be understood as introduction sets into the politics of today. These examples show that the above definition of mediatization as 'media becoming political actors' is much too narrow; we should look for a broader definition.

Another way of defining mediatization could be to define it as the influence of a logic of a medium or as directly given by the development of media, as done by Harold Innis (1950, 1951) or Marshall McLuhan (1992).

² http://www.ecprnet.eu/joint_sessions/st_gallen/workshop_details.asp?workshopID=19

Both are perspectives that argue against a technical bias. As far as we understand things, there is no media logic: for example, TV 50 years ago was rather different from TV today, and TV in the US is rather different from TV in Saudi Arabia. Thus, the idea of media logic or, in more general terms, the definition of mediatization depending on technological features, seems inadequate, as it ignores the ways in which they are used in a culture, and the role of social institutions related to the media.

We will at this point argue against the relational character of mediatization, as mediatization is already in its semantic definition a mediatization of something. With this we exclude all the aforementioned definitions, as they are unclear and superficial: if, with mediatization, we refer to the use of communicational media as defined in the last chapter, *then mediatization should be defined as the mediatization of communication or of communicative actions, and in addition as the mediatization of whatever is a consequence of communicative action. With these consequences, we of course mean whatever is communicatively constructed by people – following Berger/Luckmann (1973), this is our social reality. To say this in an even more differentiated way:*

Mediatization means a long-term process that, on a first level, consists of a growing number of media and a growing number of functions that media are performing for people. On a second level, we must take into account the fact that media are technologies that are used by people to communicate, and thus mediatization consists of the mediatization of communication and communicative actions. On a third level, we should bear in mind that communication is a basic human activity by which human beings construct the social world in which they live, and their own identity. Mediatization thus includes a process in which this communicative construction of the social and cultural world will change the more we use media. In sum, mediatization must be seen as a long-term metaprocess that includes all three of these levels.

Before moving on to use examples, we will first make some additional remarks in order to make clear that such an approach has many advantages for systematic and academic science and theory. In the last chapter we explained that communication becomes differentiated by the mediatization metaprocess. From non-verbal communication and language communication that takes place face-to-face in a common situation, we find three new forms of mediated communication: mediated interpersonal communication, interactive communication and communication with standardised and generally addressed content and form. Today we have a fourth form of communication that can be called passive communication

– it takes place if we are communicated, e.g. if a camera observes us or if Facebook or Google analyse our data. This last form can be differentiated between intended passive and unintended passive communication.³ And if we speak about mediatization, we must take a fifth consideration into account: today even the old face-to-face-communication will change with the existence of media, as there is hardly any place without any media and there is no speech between two people which is not in any way influenced by knowledge or comparison processes with media – it is our consciousness that refers us in an intense way to the media.⁴

We conclude this text with some additional remarks on the outcome of this text and some ideas about further research.

First, we have defined mediatization as a concept that refers to communication with symbols as a basic and special characteristic of humans, through which they construct their world and themselves. We thus have a starting point from which to analyse mediatization empirically. This is done, for example, in the priority programme “Mediatized Worlds” (www.mediatizedWorlds.net).

Second, with the aforementioned definition, we have also defined a mechanism for *how* the upcoming media and the functions they assume may change the social world: it is not the differentiation of media that changes conditions of communication, it is the fact that people use the different existing technologies as media and thus communicate differently and construct different realities. We can thus define empirical approaches to analysing different forms of mediatization (for an outline see also Krotz 2007).

And third, in recent decades, with the surge in digital media, media have become accessible to people at all times and in all places. Additionally, the media cover more or less all the existing topics and everything we know. We therefore increasingly refer to the media and the content and activities that we have used them for, which means that media have become increasingly powerful and influential, e.g. in politics. We could call this a doubling of reality, as reality here is reconstructed by the media. However, there are some questions which remain open: what is forgotten by this doubling process and what is reproduced in a way that does not exist in the “first reality”?

3 We could define even more forms of communication if we drop the assumption that at least one human being must be part of data exchange in order to speak of communication.

4 This is explained in more detail and with reference to uses and gratification in Krotz 2009.

Fourth, we can speak of a process of dismantling by mediatization that is crucial to every critical analysis: media take apart what was formerly together. For example, political decisions in Athens 3,000 years ago were taken in encounters at the market place. Today, there are still political encounters in politics, but the unity of discuss and decide has mainly disappeared: mass media and journalism report about political positions and arguments, they are between the different political actors and between the people: they do not participate in the encounter, instead it is reported and commented on and this then forms the basis to think and to decide. Similar developments may be observed in other fields: in former times, for instance, factory workers worked with material, for example a hammer, to give a piece of metal a specific form. Today, this is done by a machine that is controlled by a person who may be far away. We understand this as a *dismantling process that separates information control as a communicative activity from what happens with the "real" material* – in earlier times, this was a unit of action, today the communicative act and the material act are separated. A similar argument holds with the control of a rocket in war: you do not kill yourself as a social action, but the killing process is separated from the control over killing. Finally, a further example for this is pornography, or so called cyber-sex: traditionally, having sex is a social activity and demands interaction, as it includes touching. In the case of pornography or cyber-sex, the communicative acts only take place within the user's mind and body, with reference to sound, pictures or texts. This dismantling occurs not only in terms of instrumental activities, but also with regards to interactions or communication in common face-to-face-situations.

Finally, a remark about the use of the mediatization approach: further interdisciplinary research is necessary, as we are doing with the priority programme "Mediatized Worlds" (www.mediatizedWorlds.net).

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Mediation and Resistance

Bart Cammaerts

In this chapter, I will attempt to bridge social movement theory and mediation theory, thereby answering Downing's (2008) call to connect the field of political science with that of media and communication studies. As it becomes apparent that we are more and more immersed in an ultra-saturated media and communication environment, or, as some say, ecology, the media and communication practices of activists and (self-)representations of resistance have come to the foreground.

It is argued here, however, that attempts to make sense of media and communication for activism and resistance have hitherto been too unevenly focused on either mainstream media representations or the use of ICTs and the role of cyberspace for activists. This goes against evidence from fieldwork where activists use mainstream, movement, online and offline media interchangeably for a variety of purposes (McCurdy, 2010). This highlights the need to theoretically encompass the various ways in which media and communication are of relevance to activists and to resistance practices in expressing this multimedia mode and age.

1. MEDIATION AS MORE THAN REPRESENTATION

Mediation as a theoretical construct, not to be confused with mediatization (see Krotz, 2008), attempts to conceptually grasp as well as complicate the interactions between various analytical dichotomies, such as the public and the private, the producer of content and the user/audience, and, crucially, between structure and agency (see Martín-Barbero, 1993; Thompson, 1995; Silverstone, 2002). Thumim (2009: 619) summarises mediation as follows:

The conceptual space delineated by the notion of mediation process encapsulates both the detail of specific instances of production, text and reception, and the broader contexts of media use...

Places of mediation refer to both the sites of production and sites of reception, in essence theorising the connection and interaction between both (Couldry, 2004: 119).

While the process of mediation is inherently dialectical – negotiating potential opportunities and structural constraints, production and appropriation, it is also asymmetrical and uneven – some are more equal than others (Silverstone, 2002: 762). Unsurprisingly, then, at the centre of mediation is power, mainly conceived as symbolic power (Thompson, 1995: 17). This not only refers to the power of representation and the technical skills to be able to produce and transmit information, but likewise to skills enabling individuals to assess information critically, to select and make sense of information. Furthermore, symbolic power, Thompson (1995: 134-148) argues, is precisely about the ‘management of visibility’ and a ‘struggle for recognition’, which ties in with a presence and voice in the mainstream audio-visual media as well as being visible as a movement through independent channels of communication.

The process of mediation therefore involves and includes modes of self-mediation. Mediated power should, however, not simply be reduced to discursive power alone, as it also has salience with regard to mobilisation, organisation, recruitment and direct action. Here the double articulation of mediation, as put forward by Silverstone (1994), is useful. Processes of mediation apply just as much to media as a material object with reference to technology and the everyday as it does to the symbolic, the discursive, with reference to Gramsci’s ideological war of position (Livingstone, 2007). This double articulation of mediation enables us to consider media and the production of content in conjunction with technology, as well as communication strategies and the media practices of citizens and activists.

From this brief introduction to the concept of mediation, it becomes apparent that mediation enables us to link up various ways in which media and communication are relevant to resistance and to activism; the framing practices by mainstream media and political elites, the self-representations by activists, the use, appropriation and adaptation of ICTs by activists and citizens to mobilise for and organise direct action, as well as media and communication practices that constitute mediated resistance in its own right. It captures the shaping of representations in the interaction between production, text and reception, and also goes beyond the text by including the role of technologies and the user.

2. OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES FOR RESISTANCE

In social movement literature, the concept of 'political opportunity structure' is very prominent. It refers to the '[d]imensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure' (Tarrow, 1994: 85). It attempts to explain which structural aspects of the external world, outside the control of activists, affect the development and success of social movements (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004).

This touches upon another debate amongst social movement scholars, between those adhering to the political process approach, foregrounding political opportunity structure and mostly focusing on historical large-scale political movements, and those inspired by constructivism and advocating a cultural approach, emphasising culture and identity and focusing on more fluid open movements that are political in a broad sense rather than predominantly class-based. The neglect of culture and the lack of a proper account for agency in favor of structural characteristics are prevalent in other disciplines as well, but, from a culturalist perspective, Jasper and Goodwin (1999: 122) argue that 'this distortion is especially problematic in the study of politics and protest, which contain a great deal of intention and will, strategy and choice, desire and fantasy'.

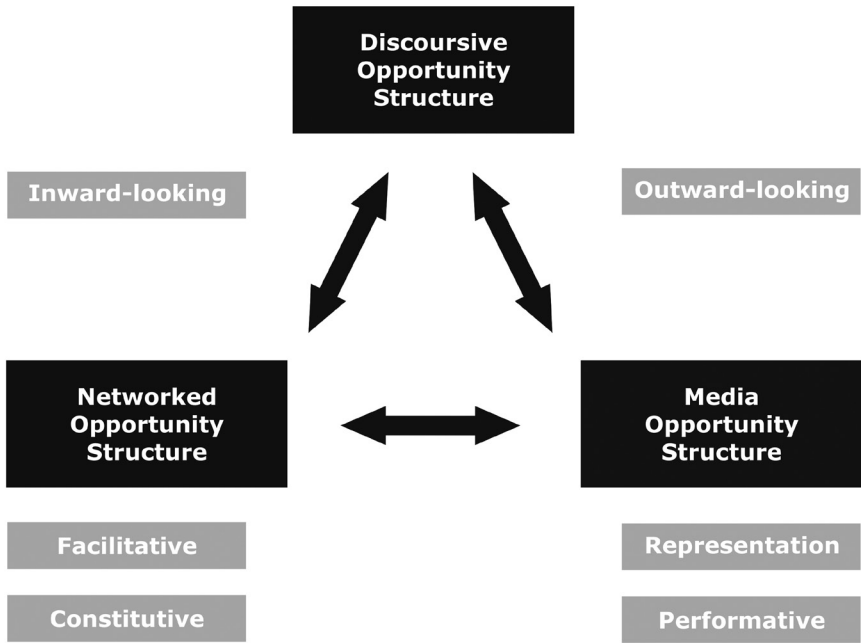
Koopmans (1999: 102), a political process scholar himself, might offer us a potential way out of this, overcoming the stark contradiction between structure and agency, between process and culture, much in the same way as mediation does. He argues that accounting for structures does not deny the potential for agency or even sudden change: 'When we say "opportunity structure," we just say that not all of opportunity is agency, but that some of it is structured'.

Media and communication usually feature among the peripheral factors that influence the degree of political opportunity for a social movement to succeed. However, some social movement scholars, addressing the role of media and of communication strategies for social movements in greater depth, have stressed the importance for social movements of positive exposure in the mainstream media. The extent to which movements are able to get their message across in the mainstream media or not, their degree of cultural influence in the public sphere, could be described as the *media opportunity structure*. Following on from this, the conceptualisation of a *discursive opportunity structure*, analytically semi-separate from the

political opportunity structure, has been gaining strength (Ferree et al., 2002; Polletta, 2004; Koopmans, 2004; McCammon, et al., 2007). Besides this, while not described as such in the literature, we can also discern a *networked opportunity structure* that has been invoked since the end of the 1990s, pointing to the impact of ICTs and networks on the ability of movements to organise and mobilise (transnationally), to recruit, to coordinate actions and to disseminate counter-frames independent from the mainstream media (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; van de Donk, et al., 2004; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005).

What is being proposed here is the adoption of the mediation opportunity structure as an overarching concept, semi-independent from the political opportunity structure, and consisting of the media opportunity structure, the discursive opportunity structure and the networked opportunity structure (cf. Figure 1). Inevitably the relationship between these three interrelated opportunity structures is circular and partially overlapping – they each impact on each other in various ways.

Figure 1: Mediation opportunity structure



2.1 THE MEDIA OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

Media are not neutral actors; they are embedded in a socio-economic and political context. As a result of this, in social movement literature, the relevance of media and communication is often reduced to being a part of the political opportunity structure – the outside world that enables social movements to emerge, but also constrains them. Media and communication infrastructures were largely seen as circumstantial and instrumental, a resource among others in struggles of social change.

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) represent an early exception in this regard as they made media central to their research, identifying opportunities and constraints that are specific to the media. They concluded that social movements use and need the media for three distinct purposes: (1) to mobilise for political support, (2) to legitimate and validate their claims in the mainstream public sphere and (3) to broaden the scope of conflicts beyond the like-minded. In addition to this, they argued that the nature of the coverage determines the public's perception of the movement and its goals. It is thus in the protest movements' interest to ensure they receive 'positive' coverage. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 166) do have a point when they state that: 'most of the people [social movements] wish to reach are part of the mass media gallery, while many are missed by movement-oriented outlets'.

Obtaining access to the mainstream media, influencing the public sphere, articulating alternatives and receiving positive exposure from the media are not that straightforward for activists and protest movements, due to the stiff competition for attention from a diverse and wide spectrum of causes and organisations and the gate-keeping role the media fulfil in a democracy. Journalists are prime actors in this. While being a mediating force in the mainstream public sphere, they also have to cope with both internal and external pressures. This inevitably brings the concept of media power and ownership into play (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, 2008).

Halloran *et al.* (1970) concluded many decades ago that UK media employ an inferential structure of bias against protest and activism, primarily focusing on incidents of violence rather than on the large majority of peaceful demonstrators, the causes they promote or the messages they try to convey. Gitlin (1980) found similar patterns in the US, as did the Glasgow Media Group in relation to the reporting of UK-based industrial action in

the 1980s. Eldridge (1995: 212) argues that what is being presented as neutral reporting is in fact 'an array of codes and practices which effectively rest upon a cultural imperative to hear the causes of disputes in one way rather than another'. Media are, in other words, 'not neutral unselective recorders of events' (Oliver and Maney, 2000: 464). It is thus unsurprising that this post-Althusserian perspective of the media as being an ideological apparatus dominated by state and capitalist interests and structurally biased against social and protest movements is also very prevalent in activist circles (McCurdy, 2010).

The main critique directed against the propaganda and hegemonic models is that they assume a passive public, uncritically receiving and uniformly decoding messages distributed by the mass media. Furthermore, while many mainstream media organisations do conform to the analysis of the critical neo-Marxist tradition in media studies, not all mainstream media are at all times docile actors in the service of state and/or capitalist interests, as suggested by the propaganda model. As argued elsewhere (Cammaerts, 2007; Cammaerts and Carpentier, 2009), some mainstream media do at times report favourably on social movements or promote a progressive cause. The mainstream media is, in other words, not always exclusively negative towards social movements, protest and direct action. Cottle (2008: 5) observes in this regard that

much has changed since earlier studies documented how the mainstream news media invariably report protests and demonstrations through a dominant law and (dis)order frame, labeling protesters as deviant, spectacle and violence

The argument here is not that such emancipatory fissures within the mainstream media are systematic or without inherent problems, but that it would be wrong to depict the entirety of mainstream media as monolithic or as by definition absolutely opposed to citizen and public interests.

2.2 DISCURSIVE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

The role of the discursive in resistance has been ignored for many years as an important 'medium of social conflict and symbolic struggle' (Koopmans and Statham, 1999: 205). Media and communication, it is argued, have become a constitutive part of a discursive opportunity structure with its own logics, institutions and rules (McCammon, *et al.*, 2007). A potent illustration of the growing importance of discourse in the study of social movements and protest is the attention paid in the literature to framing

strategies, which are deemed not only relevant for ideological positioning, but are also affecting recruitment, mobilisation and the degree of readiness for action (Snow and Benford, 1988). In relation to protest movements, Goodwin and Jasper (2003: 52) point out that

[i]n order to attract people to join and remain committed to a movement, its issues must be presented or 'framed' so that they fit or resonate with the beliefs, feelings and desires of potential recruits [...] Frames are simplifying devices that help us understand and organizing the complexities of the world.

The implications of frames and frames for protest movements are, according to McAdam (2005: 119), that they have to contend with six strategic challenges if they are really aiming to become 'a force for social change'. The first challenges are *inward-looking*: recruiting core activists, sustaining the movement and building collective identities. The four other challenges for activists can be characterised as more *outward-looking*: attracting attention in the mainstream media, mobilising beyond those already convinced, overcoming social control as well as possible repression, and, finally, 'shap[ing] public policy and state action' (McAdam, *ibid*).

Most social movement literature has tended to focus primarily on outward-looking strategies, such as mainstream media framing or resonance – the importance of getting movement frames into the mainstream media (cf. the media opportunity structure). As Downing (2008: 42) observes in relation to Gamson's overview of media and social movements, 'it seems distinctly odd that the framing activities of social movements' own media, whether internally or externally directed or both, are so comprehensively off the map'. Indeed, the recent surge in academic attention for various forms of alternative movement media and communication practices by activists must be credited mainly to media and communication scholars such as Cottle (2000), Downing *et al.* (2001) and Atton (2002), to name but a few.

Another important facet of the process of self-mediation relates to the production of protest artifacts, which has become much easier and more cost-efficient due to the pervasiveness of digital photo and video recording devices (Baringhorst, 2008: 82-3). This has led protesters to photograph and film what they are seeing and experiencing, subsequently posting everything on social network platforms, sometimes even in real time, and thereby producing an ever expanding archive of images and self-representations of protest events.

The material and permanent nature of these protest artifacts enables symbols and discourses embedded in them to be culturally transmitted on a long-term basis, feeding the struggle and contributing to the construction of a collective memory of protest (Melucci, 1996). In doing so, they effectively become 'epistemic communities' (Lipschutz, 2005), transferring knowledge and potentially influencing other movements through what is called 'movement spillover' (Meyer and Whittier, 1994). The protests in Tunisia spreading to other Arab countries such as Egypt and Libya are a vivid illustration of this particular mediation opportunity.

2.3. NETWORKED OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

Just like media, technology is not neutral either; at the same time, it is argued that its introduction into society leads to a process of negotiation. This process of negotiation involves strategies of resistance from users, either through the rejection of technology or through the reconfiguration of innovative user patterns unforeseen by the developers of the technology. As Williams (1997: 328) points out:

Although the designer may seek to prefigure the user – and thus implicitly constrain the ways a product is used – the final user still retains flexibility in the meanings they attribute to technology [...] This often involves innovation by the consumer – using technology in ways not anticipated by the designer.

Relevant recent examples of this in the context of activism are the use of text messaging, Twitter or Facebook to mobilise for direct action, to garner support, to recruit active members or to facilitate on-the-spot coordination of offline direct action. In this regard, increased lay knowledge of how media and technology operate, reminiscent of Liebes and Katz's (1990) 'playful awareness', has become more commonplace, and this is certainly the case amongst political activists and their relationship with technology and media.

Networks are deemed to be highly beneficial in terms of transnational mobilisation and organisation (Norris, 2001; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). Not only has it become obvious that transnationalisation has been greatly simplified. The internet has also enabled new organisational structures to emerge and expanded the repertoire of contentious action organised by protest movements by making mobilisation, independent content dissemination and the archiving of resistance more time- and cost-efficient and exploiting the strength of weak ties inherent to networks (Haythornthwaite, 2005).

However, an over-emphasis on the internet as a platform risks obscuring the increased importance and use of mobile networks and text messaging to facilitate, organise and coordinate protest on the spot (Hermanns, 2008), as well as more traditional media such as radio, pamphlets or street art. Furthermore, in recent years, market-based social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube have emerged as powerful tools for activists and movements to distribute counter-narratives and to facilitate mass mobilisation; a potent example of the social shaping of technology (Kavada, 2010). During the 2010 UK student protests, the instant communication opportunity Twitter offered was used extensively by protesters to keep track of police movements and to avoid being 'kettled' or contained. At the same time, the use of market-based platforms holds certain risks, certainly for radical activists, as WikiLeaks, Anonymous and other (h)ac(k)tivists have been finding out in recent years.

Communication resistance practices are thus not merely limited to the use of media and communication as discursive weapons, nor can the use of ICTs by activists be reduced to being merely instrumental to direct action in the offline world. ICTs have also become direct action in their own right, as hacktivist tactics or even the Free and Open Source Movement demonstrate (Jordan and Taylor, 2004; Söderberg, 2007). In addition to this, the pervasiveness of handheld cameras in the hands of protesters also enables so-called *sousveillance* tactics – surveilling the surveillers or bottom-up surveillance by the citizen/activist on the state or public figures. *Sousveillance* is the result of what Mathiesen (1997) calls the synoptic viewer society, the many watching the few. Filming and photographing police behaviour during demonstrations is mainly employed as a counter-tactic to expose police violence.

Furthermore, internet-mediated mobilisation practices, such as petitions or joining a Facebook group, also enable more passive forms of engagement and participation, which is critiqued by some as click- or slack-tivism (Morozov, 2009). However, by using the strength of weak ties, protest movements can garner large-scale public support, construct collective identities and connect directly with potential sympathisers (Kavada, 2010). Such forms of lazy participation could be seen as insignificant or as an all too easy way of pledging support for something without bearing the consequences, but they are highly relevant in terms of mediation, as they seem to resonate with many citizens who often fail to make time in their everyday lives for active activism.

3. CONCLUSION

It is argued here that the process of mediation, involving issues of media power, representation, agency, communication strategies and tactics by different actors, as well as the impact of all this on reception and decoding, is most suited to encompass the various ways in which media and communication are relevant to protest movements and to resistance practices. The mediation opportunity structure, in its various articulations as media, discourse and network, has become a constitutive part of the success or failure of a protest movement, each with their own logics, dynamics, institutions and rules of engagement. The mediated opportunity structure, furthermore, points to the potential for audiences, users and citizens to resist dominant frames, appropriate ICTs in their everyday lives and become producers of media themselves.

Protest and the tactics deployed in order to voice dissent cannot be analysed in isolation from broader multi-dimensional societal forces, from the counter-reactions of plural elites, and from their mainstream media representations through to the discursive struggles that underpin them. As such, the mediation opportunity structure is clearly enmeshed with the political opportunity structure, but there is certainly a case to be made for the distinct nature of the mediation opportunity structure as not only facilitative or instrumental, but also constitutive of direct action. It both enables and closes down opportunities for resistance, and activists increasingly take this into account when surveying their repertoire of contentious action.

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Using Discourse Theory: A Discourse-Theoretical Exploration of the Articulation of Death

Nico Carpentier and Leen Van Brussel

1. INTRODUCTION

Death is one of the most pervasive phenomena of the social, and is sometimes (with a slight sense of drama) described as “the only certainty in life”. This pervasiveness seems to privilege more realist and materialist approaches, leaving little room for the constructivist and idealist approaches. Obviously, the bodily condition labelled death has a materialist dimension; it is an event/process that exists and occurs independently from human will, thought and interpretation. We would, however, still like to argue here that death cannot constitute itself as an object of thought outside discourse. Although we should be careful not to reduce death to the way it is discursively interpreted, death still remains loaded with meaning, and we cannot detach it from the processes of social construction, and the contingency that lies behind it.

Death itself is a signifier that tries to capture human decay, and its meaning consists of a series of elements that are often taken for granted, such as end/cessation/termination, negativity, irreversibility, inescapability and undesirability. At the same time, closer scrutiny of these articulations shows the contingency of the discourse of death, with almost every discursive element opening up a range of gaps, complexities and unfixities. In order to unravel the meanings of the articulation of the discourse on death, and to show some of its complexities, we will use discourse theory (and mainly Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) variation) as the theoretical backbone of our analysis, which is firmly rooted in a secular position. This analysis will also allow us to illustrate (part of) the workings of discourse-theoretical analysis (or DTA – see Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007) in the development of a secondary theoretical framework, which

can be used, together with discourse theory itself (as primary theoretical framework), for a variety of analysis, including the study of media texts (Van Brussel, 2011).

2. A DISCOURSE-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO ANALYSE DEATH

In order to analyse the construction of death and dying, a discourse-theoretical framework is used. More specifically, the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe is deployed, as their theoretical model is focused on identity construction, societal discursive struggles and the dynamics of fixity and fluidity. It should immediately be emphasised that our use of this theoretical framework does not imply an ambition to explain the entire complexity of the dying process. A discourse-theoretical approach does not, for example, offer a framework to study the psychological and sociological aspects of the – often disruptive – human awareness that every living being is going to die (Bauman, 1992). Nor is such an approach appropriate to analysing the socio-economic aspects and implications of death and dying. But a discourse-theoretical framework does seem to be well suited for analysing the construction of death.

In Laclau and Mouffe's (1985, 1990) work, we find a clear acknowledgement of the materialist dimension of social reality, which is combined with the position that discourses are necessary to generate meaning for the material. In their discourse theory, the focus on meaning and discourse is legitimised by asserting that, although a *"stone exists independently of any system of social relation ... it is, for instance, either a projectile or an object of aesthetic contemplation only within a specific discursive configuration"* (Laclau and Mouffe, 1990: 101).

For Laclau and Mouffe, meanings and identities are constructed through the process of articulation, which involves linking up discursive elements around a number of privileged signifiers, which they call nodal points. These nodal points temporally construct and stabilise discourses, or, in the words of Torfing (1999: 88-89), they *"sustain the identity of a certain discourse by constructing a knot of definite meanings."* But once again, we need to emphasise that the identities of these actions, practices and formations are constructed in a *non-idealist* way (Glynos and Howarth, 2007: 109). Very often, critics accuse Laclau and Mouffe of invoking a *"shamefaced idealism"* (Geras, 1987: 65). Yet the radical constructivism of Laclau and Mouffe is both realist and materialist. First, it is realist in the sense that it acknowledges a world of existence, external to thought and

independently of any system of social relations. Second, the radical constructivism of Laclau and Mouffe is materialist since it puts into question the symmetry between the "realist object" and the "object of thought". In this way, an idealist reduction of the distance between thought and object is prevented. Briefly, a non-idealist constructivism presupposes the *"incompleteness of both the given world and the subject that undertakes the construction of the object"* (Torfing, 1999: 45-48).

It remains important to stress that Laclau and Mouffe's approach to discourse oscillates between fixity and unfixity. They reject a relativist position towards discourse where meaning is completely free-floating, but also emphasise discursive contingency. In their discourse theory, it is the concept of struggle that mediates between both positions, as discourses are seen as not (always) stable and sedimented entities, but often engaged in struggle, attempting to attain a hegemonic position. Hegemonic formations are the outcome of practices attempting to create new forms of social orders from a variety of dispersed elements that are articulated into so-called chains of equivalence (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000: 14; Howarth, 1998: 279). According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 135-136), hegemony implies that antagonistic practices link elements in so-called chains of equivalence. They claim, *"in other words, that hegemony should emerge in a field crisscrossed by antagonisms and therefore suppose phenomena of equivalence and frontier effects. But, conversely, not every antagonism supposes hegemonic practices."* In order to point to hegemonic formations that transcend the contingency of discursive formations, the concept of the social imaginary is introduced. This concept refers to the myth in which the fullness of the surface of inscription continues to dominate (Torfing, 1999: 305). Successful hegemonic projects, then, establish new social orders (Howarth, 1998: 279), in which other possible meanings are forgotten. This involves a "non-recognition" of the precarious character of any positivity, of the impossibility of any ultimate saturation. Due to the infinitude of the field of discursivity and the inability of discourse to permanently fix meaning, however, discourses will always be liable to disintegration and re-articulation. As a result, no hegemonic formation can be total, since there is always resistance and the threat of re-articulation. Taking all this into account, then, hegemony can be defined as *"the expansion of the discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action"* (Torfing, 1999: 101).

3. DEFINING DEATH

From a discourse-theoretical perspective, death, like any other discourse, requires its meaning to be fixed. Although the openness of the social prevents this fixation from being total, the discourse of death gains its meaning through (a set of) specific meanings that are discursively constructed through the logics of articulation. Arguably, death is negatively articulated with signifiers like life and existence through inverting them ("life's end" – "ceasing to exist"), as Luper's (2009: 41-48) discussion shows. Another variation can be found in Feldman's (1992; 2000) so-called termination thesis, which obviously articulates death with termination (of life). Although Žižek (2006: 194 – emphasis in original) takes an original approach to death by articulating it as "*the condition of possibility of what is human,*" death still gains its meaning in the juxtaposition of life (and being human). Through this negative articulation, death, in its almost pure negativity, needs life and existence as its constitutive outside.

But the articulation of the discourse of death does not stop here, as the signifiers of life and existence are themselves articulated with the human body, personality and/or consciousness. Focusing on the more organismic component, Bernat, Culver and Gert (1981: 390 – our emphasis), for instance, define death as "*the permanent 'cessation' of functioning of the organism as a whole. We do not mean the whole organism, for example, the sum of its tissue and organ parts, but rather the complex interaction of its organ sub-systems.*" A series of other definitions focuses more on personality and/or consciousness, where it is suggested "*that a human person may die before his or her body*" (Steineck, 2003: 239). Pallis' (1982: 1488) influential definition does include a reference to consciousness when he defines death as "*the irreversible loss of the capacity for consciousness and of the capacity to breathe.*" Others, like Veatch (1975) with his definition of death as the irreversible cessation of the capacity for consciousness, move away from the organismic definition towards what DeGrazia (2005: 123) calls a psychological definition of death.

The articulation of the discourse of death with the end/cessation/termination of life signifiers –whether this is seen as the functioning of the "*organism as a whole*" or "*the irreversible loss of that which is considered to be essentially significant to the nature of man*" (Bernat, 2006: 35) – opens up new questions that show the contingency of the discourse of death. Paradoxically, death can only be thought of from within life, by the living. In this sense, the discourse of death is always contaminated by its discursive

sive outside, by life and existence, as thinking death from within death is an ontological impossibility. Death is therefore always conceptualised in “living” terms. By referring to death as a *place*, for instance, or by using metaphors as sleeping and resting, death is always thought of as a deviant form of life. As a discourse, death is thus unavoidably contradictory. Moreover, the articulation of death with end/cessation/termination raises the issue of the meaning of the concept of the end. One debate here is whether death-as-an-end should be articulated as a process or an event. While Morison (1971), for instance, argues in favour of articulating death as a process, Bernat, Culver and Gert (1981: 389) defend the death-as-an-event articulation, when they say that “*death should be viewed not as a process but as the event that separates the process of dying from the process of disintegration.*” Articulating death as an event, but also seeing death as a process, then raises new questions about its exact moment, for ontological, but also medical, political and legal reasons. Clearly, death itself does not communicate about its occurrence, and the difficulties of discursively fixing the exact moment of death have led to a long struggle amongst scientists and legislators. For instance, the steep decrease in body temperature, the absence of a heartbeat and breathing, the lack of activity in the whole brain and the lack of brain stem (or higher brain) activity have all been used to define (or construct) the moment of death (Bernat, 2006: 37-40). Moreover, there are also alternative, counter-hegemonic ways to define the moment of death. Religious discourses, such as Christian discourses, for example, emphasise the importance of the moment that the soul leaves the body. Other approaches have focused more on the lack of clear and absolute criteria, arguing that death’s “essence” may be “obscure” and resistant to adequate definition (Chiong, 2005).

The articulation of the discourse of death based on life and existence as its constitutive outside, as pure negativity, is not exclusive, as death also gains its meaning through other signifiers. One cluster of signifiers is related to time. Death is articulated as irreversible and inescapable. A considerable number of the aforementioned definitions articulate death as permanent and irreversible. In his distinction between a formal/universal definition and a material/particular definition, Bartlett (1995: 270) emphasises irreversibility as a key defining component: “*The formal requirement is the same for every definition and, that is, irreversibility. This is true simply as a matter of language. It is how we speakers of English have come to use the word ‘death’.*” This irreversibility opens up the discursive repertoires of timelessness and eternity, where death becomes seen as endless, in contrast to the life that has ended. Nevertheless, there are symbolic

ways that remain open to overcome this apparent irreversibility, but they are all situated at the level of the social, and provide routes which are obviously not accessible to the dead themselves, only to the living. First, there is the logic of remembrance, which allows the dead to live on in the memories of the living, sometimes assisted by material components such as statues, street names and graves, but also by a multitude of narrations (Azaryaku, 1996; Jones, 2003; Wojtkowiak & Venbrux, 2010: 19). Statements such as 'he is dead, but his work continues' illustrate how remembrance functions as an immortality strategy (Bauman, 1992). Second, there is the logic of procreation, where the passing on of genetic material (strengthened by the notion of resemblance) is seen as a way to overcome the irreversibility of mortality (Bauman, 1992: 29) and, according to Plato, underlines the desire for immortality (Chadwick, 1987: 13; Sandford, 2010).

Simultaneously, irreversibility itself is sometimes articulated as unstable and changeable. A soft variant of this changeability is the reference to new medical developments. For instance, Lizza (2005: 55) suggests *"that the meaning of 'irreversibility' in the definition of death, just like all other terms, is not timelessly fixed [...] but changes with our understanding of new realistic possibilities."* In more radical variations of this position, arguments of freezing, suspension, revival and restoration are used to question the articulation of death as irreversible. Similarly radical variations of this survival fantasy can be found in religions that are based on the notion of the after-life, where in some cases the after-life is even privileged over life itself, inverting the hegemonic dominance of life over death (Ma'sumian, 1995).

The second (and related) time-based component that gives death meaning is its necessity and inescapability. Complicated by the notion of a premature, sudden and untimely death, death is seen as something that all human beings must face at some time, rendering unavoidability a core defining element, only softened by survival fantasies. From a medical perspective, this inescapability is grounded in the definition of (many types of) human cells as 'mortal', in the sense that they accumulate damage and cannot proliferate endlessly (Harley, 2001). This logic positions ageing within the discourse of death in a specific way. This specificity is, for instance, expressed by de Beauvoir's (1985: 105 – emphasis in original) writing about the death of her mother: *"You do not die from being born, nor from having lived, nor from old age. You die from something."* Slightly more down to earth, but still similar, is Luper's (2009: 41) explanation:

"Aging sets the stage for death, but is not itself a form of death." But symbolically, ageing, with its increased likelihood of the actual occurrence of death, still acts as a permanent reminder of human mortality and approaching death. Although there is no necessary relation, old age, with its bodily changes that fall outside the beauty myth, is often articulated as the preamble of the bodily disintegration that death encompasses.

Human frailty, especially in old age, but also earlier on in life, brings with it the articulation of death as a permanent, ever-present threat. Freud labelled the fear this threat triggers thanatophobia, but at the same time he saw it as a disguise for a set of deeper concerns, because *"at bottom nobody believes in his own death, or to put the same thing in a different way, in the unconscious every one of us is convinced of his own immortality"* (Freud, 1953: 304–305). A serious challenge to Freud's interpretation of thanatophobia came from Becker (1973), who labelled it people's most profound source of concern. Also from a Lacanian perspective, Žižek (2006: 77) emphasises the fear of death, which has as its *"real basis [...] the fear of the loss of the father's love and, by extension, the absolute negativity experienced at the loss of the Other's love that would result from the destruction of the symbolic order."*

One final articulation of death is its undesirability. Within the logic of the binary opposition, life is privileged over death, especially (but not exclusively) in Western cultures. Life is considered ultimately precious, protected by a variety of social, ethical and legal frameworks, and as a concept it enjoys the advantages of normalisation. This makes death a regrettable and tragic interruption of life. The dying process is met with sorrow and mourning, and a wide variety of ritualised practices are initiated to allow the social environment of the deceased to come to terms with their loss. Of course, some ways of dying are considered more undesirable than others, which brings in the distinction between the good death and the bad death. Despite the addition of the label of 'good' and the explicit prioritisation of some form of dying over others, both the good death and the bad death remain undesired for in the hegemonic discourse of death.¹

This hegemonic articulation generates problems for those who do not desire life, and for those who act upon this desire. Suicide is, for this reason, still seen as a separate category, a blatant violation of the social

1 However, the contemporary focus on dignity in defining a good death (see further) articulates a "dignified" death as more desirable than an "undignified" existence, statements as "He died too late" illustrating this.

norm and thus pushed outside the realm of the ordinary death, with its violent nature being emphasised. In some languages (like Dutch or German, for instance), the signifier 'self-homicide' (*zelfmoord* or *Selbstmord*) is frequently used. Because of its being a violation of the social norm which is often considered an unnatural opposition against the natural desire for survival, suicide is met with incomprehensibility (and sometimes even more intense reactions, such as prosecution), which in turn confirms the social norm. In addition, other forms of dying that result from an explicit human intervention, like euthanasia, have been the object of fierce societal and political struggles, and euthanasia itself is only has only been legalised in a limited number of Western countries. Again, the idea that death is desired for is met with considerable resistance (see, for instance, Gormally, 2000: 284-285). Arguably, the only exception is the field of martyrdom, heroism and self-sacrifice, where the societal context provides an interpretative framework that encourages the desirability of the undesirable.

This discussion shows not only the contingency of the signifier death but also the impossibility of signifying death (see, for instance, Smith, 2006). While discourses are very necessary to provide meaning to the social (including death), the discursive is simultaneously confronted with a structural lack when symbolising that very same social. Arguably, death is one of the areas where the impossibility of a discourse fully symbolising the Real becomes abundantly apparent. In (the Lacanian strand of) discourse theory, the Real is seen always to resist its representation. In Laclau's (2000: 70) words, we have to take the "*autonomisation of the signifier*" into account. Death, as part of the Real, escapes representation, as Chiong (2005) argued (using a different vocabulary). At the same time we desperately try to capture it, and we attempt to provide it with meaning. But in order to comprehend and capture death, we have nothing but discourse at our disposal, a tool whose failure is an inherent part of the practice of representation itself.

Although the discourse of death, based on signifiers like end/cessation/termination, negativity, irreversibility, inescapability, and undesirability with life and existence as its constitutive outside, can be considered hegemonic, we should be careful not to fix these articulations completely, thus ignoring contingency. For instance, the fantasy of survival, still present despite intense processes of secularisation, poses a continuous and disruptive challenge to this hegemonic chain. More genealogical (and Foucauldian) approaches to the articulation of death, involving a

historical account of the discursive changes caused by the impact of the medical field, and more political approaches, showing the struggles over the meaning of (the good) death (Van Brussel & Carpentier, *in press*), would show even more contingency, but these are beyond the scope of this article.

4. CONCLUSION

At first sight, death seems to be a straightforward concept with which we are all familiar. Moreover, death has the appearance of being ultimately material, even if it has to be termed a “negative materiality” (Schleifer, 1990: 16). In contrast, the use of a constructivist, discourse-theoretical approach is much less straightforward, and in some cases might even be considered unrealistic or disrespectful. But from a discourse-theoretical perspective, death plays too significant a role within the social to be excluded from discourse theory’s analytical gaze. Its proximity to life, its ultimate materiality and the temptation to apply essentialist frameworks make it a very challenging but also very necessary topic for a discourse-theoretical analysis.

Not surprisingly, the outcome of such a discourse-theoretical analysis is paradoxical. In order for humans to make sense of death, like any other area of the social, we need to construct it, whilst at the same time death’s constructed nature remains hidden, as it is covered by a veil of being taken for granted and normalisation. Through discourse we bring death within the realm of culture and through this process we somehow domesticate death, despite the terror it still often evokes. But death also shows us the limits of the sense-making process. We desperately need discourse to generate meaning, to produce the cultural and the social, but at the same time the material always escapes us. The symbolic is bound to fail in capturing the Real, however much the symbolic beholds the promise of perfect comprehensibility. Analysing the construction of death, as part of the Real, shows how difficult it is for the symbolic to capture the Real. Thinking death produces insoluble complexities and contradictions, which show that the discourse of death is bound to fail in its representation of the materiality of death. At the same time, we cannot not think death. This compels us to remain very human in our use of discourse, dealing with all its (and our) imperfections.

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Dragons and Arcades: Towards a Discursive Construction of the *Flâneur*

Ilija Tomanić Trivundža

While one may dream of the flâneur, and even attempt to practise flânerie sporadically, we are as unlikely to meet a flâneur on the street as we are likely to see a dragon fly past.

Rob Shields (1994) Fancy footwork: Walter Benjamin's Notes on *Flânerie*.

1. INTRODUCTION

A detached observer, a poet, a shopping mall rat. A hero of modernity, a "fallen" public man, a barefoot amateur sociologist. A dandy, a reporter, a police informer. A sandwich man. A man. A woman. A child-like figure. An incognito prince, a man of the crowd. An ironic critic of modernity, its secret spectator, an idle stroller. A producer of texts. A prototypical consumer, a werewolf at large, a commodity. A criminal, a detective, a personification of urban modernity. A dialectical subject, a mystery-solver, a mystery himself. A literary figure, an urban myth.

At a brief glance, defining the figure of the solitary urban stroller-observer that first appeared on the streets of 19th-century Paris seems a rather bewildering task, and the temptation to leave the *flâneur* pinned down in the dusty cabinet of 19th-century curiosities would probably prevail, were it not for Walter Benjamin's insistence on the *flâneur*'s privileged position in our understanding of modernity.

The usual starting-point for defining the *flâneur* is Walter Benjamin's (re) articulation of Baudelaire's hero of modernity (1863/1995), an incognito observer, a solitary (male) loiterer who strolls the streets and later the arcades of Paris, engaged in an act of passionate observation of the fast-paced spectacle of urban, capitalist modernity (Benjamin, 1999; 1939/2007). In this articulation, the *flâneur* appears as a symbol of modernity, at first act-

ing as its critical observer, only to become its victim, and eventually, its agent, whose cynical detachment has fallen prey to the overarching commoditisation of everyday life. The *flâneur* is thus seen essentially as a by-gone figure who “comes and goes with the [19th] century, moving on, and then off, the streets of Paris” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 1994: 39).

However, conceptualising the *flâneur* as a concrete historical phenomenon provides little help in explaining the continuing allure of the *flâneur* in the present. Quite the contrary, the iconic status the *flâneur* has acquired within contemporary social sciences over the past four decades has not depended on the *flâneur*'s socio-historical specificity but rather on his universal character, on the *flâneur*'s ability to serve as an articulation point of our understanding of modernity, of the issues concerning the changing notions of identity, subjectivity, observation, perception, knowledge acquisition and art production, set against the fast-changing backdrop of the urbanisation, industrialisation, technologisation, bureaucratisation and commoditisation of society. However, the popularisation of the concept came at a price, as the *flâneur* became “a generalized symbol of urban experience and cultural modernity [...] the contemporary critical discussions have produced as many images of the *flâneur* as there are the conceptions of the modern” (Gluck, 2003: 53).

Another major reason for the *flâneur*'s continuing conceptual elusiveness is his often unacknowledged multimodality: the writings on the *flâneur* seem to conflate three distinctive, yet rarely distinguished positions. On one level, the *flâneur* appears as a recognisable geo-historical phenomenon. As Victor Hugo put it in *Les Misérables* – “to wander is human, to *flâner* is Parisian”. On the second level, the *flâneur* is treated as an analytical concept. Rather than insisting on the *flâneur*, this position focuses instead on *flânerie* as a practice of observation that transgresses both the geographical and historical conditions of 19th-century Paris. More than to Hugo, this position is attuned to that of Honoré de Balzac, who in the *Physiologie du Mariage* wrote that “To *flâner* is a science; it is the gastronomy of the eye.” *Flânerie* is thus a particular mode of perception. Unlike the previous two, the third position does not treat the *flâneur* as an actual entity, but moves the concept into a metaphorical dimension. Instead of a social practice, *flânerie* becomes a method of (social) scientific investigation. Thus, for example, the *flâneur* in *The Arcades Project* is seen as Benjamin's description of a methodological approach (e.g. Frisby, 1994: 82; Buck-Morss, 1991) which focuses on the investigation of the surface and the mundane in order to reveal the hidden “deeper, underlying social forces of the present and its

obscured links to the past and future." (Ganeva, 2008: 31) Consequently, the *flâneur* becomes a metaphor not so much of a modern artist as of a modern intellectual/social scientist, who studies modernity in its mundane and superficial, popular manifestations.

2. DISCOURSING THE FLÂNEUR

The *flâneur* has always been primarily a discursive construction. The *flâneur* originally acquired popular acclaim through literary and journalistic texts and was later resurrected in the fermenting and discursive field of social sciences. But as noted above, the *flâneur* became a projection screen for continuing reflections on the "nature and implications of the conditions of modernity and post-modernity" (Tester, 1994: 1) which brought about a bewildering array of conceptualisations. However, this in itself by no means reduces the value of the *flâneur* as an analytical concept. It merely outlines the *flâneur* as a textbook example of a 'floating signifier', whose meaning is determined within a discourse through the interconnection of a series of 'privileged discursive elements' or 'nodal points' whose function is to provide a partial fixation of the meaning of a concept within a specific discourse. (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, cf. Carpentier 2010)

This chapter offers a way of coming to terms with the elusive nature of the *flâneur*, by outlining the four 'privileged discursive elements' of the *flâneur* – 'gaze', 'knowledge production', 'textual production' and 'time' – any of which has the capacity to act as a nodal point within a specific discourse and thus to structure the definition of the *flâneur*. This further enables the shift in focus of inquiry, which is no longer on the sociological subject (the *flâneur*) but primarily on the social practice – on *flânerie* as a practice of observation. This discursive deconstruction (or reconstruction) of *flânerie* is not an attempt to deny the *flâneur*'s existence 'in' history but rather a way of securing the *flâneur*'s existence 'across' history. And while this is not an attempt to tease out the 'true' or 'original' *flâneur*, it does offer a blueprint for the detection of 'grounded' uses of the concept.

2.1 THE GAZE

The central activity that defines *flânerie* is observation. It is a specific kind of observation that combines "*the aimlessness of strolling, and the reflectiveness of the gaze*" (Wolff, 2008: 21, original emphasis). *Flânerie* is thus not merely a form of subsuming to, or indulging in, the spectacle of modernity, but a dialectical project of coming to terms with modernity, while

maintaining a critical overtone. The *flâneur* is often described as a kind of urban semiotician who reads the city as if it were a book, someone who embraces the fleeting semiotics of modernity and indulges in the search for its signs. As Franz Hessel put it:

Flânerie is a kind of reading of the street, in which faces, shop front, shop windows, cafe' terraces, street cars, automobiles and tree become a wealth of equally valid letters of the alphabet that together result in words, sentences and pages of an ever-new book. (Hessel quoted in Frisby, 1994: 81)

The *flâneur's* gaze indiscriminatingly focuses on the urban environment as well as on the people and commodities that 'populate' the modern city. The *flâneur's* gaze is, as most authors writing about the *flâneur* never fail to emphasise, focused on the surface. This, however, should not automatically lead to the popular conclusion that *flâneur's* gaze (and by extension, the *flâneur*) is superficial. Charles' Baudelaire's influential definition of the *flâneur* in *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863/1995) radicalises the claim already present in the mid-19th-century 'physiologies' of the *flâneur* – that his gaze does not stop at the surface but aims to penetrate it, to discover the hidden meaning or beauty beneath it. Thus the poetic task attributed to the *flâneur* by Baudelaire is to transcend the chaos of appearances in order to "*distil the eternal from the transitory*" (Baudelaire, 1863/1995: 11-12), to find the "*element of beauty it contains, however slight or minimal that element is*" (Ibid.).

To accomplish this, the *flâneur* is always attentive to details, to miniscule cues and signs normally overlooked by the fast-paced crowd of the *passants* around him. Thus the *flâneur* is a figure akin to a detective (Benjamin, 1999), scrutinising the scene in search of visual cues, observing details from which he is able to extract and frame larger conclusions. As Proust noted:

[...] I would stand there in front of them, motionless, gazing, breathing, endeavouring to penetrate with my mind beyond the thing seen or smelt. [...] I would concentrate upon recalling exactly the line of the roof, the colour of the stone, which, without my being able to understand why, had seemed to me to be teeming, ready to open, to yield up to me the secret treasure of which they were themselves no more than the outer coverings. (Proust 1922, my emphasis)

Although generally not considered to be one of the seminal authors on the *flâneur*, Marcel Proust describes all the basic elements of *flânerie* in this brief passage from *Swan's Way*: attentive (and passionate) observer, out of step

with the fast pace of modernity, aesthetic sensitivity, attention to detail, intellectual pursuit of an underlying “essence” and structures of meaning. What the *flâneur*’s gaze is searching for are ‘small epiphanies’, insights of either social or aesthetic significance. And these chance encounters are, like the flow of modernity, passing moments. Put differently, they are not only small but momentary epiphanies. Anke Gleber refers to this as ‘Augenblick’, a privileged moment of seeing, described by the novelist E.T.A. Hoffman as a “*moment of insight he perceives external appearance to be a ‘true representation of life’s eternal change’*” (Gleber, 1999: 14).

*Take two men going for a walk, for example, like us. Suddenly, thanks to a break in the clouds, a ray of light comes and strikes the top of a wall; and the top of the wall becomes, for the moment, something in some way quite extraordinary. One of the two men touches the other on the shoulder. The other raises his head and sees it too, understands it too. Then the thing up there vanishes. But they will know in aeternum that it once existed. [M15,1.]*¹

But there is a precondition for this kind of perception – estrangement. At the level of the practitioner, this type of observation requires anonymity. Although the *flâneur* plunges into the urban crowd to become “*one flesh with the crowd*” (Baudelaire 1995, 9), he does not aim to establish any kind of personal bonds to people in the crowd, but chooses to remain both anonymous and independent. “*The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito*”, wrote Baudelaire (1863/1995: 9), and many authors following Benjamin have developed the theme of anonymity into alienation. However, as Simmel (1903/1971) has noted, the anonymity of a city, particularly a metropolis, is a contradictory phenomenon. Metropolis breeds anonymity and anonymity in turn breeds alienation – but what Simmel emphasises is that it is precisely through alienation that the anonymity of the metropolis produces freedom. In the *flâneur*’s case, the freedom to wander and observe, freed from the social constraints and duties of the domestic, private sphere. *Flânerie* is thus a solitary venture during which companionship is undesirable. Companionship not only compromises detachment, it also compromises movement, *flânerie* itself.

At the level of practice, the precondition of estrangement manifests itself in the non-utilitarian strolling. To *flâner* is an end in itself, the *flâneur* wants to be driven by the ebb and flow of the crowd in the street, guided by momentary fascinations, the visual cues that he discovers or stumbles upon. As Shields put it, “*seeing visual lures is the key to the flâneur’s move-*

¹ This is a standardised form of referencing entries in Walter Benjamin’s *Arcades Project* (1999).

ment, drawn from sight to sight"² (1994: 65). By allowing the act of strolling (or wandering) to impose its own logic, *flânerie* can be seen as a practice of estrangement from the place for the purpose of achieving the heightened sense of awareness needed to enhance the *flâneur's* perception and susceptibility, a native "going stranger". The central characteristic of the *flâneur's* gaze is thus the ability to see the city, the people and the commodities as if it were for the first time:

To walk out your front door as if you're just arrived from a foreign country; to discover the world in which you already live; to begin the day as if you've just gotten off the boat from Singapore and have never seen your own doormat or the people on the landing...it is this that reveals the humanity before you, unknown until now. (M10a, 4)

2.2. KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

The underlying rationale of the *flâneur's* gaze is "a mythology of scopic penetration and understanding" (Shields, 1994: 78) which transforms the *flâneur's* observation into an act of knowledge production, during which a series of fragmented, momentary "images" that were carefully collected and catalogued by the *flâneur* undergo an act of interpretation.

The *flâneur's* main objective is to come to terms with fleeting modernity, to render transparent the dynamic and fragmented world of contemporary urban existence. As Gluck (2003) succinctly points out, two strands of this enterprise have existed – one that addresses the social and the other that focuses on the aesthetic aspects of modernity. While both strands of *flânerie* embrace modernity and position the *flâneur* as a central agent of its articulation, the first strand believes that the analysis of observable phenomena can ultimately lead to the discovery of the underlying social structure and can hence enable its critique, while the second strand sees observable phenomena merely as a site of aesthetic experience, a subject matter that requires the artist's creative reassessment. In the first perspective, modernity is a social labyrinth that is waiting to be deciphered (and also to be made controllable); in the second, it represents an aesthetic text (or its raw material) that needs to be conveyed through the creative potential of the artist. While the first strand produces knowledge in terms of truth claims and classifications and primarily deals with the world of people, typical,

2 "The visual pursuit of the evasive and conflicting aspects of the city becomes personified above all in the figure of the woman who passes in the street." (Gleber, 1999: 17; cf. Wolff, 2006)

for example, of journalism or social sciences, the second strand produces ways of aesthetic appreciation and modern forms of beauty that are primarily focused on the environment (the city) and the world of material objects, and reside typically in the domain of (avant-garde) artists.³

Despite their differences, both perspectives promulgate the position of the scopic authority of the *flâneur* and attribute knowledge production to a specific trait of the *flâneur* – to his power of imagination. In order to produce conclusions, the *flâneur* draws on modernity, on its subjects and objects, on detached, i.e. outside observation, not exact knowledge. In short, they are inferences. The *flâneur* never speaks to the subjects of his clandestine gaze, but interprets, or rather imagines, the meaning of the visual signs he discovers:

With the aid of a word I overhear in passing, I reconstruct an entire conversation, an entire existence. The inflection of a voice suffices for me to attach the name of a deadly sin to the man whom I have just jostled and whose profile I glimpsed. [M7,8]

In part, it was this speculative nature of the *flâneur*'s knowledge production, the interplay of imagination and projection, that led Benjamin to label the *flâneur* a dreamer, or more precisely, "*a dreaming idler*" [M1,5], and, by extension, a figure falling prey to 'false consciousness'. Thus, for Benjamin, "[t]o the idler who strolls the streets, things appear divorced from the history of their production, and their fortuitous juxtaposition suggests mysterious and mystical connections" (Buck-Morss, 1986: 106) Benjamin's critique was not, however, aimed at the *flâneur* as such, but essentially at the *flâneur* who ceased to practise the critical production of knowledge, the one who replaced *Erfahrung*, the active creation of one's reality, with *Erlebnis*, the consumerist phantasmagoria of the idler. (Ibid.) The emphasis on the critical nature of the *flâneur*'s knowledge production (either in the form of the 'social' or 'artistic' *flâneur*) is an important – though frequently overlooked – component in the definition of *flânerie*, since it means that the *flâneur* as an observer "*cannot [...] be reduced to the spectator, to mere idler or to the gaper (badaud)*" (Frisby, 1994: 93), to Benjamin's department store consumer or Bauman's shopping mall rat (1994), as long as there is an intellectual component behind the *flâneur*'s surface-oriented gaze.

3 Parsons, for example, observes a similar dichotomy when he compares the definitions of the *flâneur* by Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer, noting that Benjamin's definition embodies a more masculine and politicised perspective which aims to categorise and thus familiarise the crowd, while Kracauer's is "*less omnipotent and controlling. [...] more leisured, observing the surface pleasures of the city with a mind that registers rather than orders.*" (Parsons, 2000: 37-38)

2.3 PRODUCTION OF TEXTS

The third constitutive privileged discursive element of the *flâneur* is the *flâneur's* relation to the production of the accounts of his *flânerie*, which marks one of the concept's fundamental dialectics. Although *flânerie* is necessarily an act of solitary, anonymous, detached observation, the fruits of the *flânerie* are not intended for the *flâneur's* own consumption. Quite the contrary, the act of *flânerie* is not complete until the *flâneur's* insights are shared with a public (see Baudelaire's (1863/1995) description of Constantin Guys). Or at least materialised in a form that can/will be conveyed to an audience.

The *flâneur* is, therefore, a producer⁴ of a wide variety of "texts" on urban modernity. Although most often associated with writing, either in the form of art (poetry, prose, plays) or journalism (*feuilleton*, cultural criticism), the productive output of *flâneurs* also includes the often curiously⁵ overlooked visual production, ranging from illustrations and caricatures to paintings and later photography and film.

In the discursive articulations of *flânerie*, the productive aspect of the *flâneur* is often used (following Benjamin) to connect the *flâneur* with the notion of commoditisation (as discussed before). In these articulations, the *flâneur* becomes "a genius whose spirit has been capitalized" (Mazlish 1994, 47), someone who commoditises the *flânerie* itself in order to be able to practise it. But what such articulations implicitly presuppose is a "full time *flâneur*", an individual for whom *flânerie* is both a permanent and an overarching identity. From the "a-historical" perspective on *flânerie*, advocated in this chapter (as well as from the perspective of identity theories), such a reduction simply cannot be sustained. Rather, the *flânerie* is to be seen as a pastime, something a person might occasionally indulge in, producing a record that goes beyond leaving footprints on the pavements of the asphalt jungle.

2.4 TIME

Flânerie is a practice that ultimately depends on the availability of 'non-utilitarian' time, which in turn links the *flâneur* to capitalism. I would argue that it is not the commodity but the notion of the 'non-utilitarian'

4 The *flâneur* is not only a producer, but also a consumer of a wide variety of 'texts' on urban modernity – see Frisby, 1994.

5 Especially since Baudelaire's archetypal *flâneur* is a painter, not writer.

time that defines the *flâneur*'s ties to capitalism. For it is precisely the non-utilitarian-ness of strolling that differentiates (and distances) the *flâneur* from the functional flow of the crowd, from what Simmel (1903/1971: 328) described as the dictate of organised time – the rational organisation of the co-ordination of men and goods in the metropolis that makes the functioning of the capitalist economy possible. *Flânerie* exists outside the disciplining power of time that is linked to capitalist productive relations, to confinements of 'productive work time' and 'functional leisure'. From this perspective, even for Benjamin, the "*idleness of the flâneur is a demonstration against the division of labour*" [M5,7]. And even for the *flâneur*-journalist or *flâneur*-writer, whose time spent strolling could be seen as a form of labour, it is first and foremost a time spent outside the constraints of industrial capitalism, outside "*the increasing ordinance of public life by punch-clock measurement of time in terms of labour and productivity*" (Shields, 1994: 73). Ironically, modernity's most attentive observer is someone whose existence "*is out of step with the rapid circulation of the modern metropolis*" (Tester, 1994: 15), someone who walks at a different, slower pace than the crowd that surrounds him, who takes the time to observe, inspect, reflect, imagine. A kind of anachronism (Donald, 1999: 46).⁶

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the introduction to an influential edited volume on the subject, Tester (1994: 7) notes that "*[b]ecause the flâneur is fundamentally a figure who can only be known through the activities of flânerie, a certain mystery is intrinsic to his identity*". What I have proposed in this chapter is to challenge the notoriously elusive identity of the *flâneur* through a 'discursive turn' by focusing on the articulation of the social practice itself, on *flâneur*'s constitutive activity – *flânerie*.

This focus enables one to move away from some of the hotly debated issues on the *flâneur* as a (sociological) subject, such as the continuous and painstaking attempts to locate the historical figure of the *flâneuse* in the liminal public spaces of the 19th century (e.g. see a recent edited volume by D'Souza and McDonough, 2008).

As I noted above, the discursive shift from the *flâneur* to *flânerie* enables us to transcend the limitations of conceptualising the *flâneur* as a 19th-century

⁶ It is also the notion of 'non-productive time', the loitering, not the gaze, that can make the *flâneur* a suspicious character in the eyes of the crowd or its official observers and regulators (cf. Hessel 1929/2011 or Benjamin 1929/1999; McDonough, 2002).

social phenomenon. By claiming that this 'discursive turn' enables us to go beyond the debate on the (non)existence of the 19th-century *flâneuse*, I do not mean to downplay the importance of understanding power-gender relations and their historic articulations, but merely to suggest that accepting Wolff's (2008) argument on the nonexistence of the 19th-century *flâneuse* should not automatically imply the nonexistence of the *flâneuse* as such, for we can find this elusive female observer in present-day practices such as photoblogs, where the *flâneuse* proliferates, if not dominates the production of contemporary vernacular visual culture.

Flânerie, as a bodily practice of mobility, observation, knowledge production and dissemination, is the outcome of fluctuating socio-historic articulations (and materialisations) of power, which define the impermanent constellation of the four privileged discursive elements of *flânerie* outlined above. Although I am aware of the underlying tautology of the proposition of defining the *flâneur* as "a man who indulges in flânerie" (Tester, 1994: 113), I still believe that *flânerie* can teach us much more about the *flâneur* as a sociological subject immersed in a specific socio-historical position than the other way around.

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The added value of frames: On the differences with related concepts

Viorela Dan

The omnipresence of frames in academic literature over the past two decades has fuelled a discussion about the added value of the concept of the frame in comparison to seemingly analogue concepts. This chapter aims to shed light on this issue by reviewing the academic literature on the topic in order to contrast frames with some related concepts which have been used interchangeably, namely narratives, discourses and signs. The chapter starts by defining frames in the context of framing theory and then moves on to a comparison of these concepts. The comparison is structured in four dimensions: the level of the concept in the mass communication process, the role of the communicator, the scope of communication and the carrier of this communication.

1. A DEFINITION OF FRAMES

In recent decades, scholars from a wide array of disciplines have scrutinised meaning-making from a social constructivist perspective. In particular, the studies conducted by Bateson (1955) and Goffman (1974) in sociology and Bartlett (1932) in psychology have led to a tremendous number of studies of frames and framing within this paradigm. A search in the EBSCOhost database¹ shows that this proliferation of framing studies amounted to over 800 publications over the last two decades in communication studies alone.

Framing research, despite variations, is committed to the general idea that social actors and media makers select and highlight only a fraction of the available information for the audience (Entman, 1993). Entman (1993) authors one of the most widely accepted definitions in framing research:

1 Communication & Mass Media Complete available at <http://web.ebscohost.com>

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

In line with the above definition, “to frame” or “framing” stands for this activity of selection and emphasis, while “frames” represent the output of the framing process. Accordingly, frames can be regarded as the chosen interpretations of issues which mark off other possible interpretations (e.g., Gitlin, 1980); they act like a support pillar of a certain view, holding its elements together just like a building-frame (Gamson, 2004).

Entman (1993) identified several “locations” for frames, including the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Thus, frames are drawn from the underlying *culture*, then utilised or targeted by *communicators* in their *texts* and transmitted to the *receiver* where they may cause some effects. Consequently, framing research has the potential to analyse the entire mass communication process — an endeavour which has yet to be accomplished, since most studies only analyse single steps in the process. Nonetheless, there are several studies scrutinising two steps at once, like the diffusion of frames from social actors to media texts. These so-called input-output analyses (e.g. Dan and Ihlen, 2011a) remind a media-oriented academic community that ignoring the origins of media frames in social actors leads not only to the assumption that media frames emerge in a social/ political void, but also to an overestimation of journalistic autonomy. Despite their merits, such input-output studies do not focus on the effects of the observed frames on their recipients. Even so, there are other studies that do look at the *recipients* of frames, often (quantitatively) focusing on the effects particular frames have (e.g. Matthes, 2007).

What most communication studies seem to have underplayed is the role the culture plays in framing. This might lead to a misinterpretation of the identified constructs, especially when the authors do not belong to the culture within which the research material has been produced.

Research into *communicator frames*, i.e. the frames conveyed by social actors in their public relations materials, for example, is often conducted under the label of “strategic framing”. This presumes that communicator frames might be produced out of a desire to “get messages across” and “win arguments” (Pan and Kosicki, 2001: 40). Yet, framing is not necessarily a deliberate process. Indeed, framing can be played out on an internal or subconscious level, with “no motive other than a conscientious effort

to frame events in a way that the sponsor considers most meaningful" (Gamson, 1989: 158). In other words, framing is inescapable in daily life (Goffman, 1974).

Studies of *media frames* have often looked for the elements described by Entman in the above definition: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation. These elements are often referred to as the informational content of frames, or "reasoning devices". Scholars would ideally cluster- or factor-analyse the coded variables to "extract" the frames in texts, as suggested by Matthes and Kohring (2008). Yet, since Van Gorp (2007) laid out his case about the role of culture in the framing process, framing research has found its way back to a wider understanding of frames that goes beyond this informational content and beyond the attempt to "extract" frames. Van Gorp reminded us that Gamson and colleagues (e.g. Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) argued for a more complex understanding of frames. This complex understanding regards frames not only as composed of informational content, but also of catchphrases, depictions, metaphors, exemplars or visual images (Entman, 1993; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, 2001). These lexical choices and visual images are often called framing devices or condensational symbols (Gamson and Lasch, 1983). They are mechanisms which help one identify a certain frame, since they can cue an entire known frame, i.e. one particular interpretation of the received informational content (Gamson, 1989; Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Since then, several framing studies have been published, where the authors scrutinised their research material for complex constructs, consisting not only of informational content, but also of condensational symbols (e.g. Dan and Ihlen, 2011a; Zoch, Collins, Sisco, and Supa, 2008). Yet, framing studies that include the analysis of verbal and visual elements constitute a minority among framing studies (e.g., Dan and Ihlen, 2011b; Reynolds and Barnett, 2003).

2. RELATION TO SIGNS

The concepts of frame and framing are related, in complex ways, to a set of other concepts, the first of which is *signs/symbols*. My account – mostly relying on Gamson and Lasch (1983) – suggests that signs and symbols might be regarded as frame components. The central idea behind signs is that meaning is socially constructed, not inherent in objects or events. One central difference to frames becomes visible: while I am not aware of any framing scholar arguing that objects are not stable containers of meaning

(they only claim this about events), post-Saussurean semiology states that: "A linguistic sign is not a link between a thing and a name, but between a concept and a sound pattern" (Saussure, 1983: 66). Thus, even the meaning of objects is open to interpretation in semiology. Here, the link between concept and sound pattern, say between the idea of a dog and the understanding of the sound or written word "dog", is "conventional, and thus arbitrary, wholly lacking in any natural link with the object, completely free of and unregulated by it" (Saussure, 2006: 140). What these concepts have in common, though, is the fact that they assign an important role to the underlying culture. In semiology, the meaning a culture assigns to a particular articulation is a signified assigned to a signifier (Sd/Sr). Along these lines, a sign is a symbol when the underlying culture determines how it is to be associated with an object (see Peirce, 1965). Symbols are particularly important in visual media, where images, rather than words or sounds, are used as signifiers (Olson, 2008). Yet, lexical symbols exist. The word "blue", for example, stands not only for a colour, but also for an emotional state (see Olson, 2008).

Yet another difference between frames and signs or symbols relates to the role of the communicator and the intentionality of this communication. From a communicator perspective, frames can be used to persuade – an idea sustained mostly by research into strategic framing, Goffman's (1974) argument about the unavoidability of framing notwithstanding. In this case, framing appears to have more agency than signs and symbols. Accordingly, those who accept that framing can be used to persuade will find it plausible that signs and symbols can be used within strategic frames in a persuasive way. However, semiotic analysis is usually not judging communication in terms of their goals, but rather finds interest in whatever meanings a communication happens to produce (see Steinman, 2008).

3. RELATION TO NARRATIVE

A discussion about the role of culture in frames inevitably involves a discussion about narratives. As argued by Gamson (1989), "[t]he frames for a given story are frequently drawn from shared cultural narratives and myths" (p. 161) (see also Frayn, 1981; Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, 1997; Turner, 1982). Consequently, a narrative appears to be a fully developed, fully fleshed-out story, while a frame is the central organising idea at its core, which makes "sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson, 1989: 3). These narratives are carried by all sorts of communication forms, mostly verbal and visual.

One typical characteristic of narratives is the fact that they are sequentially organised, with a beginning, middle and an end (Ricouer, 1988). This temporal sequence does not appear that important in frames, though some authors speak about narrative frames, where the news account begins with an anecdote rather than a summary lead.

Walter Fisher (1984, 1985), the author of the theory of the narrative paradigm, contends that narration is the dominant mode of human communication: humans are storytellers ("homo narrans" - Fisher, 1987) who create and communicate stories that form understanding, guide collective reasoning and shape behaviour. Thus, narratives, just like frames, appear inescapable in everyday life. Yet, they can be used strategically. There is a motive behind a narrative, which influences the content of the narrative and the delivery. In fact, narrative was a popular type of persuasion and instruction from classical Greco-Roman times through the Middle Ages (Gring-Pemble, 2008). To cite Fisher (1970), "a communicator perceives a rhetorical situation in terms of a motive, and that an organic relationship exists between his perception and his response to that circumstance; his perception determines the characteristics of his discourse and his presentation" (p. 132).

4. RELATION TO DISCOURSE

Discourse encompasses verbal and non-verbal communication in social interaction (Cobley, 2008). Though most research on discourse focuses on language, there are also broader approaches where discourse is similar to ideology or representations. Discourses also entail the exercise of power in the sense that they delimit what can be said or thought in a certain social sphere (see Foucault, 1980).

In order to comprehend the relationship between discourse and frames, it is advisable to scrutinise previous studies of media coverage, where the authors discuss both media discourses and frames. These studies suggest that discourse can be seen as upper category. Thus, the news coverage of one particular issue in time represents the media discourse on that issue, which contains several frames and counter-frames. This interpretation is in line with the suggestions made by some prominent framing scholars, like Gamson in the foreword of "Framing Public Life" (Reese, Gandy, and Grant, 2001: x), or Pan and Kosicki (1993) in their "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse".

A case in point for these media studies is the research note by Eilders and Luter (2000) on the competing framing strategies regarding the Kosovo war in German public discourse. Another example is the study conducted by Boni (2002) on the frames producing the discourse on men's lives and bodies in the Italian edition of *Men's Health*. Yet another study, authored by Cooper and Pease (2009), looks at the media discourse after the 2006 cancellation of the film *Brokeback Mountain* in Utah because of its themes of gay love and homophobia. They found out that the discourse broke down into two entirely opposing frames – Defending Zion versus Disrupting Zion – but each argued for the necessity to safeguard different perspectives of morality.

This level-related clarification helps us understand the relationship between media frames and discourses. Yet, as described above, frames can be localised not only in media accounts, but also in the communicator, the culture and the recipients. I would argue that, while one can trace the frame back to its author (aka sponsor in framing research), no such thing is possible with discourses. Since discourses are more abstract than frames, they appear more distant from the communicators. Moreover, while the literature on strategic framing suggests that communicator frames might be designed to persuade, no such agency-driven persuasive goal can be found in discourses.

As for the other two “locations”, it seems plausible that both frames and discourses can be localised in the culture and in the recipients. Here, just like when analysing media texts, discourse can be used like an upper category containing several frames (see Gamson and Lasch, 1983 for the role of condensational symbols within and the concept of “issue culture”).

5. CONCLUSION

The above account illustrates the complexity of the concept of “frame” and its relationship with the concepts of discourse, narratives and signs. The differences presented in this chapter involve (1) the level of the concepts in mass communication, (2) the role of the communicator, (3) the scope of communication and (4) the carrier of this communication.

First, the literature review showed that the concepts at hand reside at different levels of the mass communication process. When it comes to a particular issue, the most far-reaching concept is the concept of discourse. A (media) discourse about poverty, for instance, might contain several

frames and counter-frames (e.g. welfare freeloaders vs. poverty trap), which are drawn from the respective narratives and counter-narratives in the underlying culture. These frames might also include signs, which — provided their meaning is readily apparent to most members of that particular culture — can act as symbols. A visual symbol of the “poverty trap” frame might be the picture of a single mother with numerous children.

This chapter has shown that frames are most similar to narratives. The main difference here relates to complexity. While narratives are fully developed stories, frames are central organising ideas within these stories. Thus, frames for a given story are often drawn from shared cultural narratives.

Secondly, the role of the communicator appears most important in narratives and frames. Since both narratives and frames can — but do not have to — be used in a persuasive way, the framer is “in” the frame (thus arguably in the sign), just like the narrator is “in” his or her narrative. On the other hand, the communicator is of no (or little) importance in discourse. Moreover, the intention of the communicator and the achievement of their goals (e.g., persuasion) only appear to be interesting for research focusing on the strategic use of frames. While signs might be used persuasively, the evaluation of their use is not something semiologists would typically be interested in.

Finally, the carrier of narratives, signs and frames can be either verbal or visual, while the carrier of discourse is not important (though the emphasis often lies on language). Current research on these concepts has a clear predisposition to verbal analysis. Yet, visuals are much more than “window dressing for or decorative distraction from the verbal component” (Grabe and Bucy, 2009: 77). While the number of visual framing studies has been constantly increasing (e.g., Buseck, 2008; Smith Dahmen, 2009), what the academic community lacks most is research considering not only verbal or visual elements, but rather verbal and visual elements.

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Approaching celebrity – sketching an analytical framework

Michael Rübsamen

1. INTRODUCTION

There are few research subjects that are so filled with glamour and myth as that of celebrity studies. Celebrities fill the media with all their passionate intensity, as well as provoking passionate discussions amongst media audiences. How deeply are you in love with Justin Bieber? And just how provoked are you by Rebecca Black? Today, celebrities are a constant presence in our lives: both in politics and in diverse media and entertainment outlets. With one click of a mouse or one flick of the remote control, all of us have instant and intimate access to the lives of celebrities. And regardless of whether we view them as secret power-holders or as a powerless elite, celebrities have come to exert considerable influence on contemporary politics, ideas and fashions. It is for this reason that they are deserving of our critical attention.

This chapter considers the ways in which Swedish celebrities can be understood as both a cultural and a mediated phenomenon. My initial concern will be to develop an understanding of how, in the Swedish context, the arena of celebrity has changed over the years. Of particular interest is the question of how to build an empirical understanding of the status systems and informal normative regulations by means of which someone can be viewed as a celebrity. The main goal is to shed light on the process of celebrity construction in the modern, or late modern, era. How can we understand the somewhat simple and vulgar observation that nowadays you can be relatively ignorant and be lacking in personal attributes, and yet if you are willing to be locked up in a house for a hundred days, you can emerge with the status of a celebrity? Perhaps Andy Warhol was right when he said that everybody could have their fifteen minutes of fame? Or should that be that everyone who becomes famous only remains so for fifteen minutes?

In an attempt to provide some answers to the questions above, I will first of all propose a theoretical model that we can use to investigate the processes involved in celebrity construction. I will then go on to consider to what extent these may have changed in the course of the last few decades. For all the changes that the media ecology has gone through since the middle of the last century, this is not the only explanation for the transformation of celebrity culture over the same period. The assumption is, rather, that something has changed within the wider culture and that this in turn is reflected in the way that notable celebrities manifest themselves today.

2. CELEBRITY STUDIES AS A RESEARCH FIELD

There has been an immense development in the research into celebrity culture over the last two decades (Beer and Penfold-Mounce, 2010). This may result from the fact that popular culture itself has risen in status within the community of researchers. Researchers have generally distanced themselves from the scoffing attitude of scholars such as Adorno and Horkheimer (1993), who tended to view popular and/or celebrity culture as nothing more than opium for the masses. Nowadays, however, the study of celebrity is used more constructively as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of contemporary culture. One might even advance the claim that, in certain respects, celebrities can be viewed as cultural seismographs.

To say that popular/celebrity culture is now viewed differently than it was by an earlier generation of researchers is not to say that the ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer have no relevance, especially with respect to issues such as power relationships. Clearly such issues are an important aspect of celebrity studies, just as they are of media studies. Likewise, celebrity studies is further connected to the larger field of media studies insofar as it is only through a carefully controlled mediating process that celebrity is conferred or created. Another aspect of celebrity studies is that it is closely connected to media and communication studies, since the mediation of the celebrity persona is inherently important to the creation of the celebrity (Drake and Miah, 2010; Rojek, 2001). In short, the field of celebrity studies mirrors several of the problems within the overall field of media and communications in terms of methodologies, research subjects, ontological and epistemological debates.

The field of celebrity studies has been considerably extended since the early pioneers, such as Alberoni (1962) or Boorstin (1961). Whilst some interest began to be taken in the celebrity phenomenon in the 1970s (Dyer 1979, 2004), it was not until the first decade of the new millennium that the field experienced a major boom. The last 10 years have seen scholars discussing celebrities as manifestations of power and as constructs of the culture industries (Turner, 2003). Attempts have also been made to position the field in relation to politics (van Zoonen, 2005), and to discuss the role played by the audience in celebrity construction (Couldry, 2000; Drake and Miah, 2010). Celebrity studies is, thus, very much an applied discipline within media and communications, but can also be seen to draw inspiration from a range of other disciplines, including sociology, political science, film studies, psychology, history and gender studies.

3. CELEBRITY AS A STATUS SYSTEM

If we wish to analyse celebrity in a constructive way, we need to find a way to grasp this quite fluid concept. Since definitions have a tendency to be either too broad or too narrow, we could use a taxonomy such as the one put forward by Rojek (2001). He suggests that a useful way to distinguish between different types of celebrity is to talk either about status by merit of lineage, such as in the case of royalty or of distinguished families such as the Kennedys (ascribed celebrity); status by merit of achievement or competition, such as sports heroes, actors or musicians (achieved celebrity); or status by merit of cultural mediation, such as reality show contestants or professional minglers (attributed celebrity). It is also important to make mention of Rojek's term 'celetoids', by which he means a distilled and concentrated form of attributed celebrity status resulting from living in a fast-paced mediated society. Lottery winners, one-hit wonders and kiss-and-tellers who have short and intense periods of fame or notoriety should therefore not be labelled celebrities, but celetoids. (Rojek, 2001:21)

But this taxonomy needs to be developed and examined in greater depth. To do this, we will re-introduce the concept of status as discussed by classical scholars such as Max Weber, who pointed out that status is closely connected to lifestyle (Weber, 1983:212), or C. W. Mills (Mills, 1971), who pointed out that the classic Marxist way of viewing power and elites in terms of social class is in many ways inadequate. Mills points out that in America, which historically lacks a proper bourgeoisie, status is a more fruitful way of understanding power relations (Mills, 1971:17). One of the first attempts to make use of this distinction as far as celebrities are con-

cerned and to employ it as an analytical tool is that of Alberoni's 'powerless elite' (Alberoni, 1962), which I regard as an ironic allusion to Mills' notion of a "power elite". The concept of status also surfaces in a somewhat mutated form in, for example, Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1984), in which economic or political capital is not regarded as the only way to create and maintain status, but where social or cultural capital are also seen as important building blocks.

Apart from theorising about the construction of status, we also need to be able to discern how status is created and maintained. We need to be able to discern the kinds of privileges meted out to celebrities. These include economic, normative, interactional and legal privileges (Kurzman et al., 2007). We need ways to find concrete manifestations of celebrity status such as those identified by Murray Milner Jr. According to Milner, there are several important similarities between power elites and celebrity elites in terms of observable markers and characteristics of status (Milner Jr., 2005).

Milner concludes that status, in general, is inalienable. It is, in other words, impossible to distinguish status from the person within whom it resides. Status is also unexpanding in the sense that it can be viewed as a fixed amount of capital. If someone wants to have status, it needs to be taken from someone else. Furthermore status is dependent on the celebrity's ability to conform to the norms of the elite. And finally, social elite status is dependent on one's social associations with other people of equal or higher status¹. To be seen together with other celebrities is, thus, an important confirmation.

Just as with common elite status, it is important to make a distinction between distance and proximity. Celebrities are distanced from the general audience. Maybe less so in Sweden than in the US or the UK but still they function on another level from ordinary mortals. The world they inhabit is one of magic and glamour; and thus a certain distance is required to create the necessary tension in the relationship between the celebrity and his/her public. By being distanced in this way, celebrities are elevated into a glamorous and magical sphere, which is unattainable for the common man. Celebrities are celebrated for simply being well known, as Boorstin put it (Boorstin, 1961:61). This can be seen to represent a shift in being

1 The American stand-up comedian Bob Saget once beautifully illustrated the nature and importance of social association in the show *That Ain't Right*, saying that: "Name dropping is bullshit. Quentin Tarantino told me that. He said 'Name-dropping is bullshit' and I said 'you're friggin' right Quentin.'"

able to derive celebrity from accomplishments, to attention in general. This means that being visible is one of the key elements in the building of status. But the shift is somewhat deeper since it also tends to lift celebrity into a broader societal context. Milner calls this process of integrating the celebrity into overall culture 'celebrification' (Milner Jr., 2005).

4. CELEBRITY IN THE FLUIDNESS OF THE TIMES

If we wish to see achievement or accomplishment as factors in the perception/production/construction of celebrity, we need to return to Rojek's distinction between achieved and attributed celebrity status. Rojek's view is that a celebrity requires both. But in order to fully understand the construction of celebrity we also need to take into account the societal context in which celebrity is constructed. Rojek points to the fact that the term 'celebrity' has two etymological connections. First, it is connected with the Latin word 'celere', which he translates as rapid or fluid, but the word is also linked with the French word 'celebrer' - to celebrate. The notion of the rapidity and fluidity of contemporary times has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest of late. Featherstone (1987; 1988; 1994a; 1994b), for instance, talks about an important shift in contemporary society from a production culture to a consumer culture. According to Featherstone, we have entered an era of aesthetic culture in which we are encountering new groups of intellectuals from the areas of public relations, fashion and media, which are acting as the prime conveyors of culture and values. We thus gain insight into the rapidity and fluidness of contemporary society when we take a close look at celebrity culture.

But the aesthetisation of society may also be something that is reflected in our celebrities' style of consumption (see Dyer, 1979). We can observe, for instance, how the private and the public merge together into a hybrid of a public/private life, where the 'private' can instantaneously become 'public'. Dyer notes that an important aspect of this can be found in the consumption habits thereby displayed. In other words, the consumption of celebrities has always been important, but it is becoming even more important. Again, this may be understood to be a reflection of what Bauman suggests to be the most important characteristic of our current time: a constant demand for more consumption and the fulfilment and gratification of new desires.

Sennett's view of the new capitalism (Sennett, 2007) offers us another interesting point of departure on how to perceive celebrity in terms of the

relationship between craftsmanship and status. According to Sennett, the economy in the postmodern era is characterised by instability, change and migration, dissolution and fragmentation (Sennett, 2007:16). And with so much change and turbulence, workers in the new capitalism will, in Sennett's view, confront diverse new challenges. In particular, the new era of postmodernity will require a constant development of new talents and skills. This immediately raises the question as to the kind of status that talent and skill will acquire in this new era. Sennett points out that a highly developed craftsmanship is a trademark of the modern era, where someone earns credit for the knowledge and skill they possess. But in a postmodern era, the economy promotes potential and talent. Adaptiveness and fluidity demand a whole new set of skills from the worker. When Sennett looks at doctors and engineers, he points out that members of these professions have, on a regular basis, to unlearn their whole skill set, because methods and procedures become obsolete so quickly. The new era does not look at the skill itself, but considers the potential of what someone might become in terms of their craft. Instead of a prolonged education where the worker learns his craft, a new set of intellectual skills is required. The worker needs to be able to adapt and change. If anything, craftsmanship is seen as a quality or attribute that represents an unwillingness to change. The consequence is that the economy of today begins to resemble a game show like *American Idol* or *X-Factor*. Thus, when a group of judges are vetting applicants' performance ability, they are not necessarily focusing on the applicants' actual skill level, but are, rather, assessing their performance potential. For *Idol* contestants, therefore, it is far more devastating to be told by the judges that "You lack potential" than to be told "You messed up!".

5. LOOKING AT CELEBRITY CASES

If we relate some of the above remarks to the present discussion of celebrity, we might well discern how certain aspects of contemporary culture are reflected in the celebrity phenomenon. It might even provide an explanation for the rapid careers of celebrities and the popularity they enjoy. Let us return to the notion that you do not need to know or be able to do so much to become a celebrity today. When the focus shifts from what people actually do to what they are and what we can expect them to do (or become!), careers necessarily become swifter. It also goes without saying that returns on investment need to be just as swift. Celebrities come and go with astonishing rapidity in the media industry's constant and relentless quest for new talent.

I will now take a very brief look at the careers of two Swedish celebrities' careers in order to discover what light they can shed on issues relating to celebrity, and also what they can tell us about the changing media landscape².

Björn Skifs is a veteran of the Swedish entertainment business, with a long and illustrious career since he made his debut in the middle of the 1960s. His career has involved pop music (including scoring a number one on the American billboard list with the song "*Hooked on a feeling*"), acting on both screen and stage as well as hosting television shows. Skifs' first claim to fame, albeit on a smaller scale, was when the pop group he was leading, *Slam Creepers*, won the Swedish pop band contest in 1966. They were a band of preciously innocent times. They had been performing together for about four years in the rural village of Vansbro. Skifs' father was a well-known local performer, writing, performing and directing for the local revue scene. Skifs often remembers in interviews that he used to stay at the side of the stage peeping out while his father performed. Skifs went on from leading the pop group to launching a career as a solo artist. He appeared on television, participating in both the Eurovision song contest and as an entertainer in comedy shows. He also made stage appearances and acted on the big screen. As a celebrity, he epitomises the perfect classic entertainer, with virtually no scandals and with hardly anybody wanting to say a bad word about him.

By contrast, Carolina Gynning has relatively few people to cheer her on or say that she is doing a great job! But she has still managed to keep a high profile for a considerable number of years. Gynning could be described as the ultimate contemporary celebrity, starting as a glamour model and winning the Swedish version of *Big Brother* in 2004. After this success her career really took off. She hosted several television shows, worked again as a glamour model, wrote two autobiographies and even found the time to do some painting. She is constantly reinventing herself and distancing herself from her history almost to the point of denial. A recurrent statement of hers is that she is the new Carolina Gynning. By distancing herself from her history, she has also distanced herself from herself. Taking one's cue from Bauman (2007), one could almost refer to her as a perfect example of the current era's tendency to pointillism. Gynning has no history, only a present and a near future, in which she is promising to reveal some new side of herself.

2 The cases are collected from my Ph.D. project, which consists of four cases. For the sake of clarity and space, I have restricted myself to including just two of them in this text.

If we consider the differences between these two celebrities, we can detect that something has changed between the time when Skifs made his breakthrough in the middle to late 1960s and the time when Gynning first entered the celebrity arena. Almost 40 years separates their respective breakthroughs. This provides us with an opportunity to discuss their underlying differences.

Skifs' career can be likened to a carefully crafted object which began with the finding of some promising raw material, which was carefully moulded and crafted over a period of time during which he and his pop group travelled the countryside, honing their craft. Skifs is akin to a fine carpenter, who develops their raw material and methodically produces an item that is built to last, one where the changes have been made gradually over time and where attention has always been paid to the inherent qualities of the material. He has also expanded his career into covering other closely related art forms, with a firm grounding in entertainment (not unlike the classical entertainers like Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin and Sammy Davis Jr.) Gynning, on the other hand, was propelled into the limelight from virtual obscurity. Her career had been primarily focused on glamour modelling, without any direct celebrity status worth mentioning. With her victory in the Big Brother programme, she quickly established herself as a Swedish celebrity personality. Rather than fading back into obscurity like most reality show contestants, Gynning was able to maintain her presence. While Skifs' career depends on his ability and talent primarily as a singer, and his gradual development as an entertainer, Gynning's career has been much more chaotic and unpredictable. She has jumped from low culture to high culture, playing with concepts and multiple identities (Gynning & Carlqvist, 2006; 2009). While Skifs has been a stable personality, Gynning's persona has shifted repeatedly. In this respect Skifs can be seen to represent the earlier era's slower and gradual development, while Gynning epitomises the eternal thirst for new experiences and new modes of production.

6. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

To write about and discuss celebrities might be one of the most fascinating challenges a media researcher may undertake. The researcher must face the challenge of trying to define a quite fluid concept and to break down preconceptions, especially that celebrities are a strictly low-culture phenomenon. After that we need to turn celebrities into academic problems. Almost everyone has ideas and opinions on celebrities, and we must not

fall into the trap of becoming mesmerised by the glamour they project or merely write biographies of the people we want to investigate. We have to move into the area where the celebrity as a person, the media and the audience interact and thereby construct an elite status. This means that we need an understanding of how the media systems work as well as of how the cultural values regarding status elites function. In this chapter I have sketched an analytical framework that can help us in our task to make research questions and academic problems out of the structures that surround and create celebrities. By viewing celebrities as reflections or embodiments of ideals and values, we can obtain a deeper understanding of the times, the societies and the cultural environments we, and they, inhabit.

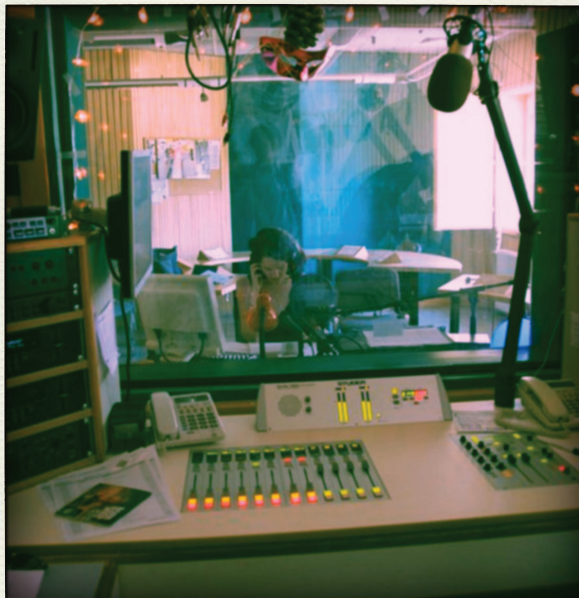
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SECTION TWO

JOURNALISM AND MEDIA



STUDY VISIT TO RADIO 5TUDENT

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS HEINDERYCKX

Striving for noiseless journalism

François Heinderyckx

1. INTRODUCTION

News media are drifting away from newsworthiness. Swept along by short-sighted market logics, a large array of news outlets have actively sought to enlarge their audience (or limit its decline) by bending their offer towards allegedly more consensual, more universally appealing content. As a result, news media have converged into a universal model of soft news, short and punchy format and a neutral or obsessively balanced approach to anything that might imply ideology or controversy. These desperate attempts to appeal to the masses have largely failed in Europe and North America. Newspapers are particularly under pressure. Many have subdued their political orientation if they had one, entirely abandoning the ground of opinionated journalism to a limited number of outlets, including on television and on the web, some of which have escalated their ideological reading of events to the point of marked and open bias. Thriving on the demise of ideology and political engagement in regular media, some opinionated outlets are routinely indulging in content that is closer to harangue or misinformation than anything even remotely journalistic.

Coverage of sensitive issues like climate change, for example, has shown how some of these outlets go far beyond a politically engaged interpretation of events and bend facts to serve ideology. Meanwhile, mainstream news outlets have normalised a soft news approach based on the assumption that the audience likes being entertained, and therefore should not be bothered with complicated issues or events. Galtung and Ruge had already identified in the 1960s that “*the less ambiguity, the more the event will be noticed*” (Galtung & Ruge, 1965: 66). Media are nervously avoiding or downplaying stories that could be suspected of being boring or too complex or be seen as repellent by the larger audience. Inevitably, this results in a dumbing down of news, with a disproportionate emphasis on anecdotal

dotal and insignificant but juicy stories. Even major events fall victims to the diktat of the short, amusing or spectacular human-interest angle to news stories.

These developments are aggravated by an evolving context of increased pressure to reduce the cost of news production. This results mechanically in a reduction of resources, including human, i.e. the intellectual capital of news organisations. Journalists have to produce more content (see Davies, 2009) and also feed the cross-media platforms that have become a necessity (Paterson & Domingo, 2008). Even with the best inclination, many journalists simply do not have the time and resources to work properly.

And yet, islands of high-quality journalism (or should we just call it 'journalism') remain. In many cases they are thriving, coveted by individuals prompted by a desire not only to know, but more importantly to understand the world in which they live, work and vote. That particular niche of audience is a well-known elite characterised by a high level of education, qualified jobs with responsibilities and an enviable purchasing power. Marketers call them 'socio-economic group A' or 'social group 1', a much sought-after target for marketing and advertising. The overall result of this elitist reality is devastatingly simple: a growing information and knowledge gap is exacerbating the existing social divides. None of this might seem really new. The high fringe of news media has always been aimed at and used by a social elite with the interest, the skills and the financial means to enjoy the sophisticated journalism of quality news media. Yet, this is not inevitable. Are we not living in the information society? Efforts by public service media and the possibilities offered by digital technologies could have created a virtuous circle whereby a diversity of approaches would lead to a range of offer that could provide suitable news for various segments of the population. Instead, the current trend leads to a polarised offer between a largely homogenous, flimsy soft-news mainstream media on the one hand; and targeted, sophisticated, high-end outlets on the other.

This chapter could easily be mistaken for a case of nostalgia for the good old times, when journalists were inspired geniuses and news media were articulate, balanced and eloquent masterpieces. It is not. An easy cure for nostalgia is to browse the archives, be it of newspapers or television newscasts. My argument is one of taking stock of the inadequate way in which too many people are being informed, and to explore ways in which this can be improved, for the benefit of all. It is my contention that the news

media industry is in a deadlock after exhausting the possibilities for reducing the costs of production and circulation, and for enhancing their appeal to audiences. The tragic devastation of US newspapers in the wake of the economic crisis of 2008 proved how fragile they were by relying predominantly on advertising revenues. Meanwhile, the appalling collapse of News Corporation's popular newspapers in the UK showed where the escalation towards juicy stories could lead.

Criticism of news media and journalists is nothing new. Those voicing the criticism are usually seen as either utopians, moralisers or wrongdoers trying to cover their tracks. As a result, criticism is easily discarded as irrelevant and disconnected from reality. A wide gap is isolating the news media industry and practitioners from critical observers, the defensive attitude of the former arousing radicalisation among the latter. The ensuing dialogue of the deaf has not produced much to help either the prosperity of the media nor the ideals of the critics. Yet, both parties share a vested interest in promoting quality journalism and finding ways to adapt it to the disrupted context.

In this chapter, I propose to use the concept of *noise* to help us characterise the current situation and explore ways to improve it. While it has become so fashionable to call upon Marshall McLuhan to shed some old light on new issues, I would offer, instead, to go even further back in time, to Claude E. Shannon. After all, in spite of the erring ways that Shannon's theories produced when transposed outside of their original setting (that of telecoms engineering), he remains a fundamental reference to conceptualise noise as the core impediment to efficient communication. Shannon writes (1949: 11):

During transmission, or at the receiving terminal, the signal may be perturbed by noise or distortion. Noise and distortion may be differentiated on the basis that distortion is a fixed operation applied to the signal, while noise involves statistical and unpredictable perturbations. [...] a perturbation due to noise cannot always be removed, since the signal does not always undergo the same change during transmission.

My contention is that news media audiences are affected by three distinct varieties of noise: (1) proliferation of channels, (2) inadequate selection and (3) suboptimal reporting.

2. EVER MORE CHANNELS AND EVER DENSER

One of the alleged benefits of the digital revolution is to provide the means for ubiquitous access to fast-flowing information. Instant notification of events and quick access regardless of where one is located is now in the DNA of the information society. As it became undisputable that this corresponded to a critical need for all citizens in industrialised societies, a flurry of new products, platforms and services has bombarded the market, most claiming the title of 'killer application', one that, soon, no one will be able do without. Many of these applications are related to news. Websites devoted to news, many specialising in specific topics, have bloomed to the point that users are soon confronted with the difficulty of keeping up even only with those they found most interesting. A range of technologies was developed to enable users to concentrate, to aggregate, to store and to pass on to others ('share') the content produced by their favourite sources in an integrated form, and preferably one that actively pushes content towards craving audiences. From Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) developed in the pre-web era, to RSS (Real Simple Syndication) feeds and other web syndication formats, to social media (including sharing platforms and micro-blogging feeds) and smartphone or tablet applications, countless solutions have become available to assuage our allegedly insatiable thirst for news.

But does it? In practice, the news-anxious will struggle to find the right tools, with the right settings, to harvest selectively the news that matters. The search for selectivity (aiming to miss nothing while avoiding the irrelevant) is a permanent quest for innovative solutions, many of which, over the years, are marketed as the ultimate, all-in-one, nothing-else-needed application. In the absence of the ultimate news-feeder grail, users are reduced to cobbling together any number of applications, which are essentially as many channels. Each of these channels comes with its own feed of messages in a particular form, leaving the user with the task of taking them all in and assimilating what seems appropriate.

Whatever the sophistication of these channels, their mere number, along with the heterogeneity of the content provided (form, nature, credibility, bias) and incontrollable levels of redundancy combine to produce a confusing and mingled soup of news. In essence, we are faced with the sort of background noise against which it becomes difficult to distinguish the important from the accessory, the relevant from the trivial and the reliable from the twaddle.

Moreover, new voices have joined the chorus of news-related content production. Be it via participatory or citizen journalism, blogs, micro-blogs and forums, current events are announced, discussed and commented via a wealth of channels mostly centred on the web. Not only do those new outlets add to the chatter of news content, they also disturb the balance of the news ecosystem, while *“professionals no longer control ethical discussion about proper media practice and responsible journalism”* (Ward, 2011: 3).

Today’s news junkie will typically be overwhelmed by the constant prompting of the many channels erupting from the computer screen, the mobile phone and the tablet computer, quite apart from the attention still required by what remains of the traditional media (radio, television, newspapers and magazines in particular). The combined output of these channels constitutes a deafening background noise that drains our cognitive capacities and, paradoxically, makes it less likely that we will, at the end of the day, have been exposed to the right messages, those conveying the news that is relevant to us. The intensity of noise is increased by the high level of redundancy of content among those many channels. News stories released by news agencies and/or a handful of influential media are instantly drawn into a frenzy of replication so that the user must not only catch the bits of news that are relevant, he or she must also discard the replications and variations of the same stories.

The noise generated by the range of news outlets can be more than metaphorical. In many cases, the chatter of the different notification chimes, combined with the sound of online videos or podcasts, on top of the sound of a regular radio or television programme, can create a remarkably noisy and stress-inducing environment.

3. INADEQUATE SELECTION

News selection lies at the heart of the very notion of news media. A complex (and largely unexplained) chain of processes penetrates through a countless number of events taking place in the world (and beyond) to select the handful that will become news. The diversity of news outlets is largely justified by the need to offer a range of news feeds likely to match the specific expectations of different segments of the audience. In a competitive market, each of us will choose any number of outlets that combine to assuage our need for news. But convergence and editorial mimetism have greatly reduced the actual diversity among the major players, whose desire to attract the largest possible audiences has led to a deplorable

mishmash of more of the same. The situation today is one of polarisation between mass-audience news media and narrow thematic, highly selective outlets.

Mass audience news media obsessively aim for the lowest common denominator in an attempt to enlarge their market base and appeal to a larger audience. Their news selection is guided by an urge to respond to the alleged tastes and expectations of the wider audience. Self-generated dogmas proclaim (though not openly) that the audience dislikes politics and foreign news and that it craves gossip, scandals and emotions, preferably connected to celebrities. Appeal is preferred to relevance, surprise to interest, amusement to importance, sensationalism to truth-seeking, hype to critical analysis. This trend, which engulfs even public service media, is aggravated by each economic crisis, when the profitability or the viability of particular media is at stake and when attracting audiences is so vital that it overshadows other considerations, ethical and otherwise. It drives large portions of the news business away from the essence of journalism, if we accept that *"journalism's best practices, its norms, and its ideals are ultimately justified by appeal to the creation, maintenance, and promotion of a democratic public sphere"* (Ward, 2010: 204).

The situation is further aggravated by an endemic trend to oversell information abundance as a major benefit of information and communication technologies. James Curran (2010: 27) calls it the *"dynamics of misjudgement"*. The marketing of the information society stresses that technology is the gateway to endless quantities of information. News outlets ride on that wave by promoting the quantity of content that they make available. This escalation on the theme "more is better" is in complete contradiction with a central responsibility (and key added value) of news media, that of selection. When news media open the floodgates of information to conform to the climate of opulence of information technologies, they dramatically increase the level of noise, thus further impeding news reception.

4. SUBOPTIMAL WRITING

Writing a news story, regardless of the medium, requires skills and time. Even though online media have technically abolished any limitation on the volume of news content, news media are swept along in a long-term trend towards shorter, sharper and simpler writing. Even websites, which were originally thought to be the long awaited medium for as-long-as-you-want articles, soon came to be ruled by diktats of brevity when it was

found that web users did not like to scroll down. Meanwhile, free newspapers strove for a model of short and sharp articles, the whole paper being conceived to be read by commuters during their short travel time to work.

Current news story writing is not only characterised by concision. It is also affected by a misplaced concern for precision and neutrality, conceived as a modern substitute for truth and objectivity. In concrete terms, news stories are often cluttered with largely irrelevant details, as well as an abundance of comments and interpretations. Facts and opinions are easy to gather, and they make for cheaper material than thoughtful and documented analyses, at a time when journalists are expected to produce much more output than before, with obvious consequences for the quality of what they produce. Between 1985 and 2005, the amount of editorial space filled by British journalists in the leading newspapers has tripled, not even taking into account the time most have to devote to the website, their blog, etc. (Davies, 2009: 63). Not only do journalists have to produce more, but they are also under unprecedented pressure to be quick. Whatever the medium, its website and other digital channels cannot endure any delay. The "*speed of transmission is a factor in the trading of news as a product*" (Phillips, 2011: 81).

The resulting news discourse is thus affected by its own intake of noise as a combination of hasty writing, clutter of irrelevant details and contorted opinions. Audiences are repelled by the effort to absorb content that ultimately will leave them frustrated by a lack of understanding of the events being reported. The noise and the generally unpleasant experience are likely to drive audiences away from these new forms of journalism, thus precipitating the decline of news media. Much of this hit-and-run journalism produces news stories that are both unpleasant to the senses and distressingly uninformative.

Interestingly enough, a radically different approach to writing that has so far remained marginal is thriving. Generally referred to as *narrative journalism*, it is characterised by a markedly literary writing style combined with some degree of interpretation of the events by the author. Mostly present in print media, this form of journalism contrasts sharply with the current canons of short, dry, factual writing found in many newspapers and web sites. It offers the advantage of bringing a rich and nuanced account of events, phenomena, stories, processes and other social realities. The reader's experience combines the pleasure of literary work with the gratification provided by a sense of proximity and intimacy with the topic,

its actors and the context. Significantly, successive efforts to conceptualise narrative journalism and how it fits into the journalism landscape have coined terms that imply a renewal or a revival of journalism. Tom Wolfe (1973) appropriated 'new journalism' to designate the non-fiction writings of such authors as Truman Capote, Norman Mailer or Joan Didion in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently, Robert S. Boyton (2005) forged the term 'new new journalism' to refer to a new wave of literary journalism that is "*rigorously reported, psychologically astute, sociologically sophisticated, and politically aware*" (2005: xi).

Successful outlets for narrative journalism are mostly found in print periodicals such as *The New Yorker*, *Esquire*, *Rolling Stones Magazine* or *Vanity Fair* in the US; *Granta* in the UK; *XXI* or *Muze* in France. Though these publications are largely confined to the upper echelons of society, their success shows that, in spite, or possibly because of the widespread trend towards shorter formats, the audience enjoys a form of slow journalism that takes the time and finds the words to show (and sometimes expose), to explain, to bring to life, to allow empathy and to provide useful details and nuances. There are similar signs on television, where, for example, news magazines featuring current affairs documentaries have maintained decent ratings with formats largely unchanged for ages. In the US, *60 Minutes* was created in 1968 and is still aired in prime time on CBS; in the UK, BBC's *Panorama* was created in 1953 and is still a landmark in television news; in France, *Envoyé spécial* has remained on prime time since 1990 (France 2).

5. CURBING THE NOISE

News media are trapped in a maelstrom of largely self-generated noise, leaving the audience frustrated and disconcerted by a sense that it is so difficult to be informed in the information society. This worrying paradox can be traced back to at least two causal factors.

First, the media industry has made indiscriminate use of information and communication technologies. For fear of missing the next big trend or killer application, media have embraced technological innovation with far too little consideration for the broader picture. Unable to anticipate how new technologies will or will not reshape the market, news outlets have been prone to adopt a large number of tools and devices as they appear, in an agglomeration whose complexity and sense of modernity are baffling, but whose coherence is escaping the users themselves. The escalation to-

wards multimedia, multi-channel, push notifications, pseudo-interaction and ever more content of all kinds is unsettling. Reckless deployment of technologies is often motivated by the erroneous assumption that whatever a particular innovation allows will be immediately and massively adopted by the users. If something is possible, people will crave it. Not only that, but they will stop doing what they did before, so that this new technology will replace old uses (and these predictions usually come with very precise timelines). The prophecies of ICT and telecoms industry leaders and consultants have so repeatedly been proved wrong (Curran, 2010) that it is puzzling in itself that anyone even listens to them any more.

Second, media companies have resorted to uninspired and zealous application of doctrinal free market logics. Assuming that audiences were attracted by nothing but entertaining content, that they could not endure hard news, particularly regarding political and international topics, and keen to enlarge their market base by promoting mass-appeal and consensual content, news media organizations have dramatically altered their output. By dumbing down mainstream news media, they have decreased their value in use, and, as a result, the very relevance and legitimacy of the news business. Short-sighted business models seem to be growing oblivious to the very core trade of journalism and news media, i.e. *selection* and *editing*.

Selection of relevant events and issues tends to be replaced by a process of merely sorting the floods of messages and documents circulating at a particular time. News outlets are obsessively trying to provide access to ever greater quantities and diversity of content, thus collapsing the roles of wholesaler and retailer, the roles of news agency and news outlets. Yet, “[t]he selection of news is perhaps the hub of the news production process” (Campbell, 2004: 125).

Edition also tends to be overlooked in the ICT frenzy. In the US, “much of the new investment in journalism [...] is in disseminating the news, not collecting it. [...] In many parts of the news media, we are increasingly getting the raw element of news as the end product” (Pew, 2004). The editorial side of the news business is neglected because it is associated with a large portion of the running cost. Staff cuts are, arithmetically, the easiest way to save money in the news business. But it is also the surest way to slash the intellectual capital, which brings the essential added value of journalism. The editorial process, to be performed properly, requires time and manpower. Staff cuts and the race for speed in dissemination increasingly deprive

news organizations of both. From the audience's perspective, technological wizardry does not compensate for the thinning of editorial work, so that audiences may be turning away from news media for a reason.

Handing journalism and news media back their primary role of sense-making will mean toning down or completely abandoning a number of weak basic premises turned dictats: "more is better", "faster is better", "trivial is attractive", "serious is repulsive", "the audience wants to participate; interactivity is a requirement", "whatever technological innovation has to offer, people will adopt massively", "public authorities should not intervene in a media market best left to self-regulation".

As journalism and media at large are at a "critical juncture" (McChesney & Pickard, 2011: ix), we have to seize the opportunity to allow news media to reclaim their fundamental role in society (Levy & Nielsen, 2010), including one of sense-making, allowing citizens to understand their world and act on this basis. New technologies offer tremendous possibilities for improving every step of the news chain from fact-gathering and fact-checking to dissemination, from crowdsourcing and collaborative writing to multi-channel access. Yet, every one of these opportunities can backfire into a contribution to the already deafening background noise that is submerging the news sphere. If efforts could be directed toward noise reduction instead, if media companies and public authorities were to reclaim significant space for a reinvented quality journalism, the dynamics of news media would breed tremendous business opportunities while reinforcing some of the foundations of our modern democracies. This urgent plan of action should not feed on any nostalgia for the good old times, but instead make use of innovation in an inspired and reasoned way to develop and safeguard a form of noiseless journalism.

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The role of 'Hey Mabels' in making sense of the world

Ebba Sundin

1. INTRODUCTION TO 'HEY MABELS'

How easy is it to become part of the global news flow as an ordinary person living in an ordinary place somewhere in the world? Perhaps Phillip Kerkhof, who lives in a small fishing village in Australia, knows the answer (see Figure 1). One night in February 2007, he drank too much vodka and did a classic 'man bites dog'. His story was published in newspapers all over the world. On the internet, the story was followed up by blogs in a variety of languages for people who wanted to discuss what he did.

Figure 1: Man blames vodka for shark-catching feat Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Feb. 18, 2007

Man blames vodka for shark-catching feat

SYDNEY >> A man who caught a 4-foot shark with his bare hands off an Australian beach said Friday he tried the feat only because he was drunk on vodka. Bricklayer Phillip Kerkhof was fishing for squid with a few friends off a jetty at Louth Bay on Monday night when he spotted the bronze whaler shark swimming in the shallows, the Australian Broadcasting Corp. reported.

"I just snuck up behind him, and eventually I went for the big grab and I fluked it and got him," Kerkhof said. "He was just trashing around in the water...starting to turn around and try to bite me and I thought 'Well, it's amazing what vodka does,' " Kerkhof said. "When I sobered up I thought about it, and I said, 'I'm a bit of an idiot for doing it.' " All he suffered was a slight scratch.

Kerkhof, a 42-year-old bricklayer from Louth Bay on South Australia's Eyre Peninsula, did something unusual. It is difficult, however, to claim that it had any impact whatsoever on the world or on people. The story

cannot be categorised as meaningful to a majority of readers, but still it was translated into a great number of languages and published in a remarkable number of newspapers.

In this chapter, the story of the shark catch will be the starting point for a discussion about global news stories and their role in the individual's efforts to make sense of the world. One of the main questions is whether research into global news stories characterised as 'Hey Mabel' stories would contribute to a greater understanding of the global news flow not usually covered by the traditional and classic theories of news values.

The news concept was developed among newspapers in the 19th century, long before social research started to take an interest in understanding the mechanism behind news selection. An awareness of the essentials of news was, however, recognised. In the late 19th century, Charles A. Dana, publisher of the New York Sun, said that news is *"anything that interests a large part of the community and has never been brought to its attention before"* (quoted in Mencher, 1997: 57). One of his editors, John B. Bogart, provided this classic definition of news: *"When a dog bites a man that is not news, because it happens so often. But if a man bites a dog, it's news"* (ibid.).

Within the professional language of journalism, odd and bizarre stories, like man bites dog, are sometimes referred to as 'Hey Mabel' stories. These stories are often of interest to news consumers despite their minor significance. They can sometimes be amusing or disturbing stories, leading to further discussion. Within the research tradition of news, this type of story has not attracted much attention.

1.2 THE VODKA-SHARK STORY

The story of the Australian bricklayer in Louth Bay is just one of these stories. Kerkhof's night ended in unusual fashion. After 'quite a few vodkas', he went down to the harbour and spotted a 1.3-metre bronze whale shark in the shallow water. He decided to catch the shark with his bare hands. And so he did, wrestling the shark onto the jetty. According to ABC Australia, he was the talk of the town. But he also became part of the global news flow. The story was translated into numerous languages and published in newspapers in many countries around the world, including, just to mention a few, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Spain, Italy, Belgium, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Estonia, Poland, Russia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Taiwan, India, Chile, Cuba and the

USA. Along with the online editions of newspapers, thousands of blogs were set up to discuss Kerkhof's actions.

The Kerkhof story did not occupy much space in the world's newspapers. In many cases, it was to be found in their international news sections, and not as a top story, but as a one-column story at the bottom of the page. On the internet it is harder to judge how much space it was given, but it was often the top story on newspaper websites. On these websites, in many cases, the story was accompanied by a picture. Some of these showed a great white shark, and not the smaller bronze whaler shark. In the *Honolulu Star Bulletin's* print edition on 18 February 2007, the story was reported in one column and as the number eight story in order from the top of the page.

2. MAKING SENSE OF THE WORLD

'Hey Mabel' stories and other news stories play a role in the individual and collective forming of identity, in the sense of belonging to a place and culture, and in making sense of the world. The mental map of geography with centre and periphery is continuously negotiated, and media play an important role in this. This becomes especially clear when the geographical map is redrawn due to changes in political systems. No matter that the media sphere seems to be becoming more globalised, new cultures will develop where the media will play an important role in setting standards for the new cultural identity, or strengthening the old identity that has, for particular reasons, not been emphasised in the media. Mihelj (2004: 167) writes that

Far from being just passive mirrors of this ongoing process of constitution and reconstruction, mass media are actively involved in it, contributing to the reality of a given collective by invoking appropriate collective references and recreating the continuity of a collective over time and across space.

Thomson (1995: 34) expresses making sense of the world as 'mediated worldliness' and states that the sense of individuals' place within the world is shaped more and more by symbolic forms in media. This can also be interpreted as meaning that the media play an important role in the individual's collective understanding of phenomena beyond their own reach in space, sometimes shaped more as stereotypes than they really are. At the same time, Thompson (*ibid*: 189) argues that media content makes the individual more capable of taking an individual's view

of themselves. The main point in Thomson's (*ibid*: 187) conclusion is that "*individuals come to rely more and more on mediated and delocalised traditions as a means of making sense of the world and of creating a sense of belonging*". From another perspective, media content from distant places and cultures can play a role in strengthening people's own identities and excluding others (Gripsrud, 2002).

It is important to remember that global news communication developed over centuries. In fact, it was foreign news stories that may have come to people's minds first. From the European point of view, at least, domestic news was usually prohibited and regarded as dangerous for the powers-that-be in kingdoms which were more often than not at war. For example, early newsletters from 16th-century Britain contained translated "*reports of strange and sensational happenings, monstrous children and terrible earthquakes*" (Conboy, 2004: 18). The conclusion to be drawn from this is that 'Hey Mabel' stories are as old as other, more significant news stories.

3. THEORIES OF NEWS VALUES - NEWS VALUES IN EARLY NORDIC RESEARCH

Academic interest in news values in an international context intensified during the 1960s, and quite a few different studies and models can be found within the Nordic countries. Without doubt, one of the most famous and still valid models is Galtung and Holmboe Ruge's contribution from 1965. The conclusions were drawn from their classic study "*The structure of foreign news*". They examined how news about crises in what was then referred to as the Third World was reported in the First World, in this case Norway, and came up with a model showing twelve determining factors: 1/ time span, 2/ scale, 3/ clarity, 4/ meaningfulness, 5/ consonance, 6/ unexpectedness, 7/ continuity, 8/ composition, 9/ elite nations, 10/ elite persons, 11/ personification and 12/ negativity.

The first factor, time span, refers to the time it took for an event to happen, and, according to Galtung and Holmboe Ruge (1965), an event needs to follow the frequency of the medium, usually once a day. Events developing over a long time span may not be deemed to be newsworthy as they are harder to recognise as an event. The second factor has to do with the intensity of the event, and the two researchers explained that many events in poor countries needed to pass a threshold before being recognised as news. If this threshold was passed, it was likely to be part of the news flow more than once. The third factor means that the event must be clear and

easy to understand. This explains why some conflicts are not reported, because there is too much ambiguity.

The fourth factor refers to the relevance of the story to other people. The fifth and sixth factors might seem contradictory. First the fifth factor says that the event must in some ways be expected or predicted, and then the next refers to the unexpectedness of the event. This could be explained on the basis that, since the 9/11 terror attacks, the world has been more aware of the risk of new attacks, but when they occur the events come as a shock and are unexpected in time and place. The seventh factor is connected to the fifth in the sense that, when an event has become part of the news, it will be defined as news for a long time. There are many examples of the meaning of continuity; terror attacks for one, but also more recently the flu pandemic scares or global warming.

The eighth factor deals with the balance of other news. Depending on what happens on any given day, news evaluation can differ. One major event will affect all other events, and also explains why one event never becomes a part of the news flow even if it could be defined as newsworthy. The ninth and tenth factors refer to elites, first in the sense of countries, explaining why poor countries are not of such interest to rich countries, and then, in the sense of people, meaning that it is more likely for authorities and experts to be represented in the news than ordinary people.

The eleventh factor means that the news is mostly focused on people for different reasons. Galtung and Holmboe Ruge are aware of the problems with the idea of personifications and try to solve it with a number of explanations. One of them is that *"personification is more in agreement with modern techniques of news gathering and news presentation. Thus, it is easier to take a photo of a person than of a 'structure'"* (Galtung and Holmboe Ruge, 1965: 69). The final factor tells us that news is more likely to be negative than positive, at least when it comes from poor parts of the world, as the study showed.

In 1985, Hvitfelt conducted a study of the main stories in a number of Swedish newspapers, and developed a theory of ten news criteria. Compared to Galtung and Holmboe Ruge's twelve factors, most of them can be recognised, demonstrating that, from one perspective, news values do not differ from the international and domestic/local news flow. Newsworthy events are usually based on the same values, and nothing had really changed the perspective during the 20 years that passed between the

two studies. Hvitfelt (1985: 215-216) put his ten criteria in the following formula to explain why certain events were more likely to become news:

The probability that something will become news increases 1/ if it concerns politics, economics or crime 2/ if there is a short geographical or cultural distance, 3/ if it pertains to events or conditions that 4/ are sensational or surprising, 5/ about elite persons, 6/ and can be described sufficiently simply, but 7/ are important and relevant, 8/ that take place within a short period of time or as part of an established theme, 9/ with negative elements, 10/ and with established authorities as sources.

Galtung and Holmboe Ruge, along with Hvitfelt, have contributed to the theories of news values, but it should be noted that they are not the only Nordic researchers within this field. One of the early theorists who deserves a mention is Östgaard (1965; 1968). In his early writings he stated that cultural proximity had a strong impact on identification. With low proximity, the news was expected to be more sensational.

Contemporary theories also exist in the Nordic map of news theories. In 1999, Hjarvard presented his approaches to news communication, transmission and ritual (in Clausen, 2003). His point is that news can be studied from an epistemological view, meaning that the transmission view belongs to the empirical tradition, with objective reflection and facts, while the ritual view belongs to the social construction tradition, with subjective interpretation and fiction.

4. NEWS VALUES FOR GLOBAL USE

During the last two decades, two major changes have influenced views of the flow of international news; the development of new communication technology and the process of globalisation. The development of new communication technology has completely changed the sharing of news from around the world, via the introduction of the internet. Before the internet era, most news consumers were directed to the national news providers in order to obtain international news. Many of the research projects about international news carried out from the 1960s onwards focused on how certain parts of the world would be portrayed in a particular national medium: newspapers, radio or TV. But when news became an important part of the internet, the news consumer could look up the news directly from the source. The development of satellite and cable television such as CNN also brought foreign actors into people's living rooms.

The other major change is the concept of globalisation. News, in this context, can be interpreted in different ways. It could be the discussion of the global ownership of media, meaning that the old national frames of media producers are outdated. It could also be the question of a more global world, with a more complex news structure than before. In recent years, a new research field within news studies has developed to look more closely at news in the globalised society (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Winseck, McKenna and Boyd-Barrett, 1997; Taylor, 1997; van Ginneken, 1998; Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2000 and 2005; Hjarvard, 2001; Campbell, 2004; Rantanen, 2005).

Today's new focus on media and globalisation is not only the result of media development but a great number of other factors which have changed the view of a world with or without borders between nations or continents. In many ways, globalisation is defined by factors that are political, cultural and economic. According to Rantanen (2005), the connection between media and globalisation is recognised by researchers but underdeveloped in studies. Therefore, Rantanen claims the need exists to know how media and globalisation are connected. Many studies have been conducted but a great number of them are still based on the early news flow theories.

The question of the role of journalism has been discussed in research over the past decade, but the new theories of news values that resulted have been few in number. In addition, the classic gatekeeping theory, used for the understanding of the international news flow from a global to a local context, is still valid. According to Hadenius and Weibull (2005), a gatekeeping analysis must be based on the material reaching the gate, i.e. a news bureau, and the material that passes the gate. Different studies show little variation, and the explanation for this is that the news values are strong and will not leave room for any personal judgments by the gatekeeper. White (1964) claimed that the gatekeeper's decisions to accept or reject news were highly subjective, but also based on the fact that the gatekeeper was a representative of his culture. Gieber (1964) made the same conclusion, stating that the story was controlled by the frame of reference created the bureaucratic structure of which the communicator was a member.

Despite the fact that the traditional news value theories were developed within another context, they seem to be easy to recognise when studying the news items of today. Galtung and Holmboe Ruge and Hvitfelt did

study different kinds of news items, spanning international and national news, and there are similarities among the different factors/criteria suggested by the researchers. Looking at different models of news values, it is obvious that they are often similar, and share some common factors/criteria (see Campbell, 2004). One common element in the different models is the view of news as something unexpected and surprising. Shoemaker et al. might come closest to 'Hey Mabel' stories by calling the element "*novelty; oddity or the unusual*" (Shoemaker in Campbell, 2004:118).

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to highlight the question of news articles and their role in the individual's efforts to make sense of the world and to develop a sense of belonging to a culture and to its extension: the global community. According to Lie and Servaes (2000), all identities have global and local aspects and are reshaped by cultural consumption. Deuze (2011) comes to the same conclusion when he states that media form the building blocks of everyday life.

One suggestion to be made about the example of the single news item in this chapter, the shark-catch story, is that the spread of the news item also contributed to the spread of one of the images or stereotypes of Australia, i.e. sharks in Australian waters are extremely large and eat humans for dinner. This was especially obvious from the illustrations that accompanied the story about the shark-catch. The example also illustrates the long tradition of 'Hey Mabel' stories in the news flow. The news story was published in printed newspapers around the world and it took the traditional path, with gates along the way. The story appeared in numerous languages, which meant it was translated from the original English news text at national news bureaux around the world. It was published both in printed newspapers and online editions. In this sense, the internet did not change the news content.

According to Gunter (2003), there is little difference between news stories published in printed newspapers and online versions. He is referring to a report about American newspapers which shows that only about ten per cent of their news stories appeared only in online editions. Most of the news stories appeared in the same versions in the printed newspaper and the online edition. The difference between the printed newspaper and the online versions lies in the scope for instant interactivity. This is a new element of the global news flow, and what it means to the individual's sense

of belonging and efforts to make sense of the world could be studied further. In the case of the shark-catch, it was obvious that many of the articles were accompanied by blogs. Individuals also set up their personal blogs about this unusual event.

Furthermore, one might ask why people get involved in a story which is of no relevance and why they really feel the need to discuss it. News stories accompanied by blogs: do they have anything in common? This could be an interesting angle for news studies at the beginning of the 21st century, combining old theory with new aspects. The global news flow has been understood by the old traditional theories with a strong impact on political and economic values on the news content. Galtung and Holmboe Ruge (1965) had the starting-point in Third World countries, while Hvitfelt (1985) analysed the top stories on the front pages of Swedish newspapers.

It is unlikely that 'Hey Mabel' stories will ever appear as top stories, but the fact remains that they are printed and disseminated around the world. It would be interesting to see more research into these kinds of stories, especially from a historical perspective. It would also be interesting to find out if there is a pattern of news values within this context, or if we need to add different kinds of news criteria in order to explain why they pass the gates. So far, the discussion has concerned the news item itself, and less so the presentation. The original text, with its facts, underwent translations into many languages, but we can see a variety of presentations in newspapers and their online versions. The illustrations of Kerkhof's catch vary from the small bronze whaler shark itself to the great white shark. A study of how 'Hey Mabel' stories are presented in their full contexts with headlines and pictures would be a justified contribution to the field of news research.

The shark-catch story resembles a tale. We cannot be sure that the story is true, but the question is whether this really matters. Since it did not have much relevance, it did not harm readers around the world, in the way rumours of threats or disasters might if spread as news stories. Harmless or not, this news story, together with all the other 'Hey Mabel' stories, contributes to the individual's efforts to make a sense of a world which is not obvious to readers.

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Who are you calling a journalist – can one form of communication command special protection?

Francis Shennan

1. DIS-UNITED STATES

On 10 June 2011, West Virginia became the 40th US state to have a “shield law” come into force. This gives journalists almost absolute protection from prosecution for contempt if they refuse to disclose their confidential sources, or documents or other information which could identify those sources.

The protection applies in civil, criminal, administrative and grand jury proceedings. Disclosure of the sources can be compelled only if it is “*necessary to prevent imminent death, serious bodily injury or unjust incarceration*”¹.

West Virginia already had qualified protection for journalists’ sources following the state Supreme Court’s decision in the case of *Hudok v. Henry*².

The new law states:

Reporter means a person who regularly gathers, prepares, collects, photographs, records, writes, edits, reports, or publishes news or information that concerns matters of public interest for dissemination to the public for a substantial portion of the person’s livelihood, or a supervisor, or employer of that person in that capacity.

This definition puts West Virginia among a smaller group of states whose shield laws do not discriminate between the platforms or media employed by the “reporter”. Two months earlier the Governor of Arkansas signed

1 H.B. 2159, adding §57-3-10, “Reporters’ Privilege,” to the Code of West Virginia.
2 *Hudok v. Henry*, 182 W. Va. 500, 389 S.E.2d 188 (1989).

into law a bill substituting the word '*media*' for the words '*newspaper, periodical or radio station*' and inserting the words '*television or Internet news source*' into its law on the disclosure of sources³.

Yet three days before West Virginia's new law came into force, the Supreme Court of New Jersey rejected a blogger's claim to the protection of that state's shield law because the law required some connection to a publication that is similar to traditional media⁴.

This has relevance for jurisdictions in Europe, where legal protections specific to journalists and journalism have been introduced in the last three decades. Prior to that, any legal protection in the United Kingdom, for example, for what we call journalism derived from the citizen's right to free expression. With the rise of mass communications, a concept of journalism, however defined, emerged, claiming distinction from other forms of communication in fulfilling a specific role in society. Yet the only legal protection or privilege attaching to it applied to reports of proceedings in Parliament and the courts if they were fair, accurate and contemporaneous reports.

In 1981, however, under the influence of the European Court of Human Rights, the UK introduced the first statutory right to protect sources for journalists. This right was strengthened through case law. There followed other recognition of the role of journalists: exemption from major provisions of the Data Protection Act for material held for 'literary or journalistic' purposes; the defence of fair dealing for reporting current events under the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act; exemption from regulation for financial journalists under the Financial Services & Markets Act; qualified privilege for news reporting laid down in the cases of *Reynolds v Times Newspapers*⁵ and *Jameel v Wall Street Journal Europe*⁶.

Until the late twentieth century, journalism was effectively limited to those with access to large-scale public communication, eg staff and free-lance contributors to print and broadcast outlets. It was therefore assumed that what was called journalism could be clearly identified.

3 Arkansas Code § 16-85-510.

4 Too Much Media LLC v. Hale, 20 A.3d 364 (N.J. 2011).

5 Reynolds v Times Newspapers [1999] 3 WLR 1010 (HL).

6 [2006] UKHL 44

2. DIS-UNITED STUDIES

Socio-legal studies of journalism tend to split at the hyphen: sociological studies of the role of journalism and journalistic culture on the one side, and legal studies of the effect of legislation and litigation on the other. There have been brief studies on the definitions of 'journalist' but not of journalism *per se*.

Sociological studies have ranged across the role and culture of journalists, the history of journalism (Conboy, 2002, 2004), its perceived functions (McNair, 1998, 2000, 2003; Schudson, 2002), its news values (Harcup & O'Neil, 2001) and its part in agenda-setting (Walgrave & Aelst 2006) and the self-images and adopted roles of journalists and their *modus operandi* (Johnston, Slawski & Bowman, 1976; Wilhoit and Weaver, 1996; Weaver and Wu, 1998; Deuze, 2005). These have included the adaptation of journalists to new technology (Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Singer, 2004), news production (Tuchman, 1973; Gans, 1979) and journalistic processes (Becker and Vlad, 2009).

The legal focus has been on the existence and application of media law (Robertson and Nicol 2002) or critical examination of its effects (Walker, 2004). There have been brief studies of legal definitions of 'journalist', mostly in a US context (Clay, 1999) and mostly focusing on the right to protect sources (Berger, 2003; Abramowicz, 2008). Flanagan (2005) did examine the UK context and included consideration of the Data Protection Act and qualified privilege, but her focus was specifically blogging. Legal issues concerning "citizen journalism" were also raised by Rappaport and Leith (2007) in the US.

As well as these studies describe the practice and culture of journalists, though, it is uncertain that they come close enough to a definition of journalism to suggest a definitive test for a form of communication that should receive enhanced protection from actions by others to enforce what would otherwise be their legitimate legal rights. The predominantly descriptive role of legal studies fails to suggest a coherent jurisprudence as the basis for future regulation.

The gradual accumulation of legal rights attaching to journalists, allied to proliferating media, has left unanswered the question of who can call himself or herself a journalist. The development of the worldwide web and other technologies makes available cheap online publication and

broadcasting, including blogs, social networking sites, pod- and vod-casting. Some of these attract large audiences and some claim to be engaging in journalism.

Also unanswered is the question of whether the 'traditional' journalist is always a journalist. Is he or she entitled to these legal rights when he or she blogs, expresses opinions, or only when s/he fulfils a certain standard of journalistic behaviour? And what of those who employ journalists? The moral impetus of, and the legal rights won by, the media rest on their role as the Fourth Estate: essential guardians of the right to know and to free expression in a democratic society. Yet their business model has usually been that of the autocratic or corporate private-sector owner, free to direct editorial resources to find or disregard information, and espouse or suppress opinions in the light of personal or company advantage. This model also allows owners to direct resources away from editorial inquiries. Is this business model fully compatible with the legal rights enjoyed by the journalists they employ? Can an employed journalist exert any independence from his or her employer?

This in turn raises the question of whether existing studies provide satisfactory criteria for distinguishing the journalist from the non-journalist, or indeed what we call journalism from other forms of communication. And it raises the question of whether the criteria for deciding whom the law will recognise as a journalist is technological, occupational or functional.

3. TECHNOLOGICAL CRITERIA

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the print media develop from pamphlets and relatively short-run books to the mass production of books, newspapers and magazines. The twentieth century saw the creation and spread of mass broadcast media in radio and television. The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries saw the widespread adoption of the Internet, the worldwide web, blogging, Twitter, texting, mobile video, print and video-on-demand, social media sites, e-commerce etc. This explosion in new media, technological platforms, devices and forms of communication – along with the radically different power structures that accompany them – have led some to postulate that the new media represent a new public sphere or Fifth Estate (Dutton 2009). Others argue that news is simply being delivered in different containers (van der Wurff 2008).

Although jurisdictions may distinguish between media in terms of regulation, eg Ofcom's responsibility for broadcast media other than the BBC in the UK, and the Federal Communications Commission's responsibility for terrestrial television in the US, they do not distinguish between them in relation to criminal or civil law.

Thus former New Zealand cricketer Chris Cairns was allowed to continue his libel action over a Twitter message posted by cricketing administrator Lalit Modi, even though an expert testified that only 35 people had seen it⁷.

The basis for the New Jersey Supreme Court's decision on 7 June⁸ not to extend shield law protection to blogger and private investigator Shellee Hale in a defamation case was that the state's law required a person using it to have a connection to a publication similar to traditional media, whether online or not.

Chief Justice Stuart Rabner said it did not mean

*that a newsperson must be employed as a journalist for a traditional newspaper or have a direct tie to an established magazine. But he or she must have some nexus, relationship, or connection to 'news media' as that term is defined.*⁹

Jim Lakely, co-director of the Centre on the Digital Economy at Chicago's Heartland Institute policy research group, was quoted as saying in The Star-Ledger:

*Putting aside the wisdom of shield laws, they should not exist to protect only certain classes of Americans a court defines as 'journalists.' Freedom of the press is not truly free if the definition of 'press' is left up to the whim of a judge*¹⁰.

New Jersey media lawyer Bruce Rosen was quoted as saying in a Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press story that the ruling should make it easier for traditional and online journalists to persuade a court the shield law applies to them. "If you collect news and it's clear you're connected to a news organization, you'll be fine," he said, but "if you're not connected

7 Mr Justice Tugendhat, preliminary hearing, High Court in London, November 2010.

8 Too Much Media LLC v. Hale, 20 A.3d 364 (N.J. 2011).

9 Ibid.

10 Holly Miller, Research Assistant, Silha Center for the Study of Media Ethics and Law, University of Minnesota,

*with any news organization and you're venting online, you may not have those protections"*¹¹.

He added: *"For the general public, it makes it harder for individual bloggers to have automatic protection. They're going to have to pass the test"*¹².

4. OCCUPATIONAL CRITERIA

An occupational definition of journalist would focus on the employment or self-employment of the person in the work of producing communications which are predominantly journalistic. The traditional journalist is predominantly a private-sector employee, who has an unprescribed but apparent level of training, has a clear sense of his or her role and accepts or purports to accept basic codes of practice.

One would expect at least a notional adherence to the concept of 'objective' news and feature reporting, subject to following the opinion/political line of the publication or publisher, with a greater or lesser ability to resist internal company interference in editorial, and sense of the role of journalist in relation to sources (Cook 1998; Davis 2007; Berkowitz 2009). However, this may have limits, for example, in relation to the alternative or fringe Press.

The new West Virginia law, for example, requiring the journalist to earn a *"substantial portion"* of his livelihood from reporting or supervising reporting, would cover full-time and part-time freelance journalists but would exclude unpaid bloggers. The protection is not limited to specific media; as such, paid online journalists should fall under the statute. This creates a situation where the key criterion in determining whether the journalist has legal protection rests on how commercially successful he or she is.

The other distinguishing factor is in the dissemination to the public of *"news or information that concerns matters of public interest"*. Almost all information that is new to a recipient could be characterised as 'news'. The definition of the 'public interest' has never been definitively decided. This has not prevented courts in many jurisdictions from delivering rulings on whether or not information is in the public interest (eg *Jameel v Wall Street Journal Europe*)¹³, although their decisions have not met with uni-

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 [2006] UKHL 44.T

versal approval (eg *Mosley v News Group Newspapers*)¹⁴.

5. FUNCTIONAL CRITERIA

A functional definition of journalist would focus on the role of the journalist and the journalistic process, which would allow that anyone might exercise a journalistic function at a certain time. This too may have limits, for example, in disbarring distorted or opinionated journalism from legal protection.

In the course of its decision not to allow the shield law to apply to the blogger Hale, the New Jersey Supreme Court did remove some obstacles to future appellants. The lower appellate court had held that anyone hoping to have the protection of the shield law had to show that they followed professional journalistic standards or have traditional media credentials. The Supreme Court did not insist on this.

It would be enough that the blogger had a recognised connection with a recognisable news outlet, even if it were exclusively online. In removing the need to follow professional journalistic standards, the judgment would open the door to the “citizen journalist” to seek protection. Whether this is a legitimate term in relation to journalism and how much difference there is between this and the traditional contributor or journalist’s informant is still open to debate. If the definition is that applied by West Virginia – the dissemination of news or information of public interest – then this person would be eligible for journalist’s privilege. Similarly, applying the West Virginia definition would open the door to protection for the openly campaigning writer or group, which is probably further than the New Jersey court would wish to go.

Accepting a functional definition of journalism may necessitate recognising the changing role of journalists in relation to contributed or user-generated content. This may alter the traditional understanding of the gatekeeper theory (White 1964). Those such as Bruns (2005) believe journalists no longer control news flow and the journalist’s function is now that of “*gatewatching*”. This implies a more passive role and raises the question of who should benefit from any legal protections for journalism.

14 [2008] EWHC 1777 (QB).

6. CONCLUSION

Defining the essence of journalism has largely been the preserve of the aphorist, whether portraying journalism as the first draft of history or the journalist as a machine which turns coffee into copy. Yet distinguishing it from the constant flow of information from numerous sources should be a worthwhile exercise. Developing a rationale for protecting communications we deem fundamental to the functioning of society should strengthen the protection journalism enjoys in democratic societies. That in turn should make restrictions on it more difficult to enact.

Such a comprehensible rationale would be of practical benefit: to lawmakers in drafting laws for the media, to journalists in understanding the activities that can legitimately attract legal protection, and to the owners and managers of news organisations large and small. If they understand their role in relation to the legal rights that journalism can expect, they will understand their duty not to hamper the exercise of those rights.

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The flip-side of mediatised politics: 'Unpackaging' politics to avoid publicity¹

Juho Vesa

1. INTRODUCTION

The media have become an independent and influential institution in politics. They are a central source of political information for citizens, and politicians seek positive publicity in the media to attract the increasing number of floating voters (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). At the same time, the commercialisation and professionalisation of journalism have resulted in the loosening of ties between news media and political institutions and actors, evidenced, for instance, by the demise of the party-affiliated press in many European countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Herkman, 2009). Theories of the mediatization of politics suggest that the mass media's presentation of politics is increasingly governed by media logic, whereas before it was governed more by political, partisan or public logic (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Brants & Praag, 2006; Strömbäck, 2008: 231-235). The centrality of media logic means that news values and media formats, such as conflict, personalisation, simplification and soundbites, determine which parts and aspects of political processes surface in the news media agenda (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Meyer, 2002: 28-31). As a consequence, the presentation of politics in the media is highly selective. A central argument in theories of mediatization is that this selectivity affects the behaviour of political actors: they adapt to the media logic (Meyer, 2002; Hjarvard, 2008; Strömbäck, 2008). To gain positive publicity, political actors "package politics" (Franklin 2004), i.e. act and speak in a way that fits into media formats and news values. They give statements that fit into soundbites, personalise issues and create conflicts and dramatic media events (Meyer, 2002: 49-99; Hjarvard, 2008: 106; Strömbäck, 2008: 238).

¹ I would like to thank the *Kone Foundation* and *Academy of Finland* for funding my research.

I argue that this adaptation is only one side of the story. This is because political actors do not always try to maximise their opportunities to get their views and actions onto the media agenda. Politicians do not always gain from publicity. They might want to avoid publicity in order to avoid being blamed for unpopular decisions (Weaver, 1986). Especially in consensual political cultures, elite actors might see public debate as a threat to effective bargaining and consensus-building (Kantola, 2002; Reunanen & al, 2010; Spörer-Wagner & Marcinkowski, 2010). I propose that politicians have various means of avoiding publicity that are diametrically opposed to the tendency to adapt to media logic. To avoid media attention, politicians can manage and communicate decision-making processes in ways that reduce their newsworthiness. Politics is 'un-packaged'. This flip-side of mediatization is not equivalent to secrecy or the non-mediatised elite's retreat to closed-door cabinets, which would annoy the increasingly intrusive news media, but is something more subtle. In the chaotic media environment (McNair, 2006), however, these strategies are possible only under specific circumstances.

This argument is backed up with a case study focusing on the Finnish government's State Productivity Programme. I will show to what extent this policy-making process was debated on the media agenda and what kind of strategies the decision-makers used to avoid or calm down public debate over this unpopular policy. Before going into the details of this case, I look theoretically at the factors that influence or determine the degree to which a policy-making process is covered by the news media.

2. NEWS FACTORS IN NATIONAL POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES

According to the mediatization thesis, news values, media formats and storytelling techniques increasingly affect which political events become visible on the media agenda (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999: 250; Van Aelst & al, 2008: 196; Strömbäck & Esser, 2009: 212-213). After Galtung and Ruge's (1965) research on the news values of foreign news, later studies have confirmed many of the news factors they presented, though not all of them were confirmed and some new ones were introduced (Eilders, 2006). As we are interested in news factors in a national context, the relevant news factors confirmed in many later studies are *continuity*, *prominence*, *personification*, *relevance/reach*, *unexpectedness*, *benefit/success*, *damage/failure* and *conflict/controversy* (Eilders, 2006: 8).² Galtung and Ruge's factor of *unam-*

2 I have left out *elite nations*, *elite locations* and *cultural*, *geographical* or *political proximity*, as these are constant in national policy-making processes.

biguity has not been confirmed by more recent studies, but we can add it here, because theorists of mediatization argue that media logic involves simplification (Strömbäck & Esser, 2009: 212-213), and it has also been confirmed empirically that concrete and simple political decisions are more newsworthy than abstract and complicated decisions (Lindbom, 2010). In media logic, formats and storytelling techniques also affect news selection (Strömbäck & Esser, 2009: 213). Many of these formats and techniques, such as polarisation, intensification, personalisation, visualisation, stereotyping, accessibility, drama and audience relevance (*ibid.*) correspond to the news factor list presented above. For example, political conflicts are newsworthy because they provide drama and are easily polarised. However, in this study we can leave out visualisation, which is specific to TV news (Eilders, 2006: 9).

When looking at individual policy-making processes, we can find news factors on two levels. First, we should look at the *contents* of proposed, enacted and implemented policies and their consequences, and how these are presented in public. We can expect more media coverage of policy options and decisions that are or are presented as simple and unexpected and that have very negative (damage) or very positive (benefit) consequences which are relevant to a large number of audience members. Second, we can look at what kind of *actors* the process involves and how they act. We can expect more media coverage about a policy-making process when it involves conflicts and when prominent political actors are involved in the process, give public statements about the process and take it up on their personal agenda (personalisation). We can leave out the factor of continuity, which means that the media are likely to make news about those topics that have previously been in the news. As we are interested in a single policy-making process, continuity does not explain variations in the intensity of media coverage of the process or why the process becomes a news topic in the first place.

We can assume that, if decision-makers want to avoid publicity in the media, they can, under certain conditions, reduce some of these factors.

3. CASE STUDY: THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT'S STATE PRODUCTIVITY PROGRAMME

The State Productivity Programme was launched in 2003 by the Finnish government, after being initiated and drawn up by the Ministry of Fi-

nance.³ It was forecast that, with the population ageing, the demand for a workforce in the public sector would grow and the supply of a workforce would diminish. Therefore, the argument went, it was necessary to cut the demand for a workforce, at least in the state sector. As the productivity of the state sector was to be boosted at the same time, the current level of public services could be maintained with less staff, it was argued. Improvement in productivity was also seen to be necessary in order to save money and direct resources for those sectors, such as healthcare, which would require additional resources (Ministry of Finance, 2003a).

The programme was launched by the first government of Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen (2003-2007), which included the two biggest parties in parliament, the Centre Party (CP) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), as well as the smaller Swedish People's Party (SPP). The programme was especially difficult for the finance minister's party, the SDP, because of the party's strong connection to trade unions. The Ministry of Finance first started to draw up the programme in 2002. In 2005, the government announced that the number of public sector jobs should be cut by approximately 17,500 man-years by 2011. The idea was that, as approximately 35,000 civil servants would be retiring in the same period, the cuts could be made by not replacing those retired employees, and therefore it would not be necessary to make anyone redundant. In 2006, the level of cutbacks was lowered as the government decided that only 9,645 man-years would be cut. The second Vanhanen government (2007-2010) and the Kiviniemi government (2010-2011) included the CP and the National Coalition Party (NCP), while the smaller parties were the SPP and the Greens. The new coalition continued the programme and imposed a new round of cuts of 4,800 man-years in the period 2012-2015, reintroducing some cuts that the previous government had planned but decided to leave out of the programme.

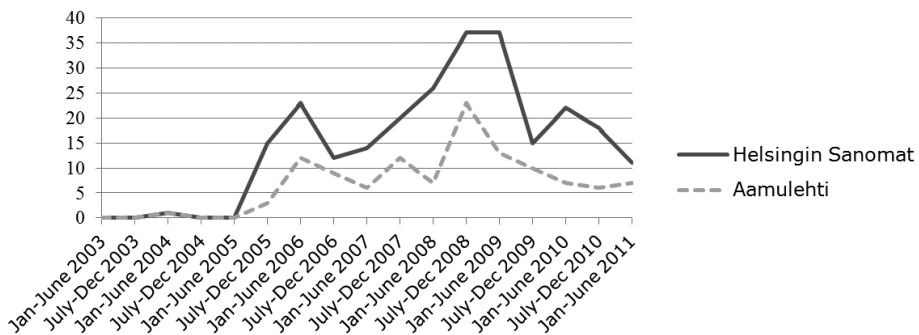
4. VISIBILITY OF THE PROCESS IN THE MEDIA AGENDA

To what extent was the Productivity Programme visible in the media agenda? Newspapers wrote only a few news articles about the productivity programme before the government enacted the first cutback decision in

3 The case study is based on 10 interviews with ministers, ministerial advisers, civil servants and a representative of a trade union; news articles, editorials, commentaries and letters to the editor from the two most widely circulated newspapers, *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti*, from the period 2003-2011; and public communication material from the Ministry of Finance and the minister of finance, such as press releases and speeches.

March 2005 (Graph 1). So the programme was almost absent from the media agenda in the preparatory stages of the programme. From autumn 2005 onwards, there was steady but fairly moderate coverage of the process. However, the coverage peaked in both papers in the second half of 2008 and coverage was also high in *Helsingin Sanomat* in the first half of 2009.

Graph 1: News articles mentioning the State Productivity Programme in two newspapers (number of articles)⁴



4.1. CONTENT OF THE POLICY AND ITS PRESENTATION

The content of the Productivity Programme was quite abstract at the policy preparation stage, from 2003 to the beginning of 2005, and it was almost totally excluded from the media agenda. The aim of the programme, to boost productivity, was vague and ambiguous: it could mean many things since there was no consensus about how to improve or measure productivity in the public sector. However, after the cutbacks were decided upon in 2005 and their implementation had begun, concrete and negative examples of the consequences of the decision started to emerge. For example, it was mentioned that certain state organisations had denounced personnel because of the programme (e.g. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2008a), and that the programme had worsened working conditions (e.g. Audit Committee, 2008). These claims, made by trade unions, parliament committees, research organisations and representatives of state organisations, contributed to the rise of the visibility of the programme on the media agenda. In addition, the overall public image of the programme began to acquire negative associations. This shift can be detected in *Helsingin Sano-*

⁴ I used electronic archives. The search word was *tuottavuusohjelma*, which is the name of a productivity programme in Finnish. I manually counted from the search results the news articles mentioning the State Productivity Programme.

mat editorials. In 2005, an editorial gave its support to the programme, but in 2007 and 2008 editorials criticised the programme (Helsingin Sanomat, 2005, 2007, 2008b).

A certain amount of ambiguity and vagueness became apparent in the public statements of key decision-makers, especially before the cutback decision was enacted. The intention to reduce the number of state employees was not stated explicitly in the press releases issued by the Finance Ministry. Instead, this intention was only vaguely hinted at in 2003 in two press releases which said that the growing retirement rate will increase "*opportunities to introduce reforms that have major workforce effects on personnel*" (Ministry of Finance, 2003b) and allow "*broad structural and operational reforms to be carried out in public administration and services which are adapted to the natural attrition*" (Ministry of Finance, 2003c). These press releases were not covered by the newspapers studied. However, the aim of reducing the number of state employees had been an indispensable element of the programme from the beginning (I2, I8).⁵ And this aim was indeed stated clearly in a publication by the Ministry of Finance in 2003 (Ministry of Finance, 2003a), but in the relevant press release this aim was blurred by bureaucratic jargon (Ministry of Finance, 2003b). Moreover, Finance Minister Antti Kalliomäki said in a rare public statement in 2004 that the programme was "*neither about cutting expenses nor a savings programme*" (Kalliomäki, 2004). So, in the preparation stage, the cutbacks, which later became perhaps the most concrete, criticised and negatively loaded aspect of the programme, were presented in complicated language. However, it is not clear if this ambiguous presentation was an intentional strategy. A civil servant argued in an interview that, quite the contrary, the aim to reduce the number of public sector jobs was openly communicated from the beginning (I2).

Even after the cutback decision had been enacted, ministers reduced the amount of concrete information about the programme. A civil servant estimated in an interview that for every press release published, there were 10 prepared press releases that ministers refused to publish. A civil servant speculated about the reason for this refusal: "*The negative weight is so great that the preference is for nothing exact to be told. Nothing is said that might be seized on and which might at least on some local level lead to negative reactions.*" (I8) A recent survey of the Finnish power elite suggests that this might be common practice. Two-thirds of respondents admitted that

⁵ I use the codes I1, I2, I3 etc. when referring to the interviews. These codes do not indicate the chronological order of the interviews.

they “avoid presentation of concrete goals and opinions on issues that are not yet decided” (Reunanen & al, 2010: 301-304). However, some information about the programme was kept out of public on the basis of the laws that regulate the budget process (18).

Concerning news factor relevance, we can see that the policy was presented as not very relevant to the general public. As productivity was to be boosted in order to maintain the current level of public services, it was anticipated that the programme would not have any significant consequences to the daily lives of members of the public or state employees. Indeed, even the cutback decision was not in itself particularly relevant to a large number of people, as the cuts did not directly affect anyone. Instead of being directed at specific people, the cuts were directed at jobs (17). However, the aforementioned problems caused by the implementation of the programme increased the relevance of the programme to state employees.

It is unlikely that unexpectedness was a news factor. The programme was an instance of incremental policy-making, continuing the direction that public sector restructuring had taken in the 1990s.

4.2. RESTRAINING CONFLICTS

There was no public elite-level conflict in the preparation stage of the process. In the cabinet, even though some ministers were sceptical about the programme, they expressed their discontent publicly only well after the cutbacks decision of March 2005. So there were intra-cabinet conflicts in the preparation stage, but these conflicts were kept inside the cabinet. This tendency to self-censor diverging voices and maintain a united front in public before a decision is enacted has been observed in previous research (Kantola, 2002). Prime Minister Vanhanen even urged ministers to keep their opinions out of the media before decisions were agreed upon, because he did not want media attention to intensify latent conflicts in the cabinet (Uimonen, 2011: 333). However, it seems that the decision-making style of the programme discouraged intra-cabinet conflicts. The government as a whole first agreed on an overall level of cutbacks, and then the details about the allocation of the cuts were negotiated separately inside each state sector between the relevant minister and the minister of finance or his Ministry. Details of the cuts were not, therefore, disputed collectively in the cabinet. This is a common procedure in cabinets with fragmented responsibility (Tiili, 2008: 89-92).

However, in 2008 and 2009 there were many public conflicts between ministers. Some ministers argued that the cutbacks should be postponed or even stopped altogether because unemployment was rising due to the economic recession. Many ministers defended their own sectors and fought with the Ministry of Finance. Indeed, the rule of not discussing unfinished issues in public was not so strict in the second Vanhanen government (I7).

The opposition parties were not outspokenly critical of the programme during the first Vanhanen government. The main opposition party, the right-wing NCP, for one, was almost silent on the issue, probably because the aims of the programme were in line with its agenda. However, when the visibility of the programme on the media agenda peaked in 2008, there were open conflicts between the government and the opposition. The SDP was now in opposition and kept the issue actively on the parliamentary agenda. It could criticise the programme because the government then in power had brought back some of the cutbacks that the previous government had turned down. The economic recession was also an important factor in the issue's increasing prominence in parliament.

In the preparation stage, a conflict arose between the government and the public sector trade union Pardia. This union made a number of public statements criticising the government, for instance, for excluding unions from the preparation of the programme (Helsingin Sanomat, 2003) and for a conception of productivity that was "*borrowed from industry*" (Helsingin Sanomat, 2004). However, the government did not enter into public conflict with Pardia. Instead, the Ministry of Finance negotiated with the union. The negotiations probably lowered the level of the conflict, and it was not very visible on the media agenda in the preparation stage.

Although the cutback decision was enacted in March 2005, the visibility of the programme on the media agenda did not intensify until that autumn. From then on, the question of the precise nature of the cutbacks caused open conflicts between the Ministry of Finance and many other ministries and representatives of their sectors. Many sectors defended their own turf and succeeded in pushing this issue onto the media agenda. The judiciary, for example, complained that cutting the number of judges and prosecutors would slow down trials. These conflicts were a steady source of media coverage during the whole period observed.

4.3. CIVIL SERVANTS AS SPOKESPERSONS

The key politicians did not have the programme on their public agenda. The ministers of finance and the prime minister, who were the two most prominent politicians involved in the programme, did not proactively promote the programme in public. An interviewee explained that, after careful consideration, the public sector job cuts were seen as the *"least bad"* decision and therefore *"it is politically wise and understandable that no one is eager to say that 'this is a good decision that we have made'"* (I4). Another interviewee explained that *"a politician is not happy about making noise about unpleasant, nasty things"* (I9). As a result, the programme was not personalised. Prime Minister Vanhanen, who was, according to my interviews, often the most enthusiastic advocate of the programme in the cabinet, only made a few statements to the media in 2008 and 2009, and then in neutral or even critical tones. However, when the opposition questioned the government in parliament, finance ministers always defended the programme. It seems that during the first Vanhanen government the SDP's finance ministers were less willing to defend the cutbacks in the media than, during the second Vanhanen government, the NCP's finance minister, Jyrki Katainen, who even wrote a letter to the editor of *Helsingin Sanomat* after the newspaper had criticised the programme.

As the ministers were unwilling to promote the programme in public, Ministry of Finance civil servants filled the void. *Helsingin Sanomat* used civil servants as sources and speakers in many articles. The project leader of the Productivity Programme responded a few times to criticism presented in letters to the editor. An interviewed civil servant stated: *"I believe that ministers were quite happy that it was, after all, civil servants who ran this, and we also did the dirty work with regard to publicity, and we also took the responsibility for this"* (I2). The active public role of Ministry of Finance civil servants has been observed in previous research, and the civil servants even see it as their duty to defend difficult decisions in public (Heiskala & Kantola, 2010: 142-143; Heikkinen & Tiihonen, 2010: 481). However, political actors who were interviewed about this did not admit that this kind of strategy would be used or would be effective. Those civil servants who promoted or defended the programme in public were relatively low-profile officials, while the permanent state secretary of the Ministry of Finance, Raimo Sailas, who has a very high media profile, was silent. According to one interviewee, this demonstrated that Sailas was loyal to those ministers who wished to reduce publicity (I5). The absence of statements by prominent actors might have been one reason why, as

some interviewees noted, journalists saw the programme, at least in the beginning, as a 'grey' administrative process that would not interest the general public.

5. CONCLUSIONS

I have argued that, in the age of mediatization, the selectivity of news media creates an opportunity for political actors to avoid publicity. Using the case study of a Finnish policy-making process, I have demonstrated that policy intentions and options can be presented, conflicts managed and public spokespersons chosen in a way that reduces the newsworthiness of a policy-making process. However, the opportunities to avoid publicity were better in the early stages of the process, when the key decision-makers held a monopoly over information about the policy and there was no public conflict between the government and the opposition. After the policy became a debated and criticised topic on the media agenda, the responsible ministers could not to the same extent present the policy in vague terms, suppress conflicts or maintain a low profile.

I have proposed that the mediatization of politics has two sides: the packaging of politics by publicity-seeking actors, and the unpackaging of politics by publicity-avoiding actors. Further research in different contexts would be needed to confirm that this 'flip-side' to the mediatization of politics really exists.

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The Dangerous and Disruptive Relationship Between Media and Information

Manuel Parés i Maicas

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers a personal reflection on the dialectic relationship between communication and democracy, in particular on the role of mass media in the supply and management of information. Until recently, the normative perspective on the role of the media has stressed the central role of the media in the socialisation of information receivers, namely citizens. Their function of information dissemination – especially journalistic information, the mirror of reality – was seen as fundamental to the development of the democratic system, exposing the importance of the media's public service function. Unfortunately, today this notion has become outdated, principally because of the crisis of democracy and media responsibility. The public service role of the media has diminished, and has, to a great extent, been replaced by the development of the media's market role. This is due to the overlapping and absorbing role of the economic dimension in the functioning of the media as a form of communication.

These developments raise questions about the role of journalistic information in the evolving development of the media as information tools. Taking into consideration the fact that (mass) media messages are guided by underlying ideological and economic interests, my view on the future of the public role of media in general and journalism in particular is pessimistic. The function of the media is more and more influenced and conditioned by propaganda and disinformation on one side, and by entertainment and spectacle on the other. Consequently, the media's principal roles – to socialise, educate and properly inform the audience – have lost a great deal of weight. In part, this is due to the structure of media ownership. According to the degree of democracy attained in a country, we

have to suppose that the public media adhere to a policy of promoting, respecting and protecting the public service of information as one of their basic aims and obligations. But for the private media, their objective of doing business assumes top priority, to the detriment of their information function. Although, normatively, the private media should also assume the same obligation of public service, this currently remains an unattained ideal. On the whole, this is a very worrying fact, particularly when we note that the media are consequently failing to fulfil the function of permanent, lifelong education that supersedes the stage of formal education. For citizens, the information role of the media is paramount, because it ensures learning about and adapting to ongoing social changes, and because it is a way of acquiring knowledge about social reality.

2. SOCIAL ACTORS, SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND POWER

In my opinion, the principal problem lies in the way the leading social actors (governments of any territorial scope, political parties, pressure groups and corporations) conceive of their role as sources of information. The influence of these actors in the political sphere is substantial, but it also differs significantly in relation to the type of social power they exercise. For governments and political parties, the main objective is to obtain or consolidate power through the communicative impact of the media, although the way they use their power depends on their scope (state, regional or local) and the structure of the state (federal, autonomous or unitarian). Pressure groups, on the other hand, exert a great deal of power, both over the sphere of media and the sphere of politics, often influencing the policies adopted by public governing institutions. In a capitalist society, where control of the economy is limited, economic actors such as corporations should also be included in the category of pressure groups.

From the perspective of democracy, the information emanating from these sources has a worrying and often negative impact, because their aim is to achieve a certain ideological or economic goal which favours a certain public or private institution, social group, etc. Although these tendencies are not new, they have become more widespread, both in scope and influence exerted.

Social movements, however, constitute a separate category. Today, social movements play an ever increasing role as a new type of institution that influences the political, economic, social and cultural environment, often focusing their activities on promotion and development of democracy by

challenging social and political options, or by anticipating changes within the political sphere. Social movements contribute to the development of democracy in all countries, since they express the worries and wishes of civil society, which very often complement the setbacks and limitations of institutionalised politics. Such understanding necessarily excludes civil society organisations which are not advancing democratic ideals and which are generally characterised by conservative, right-wing ideology.

3. DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

At present, the main ideological support for democratic systems is capitalism, with a free market economy and the defence of private enterprise in all its aspects, public and private. The alternative ideology, represented by communism, has experienced great decline. We have to be aware, however, that even countries such as China, North Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba, which claim communism as their dominant ideology, represent an authoritarian capitalism in economic terms, divorced from communist and, indeed, Marxist, ideals.

In the Western world in particular, capitalism, with its lack or limited scope for regulation and state control, has evolved into a very dangerous system as far as democratic principles are concerned. By this I mean that it places at the heart of the only conceivable economic system the pursuit of profit and its increase, regardless of the potential costs or threats to society and the environment. I should not like to be judged as an opponent of capitalism, because we are reminded that, in the Scandinavian countries, for instance, its role, with some exceptions and limits, but with regulation, has to be considered as an ideology that can coexist with the principles of social democracy. But I should nevertheless like to emphasise that the ideology of capitalism directly affects the 'governanza' of the democratic system. The present economic crisis is a clear demonstration of this. From a communication perspective, institutions that argue in favour of this conception of capitalism are creating their own philosophy of communication, their own ways of expression, namely their own media, their own communication systems, their own information agencies, and are, to this end, actively exploiting the possibilities for social persuasion and control derived from the new technologies of communication and information. Their main aim is the defence of their power and influence on the development of democratic societies and to steer the possible effects of social change in their favour, a fact which gives us much cause for pessimism about their idea(l)s of democracy and the defence of human rights.

4. THE CHANGING NATURE OF JOURNALISM

The reflections above on the information role of the media inevitably lead me to an analysis of the role of journalists, as they are the professionals who are essential to the production, elaboration and diffusion of information. The dominant media and political paradigm described above tend to place journalists in a secondary role, subjugated to the editorial (economic) policy of the media. At the same time, journalism has become a fashionable career in many countries and journalism studies have proliferated globally, producing large numbers of journalism graduates. These developments are somewhat contradictory since, on the one hand, research into communication in general, and into information production and journalism in particular, has generated an extraordinary ferment from which communication science has emerged as one of the most developed social sciences.

On the other hand, however, the requirements of the information market have created a practice of journalism where serious analysis of the facts respect for legal rules and conditions, and professional codes of ethics and respect for human rights have suffered a noticeable setback. This has caused clear damage to the quality of information production by a large number of journalism professionals. These developments have produced a new kind of journalist, whose work is not characterised by professional qualification. Needless to say, this kind of journalism seriously hinders democracy. What democracy needs are competent, honest and serious journalists who are aware of the importance and necessity of their work in ethical and deontological terms. However, such journalism is frequently hindered by the information media policies which are very often responsible for this crisis of journalism.

Moreover, the intellectual and ethical weakness and limited education of most media audiences also hinder the development of democracy. To a functioning democracy, infotainment may be a great danger, and many private media tend to practise it as their way of producing information and news. Infotainment further undermines the democratic potential of communicating information through its emphasis on the famous and on stars, treating them as (political) opinion leaders, even though they do not have this function. From the standpoint of normative democratic theory, which I have defended throughout this chapter, there is a great risk and danger that information becomes disinformation or propaganda, defending a particular objective or cause. Unfortunately, this is an increasing

tendency in many areas of the political arena and is nowadays practised by a great number of media. Such propaganda should not be confused with advertising. Advertising as such does not present a threat to democracy, provided it is created and produced according to legal stipulations and the profession's ethical or deontological codes. However, if advertising takes over the role of a pressure group in the elaboration or diffusion of the information, its role becomes problematic. Similarly, another aspect of information production and dissemination has to be considered – the role and function of public relations and its relationship with journalism.

Public relations is an interesting form of communication, conceived often primarily to create, modify or consolidate the image of a person or institution. Just like advertising, public relations does not hinder democratic communication as long as the receivers are aware that they are receiving a promotional message, not a news item or journalistic information. Moreover, public relations can be a problematic form of communication as long as the receivers (the citizens) are not educated enough to be able to interpret the content and the intent of the media.

Unfortunately, this requirement has not yet been sufficiently incorporated into the agenda of the education systems. And it is precisely by emphasising the centrality of (media) education that I would like to conclude this brief overview of the basic relations between media, citizenship and democracy. I should like to point out that, to combat the serious social crisis that we are facing at present – with all its political, economic and educational implications – it is indispensable that every society assumes its responsibility in these areas. The legal system may be an useful element for achieving this objective, together with codes of ethics and deontology, but this alone will not suffice. The leading role in my opinion is that of education, in different stages of citizens' lives, which should devote special attention to media ethics and human rights. Today, in my view, it is impossible to conceive of the development of a society without the action, presence and influence of communication systems, namely the plurality of media (both in terms of ownership and content), and without educated media audiences.

SECTION THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON EUROPEAN MEDIASPHERE



**PREPARING
PRESENTATIONS**

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS HEINDERYCKX

The Broadcasting of Authenticity: How the media transform public politics into personal feelings

Jens E. Kjeldsen and Anders Johansen

It is often said that politicians attempt to appeal to the “ordinary person”, trying to persuade everyone, using the lowest common denominator approach. However, what has really been happening, we believe, is that the politician has, rhetorically speaking, been turning him/herself into an ordinary person. This strand of (simulated) egalitarianism can be found in the ‘ordinary guy’ rhetoric of United States presidents such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. The background, reasons and diagnoses for this state of affairs in the US – as well as other changes in political rhetoric in the age of broadcasting – have been described in several publications (e.g. Sennett, 1974; Atkinson, 1984; Meyrowitz, 1985, 2006; Jamieson 1988).

However, in Scandinavia, which probably consists of the most egalitarian countries in the world, the politician not only presents himself as an ordinary guy – or girl (cf. Kjeldsen 2008), it also seems as if the politician’s construction of ethos has been taken one step further: from the role of politician, to that of ordinary person, and finally to the true and authentic individual who happily shares himself and his inner emotions. The broadcast media have played a decisive role in promoting the forms of expression and appearance that support this development, while making other forms less advantageous. The result is that, in order to be a successful political operator in this day and age, one should appear neither as a politician nor as an orator – at least not in Scandinavia. Today, political credibility is built on personal character and authenticity.

The decline of the traditional politician has been accompanied by a curtailment of the traditional political speech – both in terms of importance, length and extensiveness. Only on very rare occasions do we hear – or see – a political speech in full. The only time the media in Scandinavia seem

to allow politicians to deliver an uninterrupted speech is after election debates, when each party leader makes her or his one-minute final appeal to the viewers. This abbreviated oratorical genre is the last remnant of traditional political speech-making.

In this chapter we intend to offer an explanation as to how and why broadcasting has radically changed Norwegian political oratory and has transformed hour-long speeches into one-minute appeals. We use this curtailed oratorical genre as an example of the abandonment of traditional political oratory in favour of televised presentations of personal credibility and authenticity.

1. THE AGE OF BROADCASTING

No one gives speeches on the radio anymore – or on television. Broadcasting has led to new forms of political communication: the news interview, the studio talk, discussion programmes and television debates, talk shows and personal conversations.

All these genres are conversationally based and are adapted to the situation of the viewer. The audience is not a crowd assembled in one specific place, but made up of individuals and of families or friends scattered all over the nation in their private homes. The lengthy political monologue has become as out-of-place on the television screen as it would have been in the living room.

Political speeches are still given, of course, at party conferences and May Day celebrations. However, these are rather minor events, taking place on the fringes of the larger public sphere. In the main arena of public communication, television, traditional political speeches are not allowed. They are simply not good television.

News broadcasts only allow us an 8- to 12-second clip – one or two sentences taken out of context. This is far removed from the journalistic practices of a century ago. Back then it was considered an obligation to pay careful attention to the speaker's words. Often manuscripts were published in their entirety, or the reader was provided with long, detailed, almost verbatim accounts (Johansen & Kjeldsen, 2005: 247). In contrast, journalists of our time prefer to present their own angle on things; they want to "do a story". The politician who seeks to grab the attention of a journalist must be able to offer soundbites and exciting photo opportuni-

ties. This means that, in the news, the visual rhetoric of action and agitation has acquired a decided advantage over the spoken word (cf. Johansen & Kjeldsen, 2005: 597 ff. and 650 ff.).

So, the political orator has lost control over the main arena of public communication. In Norway the last bastion of political speeches – except for the prime minister's New Year speech – seems to be the final appeals to voters presented by politicians during the conclusion to an election campaign: the televised party leader debates. Here the politician is allowed to speak directly to the nation, without being interrupted by journalists. Each politician is allocated the same amount of time to deliver this speech, i.e. one minute.

We will return shortly to the party leader debate and the final appeal in order to illustrate the new rhetoric of intimacy and authenticity that now dominates much of political oratory in Scandinavia. First, however, a few words concerning the connection between this particular form of rhetoric and television as a cultural and technological constraint.

As far as political communication is concerned, television is often blamed for making form more important than content, appearance more decisive than issues, emotions more influential than reason (e.g. Postman, 1985). The history of Norwegian political speech-making tells a different story. It shows clearly that appeals to form and appearance were no less important prior to the age of broadcasting. Bias and non-objectivity are not new inventions; today, they just work in other ways.

Even though form, appearance and emotional appeal were equally important before the advent of television, the old oratorical space differed in marking a sharp divide between the private and the public. On the rostrum, the politician was a public figure, and this figure was separate from the private individual. What the politician was like in private, what kind of person he *really* was, was not only irrelevant, but also completely inaccessible. Ordinary people almost never saw politicians or other public figures. And on the rare occasion that they were able to actually see the politician in person, it was mostly as a distant figure, far away on the rostrum – an elevated character, whose private persona was kept out of view.

This is what television has changed so radically. Today – on the screen – we meet our politicians so often, at such close range, and in so many informal settings and situations, that we almost feel we know them personally (cf. Meyrowitz, 2006). The feeling of being close to other people creates a

desire to get familiar with the whole person; we want to know what the politician is *really* like. And so, a politician in the television age has to present his true self. Broadcasting invites a form of public intimacy – a sort of closeness-at-a-distance – that forces the private individual onto the public stage (Johansen, 2002).

Before radio and television, the relationship between the private and public character of a politician was more or less like the relationship between a role and an actor. The task of the speech-giver was to dramatise the matter of the speech. As a speaker, one was not expected to be oneself in a “true way”. The point was not to behave “naturally”, as one would amongst friends and family. Instead, voice and body should bring the message to life in a manner one would never adopt at home. Everybody knew that oratory was a kind of acting. In the older communicative situation, there was always a distance to overcome, like the one between the actor on the stage and the audience in the auditorium. This called for a kind of theatrical behaviour; every expression had to be magnified and intensified. In order to reach a large crowd, without the use of a loudspeaker or microphone, one had to use the voice as an instrument, the mouth as a megaphone (cf. Johansen, 2002).

This way of communicating excluded all the intimate shades and nuances the voice affords at close range and in private conversations. The difference between the role of the politician and the private person was a difference you could hear: the difference between talking in private and speaking in public. The difference was also visible. In order to make an impression on a large crowd, you had to resort to overt and declamatory gestures.

In the age of television, it is more convincing when the politician tries to hold back his or her emotions. As viewers, we are persuaded when we sense that the emotions are withheld, but are nevertheless so strong that they force themselves through the restrained body language. It is then that we know for sure that the emotions are authentic and true.

It was not possible to notice these things before the age of television, and it was thus impossible to ascribe any meaning to them. If you stand more than five metres away, such symptomatic signs are unnoticeable. These were the conditions that prevailed in the days of traditional oratory. Under such circumstances, more conventional and – in a way – more impersonal signs and shows of emotions worked better than tiny nuances in

the instinctive – and often involuntary – body language, which today's television viewer has learned to look for and interpret as psychological symptoms. Not until the introduction of the TV close-up did such nuances and symptoms gain any rhetorical importance. The intimate way of expression is not assessed according to traditional criteria. Personal credibility is not only won through honesty and competence – as in the old days. Today the politician has to – as genuinely, naturally and spontaneously as possible – give the impression that they are truly “themselves”.

This requires a simple, moderate and toned-down style. The language use is not so very different from that of everyday communication. It has the style of a heart-to-heart talk between two people: not too fluent and eloquent, not too modulated, and not too evidently well-prepared and literarily ingenious. The body is best kept calm and still; people making violent gestures on television are – at best – perceived as eccentric. The traditional rhetorical presentation, which sought to make an impression on a crowd, nowadays seems crudely unnatural and uncomfortably obtrusive in a close-up.

The powerful voice, the flowery language, the deliberate and finely tuned changes of rhythm and intonation and exaggerated body language – all entail the risk of appearing highly strung, unstable, excessively intense and maybe even hysterical or fanatical. When every small detail is revealed on the screen, anything but the most subdued appearance will appear to be an exaggeration (cf. Atkinson, 1984).

These criteria of authenticity and genuineness could not be applied to the great speakers of the 19th century or the ancient rhetoricians at the Greek agora or the Forum Romanum. If we were to assume that speakers in those times were “themselves” at the rostrum, or behaved at home in the same manner as when they delivered their fiery oratory, we would have to conclude that they were mad.

The modern sense of psychological interpretation has undermined the traditional expressive style. Now, it seems, only the most common and ordinary forms of presentation are acceptable. The most persuasive rhetorical means and artistic effects do not give the impression of being means and effects at all.

In the age of broadcasting and the Internet, persuasive rhetoric is anti-rhetoric. In Norway, this is obvious in the many new rhetorical genres

that have come to the fore since television became dominant. One of these broadcast genres is the final election debate between all the party leaders in the Norwegian parliament – usually involving around eight people. This television debate is normally broadcast a few days before the election. It concludes with a final appeal from each party leader. Each participant has one minute to deliver a prepared speech straight-to-camera, thus appealing directly to the viewers sitting at home.

2. THE FINAL ELECTION DEBATE AND THE ONE-MINUTE APPEAL

Despite certain changes in the party leader debate since the beginning of the 1960s, for many years this broadcast was an arena in which the politicians were in charge. They exerted a real influence over the arrangements for the debate; they were involved both in planning the format of the programme and in deciding on the principles for participation. Even the debate itself was controlled by politicians. Without interference from the moderator, every speaker could continue undisturbed for his or her allotted span of time.

This began to change at the beginning of the 1970s, when control began to shift from the politicians to the journalists. Then the public Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) formally assumed responsibility for most of the debate programmes, but it was not until the mid-1980s that the broadcaster actually exercised full control over the party leader debate. The use of the stopwatch to ensure that everybody got precisely the same amount of talking time was abandoned. The debates were also divided into distinct themes and subjects, and more active questioning from the journalists was introduced.

In 1992, when NRK for the first time faced competition from the new TV2 television channel, debates became increasingly controlled by the journalists, as the demand for more entertaining forms of television grew. Only the party leader debate remained more or less the same. Even though the press often criticised the programme, it remained the most popular election programme. On average, it is still viewed by more than half of the Norwegian population.

In an age of increasing journalistic hegemony, this grand debate has stood the test of time and has remained the last bastion of the politician. In some ways the final appeal of the party leaders has remained as a kind of fragmentary reminiscence of the oratory of days long gone. In the years be-

fore the age of broadcasting, politicians used to go on for hours on end, addressing an audience of thousands. Nowadays politicians speak for a minute or two, but address literally millions of viewers sitting comfortably at home but completely separate from one another.

The golden age of television began in the 1970s. At this point, more than two-thirds of the population had a television set. The programmes, formats and genres of NRK, which had a monopoly position, developed quickly. So too did the politicians' handling of the medium.

One example of this is Erik Solheim – at least in the speeches he made from the late 1980s onwards when he was leader of the Socialist Left Party (1987-1997). He proved to be a very adept television rhetorician, well aware of how to exploit the conditions of the medium. He had studied how other politicians failed or succeeded on television, and realised the importance of personality. As he observes in his memoirs:

Television is not about ready-made effects and prepared lines; it is about relaxing and being yourself, believing in your message and displaying your emotions. Television is not, first and foremost, a medium for the intellect, but for the emotions. (Solheim, 1999)

Solheim was probably right when he wrote that in 1989. In the years that followed, the Socialist Left Party became the most professional party on Norwegian television. However, the most advanced feature of Solheim's rhetoric was that he did not appear as a professional rhetorician, but rather as a very committed human being. This was also the case in his final appeal during the party leader debate that preceded the 1994 referendum on EU membership. Here is the full one-minute speech:

I think that everyone understands that the truth is not completely on one side or on the other side of this debate, and that there are arguments for both voting yes and no.

You have to decide for yourself what is the most important thing for the development of society. For me it is the environment. I think that this is the most important question of all in the 21st century. Consequently we should say no to a union that is based on uninhibited economic growth.

Therefore it is about creating a society with small social differences; because this is a society that will have less crime. It will have more quality of life. Things will be better between people in such a society. So, we should say 'no' to the heavily right-wing dominated economic policy that the EU is built on. It is therefore about democracy, because that is the best protection of the weak interest groups in our society, whose voices are not easily heard in other channels.

For these three reasons, the environment, solidarity and democracy – for these reasons, I believe that I would recommend people to say ‘no’. I think that this is the safer thing to do, when we remember that we will not be isolated. We can trade, travel, and cooperate. We are – even if we vote ‘no’ – the most international country in the world. 94 percent of the world’s population is outside the EU, and then I think that the people of Norway ... I would recommend the people to vote the way I think most of them want to: No on the 28th.

Solheim begins his appeal by saying “I think” and goes on to repeat it a further four times in one minute. When he does not “think”, he is content to “believe” or “recommend”. He does not say that the viewer should vote ‘no’, because there is no doubt that this is the best thing to do. He says “for these reasons, I believe that I would recommend people to say ‘no’”. Nothing is sure, there are arguments in favour of both views. The voters must decide for themselves. Instead of agitating, he just mentions what is most important for *him as a person*. The word Solheim uses most is ‘I’.

While other politicians look directly into the camera during their final appeals, Solheim looks at the moderators. Thus he does not even appear to be addressing the viewers directly. Rather than getting the feeling that a politician is trying to persuade them, viewers are left with the feeling that they have not been seen but have overheard a sort of confession that is not really meant for them. Without a manuscript, and with a few self-corrections and inversions, he does not really come across as a politician determined to persuade by means of a well-prepared speech. The person who does not seem intent on persuasion is, however, the most persuasive of all.

Solheim was probably the first politician in Norway to use this kind of anti-rhetoric, which now dominates much of the political communication in the Socialist Left Party. The next leader of the party (1997-2012), Kristin Halvorsen, has personified this style and rhetorical strategy more than anyone else. During the 2001 election campaign, Halvorsen employed all her energy and resources. The interest surrounding her person had grown to almost overwhelming dimensions. Behind the scenes, on the other hand, the party leader was tired, stressed and irritable.

Her associates gave her invigorating advice and suggestions during the preparations for the debate. But it was to no avail. She did not want to go on television. In the taxi on the way to NRK, her adviser, Roger Sandum, tried to cheer her up and make her collect her thoughts. “What is on your mind today?” he asked. “Nothing”, she answered. “Today I am just happy if I survive”.

She did not perform at all well. The next day the newspapers wrote that she seemed tired and uninspired. Most Norwegian papers grade the performances of politicians on a scale from one to six. In this case the biggest tabloid, VG, awarded her three points, the second biggest tabloid, Dagbladet, awarded her only two, and a regional paper, Bergens Tidende, awarded her three on style and two on substance.

In their ranking of the debaters, the newspapers placed Halvorsen last, or last but one. However, an opinion poll amongst the viewers provided a very different result. When asked "Who did best?", they placed Halvorsen as the clear winner: 44 percent thought she performed well, and only 3 percent thought she performed badly.

Undoubtedly, she was not the sparkling, high-spirited person she had been in the other debates during the campaign. So why did the viewers perceive her to be superior to the other debaters? An important aspect of the answer, we believe, is to be found in her final appeal, which expresses a certain connection between the issues and the person involved in the debate. As Halvorsen observed:

[...] anyone who has followed this debate can see that we have managed, partly, to get the others to talk about the issues that are of concern to us.

Now, we have done all that we could have. We are rather worn out, but give me one or two good nights' sleep, and a few hours with my own children, then we'll be ready again to go on fighting [...].

In everyday and down-to-earth language, Halvorsen tells us about the things the Socialist Left Party is fighting for, but she does not really put forward any arguments.

Her appeal does not have any clear structure. It seems improvised, with formulations such as "anyone who has followed this debate...". She says – almost casually – that the Socialist Left Party has done all that they can; she tells the viewers that she is "rather worn out", and that she wants more time with her kids.

Parts of this last precious minute – addressing the whole nation – are apparently thrown away commenting on insignificant, trivial matters. However, in this way the viewers may better understand why she has appeared so weary in this debate: she has done everything she could; she has expended all her energy, not primarily – it seems – so that her party may come to power. What this appeal makes the viewers aware of is that the party slogan

“Put children and young people first” was actually proclaimed by a mother. So no-one can be in any doubt that she really meant what she said.

In the TV debate at the end of the 2009 election campaign, Halvorsen made a one-minute speech heavily dependent on the repeated phrase: “You need us, we need you”. The central part of that short speech contained a remark that makes absolutely no sense as a political statement; however, it succeeded in anchoring the theme of “needing each other” in a recognisable experience of an intimate kind:

“[...] You ladies who feel it is unfair that you receive a lower salary just because you are doing caring work or because you are working in a profession dominated by women, you need SV – and for sure I believe that the men living with those ladies are equally well served by SV doing well in this election, for satisfied women make for satisfied men as well [...].”

Once more, Halvorsen managed to give the impression of speaking as a complete person, not just as a politician, hinting at her life as a wife in much the same way she had hinted at her life as a mother a few years earlier. She delivered these remarks with her head slightly on one side and with a disarming smile, revealing that she is struggling with the same issues in her marriage as everyone else. And the good-natured chuckling of the audience indicated appreciation of such personal disclosures.

This is the way to communicate authenticity and personal credibility via an intimate medium such as television. It is so very far divorced from the way speech-making was practised in ancient times and even from the way orators spoke in Scandinavia before the Second World War. Norway’s famous fiery orators - Henrik Wergeland, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Martin Tranmæl and many others like them - practised a completely different art.

The rhetoric of our times is one of anti-rhetoric, and the political issues have become more and more inseparable from the impression the speakers give of themselves as private individuals. They may be talking about a specific issue, but we interpret this as a sign of how they are really feeling. They argue for their policies; we, on the other hand, are looking for their underlying personal motives.

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Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Public broadcasters and their publics in post-Communist societies

Janis Juzefovics

1. INTRODUCTION

Following the collapse of Communist regimes across Central and Eastern Europe, abortive attempts were made to replicate Western European-style public broadcasting systems. The transition from state to public broadcasting was not as smooth as initially hoped, and 20 years on public broadcasters on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain, exhausted by insufficient funding and political pressures, struggle to secure the levels of public support and demand that are crucial to a healthy public broadcasting system.

While broadcasting laws were rewritten soon after the fall of Communism, echoing Western public broadcasting ideals, the implementation of these principles in practice was, and continues to be, turbulent. Consequently, what we have today are in fact quasi-public broadcasters, or unsuccessful replicas of Western public broadcasting institutions. As Richard Collins has summarised:

public service broadcasting has not yet been implanted successfully in Central and Eastern Europe [...] PSB has not, it seems, been able to do much more than figure as an ideal to those working to (re)establish democratic and pluralistic societies east of the Elbe (Collins, 2004: 33).

The gap between public broadcasting institutions and their publics in post-Communist societies manifests itself vividly in the modest results public broadcasters (particularly television) deliver in their ratings battles with commercial market players, and in the huge difficulties public broadcasters face in collecting licence fee payments.

Even in Poland, where by regional standards public service television has atypically high viewership figures and a strong position in the market, audiences are reluctant to pay their licence fees. Bajomi-Lázár, Örnebring and Štětka report: *"Of the thirteen million households in Poland, 12.8 million own at least one television set, but over 4.6 million did not pay the fee in 2006, and an additional 2.8 million were legally exempt from paying it"* (2011: 13). As Klimkiewicz has concluded, the loyalty of audiences *"did not stretch as far as a willingness to pay licence fees"* (2007: 317) and *"the financing of PSB solely from licence fees appeared unaffordable in Poland"* (2007: 299). *"Alongside political dependence, programming commercialization seems to be an equally important factor which undermines the idea of PSB in Polish society,"* Stępa (2010: 242) explains.

Current research into the demise of public broadcasting in post-Communist societies has attempted to explain the phenomenon mostly by pointing to the political and economic realm, and less attention has been paid to socio-cultural factors. In previous studies on media reform in Central and Eastern Europe, politicisation and commercialisation have been identified as key characteristics of emerging post-Communist media systems. Accordingly, the failure to put public broadcasting ideals into practice has mainly been attributed to political and economic conditions. First, the political pressuring of broadcasters by post-Communist, pro-democracy political leaders has had a negative impact on editorial independence. Second, insufficient funding has made public broadcasters financially unstable and uncompetitive in their battles with commercial players (Jakubowicz, 1996, Sparks and Reading, 1998, Gross, 2002, Mungiu-Pippidi, 2003). However, the fiasco with the introduction of public broadcasting in post-Communist societies cannot solely be explained by political and market factors.

According to Jakubowicz, *"the lack of social embeddedness of the idea of public service broadcasting and the lack of a social constituency willing and able to support public service broadcasters and buttress its autonomy and independence"* are common characteristics of public service broadcasting systems across post-Communist countries (2008: 117). In order to shed additional light on the peculiar interplay between public broadcasters and their publics in former Communist bloc countries, I will draw on Albert Hirschman's influential theory of 'exit, voice and loyalty' (see Hirschman, 1970). Hirschman's concepts have previously been utilised to examine individual and collective reactions to system failures, including public services, for instance, unsatisfactory public school systems (see Elis, 2006, Di John,

2007, Healy, 2007). Nevertheless, to date his concepts have not been used to examine the actions taken by audiences in their relationship with public service broadcasters, though it has been increasingly used in broader citizenship debates (for an overview see Flew, 2009).

Hirschman's theory offers an analytical framework for understanding the complex interplay between exit and voice and further explores the tangled nature of the concept of loyalty in the light of what appear to be unsatisfactory public broadcasting systems in Central and Eastern Europe.

2. HIRSCHMAN'S 'EXIT, VOICE AND LOYALTY'

According to Hirschman's theory, there are two options for how individuals and groups can respond to decline in the performance of institutions or, in a broader sense, how they can respond to the failure of a system: exit (leaving, escaping from the failing system) and voice (various forms of protest and action in the hope that the system is able to recover). As Hirschman argues, "*loyalty is a key concept in the battle between exit and voice*" (1970: 82). For Hirschman, 'loyalty' is an attitude, defined as "*a special attachment to an organization*" (1970: 77) that determines behaviour: exit and voice option. The main point of Hirschman's approach is that, in the absence of loyalty, exit will be preferred and exit itself will be costless and silent.

Hirschman's theory has been extensively used in marketing research to study consumer behaviour. His approach has, therefore, often been misperceived as market-driven and consumer-oriented. Hirschman's theoretical framework for analysis of the relationship between consumer/citizen and product/organisation has, however, also been utilised in other fields outside business studies (e.g. psychology, political science, cultural studies), thus proving the validity of Hirschman's concepts when it comes to the analysis of social and political phenomena, the exploration of the citizen realm and public good.

Being a development economist and bringing together economic and political theory, Hirschman himself has argued that his concepts of 'exit, voice and loyalty' should be "*applicable not only to economic operators such as business firms, but to a wide variety of noneconomic organizations and situations*" (1970: 1).

3. HIRSCHMAN AND PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING

3.1. HIRSCHMAN AND THE LATVIAN PUBLIC TV

In this paper I will advocate the validity of Hirschman's approach in examining the relationship between broadcasters and their publics against the backdrop of declining post-Communist public service broadcasting systems. Using the Baltic country of Latvia as a case study, I will demonstrate how the analytical tools of Hirschman's theory can inspire examination of publics' responses to the deterioration of public broadcasting systems. It should be noted that I am currently at an early stage in my research project and the fieldwork has yet to be finalised. Therefore, my reflections on Hirschman's theory will be based on theoretical assumptions rather than on empirically-based evidence.

During the political breakthrough at the end of the 1980s, state radio and television in Latvia, as in other Baltic countries, supported the struggle for freedom and, as Brikše and others put it, "*enjoyed enormous trust and even love from the audience*" (2002: 69). In January 1991 people even built barricades around radio and television buildings to guard journalists against a possible invasion by Soviet security forces.

Twenty years on, statistics indicate that audiences are exiting in their droves from public television, the successor to the former state television, and migrating to commercial platforms, be they Latvian-language or Russian-language, national or foreign commercial channels. The audience share of Latvian Television has been dropping steadily over the last two decades, and in 2010 amounted to just 13.6% (both channels combined).¹ Only five of the 40 most popular TV programmes in the country in 2010 were aired on Latvian Television. Ratings data reveal that, for many Latvians, the only experiences they have of public TV are the annual Eurovision song contest, regular coverage of ice hockey games and special programming during the national holidays.

The historical context of Central and Eastern European countries makes 'the battle between exit and voice' around public broadcasting in these societies even more complex. The origins of public broadcasting in post-Communist societies are fundamentally different from those of Western European countries. Accordingly, loyalty towards public broadcasting has different implications when it comes to former Communist bloc countries.

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TNS Latvia data

While in Western European societies the introduction of public broadcasting is often characterised as a paternalistic enlightenment project (see Ang, 1991, Briggs, 1965, Scannell, 1989, 1990, 1996a, 1996b, Scannell & Cardiff, 1991), in societies on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the arrival of public broadcasting was part of a system change that took place several decades later. Furthermore, the transition from state to public broadcasting overlapped with the introduction of commercial radio and television. Flourishing commercial broadcasting provided choices for television viewers and thus made the exit mechanism from the recently established public television available, a mechanism which had been a very limited option during the era of state broadcasting under the totalitarian Communist media systems. Thus, contrary to the deep-seated (or imposed, one could also argue) loyalty towards public broadcasting in Western European societies, in Central and Eastern Europe there has never been a strong public broadcasting tradition and therefore exiting from public broadcasting can be expected to be rather costless and silent.

Poor audience figures and significant audience losses during the last two decades clearly signal a disengagement between public service television and the Latvian public. As in Western societies, rejecters of public broadcasting are mainly found among young people and ethnic minorities. Correspondingly, the more loyal audiences for public television are to be found among the ethnic Latvian majority and among older people.

However, at least two factors make the post-Communist story different from the Western European case. First, commercial channels attract sizeable audiences not only for entertainment output, but also for news and current affairs programming, which has traditionally been seen as a core business of public broadcasting. For instance, in Latvia the most popular *prime-time* news programmes are on commercial channels, not on public TV. Second, public TV is being rejected by an economically active audience: those with higher incomes and better education. Audiences for public TV in Latvia are overwhelmingly old and less well-off.

While the absence of loyalty seems obvious (given the massive exit from public service TV), relying purely on quantitative audience measurements such as ratings and audience socio-demographics can be misleading in making judgements concerning public support towards and demand for public broadcasting. This point has been made very evident by Raboy and Abramson in their analyses of media policymaking processes. To Raboy and Abramson, audience statistics indicate 'market demand' ("*what the*

public is interested in"), but fail to reflect 'social demand' ("*that which society needs*") (1998: 336, 340). Raboy and Abramson instead call for citizen involvement through qualitative audience studies when defining the meaning of the notion of public interest: "[...] *democratic governance in the cultural realm demands the involvement of members of the populace in the production of their cultural selves, of their desires, of their identities*" (1998: 351-352).

My main interest here concerns understanding whether rejecting the programming output of public television also implies exiting from the values or normative ideals attached to the public broadcasting model. My assumption here is that, while withdrawing from what is on offer from public television, audiences can still remain loyal to the idea of public broadcasting, whatever definitions of public broadcasting they may have. In other words, personal experience (the rejection of public service television channels and a preference for commercial broadcasting) should not automatically imply denial of public broadcasting as a set of values (the normative ideals of public broadcasting as a public good).

In line with the normative Western European public service broadcasting model, public service broadcasting makes a crucial contribution to the democratic process (mainly because of its potential in the formation of the modern public sphere), and therefore deserves the status of a public good (see Dahlgren, 1995, 1999, 2000, Garnham, 1983, 1986, 2003, Raboy, 1996, Scannell, 1989, 1990, Splichal, 2006).

As Hirschman argues, only a partial exit from 'public goods' (contrary to 'private goods') is possible. "*Actually, of course, a private citizen can "get out" from public education by sending his children to private school, but at the same time he cannot get out, in the sense that his and his children's life will be affected by the quality of public education,*" he explains (1970: 102). If public broadcasting as a system is seen as a set of values rather than consisting only of public broadcasting institutions, we can make a similar argument: a full exit from public broadcasting is hardly possible.

It is, therefore, crucial to make a distinction between public broadcasting as an institutional embodiment and public broadcasting as a set of values. Accordingly, broadcasting reform in the Central and Eastern European region cannot be seen as an exclusively institutional transition (from state to public broadcasters), neglecting the current state of the idea (values) of public broadcasting in post-Communist societies today.

3.2. EXIT

Detaching the idea of public broadcasting from public broadcasting institutions allows us to further elaborate 'exit' as a concept. In current media landscapes across Central and Eastern Europe, commercial television channels are 'close substitutes' - to use Hirschman's vocabulary - for public television. That is, it is not just public broadcasters that act as social and business institutions while at the same time mimicking the programming strategies of their commercial rivals. Commercial broadcasting often provides high-profile journalistic output (news, current affairs) that can qualify as public broadcasting provision. Hence, in the post-Communist media environment one cannot expect audiences to make a clear distinction between commercial and public broadcasting, and an exit from public television should not automatically lead to an exit from public broadcasting. The popularity of high-quality journalistic content on commercial platforms in Latvia can be seen as a manifestation of loyalty towards public broadcasting values, even if it is being offered outside of traditional public broadcasting institutions.

Given the blurred boundary between public and commercial broadcasting, the audiences' roles as citizens and consumers could be seen as dynamic rather than fixed. Thus, migration from public service television to commercial channels does not equate to an abandoning of public broadcasting ideals and a rejection of the role of a citizen. My argument here is that the role of a citizen can also be realised outside public broadcasting institutions, and that commercial broadcasting can provide a popular platform for interplay between the roles of a citizen and a consumer.

The overall media scene, across Europe, has changed fundamentally. Today it is hard to draw a clear demarcation line between the programming strategies and funding models of public broadcasters and commercial channels, and therefore the identities of citizen and consumer should be seen as overlapping and complementary roles of the public, rather than as clear-cut concepts in constant tension with one another. Through qualitative audience research I hope to gain an understanding of what it means 'to be a citizen' or 'to be a consumer' within everyday media experience, against the backdrop of a weak public broadcasting system and a flourishing commercial television sector.

3.3. VOICE

For the successful realisation of voice mechanisms in official (institutional) contexts, a strong tradition of civil society should be in place. As a rule, due to the Communist legacy, societies across Central and Eastern Europe have weak non-governmental sectors. While a platform for public participation in broadcasting policy-making in Latvia is formally available, its implementation has been rather turbulent. The Public Advisory Council, which consists of representatives of non-governmental organizations and functions under the auspices of the National Electronic Mass Media Council, can easily define the interests of particular social groups, but struggles to elaborate the public service remit, where consensus should be reached on broader public interests. Apart from the Public Advisory Council, other institutional forms of feedback and public participation in the governance of public broadcasting are few and far between. For this reason, the realisation of voice-type reactions is limited to speaking up outside official platforms, where day-to-day domestic family structures play a key role.

3.4. EXIT AND VOICE INTERPLAYING

Exit and voice options are not mutually exclusive, and the exit option itself can be seen as a voice-type response. The rejection of public service television is itself a form of protest: withdrawal from a deteriorating public broadcasting system can serve as an instrument for the expression of dissatisfaction and for an insistence on improvement. In other words, even if one does not stay within public broadcasting organisations, one can still not only remain loyal to the idea of public broadcasting, but also realise the voice option.

As already noted, television audiences in Latvia are not only divided across lines of age. Ethnicity/language also plays a key role in setting demarcation lines. Ethnic Latvians and the large Latvian Russian-speaking minority have strikingly different television viewing habits. I suspect that the Russian minority in Latvia ignores public service television and prefers Russian-language channels transmitting from Moscow, not only because of linguistic barriers (public service TV provides only small volumes of programming in Russian, and older Russian-speakers in particular have a poor command of the Latvian language) and the wide range of available alternatives (plenty of Moscow-based Russian-language TV channels are available in Latvia), but also because of the problematic national identity construction processes over the last 20 years since the break-up of the Soviet Union.

I assume that, among ethnic minority groups, public service television is seen as oriented towards the ethnic majority: that is, 'Latvian public service television' is translated as 'public service television for Latvians'. Besides, I suspect that, given the alienation many Russian-speakers feel towards the government of the day, the same sentiment is echoed in their relationship with public television. That is, public service television is to a great extent equated with state television in the sense of representing the official world view of the ethnic Latvian majority.

My argument here is that an exit strategy- rejection of public broadcasting and migration to Moscow-based Russian-language channels- serves as a voice mechanism for the expression of resentment and protest among the Russian-speaking minority. In other words, detachment from public broadcasting among ethnic minorities should not be seen merely as an expression of discontent towards the offer from public broadcasting, but should instead be discussed in the broader context of unsettled ethnic relations in the Latvian society.

4. APPLICATION OF HIRSCHMAN'S THEORY

I will use the design of my research project to demonstrate how Hirschman's approach can be used in empirical research. Through qualitative audience research the study aims to gain empirically based knowledge on what forms of action audience members develop as a response to public service television. The study aims to understand how the relationship with public service television is negotiated and how audiences' responses towards public service television fare in a spectrum of actions ranging from exit-type to voice-type reactions.

The goal is to explore what mechanisms to realise exit (escape/ withdrawal) are available and how they are applied: e.g. rejection of public broadcasting as an institutional embodiment (product, service) or public broadcasting as a set of values (ideals). Similarly, the study will explore what mechanisms to realise voice (participation/protest) are available and how they are applied: the expression of grievance in everyday or official (institutional) contexts.

Besides, the project seeks to explore interpretive repertoires applied to discuss the ethos of public service broadcasting and understand how audience members perceive the idea of public service broadcasting and what their definitions of public service broadcasting are: that is, how do they

define meaning of concepts such as 'public interest' and 'public good'? Finally, the project seeks to understand how individuals use and experience public service television in everyday life and how this has shaped their articulations on public service broadcasting.

Focus group interviews with television viewers will be combined with participant observation within everyday family environments.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Through an empirical enquiry into the relationship between public television and its publics in post-Communist Latvia, I hope to elaborate further the concept of loyalty that lies at the heart of Hirschman's theory. My underlying aim is to understand how dis/loyalty towards public broadcasting, seen as both public broadcasting institutions and the idea (values) of public broadcasting, is formed; how a range of socio-cultural factors influence the absence/presence of this 'special attachment'; and, last but not least, how the concept operates within the day-to-day practices of media use. Such data should bring new insights and a fuller understanding of the phenomenon in general and its articulation within a post-Communist context in particular.

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Foley Artists – Wiring acoustic spaces in cinema, TV and radio plays

Heiner Stahl

1. INTRODUCTION TO FOLEY ARTISTS

Explaining Foley Art is both easy and complicated. In the landscape of the Hollywood studios in the mid-1920s, Jack Donovan Foley, an engineer working at Universal, successfully manipulated existing recording technology. Competing in this emerging market were the German Try-Ergon (TOBIS)¹, a European contender, and the main US players, Vitaphone (a sound-on-disc technology) and RCA Photophone (a sound-on-film standard).² Universal, having purchased a primary licence from Western Electric Export Corporation (Westrex),³ was using the Vitaphone and Movietone systems.

Foley manipulated all sorts of requisites in order to record effects and sounds on a layer and audio track. This was an exercise that later became the recording technique of *dubbing*, in which one layer is substituted by another.⁴

Most probably, Foley's trick was based on an inappropriate use of sound technology, getting the 'right' sound back on the celluloid band, making post-production less costly. In contrast to this assumption, Ray Brunelle (1996) argued that it is not entirely clear whether Foley did actually invent

1 "Tobis-Klangfilm." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011. Downloaded on 20.11.2011. on <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/597789/Tobis-Klangfilm>.

2 See Gomery (1976) and Lastra (2000). Besides Vitaphone and Phonotop (RCA), there were two more standards in use: Phonofilm (Lee De Forest), and Movietone (Fox-Case). Downloaded on 20.09.2011 from <http://frank.mtsu.edu/~smpete/twenties.html>

3 Downloaded on 20.09.2011 from <http://www.westernelectric.com/>, downloaded on 20.09.2011 from http://www.porticus.org/bell/westernelectric_history.html, downloaded on 20.09.2011 from <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sightandsound/feature/157>

4 Downloaded on 20.09.2011 from <http://filmsound.org/foley/>

it or just acted so impressively in the eyes of the production and art directors of the studios that they wanted post-production to go the Foley way. Brunelle (1996) drew an intriguing line from vaudeville cabaret through fairground entertainment to the sound film industry.

Before continuing, some clarification is needed: when talking about the acoustic, I mean the physical dimension of listening. The term auditory refers to the perceptual dimension, while audible is bound to the psychological dimension of hearing. A Foley Artist is a person creating sound effects manually using all kinds of materials, fitting into films,⁵ TV productions, digital games and previously into radio plays. Winfried Hauer, a sound engineer at the public service broadcasting station in Munich, said: *"It is not filed, which sounds are used in a radio play, and there will be no different procedure applied and implemented in the near future."*⁶ When producing radio plays, it is far too time-consuming to list and archive every sound that is used. Hauer explains that several layers of sound shape a sequence, even the shortest one. Therefore *"given that, in a broadcast lasting one hour, you find, let's say, around 200 different sounds, if the assistant were to allocate an archival number to each sound, she or he would have a lot of additional work to do."*⁷

In respect of radio plays and broadcasting from the early days until the mid-1950s, adding sound was the job of 'Foley Artists'. By examining those artists and media professionals, I am aiming to test two theoretical approaches. One is the concept of acoustic space highlighted by Marshall McLuhan (interview by Norden, 1969), while the second is Raymond Murray Schafer's (1973) idea of a soundscape. My purpose is to set out a suitable approach to reintroducing the manual and physical production and creation of sounds—still minority positions—into academic discussion at the interface of communication studies, media and film Studies, literature studies and the newer and dazzling strand of sound studies. And those theoretical concepts are no longer fit for instant use, and have to be readjusted, "pimped up".

5 URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSrmqyV7pYI> (last accessed 20.09.2011)
Albert Brooks (1981) *Modern Romance*, 13 March 1981, Columbia Pictures Corporation.
Watching from 1.15" to 4. 28" is recommended.

6 Interview with Wilfried Hauer, Bayerischer Rundfunk, Department Production
Radio Plays/ Drama 25.02.2011, 11.00 to 11.50 am.

7 Interview Hauer, 25.02.2011.

In terms of Foley Artists as a research problem, four different constellations and competing understandings are central.

- analogue versus digital practices and technologies
- sound and its location in a media product
- resonating bodies and performativity
- studio environments and production processes

Foley Artists are delivering authenticity to a product of media, while adding its illusion at the same time. And, as agents and actors, they connect the settings of production, recording and insertion of sounds, and mediate and bridge the transitions. Certainly a network-centred approach appears to be suitable to explaining how knowledge is produced and practical tradition is taught in the context of such a performative profession. And, being part of a knowledge-based network of individuals, Foley Artists compete in the same market of freelancing and contracting.

Sounds are gone as quickly as they appear, on the surface of what we may want to examine. The ambiguous and indefinite character of sound is no longer of any relevance in a visual world. Well, yes, this is sort of right. Watching a movie, we are focused on the actors, plots, special effects and maybe – at least – on the main character themes in the soundtracks. But no, this is also sort of wrong, because sounds are leaving marks in every form and condition of content. It is about us tracing them.

Considering their acoustic impact on media products, and Foley Artists' approach to sound, our toolkit of media and cultural theory is insufficient in this respect. Or, to put it differently, the notorious theories hardly match the object I want to explore. I postulate that Foley Artists serve as a reminder of the analogue and an oddity in a media environment shaped by digital coding and converging content.

2. MARSHALL McLUHAN'S CLAIM FOR ACOUSTIC SPACE

Marshall McLuhan delineates "acoustic space" as having "*no centre and no margin, unlike strictly visual space, which is an extension and intensification of the eye*". (Norden, 1969: 6) However, "*acoustic space is organic and integral, perceived through the simultaneous interplay of all the senses*". (Norden, 1969: 6) The quote points to the more general layers of McLuhan's concept of cultural progression and development. Taking a historical and anthropological perspective, this concept consists of multiple stages. A functional

reading is predominant, meaning that the function of a (cultural) technique in a given setting is the key to understanding (human) progress. Back then, in this assumed natural state of pre-civilized tribes, McLuhan claimed that the primary medium was speech. And talking to each other was the main mode of getting to terms with the present, the past and the future of the tribe's existence. And *"before the invention of the phonetic alphabet, man lived in a world where all the senses were balanced and simultaneous, a closed world of tribal depth and resonance, an oral culture structured by a dominant auditory sense of life"* (Norden, 1969: 6). Understanding any culture as *"an order of sensory preferences, and in the tribal world, the senses of touch, taste, hearing and smell were developed, for very practical reasons, to a much higher level than the strictly visual"* (Norden, 1969: 6).

Listening to somebody talking generates cohesion in tribal communities. In 1972 Edmund Carpenter described "acoustic space" as being non-pictorial, not boxed in and framed, *"its resonating, in flux, creating its own dimensions moment by moment. It's a world in which the eye hears, the ear sees, & all the five & country senses join in a concert of interweaving rhythms"* (Carpenter, 1972: 31).

I understand Carpenter's and McLuhan's proposition of 'acoustic space' as a structural feature of interactions and social relations in a given environment. An example is the communication tactics and rituals of an illiterate tribe, dominated by verbal face-to-face interaction.

Ritual and interpersonal communication are storage spaces for knowledge, the data carrier of the pre-Gutenberg galaxy. Rituals are a memory stick. And the rituals and memories of sound are providing access to past modes of hearing, listening, and virtualising communities.

3. RAYMOND MURRAY SCHAFER'S IDEA OF A 'SOUNDSCAPE'

A 'soundscape', a term originally coined by the urban anthropologist Michael Southworth (1969), and transferred by the Canadian composer Raymond Murray Schafer in 1973, assumes a specific state of nature of the acoustic and auditory interrelatedness of objects, materials, communities and natural phenomena like wind, thunder, rain, snow etc. resonating, additionally defining a specific geographical entity.

Recording the sounds of the world and storing them on tape helps to describe what is characteristic of the auditory experience in a town or in the

countryside. But this old approach lacks a straightness in interpretation. When sounds - of a bird, of men, of church bells, of hammers - are heard in their own volume and power, they determine a hi-fi-soundscape. Hi-Fi is a code and chiffre for the uniqueness of tonal qualities, acoustic information and auditory presences, and stands for the different capacities to get through to the channel called ear, the threshold.

A Lo-Fi soundscape, in a city, with an increasing amount of traffic, on a construction site or at an industrial facility, consists of specific data packages of acoustic information interfering and mixing up. To manipulate sounds manually, electrically or electronically by technical devices - pitching volume and loudness higher, or modulating frequencies, to get a siren switching to alarm mode for example - is a tactic to generate public awareness.

In 1973, Schafer was much more interested in orchestrating the sounds of landscapes and areas of a city, searching for opportunities to improve and to filter out, assessing noise and mapping cities by recording the acoustic situation, and marking zones of auditory disintegration. That was more intriguing than pointing out the potentials of post-production of audio tracks.

Collating what we have obtained so far on the Schaferian side of sound, and linking our object of examination - Foley Artists - to the concept of 'soundscape', in terms of the clear hearing - cliraudience - of visual information, we find a strong interrelationship in terms of making the movements, places and sequences of pictures as acoustically coherent as possible.

Tools and materials are re-used, re-coded by application and combined in different ways. Sound "atmospheres" made by Foley Artists are manually created, handmade in order to speak and fit into the Schaferian sense of 'Hi-Fi'. But being performed in a setting that is defined by microphones, sequencers, compressors, equalisers and other mixing applications, Schafer's key terms do not really match. Performed on a theatre stage or in a vaudeville cabaret, or in early sound film, this might be different, and fit once again.

Foley Artists infuse analogue craftsmanship into a virtual setting of the camera, the eye of an instrument and its visual effects. Serving as the analogue extensions of a digital production process, they act in a shape that could be labelled post-literate.

Foley Artists roam freely, passing the 'tribal echo-lands', reproducing the pre-digital conditions of sound, sound colour and sound memory. From the angle of literature studies inspired media theory, we might go so far as to label Foley Art as a specific form of distortion (Holl 2011: 214) at the interface of technological and aesthetical settings designed to generate and create a product, namely a blockbuster, TV film or a computer game.

As speech and face-to-face communication within communities are key to those bits and pieces McLuhan dropped into that Playboy interview, we have to state fairly that Foley Artists as agents in the recording and post-production process do not in any way fit into that concept. But when we extract alert listening and multisensitivity out of McLuhan's explanations, we are kind of back in the game.

Certainly we need another concept to consolidate our approach, and look for continuity, starting-points and break-ups. In the construction kit of theories and frameworks, there is the idea of a 'soundscape'. In this landscape of sound, we can determine positions, locating Foley Artists with the main feature of their manual capacity – creating sound with different means, resources, purposes and responsibilities derived from social and contractual relations.

And McLuhan's perspective on film is different to his one on television: "Unlike film or photograph, television is primarily an extension of the sense of touch rather than of sight, and it is the tactile sense that demands the greatest interplay of all the senses." (McLuhan, 1969: 11) Foley Artists are scanning moving images in order to add the best and most suitable acoustic layer. It is a tactile mode applied. A Foley Artists is an active viewer as well, but he is also part of the production process, although she or he keeps a position in between. Foley Artists are distorting the existing theoretical frameworks.

Understanding a studio as a space, as an 'acoustic space', re-applying McLuhan to this setting, helps to reconfigure acoustic events and auditory dispositions, raising the issue of the extent to which the cultural technique of listening reshaped by atmospheres, rattles, noises and sound markers makes the visual impression of a pictorial sequence even stronger.

We can write the story of Foley Artists from a technical and technological perspective, pointing out new procedures, tools and shifts in the recording process. Or we can outline the institutional perspective of broadcast-

ing stations dropping Foley work, or film production companies standing by. Or we can opt for a micro media history of recording studios in relation to individual sound artists and the film projects or games projects to which they contributed.

4. CONCLUSION

Radio plays developed out of theatre performances, with microphones upfront. The genre of the radio feature was given a major boost in the early 1970s by the collaging and bricolaging of recorded sound and noise from the real world outside the studio. A broadcasting studio is a laboratory with specific constraints. And at least in terms of broadcasting, we can state that, in the late 1950s, the functions and tasks of Foley Artists volatilised and diffused step by step, as they were replaced by sound effect libraries and sound databases.

Neither McLuhan nor Schafer offers a consistent theoretical approach to understanding the subject of Foley Artists. Are they some sort of gate-keeper of acoustic memory, carrying with them practical knowledge about sounds in packages of analogue data, being reproduced manually.

They are inscribing this memory and knowledge into the media product itself, at least by their contribution to the post-production. And with this capacity they are wiring acoustic spaces. But they are artists, and this knowledge concerning sounds is the cultural and professional capital they have to offer and sell. From that angle and perspective, the soundscape, as well as the acoustic space, appears to be a hybrid constellation of a competitive market.

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Social Scientists and the European Neoliberal University: Tensions in Conceptualisations of the Public Role of Universities

Pika Založnik and Jeoffrey Gaspard

1. INTRODUCTION

Academic practices and conceptions of the public role and missions of the European University have radically changed in the last decade (e.g. Harland, 2009). On a pan-European scale, state-driven neoliberal discourses have recontextualised and redefined the universities as institutions embedded in a so-called global Knowledge Economy that establishes competitiveness between universities as an explicit goal. This ‘marketisation’ of the (“corporate”¹, “service” or “entrepreneurial”) University is paired with changes in institutional administration (e.g. Moriau, 2001): an increased focus on research evaluation, the heavy use of ICTs, the professionalisation of the researcher, etc.

More specifically, this institutional context imposes new communication strategies, which include the building and fostering of numerous alliances with an increased number of extra-academic “stakeholders” (local industry, future students, potential fundraisers, etc.) (Thys-Clement, 2001). In this context, a resurgence of the ‘publicness frame’ (in opposition to the dominant economic frame) can be discerned (Splichal, 2011: Ch. 4), stemming particularly from the social sciences.

In this chapter we will discuss the different conceptualisations of publicness, authority and engagement in the public sphere in the context of the university, along with the tensions that arise from it. For social scientists

1 In this chapter, terms between two quotation marks *without italics* refer to neoliberal discourse elements often encountered in policy-making and other prescriptive, official documents.

this results in a balancing act between the different and sometimes opposing imperatives of the University-as-an-institution, their conceptualisation of the public role of the university and the scientist and the scientific culture in the field of the social sciences. Although we can discern the rise of a 'participatory paradigm' in both institutional and scientific discourses, we propose that the imperatives and the strategies of the University could increasingly be at odds with the self-understanding of social scientists and their scientific culture.

2. MARKETISING THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

One of the main driving forces of these institutional transformations is the recontextualisation of neoliberal discourses in the university context. For the purpose of our argument, we will define 'neoliberalism' as a radical, centrally-planned, state-driven socio-political agenda that aims to marketise extra-economic activities, i.e. traditional public services such as education or health care (Dardot & Laval, 2009: 152-153). Policy-makers, then, put faith in the market to solve contemporary problems emerging from a supposedly failed welfare state which suffers from the (often self-imposed) chronic shrinkage in public funds.

As far as European universities are concerned, this neoliberal formatting takes shape, in part, with the active establishment of a pan-European market of researchers² and of higher education in general (Bruno, 2008), which remains an explicit objective for the European Commission (2007). More particularly, these transnational attempts at coordinating higher education policies are paired with a redefining process according to which the University is restated as a local institution embedded in an inevitable and global 'knowledge economy' (Harding et al., 2007). This political repositioning brings about a state of affairs which legitimises an increased competitiveness between newly found rival universities: competitiveness, then, is seen as a one-size-fits-all rule to achieve so-called better and more efficient public service and research. Besides, such a knowledge economy implies a 'financialisation' of knowledge as a new type of market-valued good, or, at least, as an "asset" with economic potential (Foray, 2004). Although we can agree that academic institutions have always been competitors to some degree (some say for the sake of emulation), the current market agenda has been actively initiated by policy-makers since the

2 The "European Research Area – ERA" constitutes such a common market. Moreover, the professionalisation of the researcher, best exemplified by the "European Charter for Researchers", can be viewed as a first step toward the marketisation of the researcher.

beginning of the 2000s. Furthermore, it does now seem that the neoliberal *"ideological-discursive formations"* (Fairclough, 1995) are already being naturalised, so that administrators and faculty members are not necessarily aware of the ideological load of the multiple discourses at play: it now becomes natural to speak of student "customers" or mass "research patenting".

The changes in practices triggered by (or, to some extent, co-constructed by) this current marketising trend are manifold: a strong focus on research evaluation and accountability, an upsurge in university-industry cooperation, the heavy use of ICTs, the internationalisation agenda, the extreme massification of student enrolments, the imperative of publishing in top-level scientific journals, the professionalisation of the researcher, the fixation on "quality" or "excellence", the implementation of management techniques, etc. On another level, these institutional transformations are also translated into new discursive practices: like other social spheres colonised by the neoliberal ethos, a competitive Higher Education generates new genres and buzzwords (Mautner, 2005) that are mainly imported from the corporate sphere (e.g. Osman, 2008). "Networking", "evaluation", "quality (control)", "benchmarking", "spin-off", "(research) market", "(knowledge) production", etc. are just some of the exogenous terms presently gaining ground on university campuses. Moreover, new concepts embody the current zeitgeist in which administration officials are urged to conceive of their university's relations with its socioeconomic environment: "corporate university", "service university" or "entrepreneurial university" are becoming common reifying concepts - even in scientific literature (e.g. Tjeldvoll, 2002 or Etzkowitz et al., 2000).

3. OUT OF THE IVORY TOWER!

In this overall context, universities are asked to secure sufficient financial resources in order to become competitive without weighing on restricted national budgets. This results in a metamorphosis of the traditional Humboldtian missions of research and teaching (and the overarching mission of public service). For example, universities are encouraged to reinforce their commitment to educational 'excellence' or engage more in the sort of applied research that can bestow attractive contracts and grants. As far as public service is concerned, one new imperative is for the University to open itself, out of its "Ivory Tower", to "Society". Here, the network 'magic' casts its spell: the embeddedness of universities in glocalised environments is believed to imply the building and fostering of numerous al-

liances with an increased number of diversified institutional or individual stakeholders, be they other universities, local industry, future students, potential fundraisers, NGOs, ordinary citizens, the mass media, etc. (e.g. McClung & Werner, 2008; Jongbloed et al., 2008). This stakeholder approach originally stemmed from the entrepreneurial sphere. The development and care of those alliances are increasingly thought to be critical to sustaining both the traditional and newly-imposed aspects of a university's missions, but also to build a positive institutional "brand" and engage with societal actors potentially interested in the services it offers. This network framing is often considered, especially by administrators of more precariously positioned small to medium-sized universities, to be a first step toward survival: to put it bluntly, universities are being asked literally to sell their services primarily to industry and, more generally, to a growing body of diversified stakeholders.

However, as we shall see below in the case of social scientists, this outreach may not be defined in the same manner by all the actors involved (administration officials, researchers, policy-makers, citizens, etc.): different conceptions of the outreach as well as the nature of the extra academic actors involved may enter into conflict with each other. According to the European Commission (2003: 4), for instance, one aspect of the knowledge economy and society is that *"new configurations of production, transmission and application of knowledge are emerging, and their effect is to involve a greater number of players, typically in an increasingly internationalised network-driven context (emphasis added)"*; yet the included terms are highly polysemous.

4. STAKEHOLDERS VS. PUBLIC

Researchers, university officials and policy-makers all agree that the University must interact with "Society". However, the question of *how* and with *whom* needs to be opened up and analysed further. The institutional conception of what constitutes 'the exterior' and who are (shall be) the stakeholders is best exemplified by the new communication strategies this vision generates. A systematic development of the communication apparatus, through which *"information activities [...] have expanded considerably in terms of the number of employees involved, [and have] undergone professionalization as well as upgrading in status"* (Engwall, 2008: 46), is believed to be strategic for a university wishing to dominate an increasingly competitive environment. As a consequence, most European universities now capitalise on entrepreneurial public relations techniques to promote their in-

stitutions and engage in the public sphere. Yet, the manner in which the administrators conceive of their institution's interlocutors does not necessarily concur with the traditional ideal of the public university (see below). Indeed, the current overarching state of mind hovering over the European University considers the university's stakeholders purely as economic agents: universities shall engage with its community - as long as it has the potential, through "university-industry interfaces", "international Erasmus exchanges" or "experts' evaluations of national socioeconomic programs", to enhance the institution (and the state's) economic and cultural capitals on the local, regional, national and international stages.

This style of public relations leaves tracks, such as the specific discourses disseminated on university websites - managed in an instituted competitive environment in which it is vital for the institutions to demarcate and promote themselves. A brief analysis³ of the hyperlinks placed on university homepages highlights how far this framing distances itself from what the University traditionally considered to be its public and public service in general: these hyperlinks clearly parallel those found on corporate websites (e.g. "University management", "University strategy", "Corporate identity").

This institutional point of view can contradict the professional identity cultivated by university personnel, be they researchers or administration employees. In the past few decades the necessity to engage with wider society has become an important topic at the level of the university administration as well as at the level of faculty. Participatory, civil, public and democratic science - these are the buzzwords that indicate the rise of a "*participatory paradigm*" (Bäckstrand, 2004: 24). In this climate, tensions arise not over whether to engage, but rather over how to engage. In the following sections, we take the example of social scientists, who, we believe, often find themselves in a position where they are torn between their work in the context of a neoliberal framing of engagement outside of the scientific sphere and their self-perception that frames engagement as a public good.

5. THE PUBLIC ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

In recent years we can discern an emergence of programmatic calls in scientific circles for the restoration of the public role of social scientists in the

3 This is the subject of Jeffrey Gaspard's PhD thesis.

public sphere (e.g. Clawson et al., 2007; Calhoun, 2009; etc.). The stated mission of public social science is to identify, in cooperation with different publics, the major problems, relevant evidence and persuasive arguments when dealing with public issues. This resurgence of what Splichal (2011: Ch. 4) calls the 'publicness frame' is a response by (some) social scientists to the dominance of neoliberal discourse on the role of the university and the scientist; to the rise of science as a 'financial good' as opposed to science as a 'public good' (Pestre, 2005: 29).

The neoliberal discourse has seeped into discussions on the university, defining the public role of the university and of the scientists as stemming from the source of funding and not from a conception of the public good. The expectation is that those who are paying should benefit and the argumentation is often conflated with the argument for government financing of universities. For example, Smith (2009) frames the public responsibilities of science as being defensible to the public, gaining the support of the public (also e.g. Calhoun, 2006). The same interpretation is the basis for the discourse on the public accountability of science, which is not sustained by responsiveness to public needs, but by performance measurement and 'the audit culture' (Marginson, 2006: 46).

In contrast, the publicness frame, represented in the calls mentioned above, defines the public role of (in this case) the social sciences in the Enlightenment tradition, which postulates an educated citizenry as a necessity for democracy. On the one hand, inquiry, education and full publicity need to replace censorship, bias and prejudice, as well as plain ignorance (Dewey, 1927/1999: 143). The social sciences can contribute to public knowledge and understanding of contemporary society by communicating in the public sphere, providing actors and topics and thereby informing and catalysing the debate concerning public problems. On the other hand, a key role of the social sciences is to critically and reflexively elucidate social phenomena, processes and institutions, contribute to the consideration of new modes of conduct in cases of conflict, difference and exclusion and thereby improve democratic culture.

This understanding of the public role, in contrast to the economic framing, means that the focus is not on direct effects, but the role of the scientists in "*the building of individual and collective capacity with open-ended long term potential*" (Marginson, 2006: 54). Therefore, the proponents of the publicness framing state that not all social scientists need to address public debates directly or focus their research on pressing public matters (Calhoun, 2009; Smith, 2009). Public social science and other types of research which Bura-

woy (2011) has defined as critical, policy and professional social science, are “*mutually interdependent and invigorating*” and therefore contribute to the public good in ways that are different and sometimes intangible.

We are not arguing that the focus on direct effects, efficiency and productivity necessarily clashes with the role of the social scientist, especially as long as it is not a universal directive. Yet, the focus on direct effects has brought pressures to instrumentalise and commercialise knowledge. Thus the democratic potential has been weakened or perhaps sacrificed to better fit the business model (Splichal, 2011: Ch. 4). The transformations of the university in the last few decades have ushered in practices and missions that can be considered to be detrimental to the public role of the university. The tensions between the values of authority and public engagement, thought to be synergetic, have been exacerbated (Calhoun, 2006). Paradoxically, it is these two values that underwrite the institutional imperatives for the university – the University of Excellence engaging beyond the Ivory Tower.

6. CONCEPTIONS OF ENGAGEMENT IN TENSION

Public engagement and accessibility can be understood in two ways: on the one hand in terms of making knowledge available to society more broadly, including transforming the university from an elite institution to one that is more inclusive, and on the other hand in terms of epistemic openness.

The requirements imposed on social scientists include playing the role of expert and participating in public discussions on topics of public concern, yet other imperatives limit the possibilities and resources needed for this engagement. One important factor is the pre-eminence of quantification in the evaluation of goals, purposes and achievements. This different conception of merit and excellence has a broad impact on the regulations and evaluations of efficiency and productivity, including the reward structure and criteria for academic advancement. The focus on the number of publications in refereed academic journals and academic monographs, impact factors, number of students, evaluation surveys etc allows less time and gives less incentive for engagement in the public sphere. The effects of formal rationality and the mission of empirical research for policy needs “*under the model of positivism and professionalism,*” have taken their toll on public engagement and the Humboldtian duty of self-development and the development of democratic culture (Hohendahl, 2005: 3).

In terms of epistemic openness, we argue that the imperatives imparted on social scientists to engage publicly as experts are based on the assumption that there is an 'essential difference' between scientific knowledge and public knowledge. This distinction in thinking about the role of social scientists impedes the rethinking of the relationship between science and democracy (Bender, 1993: 128). John Dewey, for example, rejected this distinction and emphasised that science becomes knowledge when it is "*published, shared, socially accessible*", and only this knowledge, in turn, can inform "*genuine*" public policy (1927/1999: 126, 7). The scientist, therefore, should not be thought of as an expert with special access to 'the truth', but a member of the public imbued with knowledge and an "*apparatus*" – the method – to reach their conclusions (ibid.: 119).

Besides, in the role of the expert, this differentiation can be discerned in the way participatory practices have actually been enacted. Public participation has become a buzzword in policy circles and is, in some cases (e.g. environmental issues), almost obligatory. Although calls for the democratisation of science are also numerous (e.g. Carolan, 2008; Bäckstrand, 2004), the formalisation and institutionalisation of public participation have changed the character of participation from social movements to professional mediation, from confronting values and political ideologies to consensus-seeking (Læssø, 2007), and are usually operationalised in a top-down manner – focusing on teaching, persuading and constructing consent.

7. AUTHORITY AND ENGAGEMENT IN SCIENTIFIC CULTURE

The democratic potential is weakened not just by the directives from outside the scientific sphere, but also by 'scientific cultures'. On the one hand, it is undermined by "*traditional scholarly collegial hierarchies*" and by "*the dynamics of status competition*" (Marginson, 2006: 53). Despite the myth about science as inclusive, universalistic and egalitarian, scientists also engage in "*hoarding and accumulation*" of knowledge (Calhoun, 2006: 31). On the other hand, in the struggle for the autonomy of science, social scientists resist the concept of social relevance determined by others, as well as other criteria in the context of decisions about science funding. The reactions to these impositions in what was supposed to be a self-regulatory institution have sometimes culminated in trends of self-isolation (e.g. Bender, 1993).

In terms of epistemological openness, the essential difference between scientific knowledge and public knowledge is the foundation for the (con-

struction of) authority and autonomy of the scientific sphere. The boundary work of scientists upholds and constructs the identity of a scientific sphere in relation to other disciplines and non-science, but these processes also define the mode of engagement of scientists and can constitute an obstacle for communication and cooperation (Gieryn, 1999; Halffman, 2003). The resulting conflict between public engagement and what is considered academic professionalism imposes constraints on scientists (Bender, 2011), with the potential for disparagement or discrimination looming. Despite calls for the democratisation of science, that is, acknowledging non-scientific actors as partners (Lindskog and Sundqvist, 2004: 209), social scientists (among others) often consider the role of the public *post festum* - their inclusion takes place in the third act, concerning their support or opposition and not in the earlier stages of problem identification or research planning. And although the social sciences are discursively engaged in public issues (e.g. Kyvik, 2005), the democratic participation of citizens, which is essential for any political conceptualisation of the public, is by and large absent.

8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we highlight the tensions between the trends of marketisation of the university in Europe and the conception of the public university harking back to the early and mid-20th century ideal. We discern a tension between two different views on the public role of universities in today's society. On the one hand, institutional strategies frame the role of the (social) 'scientist as expert' - in their collaborations with stakeholders, engagement with the public, in preparing students for the labour market: that is, in fulfilling the needs of a Knowledge Society. On the other hand, the self-understanding (or perhaps aspirations) of many social scientists is represented in the role of the 'scientist as public scholar', addressing public issues, informing public understanding and engaging with the public beyond the pure dissemination of facts.

These increasing tensions and related upsurge in discussions about the university and public social science, as well as so-called 'slow science'⁴, are not just the result of the cumulative effects of the neoliberal agenda. There have been economic pressures in connection with efficiency, productivity and accountability before. The difference now is that, besides the normalisation of the economic framing, it has gained hegemony by

4 <http://www.slow-science.org>

subverting the notion of the public good and democratic participation, and framed it as the basis for global competitiveness and socioeconomic well-being.

Increasing tensions also arise in the different conceptions of autonomy and authority. On the one hand, new trends frame autonomy as the autonomy of the university as a whole and authority as relating to an 'institutional way-of-being': the scientist, then, represents and promotes the university, selling his or her knowledge as expertise. On the other hand, social scientists understand autonomy as the autonomy of the scientist within the university and relate authority to a 'way-of-being based in practice': the scientist, then, represents and promotes his or her field of research and science in general. Yet, the actual public role of the university is not essentially determined from the outside: as we have shown, the scientists' conceptions of authority can sometimes be in tension with their self-understanding or aspirations concerning their public engagement. Scientists do not always treat their work and knowledge as a public good – rather they jealously guard accumulated knowledge and epistemic territory in an attempt to secure their authority.

The transformations of the European University we have highlighted are ideal-typical in the sense that we have tried to capture the 'essence' of this institutional metamorphosis. In this process, discourses shape the behaviours, visions, practices and identities cultivated in these institutions. Nevertheless, the terms "Neoliberal University", the "Knowledge Economy", the "European Research Area", etc. are often considered as *real* entities that have an inescapable and direct influence on our practices, yet they do not stand by themselves. What holds these entities together is the intertwining of discourse-shaped socio-institutional structures which are, in turn, what we make of them.

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SECTION FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES



**INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS
WITH LECTURERS**

PHOTO: JEOFFREY GASPARD

The Importance of Literature Review in Research Design

Burcu Sümer

Well begun is half done.
(Aristotle, quoting a proverb)

Conducting doctoral research is, almost everywhere in Europe, becoming increasingly associated with obtaining a 'degree' and less with pursuing one's academic endeavours. Doctoral students, obliged to complete their studies in three to four years on average, now have less time to reflect on the 'why' questions of social inquiry and are under greater pressure to deal with the 'how' questions regarding their individual research projects. It is, therefore, no surprise that when students field questions about their research projects, they feel more comfortable with the question of 'what do you do?' rather than 'what is your topic?' The difference between these two questions is vital since, for students who rush into actual field research very quickly, due to the time constraints of submission, the first question is a secure one, implying an empiric dimension that one can describe one way or the other. The latter, however, requires a positioning in the vast ontological and epistemological terrains of social inquiry and always has the potential to trigger more (self-)reflexive questions that can cause unwelcome delays in the research calendar.

Although a fresh doctoral student may be allowed to waffle around his/her topic in the early stages of research, within the doctoral dissertation it is the 'literature review' part where s/he needs to introduce, discuss and justify their research topic in a very convincing manner. Writing a good literature review for a doctoral dissertation is, in fact, a craft, and, despite its importance, it is very interesting that mastering this craft is very rarely taught as part of doctoral training programmes. Doctoral students lose months if not years trying to develop a literature review within which to situate their research, by piling up numerous quotations from one publication or another. Consequently – and not surprisingly – literature reviews are very often criticised by examiners for being 'poorly written',

‘not adequately conceptualised’, ‘not comprehensive enough’ or even for being ‘not adequate at all’.

The very first step to be completed, before dwelling on the literature of a research topic, is to define the research question(s). Again, developing analytically adequate and operational research questions is not an easy task and, in most cases, requires the guidance of the director of studies/supervisor. Nevertheless, it is crucial as the basic component of an academic inquiry is a question; it is a *sine qua non* of research design. The way we formulate our research questions shapes our method of reasoning, which in return guides us in relating the existing literature in a field to our own research agenda.

There are, broadly speaking, two methods or approaches of reasoning: deductive and inductive (see Bryman, 2008; Trochim, 2006). Applied to academic research, deductive reasoning is an approach where the researcher begins developing a research interest/topic after encountering a theory or a method. Research questions are then shaped in order to analyse social phenomena in the light of that particular theory or by employing that particular method. In media studies, for instance, studies of content, discourse or policy analyses can be regarded as such. In deductive research designs, the way the researcher deals with the literature is more direct and clearly defined. On the other hand, inductive reasoning can be seen as a type of theory-building where the researcher aims to develop a way to understand the disorderly world of social phenomena by introducing and analysing its dis/similarities, dis/continuities, ir/regularities. In this kind of research design, the way the researcher engages with literature is more eclectic, inter-disciplinary and open-ended and therefore in most cases requires the researcher to move in between different but relevant concepts and theories used in various fields of social inquiry. Then again, it is also important to note that these broad categories of research design are not mutually exclusive or incompatible with one another. There is nothing wrong with combining two approaches in one single study, since conducting research is, in fact, a circular practice. Even for research based on deductive reasoning, the researcher is expected to reflect on the initial theory and methods by suggesting a further research agenda in the conclusions of the research. Nevertheless, knowing which approach one’s initial research interest is closer to will always be of great help in the early stages of designing a research strategy. This is particularly important for two types of doctoral students: those who become furious when they start reading the literature, thinking that ‘everything has been written, said and

done', and those who are very sure of themselves, arguing that 'nothing has been written, said and done'. It is very likely, if not certain, that both types of doctoral students are actually looking in the wrong places with false motives.

1. WHAT IS A LITERATURE REVIEW AND WHAT IS ITS PURPOSE?

There are numerous definitions of literature reviews. Going through these definitions, however, one can easily see that the difference between them is actually a matter of degree, not substance. Different definitions offer different combinations of important elements that a good literature review must contain. One good definition is offered by Noter and Cole (2010: 3), who suggest that literature review "is a coherent, integrated, narrative, interpretive criticism that critiques the status of knowledge of a carefully defined topic of the selected relevant existing literature". The keyword in this definition is 'criticism', since a literature review is neither a list nor a summary of concepts, methods and theories covered in different scholarly publications. The initial purpose of a literature review is to help the researcher develop a conceptual and theoretical framework that serves many purposes (as listed below). This is actually why, in the guidelines of many postgraduate programmes, this section of the dissertation is also referred to as the 'conceptual' or 'theoretical framework'. Some scholars even consider it "an important research method" (Baumeister and Leary, 1997: 311). Therefore, "[t]he literature review must be relevant, appropriate and useful to your research problem" (Noter and Cole, 2010: 3).

Although drafting a well-developed and well-argued literature review for a dissertation takes time and requires the researcher to constantly revisit what s/he has written, having one that you are confident with has numerous advantages. Some of the key purposes a literature review serves are:

- to show the researcher's familiarity with the existing body of knowledge in a particular field of research
- to show the researcher's ability to engage critically with the existing body of knowledge in a particular field of research
- to paradigmatically ground the research
- to contribute to theoretical development in a particular field of research
- to develop an argumentation on the importance of the proposed research so that the researcher does not reinvent the wheel but actually has the potential to make an original contribution to the field

- to frame the research questions developed and methodologies used
- to develop a theoretical/conceptual foundation for the proposed research, creating an interpretive framework for the research
- to introduce a theoretical/conceptual map to analyse and provide meaning to the collected data

Clearly, for PhD research based on empirical analysis, the literature review serves first and foremost as a theoretical framework for grounding the analysis. Put differently, its function is defined on a more operational level. For PhD research that is more theoretically oriented, however, the literature review is crucial for introducing an eclectic conceptual map through which the disciplinary contexts, as well as the boundaries of the key concepts and theories used in research, are analytically discussed. Without a strongly argued and logically presented conceptual map, a theoretically oriented PhD research may have to face the inevitable consequences of being labelled as 'mumbo-jumbo'.

2. WHERE AND HOW TO BEGIN?

Adolphus (2009: n/p) very neatly suggests that "[c]arrying a literature review should be both serendipitous and systematic". Reviewing the literature for a PhD dissertation is actually very valuable one, and is the only time a researcher can fully and uninterruptedly concentrate on reading on one particular research interest day and night. Once the PhD is finished, for those who will continue their academic careers as staff members at academic institutions, it is unlikely that they will find enough time to isolate themselves from the heavy workload of teaching and administrative duties to read 50 consecutive pages uninterrupted. Therefore, chasing after keywords from one database to the other, moving between references in different academic sources and jumping from articles to books are all acceptable during the literature review phase of doctoral study. However, all of these should be done systematically, in order to avoid wasting time or suffering from writer's block. Many doctoral students struggle to embark on writing up their literature reviews, citing the unconvincing argument that they 'haven't read enough'. At this point, the importance of having (reasonably) well-formulated research questions before reviewing the literature comes to the fore. Operational research questions enable the researcher to come up with the correct keywords to review in the available literature. Wasting time reading irrelevant sources is less likely to happen if keywords have been well chosen.

As noted earlier, the key purpose of the literature review is to help the researcher contextualise his/her study within the body of knowledge that has been produced so far on that particular topic of interest. Therefore, while dealing with different sources, employing a target-oriented reading by directing a set of key critical questions to the scholarly source will enable you to adequately map out the disciplinary borders of the field in which you want to situate your own study. Some of these questions are listed below. One thing that will help most, while writing the literature review, is keeping a well-organised record of your reading. Considering that reviewing literature for a doctoral study requires extensive reading of academic and intellectual sources over a relatively long period of time, effective note-taking is invaluable to developing a good literature review. The literature review sections are very often criticised for not being critical enough and for being little more than a list of summaries of the sources used (Steane, 2004). One good way to avoid this is to get into the practice of effective note-taking from the start, which will gradually help the researcher engage critically with the literature. Therefore, the questions below should not only be kept in mind but also incorporated into the reading notes:

- What is already known on this topic?
- What are the relevant concepts and theories?
- In which paradigm(s) is it situated?
- What research methods/strategies have been used so far?
- What are the initial findings? Are there any significant inconsistencies?
- Are there any controversies? Are these controversies significant?
- *Are there any unanswered questions?*
- *Are there any unasked but still relevant questions?*

The last two questions are particularly important, since they help the researcher to identify their contribution to knowledge by conducting the doctoral research they proposed. Continuous reflection on these questions will help the researcher reformulate his/her initial questions.

Then again, one major difficulty for doctoral students is prioritising between sources. Trying to include everything in a literature review or relying on a limited number of sources that only serve to explain your topic are both misguided. A literature review should be comprehensive and selective at the same time. Applying the questions below to every piece of literature is important in deciding what is relevant, and will also be useful in prioritising between a large number of sources:

- Does it contribute to a wider understanding of the topic/area/problem, as captured in the research question(s)?
- What is its impact on the literature?
- Does it contribute to my understanding of the problem?
- Does it offer a clear argumentation or an accurate analysis?
- Is it biased, outdated, rhetorical?
- Is it published or unpublished?

3. HOW TO STRUCTURE A LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the current debate on different types of literature reviews revolves around two types of review: *systematic* vs. *narrative*. The systematic review approach originates from the field of evidence-based health care, and adopts explicit procedures documenting the selection criteria for the literature in order to provide an 'unbiased' and 'consistent' knowledge base (see Bryman, 2008; Denyer and Tranfield, 2009). Within systematic reviews, *meta-analysis* is an approach used for reviewing quantitative studies, whereas *meta-ethnography* is used for synthesising qualitative studies. The systematic reviewers' emphasis on reliability and transparency in approaching literature has also attracted the attention of practitioners of social research, particularly of social policy, but narrative review is still the dominant approach in wider areas of social inquiry. The difference between the two approaches is, in fact, a question of epistemology and, given the diversity of methodologies used in social research, it is understandable that narrative review continues to be the most preferred approach.

There are different ways to structure a narrative literature review, and, very broadly speaking, it can be either organised historically, methodologically or conceptually. It all depends on the initial research design and the key research questions, but one thing to remember always is that it is not a linear piece of writing. A good literature review is, in fact, an intelligently organised puzzle based on comparing and contrasting theories, concepts and methods. A selection of common mistakes in literature reviews identified by various scholars (cf. Baumeister and Leary, 1997; Randolph, 2009; Muirhead, 2004) is very useful for understanding how a literature review should be organised:

Lack of integration: This is one of the most common mistakes identified by examiners in PhD dissertations. A literature review is not a descriptive account of a selection of concepts, theories or studies. Without

introducing the reader at an early stage to what this review is about, by providing an integrative theoretical map of the key concepts and debates, it is very likely that the reader will be lost in this sea of citations and references. This integrative map is also crucial to identifying the researcher's contribution to theory in this review, and in relation to the particular research study. This map should be further developed in the review while linking, comparing and contrasting studies with one another. The review should make explicit why particular studies, concepts, theories and paradigms have been considered and not others, by continuously explaining the key theoretical or conceptual points of integration.

Inadequate coverage and bias towards selection: Two particularly common confusions when comparing and contrasting different studies in a literature review is how much to include and how much detail to present. Then again, inadequacy of coverage is not only a matter of quantity, but also of quality and substance. One general mistake is to focus on the results of the research presented in various studies without giving any methodological information on the conditions of the evidence behind the results cited. To give an example, one study may conclude that domestic violence is linked to levels of education, but if this study is to be cited then the review should also incorporate information on the research design that led to this conclusion in that particular study. This is one good way not to mix evidence with assertion (Baumeister and Leary, 1997: 318-319). Bias towards selection occurs when the review is made up only of studies supporting the researcher's standpoint or theories, and the concepts or studies selected are only discussed in terms of their strengths, not weaknesses. A neat discussion of the weaknesses of the studies in the field is actually a very good way to argue about the importance of your own research.

Misuse of the literature: There are two general misuses of literature, inevitably leading to a failure to grasp the context and the core of the cited literature. The first type of misuse usually happens when 'big' names such as Marx, Freud, Habermas etc. are cited from secondary sources. It is true that big names might often be very difficult for doctoral students to understand in the early stages of their academic lives and they find it easy to apply secondary literature written about these big names to understand their works. However, the problem in relying on secondary sources is that if you are not knowledgeable about the primary source covered in the study you cite, or where you have not read enough of the secondary literature to identify the disciplinary borders of the debate on the primary source, then there is no way that you can be sure whether the study you cite in your review actually gives a correct account of the primary source. In a similar vein, the second type of misuse of lit-

erature occurs when citations of quotes from other studies are included in a literature review without checking the accuracy of the citation. The fact that a scholar has cited a quote from another study does not necessarily mean that s/he remains loyal to the conceptual and theoretical context of that phrase within the original study. Therefore, in both cases, checking but also properly reading the original source – as long as you can access it – is always the safer route to follow.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is clear that writing a good literature review is a craft, but then again it is always comforting to know that it does not require talent. It matures from practice and from continuous reflection on that practice. The key points covered in this article are based on criticisms directed by examiners and journal editors. In an ideal academic world of social inquiry, however, conducting doctoral research is about understanding the way things are in life by asking intelligent questions about it. One way or the other, pursuing a doctoral study means placing a brick in the wall of the knowledge of life. The value of your contribution to this wall very much depends on how accurately you define that wall and your contribution to its development. On an operational level, the literature review section of the PhD dissertation is the exact place to demonstrate why your definitions, theories, concepts, paradigms and overall contribution matter. While doing that, you should never forget: “*Vox audita perit, littera scripta manet*”¹.

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¹ “A heard voice perishes, but the written word remains” (English translation of the Latin proverb)

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Exploring the foundations and theoretical distancing required for a PhD thesis: an incursion into the backyard of research

Bertrand Cabedoche

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter might look like a conversation, due to the narrative style of its introduction. Two years ago I received a phone call from the editor of a professional magazine. He said: *“Mr Cabedoche? I would like to publish your comment about the recent events at France Télécom (FT). I think this would be of relevance for our audience, CEOs and top managers from private companies”*. I tried to recall what it could be that might have caught his attention: was it the company’s switch from a national public service company to a private one, *France Télécom Orange*? Or was it the more recent spate of suicides among its employees? Moreover, I was wondering: what kind of expert does this journalist believe he is speaking to, to me as a scholar, or to me as a former professional communicator?

Nevertheless, I gave a positive response to his request and wrote a paper drawing on my usual analytical frameworks, developed during my time as a private advisor (Cabedoche, 2009). Later on, however, I somehow could not let the case go. Organisational communication has never been one of my scientific fields as a researcher, but the case inspired me to move on to further develop my initial analysis with the use of research skills – with epistemological, ontological, theoretical, conceptual, methodological and formal dimensions. By approaching a new area of research, I was in some ways starting off as a doctoral student again, with just a vague sense of my topic and only some scientific ideas.

This experience has provided me with an opportunity to reflect on the research process. It has offered renewed insights into the slow progress of research, how it moves, step by step, towards conclusions. It has reminded me of the trials and errors of research, its blockages and the temporary

feelings of inability. These experiences also inspire this chapter; we are now entering the backyard of a research process.

2. FIRST BRUSHES

As research supervisors we often deal with questions from students, particularly during the early stages of a research project, questions such as : *"I intend to work on the image of women in the Chinese version of Elle magazine. Is this OK? "*; *"Is this a good topic: how did the media cover the Algeria/Egypt football game during the last World Cup?"*, or *"How do companies communicate about sustainable development? Is this a good question for my research?"*

As a matter of fact, no topics are good or bad in themselves. Good topics, however, tend to have one thing in common – they correspond well with both one's initial interest in a topic and with the academic field. This is particularly true for the social sciences and humanities, where there are very few taboos when it comes to research topics. A PhD project does not need to be immediately original; it may even have been extensively treated within previous research. But it is required that one redefines a problematic, which in this case means to question whether FT's presence in mainstream media – in France and abroad – qualifies for an academic study over three years. Such an endeavour, however, presupposes a number of important steps. Let us take a look at them.

3. COLLECTION OF SECONDARY DATA

Before embarking upon actual field(work), we started to collect initial data about our object of study. One way of doing this was to look into data such as various public witness statements, journalists' inquiries and grey literature (official reports, administrative documents).

Very much in the same manner as a PhD student, we immediately clarified the methodological details: the construction, implementation and treatment of our data collection. For this initial stage of data collection, we chose a very loose design. We used an internet search engine, entering just one key term – *France Télécom*. We decided to randomly select press releases concerning FT. At this stage we decided not to undertake any ontological discussions. Instead, we provisionally relied on Timothy Garton Ash's assertion that "journalists are the writers of the first version of History" (Garton Ash, 2000; Soulé, 2001).

So, from this initial factual background, we outlined a first impressionistic picture of what had happened at FT over the past decade. Among other things, this picture revealed: a) FT as an institution that was initially acting on the domestic market, as part of a public ministry (PTT); b) an economic disaster after CEO Michel Bon's bad investments and the dot-com crash; c) a transformation into a mixed (private-public) company; d) positive economic results derived from international expansion (a balance of 15bn euros between 2002-2006); e) the award of a Cultural Diversity Charter in 2004; f) suicides among employees (at least 60 between 2007 and the end of 2010).

Our question then became: what do we do with this in order to carry out a personal treatment of this secondhand material? A genuine research work must develop perspectives in order not to reduce itself to mere description.

4. PERSPECTIVE

At this stage, it was time for fundamental questions. First, what do we want to find out? Comprehension can never be fully "objective" (Kuhn, 1962), based on data alone. We need theories; it is from a theory of what an insect is that an entomologist is able to sort out the insects from among the animals he meets (de Cheveigné, 2000: 123-133). Another question: our first contacts with the field confirmed what we have always known as researchers - to see is not to know. So, at what distance do we observe the statements we have collected? And how do we define our insect?

It was now time to combine inductive and deductive methods (a deductive method starts from a theoretical proposition, based on theoretically relevant, located, discounted, disciplinary and preliminary knowledge). Previous readings helped us to start out on an ontological path. After Herbert Gans (Gans, 1979), Philip Schlesinger (Schlesinger, 1989) wrote about an "*excessive media centrism*", i.e. a lack of deep thought about media sources. Meanwhile, we also remembered Bernard Miège (Miège, 1996: 144-149), and his focus on the growing process of informationalisation as a description of how contemporary societies are conquered by information. We were also inspired by his writings on a generalised public relationship: information is to a lesser and lesser extent produced by and in media devices, but rather by various actors within an increasingly fragmented public sphere (Miège, 2010).

Further, could we really consider news from media as reality, as we did from the outset? What is the relationship between reality and media? Patrick Charaudeau (1997) offers an initial answer to the question when writing about journalism as a social mirror. Charaudeau refers to journalism as a mechanism of social co-construction, not as journalistic revelations of facts (neither pure facts nor social facts) (Charaudeau, 1997). With co-construction of news as a theoretical point of departure, we decided to go back to the empirical ground.

5. A FIRST LEVEL OF COMPARISON

First, we collected public documents produced by FT's communications department (reports and summarised records of proceedings at meetings, minutes and official memoranda, press releases, public interviews, etc.). We read internal documents – publicly available – or books written by employees (Dervin, Louis, 2009; Du Roy, 2009; Moreira, Prolongeau, 2009; Talaouit, Nicolas, 2010). We also conducted semi-structured interviews with managers at FT at local branches. Then, with the help of a search engine, we explored keywords associated with FT on the internet, such as *"telecommunications market"*, *"cultural diversity"* and *"suicide at work"*. Finally, we also looked at media materials from 2000-2010.

This second inquiry was informative. Among other things it provided us with insights into media trends concerning FT. From 2000 to 2006, media appearances by FT staff were frequent and bore witness to great efforts and an exceptional economic success. Between 2004 and 2006 FT was often constructed as a promoter of *"cultural diversity actions"*. From 2007 media appearances by FT staff became more sparing, and, during the same period of time, 2007-2010, journalists focused more and more on the suicides involving FT employees.

In order to explain this we found it necessary to expand our search beyond FT itself.

6. EXPANDING THE COLLECTION OF DATA IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT BY CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

Now we investigated the communications agencies which worked with FT and other companies. We read analyses and books by experts within various research fields, such as economics, human resource management,

international law, etc. Through this sort of contextual immersion, events appeared more connected, even structured. We noted a real on-going revolution in the world of telecommunications, including a shift from the public to the private sector. First, in 1984, Margaret Thatcher launched the movement with *British Telecom*, while the US AT&T [American Telephone and Telegraph] – which had previously been working as a near-monopoly from a public service concession – was dismantled and separated into seven regional companies. In January 1998, following a decision by the European Commission, *Téléfonica* and *Deutsche Telekom* lost their monopoly status. The aim was twofold, and was defended by European Commission President Jacques Delors: 1) to empower the consumer, and 2) to enhance the competitiveness of European companies in an increasingly strategic sector within the global economy. So, when he positioned himself in 2005, FT CEO Didier Lombart revealed his ambition to transform the company from “*grandpa’s telephone to [an] internet livebox*”. Up until the first few months of 2010, he was completely dedicated to making a success of this “*cultural revolution*”, which the emerging, global organisation required: job relocation at least every three years in connection with restructuring; multi-specialisation rather than staff retraining; the planning of voluntary retirements and departures among employees. The scale of the restructuring plan included 20 000 redundancies over three years, with another 20 000 to follow during the N.E.X.T. (*New EXperience in Telecommunication*) downsizing plan. All of this was linked to the obligation for every manager to be a “*cost killer*” [employees’ own words].

Meanwhile, the award of a *Cultural diversity Montaigne charter* showed FT as a pioneer, in direct connection with the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* defined by UNESCO in 2001 as “*a common heritage of humanity to be preserved*”, and to the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, signed by the General Conference of UNESCO in 2005. This is a commitment to support pluralism and openness (in recruitment, training, career management, fight against discrimination, etc.), in the interests of the harmonious development of both the company and its employees.

Finally, we also noted an increasing media focus on what appeared to be work-related suicides among employees – at least 60 at FT from 2007 to 2010. As a consequence, media coverage was becoming increasingly critical and was gradually shifting towards trying to find out what had caused the suicides. Among the causes suggested, we found explanations such as CEO Lombard and his “unprofessional” way of communicating, harass-

ment by managers, a generally inhuman management system, but also the capitalist nature of business.

Against this background it was time to develop our analysis with the help of a broadened framework of scientific references.

7. REVISITING OUR CONSTANT

Of course, Charaudeau (1997) helped us (compare above). Thanks to him, we realised that the media's final products – the journalist's messages on paper, on screen, online – are the results of a great number of negotiations: between the writer and other parts of the media company (managers, marketers, advertising agencies, technicians, etc.); between journalists in their newsrooms and their own *imaginaries* (imaginaries of the target audience's knowledge and desires); with the societal context where dominant representations are present, not least journalistic notions of truth, ethics, justice. But related to our theoretical trajectory, we also decided that we needed to complement Charaudeau's writings with other theories. As a sociolinguist, Charaudeau focuses on linguistic facts, but not enough on social facts. Hence, we needed a more extended literature review to include additional authors whose interests and ideas inspired us: Edgar Morin and his book *The spirit of time* (Morin, 1962); Nicholas Garnham's critical studies of the emerging information society (Garnham, 2000); Armand Mattelart's critical analyses of technological determinism (Mattelart, 2005; Mattelart & Neveu, 2003).

8. DEFINING OUR THEORETICAL CHOICE

Finally, we also chose an analytical framework from *French pragmatic sociology*, i.e. the *Economy of Greatness*, as developed by Luc Boltanski. We reread *The new spirit of capitalism* (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999) to become more aware of the six ways (*Cities*) to social recognition as a *Great*, as well as the strategies for justifying decisions and actions according to the order of *Greatness* (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991).

Table 1: Derived from Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999

City	Roots	Ability to be Great	Ideal type
Inspired City	<i>City of God</i> , Saint-Augustine	To achieve a kind of grace of spirit	Wisdoms, creativity, artists, free men
Domestic City	<i>Politics Drawn</i> , Bossuet	To provide protection, security and respect	Elders, fathers, hierarchies, masters
Renowned City	<i>The Leviathan</i> , Hobbes	To gain confidence, credit	Stars, VIP, celebrities
Civic City	<i>The social contract</i> , Jean-Jacques Rousseau	To lead a membership, report and be evaluated as holder of a common will	Elected politicians
Merchant City	<i>Wealth of Nations</i> , Adam Smith (Hanley, 2009).	To supply according to demand	Conquerors, rich men
Industrial City	<i>Industrial system</i> , Saint-Simon	To improve one's job, define constraints and risks and organise the future	Best workers, planners, managers

9. EXPERIMENTATION AND RESULTS

We thought that the data we collected from the FT case study could benefit from this theoretical framework. Starting from Boltanski's and Chiapello's conclusions, our analysis of the case took on a deductive approach, finally published in 2011 (Cabedoche & Alemanno, 2011):

Table 2: An Analysis of FT. Derived from Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999.

1. Capitalism needs a spirit, first coming from a merchant city, and tries to make it dominant	From 2000 to 2006 there was congruence between FT staff communication, mainstream media and public actors. Orders were derived from both the <i>Merchant</i> and <i>Industrial Cities</i> : FT must be – and is – a conqueror within the global telecommunications marketplace.
2. Capitalism cannot completely control employees. It needs to share its spirit to engage and motivate workers for production and progress.	From 2004 to 2005, FT focuses on both the order of the <i>Domestic City</i> and the <i>Civic City</i> : actual sacrifices (restructurings including 20 000 redundancies) are a necessary tribute to win the battle against foreign telecommunications competitors.
3. Capitalism needs to manage instability among employees. Resistance occurs as one loses the prospect of a better life.	In the mid-2000s, FT became a symbol of a widespread phenomenon of exclusion with the NEXT strategy – working to reduce the number of employees in order to be competitive (<i>Merchant City</i> and <i>Industrial City</i>). But FT anticipated this with answers from the <i>Domestic City</i> : externally through the signature of a Cultural Diversity Charter; internally in that managers' training included steps to prevent suicides.
4. To stand the tests, capitalism must be able to justify itself.	In 2005, FT reported on the concrete practices involved in its cultural diversity strategy (<i>Civic City</i>) (Dameron, Joffre, 2005).
5. Critique accelerates the ongoing transformation, pointing at an injustice within a new "city". In order to respond, capitalism must change.	The cultural diversity discourse within FT is a dizzyingly polysemic one, successively inspiring: a) fusion between British Vodafone culture and French FT culture (<i>Industrial City</i>); b) non-discrimination (<i>Domestic City</i>); c) new products for new markets (<i>Merchant City</i>); d) new products for a better life (<i>Inspired City</i>); e) the pride of belonging (<i>Renowned City</i>).
6. Critique is not a main component of capitalism, but central in the construction of the spirit required by capitalism.	In 2007 the media focus on suicides made it politically incorrect for FT to have "social responsibility" (Hons & Brunner, 2000) as its communications strategy. One could consider the cultural diversity discourse to be a social embellishment (Kirby & Harter, 2003).

<p>7. Critique may become a factor in the change of capitalism.</p>	<p>First, the critique against the slowness of <i>Postes, Téléphones et Télécommunications</i>, formerly part of the French civil service, was part of FT's shift into a multinational company, where the French state now is just one of the shareholders. In 2010, critical voices obliged FT's leaders to finally accept the possibility of an interconnection between suicides and work, but framed as a consequence of psychological harassment by a minority of its middle managers. This response did not affect the justification of the <i>Merchant City</i> (jobs and habits must evolve within the global marketplace), but adds the justification of the <i>Inspired City</i> to a seventh <i>Project-based City</i>.</p>
<p>8. Critique – particularly concerning suffering at work – functions as a factor in the change of justifications.</p>	<p>Increasing suicide rate in 2010. Media relates this to human action and – finally – the dynamics of capitalism. This emerging state of indignation is the origin for radical decisions at FT: CEO Lombard was replaced; his successor, Stéphane Richard, immediately announced the implementation of measures to deal with suffering at work; definition of a new social contract for employees. A combination of <i>Inspired City</i>, <i>Civic City</i>, <i>Domestic City</i>, <i>Industrial City</i>.</p>

10. CONCLUSION

The long process leading to these conclusions corresponds with the rigour required for a PhD thesis (Miège & Pailliar, 2007). A research work can be initiated from a social or institutional demand, as often for ICS (Miège, 2011), as for our first report for Berlin. To become a research work, however, the request must be rewritten with the help of essential components:

1. A *problematic* which refers to a particular scientific discipline. We used (but also partially rejected) Charaudeau and adopted the model of *Cities*.
2. *Hypothesis* that reveals scientific issues. Our view of organisations as open systems leads us to evaluate its opportunities in terms of *homeostasis*, i.e. its ability to implement a self-regulating mechanism to preserve its stability.

3. An *empirical area*, built according to the founding paradigms of the chosen scientific discipline. In our case it was built around our rejection of mono-causal analysis of social actors' strategies.
4. Rigorous *methodologies*. Our choice was to start with inductive methods, then to move on to deductive ones (to validate our theoretical framework theory).
5. A logical *plan*. Empirical data can lead to a chronological plan, but good research is driven by the structure offered by a problematic and hypothesis. In our analysis the evolution of *Cities* called in discourses of justification.
6. Open instead of closed *conclusions*. In this case we conclude with a new hypothesis: could the *Greatness of Greats* now be defined by a return to the *Inspired City*, or a new kind of *Project-based City*? Another opening could also be to enlarge the reflexion abroad: to Japan, the USA? Or perhaps Taiwan, where some newspapers already refer to a "*France Telecom symptom*"?

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How to teach interactively large classrooms: a participation-focused approach

Pille Pruulman-Vengerfeldt

1. WHY WE NEED TO CONSIDER INTERACTIVE TEACHING AND LARGE CLASSROOMS

In more and more cases, universities across Europe are struggling with McDonaldisation, a keyword coined by Ritzer (2008) in his *The McDonaldisation of Society*. The key idea is that universities are becoming like fast-food restaurants, with ever more instrumentally rationalised processes, and with standardisation and efficiency as the key concepts. And although this notion is criticised, the concept has become widely used and popular in describing many aspects of society (e.g. Kellner, 1998), higher education among them (e.g. Garland, 2008). The European Commission (2003) proposes six challenges for modern European universities:

- Increased demand for higher education
- The internationalisation of education and research
- To develop effective and close cooperation between universities and industry
- The proliferation of places where knowledge is produced
- The reorganisation of knowledge
- The emergence of new expectations

Of these, the first one focuses on the fact that Europe will in the near future need to teach more and more students, and will need to do so in an increasingly cost-effective way. Given the idea that university education should be accessible to more and more people, there is the potential for an increasing number of people in the classroom. For lecturers, this creates a challenge, as classes are becoming larger. Often, this results in reverting to what is considered to be a safe and secure academic practice – lectur-

In this chapter, I will attempt to provide a few ideas and also reasons as to why one should avoid reverting to the broadcast mode of lecturing, even in the largest of classrooms, and how to manage interaction, engagement and participation using pedagogical tools and tricks. The aim is to support student learning, based on the assumption that the lecture is one of the worst modes of information delivery, as the classic saying by Confucius claims: *"I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand"*. But before I continue with specific examples as to how to foster learning through supporting students in the beginning, middle and end of the lecture, I will briefly link up the discussion on lecturing with the theoretical concept of participation. I will finish the chapter with a few words about technical support for interactive lectures and conclude with notes on best practice vs. good practice.

2. TRUE PARTICIPATION

The title of this chapter suggests a focus on interaction, but I would like briefly to outline why we should consider participation to be a more appropriate aim. Carpentier (2007) highlights that we can and should consider democracy outside the minimalist approach of political institution, and follow Giddens' (1998) call to democratise democracy. Giddens proposes that schools should become one of the institutions where democracy is opened up in order to foster the larger democratisation of society. In my understanding, introducing participatory techniques into a learning environment supports student learning by increasing their motivation and empowers them through the possibility of goal-setting. At the same time, it is also relevant to general civic education as, if done in a caring and meaningful way, we can teach students methods of participatory engagement through practice.

Dahlgren (2006: 24) helps us understand some of the key terms: "Engagement generally refers to subject states [...] mobilised, focused attention." Thus an interactive lecture can support student engagement by consciously working in order to support student focus. The idea that a normal attention span in the classroom is approximately 20 minutes (Middendorf and Kalish, 1996) means that some sort of change of pace in lecturing should ideally happen regularly, in order to support students handling the flow of information. Dahlgren (2006) sees engagement as a prerequisite for participation, as the latter would be "connecting with practical, do-able situations, where citizens can feel empowered [...] it involves in some sense 'activity'". Thus participation in a lecture enables students to rise beyond

the state of engaged listener, and, through relevant and meaningful contribution, they are able to support their own and peer learning.

While traditional lecturing can be viewed from IAP2, i.e. International Association for Public Participation, (2007) as the stage of informing, there are many techniques that enable us to move beyond that level. Indeed, while the differences in knowledge of the field and experience and indeed support by structured study programmes mean that it is very difficult to have a truly equal distribution of power in the classroom, to a certain extent consultation, engagement, partnership and empowerment are all possible.

First, empowerment and support for democratic engagement in the classroom start with the notion of mutual respect. This means that questions in the classroom make sense only if the lecturer truly wants to know the answer. In an ideal world, participatory activities in the classroom should support the learning of not just one individual, the participant, but also be beneficial to others – the audience and even the teacher. Brainstorming or consensus-seeking in groups can be ways of dealing with such empowerment techniques in larger classrooms. In order to handle the issues of reporting back to the whole class, the discussion reports can be 1) written and shared via digital technologies; 2) several rounds of group work can be conducted in order to reduce the number of individual groups working on the issue; or 3) just a few groups are asked to report, while others can add to their contribution in the hope that there will be voluntary additions from others.

The trick is to set the right kind of questions. If the questions are too simple, then those feel rather more like rhetorical questions, where the pause before answering seems more a rhetorical stance than really wanting to know the answer. If the questions are factual, then engagement feels more like a test of knowledge, and, given the feeling that there is a correct answer in the lecturer's head, this will be an inhibition to answering. Thus, interaction exercises work well in situations where there are multiple correct answers, where multiple viewpoints are needed in order to support comprehension and where the lecturer is confident that students are able to respond to these challenges.

To borrow from another field where the practicalities of participation are being discussed, Simon (2010), in her book about "Participatory museum", has written about five stages of social participation, which range

from 'me' (where an individual consumes content) to 'we' (where individuals engage with each other and the institution becomes a social place full of enriching and challenging encounters). The stages in between help to link the visitor in the museum or in our current discussion, the student in the classroom to the content, and through the content also to others: visitors/peer students. This view is supported by Dahlgren (2006), for whom both participation and engagement are anchored in the individual, although they also have an important collective dimension as they imply being connected to others via civic bonds. Many learning theories (e.g. Salomon and Perkins, 1998) also stress the notions of collective learning as a relevant concept, as peer support and peer engagement become necessary prerequisites for effective learning.

While designing a participatory lecture, where students' input becomes a relevant part of the lecture, it is important to strike a positive balance between student-led content and lecturer input. In many instances, although the lecturer might feel that, for instance, covering the applications of some theoretical concepts outside academia is done well by student groups and there is little for him/her to add as a lecturer, some summary, wrap-up or reinforcement of the key ideas are still necessary. As the voice of authority still has a great deal of meaning in the academic hierarchy, participatory lectures where the student voice is louder than the lecturer's will leave some students disappointed, as they feel neglected by the lecturer. A healthy balance between exercises which provide input from the students, and the lecturer's authoritative voice repeating, correcting or adding to their input, is often more necessary than giving the floor to each student. This is also very relevant in large classroom situations, as a lecturer can make a public comment only on one smaller group's work, and ask the rest of the class to correct their group work accordingly.

Giving feedback is an important part of empowering student learning. This can be extremely difficult in large classrooms, as the lecturer might not have time to give feedback to all group work. This often discourages lecturers from using group exercise in larger classrooms, as they do not know what the groups have come up with and how correct it is. Sometimes, bachelor level students in particular have difficulty in translating the feedback given to one student or general comments made to the whole classroom as being appropriate to them. Although I still feel that it is very useful to use general feedback and stress that everyone should find the relevant comments for their individual work, collecting students' work for corrections outside the classroom does generate extra work for the lec-

turers, but is in most cases highly appreciated by students. Using digital technologies like e-mail, blog posts or tweets for such engagements may in some cases be an easy option for the lecturer. In other cases, pen and paper are even more comfortable options.

When discussing participation in lectures, there are issues which people often tend to consider the sole professional domain of the lecturers – setting the course aims and marking. However, research into adult education, and indeed university students are adults in this context, has talked about the importance of self-directed learning (Garrison, 1997). This means that it is important to provide students with the opportunity to take control over their learning. Personal experience shows that engaging students in setting the aims of the course or in formulating the grading criteria of the homework or exams works really well in boosting their motivation and supporting the empowerment and general feeling of justice. In the theoretical course, there might be an opportunity to have an “open lecture” for which the topic is chosen by a vote (from a selection offered by the teacher). A methodological course might provide students with an opportunity to choose their own research questions to trial the selected methods, etc. In my personal experience, the fear that students will set themselves lower aims has not yet proved to be true. In all of the cases where I have involved students in setting their own aims or rules for passing the course, their standards and requirements have proven to be higher than I would have chosen.

In the next section I will briefly introduce some ways to engage students in lectures using a variety of techniques appropriate to different phases of the lecture.

3. BEGINNING OF THE LECTURE – SET THE FRAMES

Mezirow (1997) talks about transformative learning, insisting that, especially in adult education, one of the ways of learning is challenging existing frames of reference through critical reflection. This means that, at the beginning of the lecture, it is good to evoke those frames and remind students about their prior knowledge of the subject field. This may in many cases also mean that the lecturer will have a good opportunity to dispel some ‘wrong’ notions about the subject field. In the area of media studies, there is a lot of ‘common knowledge’ which, without critical examination, may seem ‘true’ about the media. When such ‘everyday truths’ are then presented at the exam, both students and lecturers will be quite unhappy about the results. Mind mapping is one quick and easy exercise to get to

know these frames of reference beforehand and deal with them in detail during the course/lecture.

It also makes sense to ask people to write down a question or short paragraph about their expectations for the learning, as this can also force people to think about the subject of the lecture and thus prepare the ground for better learning. In many instances, where lecturers have asked students to write down their expectations, it can happen that an average student does not have any, or the expectations are so superficial that they do not support any deeper engagement. This happens more at bachelor level or when the subject field is less familiar to students. In those instances, it may make sense to introduce the topics of the course/lecture and only then let them choose which of the topics they feel would be most relevant or, in their opinion, what might be missing. That provides students with some input and, when possible, the lecturer can be flexible and perhaps let students choose the content of one lecture which they feel would be most relevant to them.

Thus, while one could argue that the beginning of the lecture is a time when participatory activities are least needed – everyone is still fresh and willing to just listen and pay attention – in many cases, it still makes sense to engage students in participatory design of the lecture/course in the early stages, as, in addition to giving a feeling of empowerment, this also supports student learning by evoking existing frames.

4. MIDDLE OF THE LECTURE – WAKE UP AND SMELL THE COFFEE

In most cases, lectures last 2 x 45 minutes and it is up to the lecturer to decide whether to schedule a short break. In my personal experience, the temptation to avoid such a break is very great, despite the knowledge that attention begins to wane after 15-20 minutes. However, I do believe that using interactive techniques several times through the 90 minutes will support student learning, even if there is no longer break. One such quick-relief technique when the lecturer notices students fading away is the two-minute reflection pause. This can be used in any size of classroom as, in principle, it is a technique which provides interaction between a single student and the lecture content. For this, students can be asked to think and write down for themselves in two minutes a short summary of what they have learned so far. In most cases, it is not necessary to collect and read these reflections, because this may feel too much like a test and put unnecessary pressure on the group. However, doing so every now

and then might give the lecturer interesting feedback as to how well his/her “content delivery” works.

There are variations of group exercises which can be used to enliven the lecture and support peer learning, and these also work in large classrooms. One way could be to provide students with three to four different short texts, one for each student, and ask them to read and explain their text to the other members of their group. This works nicely with theoretical concepts where there are different authors or different schools providing contradictory explanations for the same phenomenon. Using in-class reading may feel like a waste of time, when the students could read at home and listen to the lecturer in the classroom, but such ‘explain-to-your-peer techniques’ are highly relevant and support student interaction for the purposes of better learning.

My aim in this short chapter is not to give an overview of all the possible techniques, but rather to prompt the reader to think about possible engagement opportunities. The mid-lecture engagements might include but are not limited to questions and discussions of contradictory issues, the sharing of experiences, pictures or short films to trigger discussions etc. The main aim could be to provide relief from ‘the monologue of the talking head’ in front of the classroom, but, more relevantly, these interactive exercises should support participant and peer learning and, ideally, also provide the teacher with new insights.

5. CLOSE OF THE LECTURE – TAKE AWAY AND REMEMBER

One might question whether there is any need to use participatory techniques at the end of the lecture, as students will be going off to have a break anyway. But the close of the lecture is a perfect opportunity to ask students to reflect and engage with the content of the meeting. Interactive exercises might include a short quiz on what they have learned, or asking for questions and clarifications. However, lecturers will probably have noticed how those few who dare to ask questions after the ‘bell’ are shot murderous glances by their peers for delaying their ‘escape’. Not all the students will be equally engaged and interested, and thus responding to questions might frustrate the others. One useful technique here is to ask people to write down their questions so that the lecturer can answer them at the beginning of the next class. This helps to tie together two lectures, and asking questions is a very insightful technique in order to get to know what students have thought or learned.

6. MULTIMEDIA SUPPORT FOR INTERACTIVE LECTURE

I would also like to say a few words about multi-media support for interactive lectures as, in many cases, films or sounds can be used to prompt discussions or conduct a practical analysis exercise on media texts. This helps to bring the 'real world' into the classroom and provides a better connection with academic concepts and actual applications. However, media ought to be used carefully, as excerpts from a movie that are too long can be counter-productive and will hinder learning instead of supporting it.

PowerPoint slides have many pros and cons. On the one hand, they support learning by providing visual mementos of where we are in a discussion. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine anything more boring than a lecturer reading slides with their back turned to the class. For interactive lectures, eye contact is crucial and, if turning off the projector is the only way to achieve that, then it is worth doing, especially as classes vary in their ability to listen and it is the role of the lecturer to notice and support students before they get too bored.

For gathering feedback from participatory exercises, black- or whiteboards, flipcharts, coloured or white writing paper or post-it notes work extremely well. Paper can be used to gather feedback from large numbers of groups, to keep a written record of what is being said and to provide a way to interact with the content. In the first interactive classes, the lecturer may need to keep an extra supply of pens, as many students rely heavily on computers and have neglected to bring a pen to the class.

7. BEST PRACTICE VS. GOOD PRACTICE – REFLEXIVITY AS A KEY TO INTERACTIVE TEACHING

When considering guidelines of any sort, they are often framed as best practice. And while I can honestly claim that much of what has been said in this chapter is based on my personal experience and many of these things have worked very well, I shy away from claiming that this is in any way a guide to best practice. The notion of 'best practice' implies an ideal type, a single and correct way of doing things. Depending on who is talking, best practice often varies. This is best seen in interdisciplinary contexts, where best practice tends to depend on who is talking, and thus 'best practice' depends on the practitioners.

In this chapter I would prefer to promote 'good enough practice', meaning that I am a realist about the fact that there is always an element of surprise in teaching. More often than not, a good method depends on who is in the class, what the subject is, what the room is like, the time of the day, how the lecturer gets along with his/her class and so on. In short, there are many factors which influence how successful the lecturer is in promoting participation and interaction in the class. Thus, instead of promoting a specific way of doing things, I would certainly recommend being reflexive about one's own teaching practice and using participatory techniques to gather feedback in order to improve the course.

Overall, structured feedback, whether it is institutionally supported or delivered on one's own initiative, always makes sense, and provides the necessary input for self-reflexivity. Participatory techniques e.g. group work with consensus as an aim, can be one way of doing it. Those who participated in the summer school will remember the evaluation workshop where group dynamics were used to suppress single criticisms and a consensus among the group was needed to voice negative or positive comments. This kind of feedback workshop also provides students with relevant insights that the things they have liked about the course might be the least favourite for others, or vice versa. Having used feedback workshops at the end of my courses, I can generally say that the insights gained have so far always been relevant. Often, this has not meant changing the course, but rather being more elaborate about some of the choices made.

8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has hopefully served as a brief reminder that teaching and students are integral parts of universities. As communication scholars, we can use our theoretical and empirical knowledge to be reflexive about our own teaching practice and thus improve the quality of the education, despite the outside and inside pressures exerted by the marketisation and massification of education.

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The popularisation of media studies as a factor in media literacy

Jan Jirák

The study of media and communication has not only proved to be rather an attractive field of inquiry in the humanities and social sciences; it has also been accepted and exploited by other academic fields. Furthermore, its results are also applied in many other fields of activity, starting with political communication and advertising and ending up with media education programmes that have become part of the curriculum in elementary and secondary schools in many countries. With the development of the concept of “media literacy”, media and communication studies now faces a rather urgent task: to organise its knowledge and expertise in order to make them useful and understandable to a wider audience, including specific audiences (for instance children and seniors), to communicate chosen facts, concepts and findings in an acceptable way and, last not least, to restructure the academic activities of media studies to meet the needs of the general public.

In this chapter, I would like to offer some reflections on the challenges which media studies will face in the near future and are already facing – challenges which are connected with the contemporary advance of media education. I will also be considering the consequences that these developments have for the social, political and cultural status of media and communication studies. My first task will be to try to characterise media literacy and media education. I will then go on to provide a brief outline of the implications for media studies. My crucial question is focused on the present state of media studies *vis-à-vis* its readiness to provide a specific programme of media literacy education.

1. MEDIA LITERACY, MEDIA EDUCATION, MEDIA LITERACY EDUCATION

In order to better understand the challenges that media studies are facing, it is useful to explain the terms “media literacy” and “media educa-

tion". The former deals more with acquired knowledge and skills, whilst the latter is more concerned with the process of acquiring knowledge and skills. Among many definitions of media literacy, this one seems to be quite comprehensive and useful: *media literacy* is thus an acquired ability. In the words of one critic:

"...[media literacy is the ability] to analyze news and advertising, examining the social functions of music, distinguishing between propaganda, opinion and information, examining the representation of gender, race and class in entertainment and information media, understanding media economics and ownership, and exploring ways in which violence and sexuality are depicted [...] With the rise of digital media, there are a range of important new media literacy skills..." (Hobbs and Jensen 2009: 9)

Media education is a specific and complex pedagogical process of offering and acquiring the knowledge and skills that are considered to constitute media literacy. The process owes its complexity to the fact that media education is not just a planned, controlled and systematic process of teaching and learning within each country's educational system. Media education is also delivered from many other sources. Of course, media education as a "subject" or "project" in the school environment is a fundamental framework of media education, but there are additional extra-school activities which also display quite a high level of systematic planning (for instance media education topics in youth clubs and other organisations for young people). Media education "at school" and "outside school" is supported by a fairly strong framework of media pedagogy that serves as a useful interface between media and communication studies, pedagogy and educational psychology. Media education itself results from the interaction of all these fields. In many countries this interaction has led to the establishment of a strong field of media didactics. In Germany, for instance, "Mediendidaktik" has become firmly established (see Frederking, Krommer and Maiwald, 2008). One observer speaks of a "*field of didactics in which all ideas related to the question of how media and media messages can be used to achieve the goals [of media education]*" (Tulodziecki, 1997:4 5).

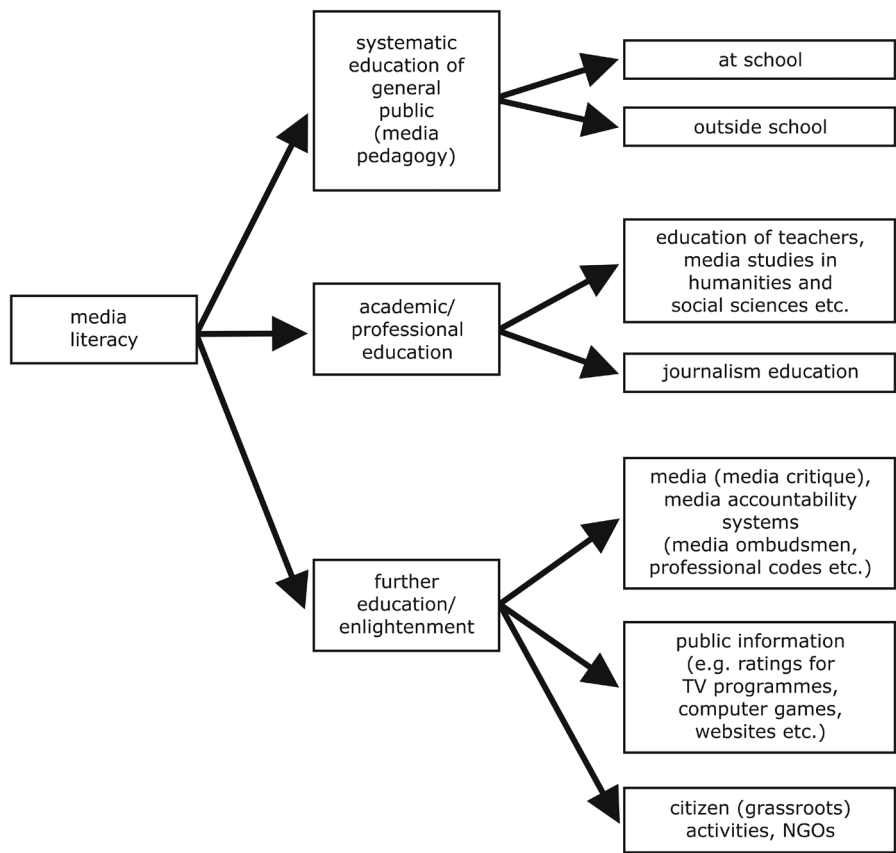
But media literacy is fostered not only via systematic school and extra-school activities aimed at young people as members of the general public (and in lifelong courses also targeting adults). We also have to take into account all kinds of specialised forms of media education, starting with university programmes in media studies and courses delivered by media education teachers, down to the professional education of media communicators (journalists, copywriters, public relations officers etc) on the one

hand, and, on the other, a variety of study programmes in humanities and social sciences into which some aspect of media studies is incorporated (literature, film studies, history, sociology, political science, etc.). Graduates of these programmes are “carriers” of a well-developed media literacy and disseminate it while working in variety of positions.

We have to take into account that there is also a strong, influential, though non-systematic (compared with the activities mentioned above) set of resources for developing media literacy, generated by many media, NGOs and by the general public itself etc. Using the general terms “further education” or “enlightenment”, we can sum up many different kinds of activities. A fairly important factor in media literacy is any kind of “meta-media” messages offered by media themselves. From this point of view, media critiques form a fairly strong part of non-systematic media education. The awareness of a “media accountability system” (Bertrand, 2000) in a given country and on a supranational level is another one. Media accountability systems (media ombudsmen, codes of ethics, press councils, journalism reviews, normative requirements expressed in media laws etc.) are very important sources of knowledge about media and about media performance. They are consequently a very influential factor in the cultivation of media literacy in a given society. Media literacy is generated by the public itself – especially via a variety of civic activities (grassroots movements, NGOs).

All these activities constitute a specific “media literacy education” (see Figure 1 below) – the umbrella term for the formation and development of media literacy (as suggested by the title of one of the respected academic journals in the field, the *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, see <http://jmle.org/index.php/JMLE>).

Figure 1: The sources of media literacy education (Jirák and Köpplová, 2009: 374)



Media education is usually associated with two rather contradictory points of view which in a sense reflect the existing dominant paradigm in social sciences generally and in media studies specifically. On the one hand, there is the more traditional and older form of media literacy which is defended with a strong *protective* argument. On the other hand, there is the more recent form, underpinned by a strong *participatory* approach to media literacy education. The former is inspired by the traditional behaviourist approach to media (harking back to the stimulus-response model); the latter is embedded in more recent developments in media studies which have been inspired by cultural studies.

The recent position of media literacy is a fairly strong one, thanks mostly to increasing interest in political representation in various countries and in supranational bodies, especially the European ones. This interest has been fuelled by fears about the possible impact of the media and by developments such as the deregulation of broadcasting, the increasing number of television channels and by the increasing number of computer networks. It has a fairly strong protective aspect (*"educational measures are presented as alternatives to regulation"*, McGonagle, 2011: 13) but it has helped media literacy to jettison its *"shrinking-violet status"* (McGonagle, 2011: 7). A typical example of the protective approach is the concept of *"critical viewing skills"*. As one observer has commented:

"... one major component of media literacy, referring to understanding of and competence with television, including its aesthetic, social, cultural, psychological, educational, economic, and regulatory aspects. [...] Concerns focused on the impact of the media on children's educational advancement in reading and writing skills and critical thinking. Of further concern is TV's impact on creativity, on interpersonal activity during impressionable years, and on socialization with peers and others in the wide world outside the viewing room. (Brown, 2011: 681-682)

Whilst media literacy stems from a protective concern, the participatory approach is evidenced in contemporary documents from the European Commission and the European Parliament on media literacy, starting with a document published in December 2007: *A European approach to media literacy in the digital environment*. This document was definitely inspired by the possibility of using media education as a substitute for media regulation and was, in fact, the result of a long process dating back to the Lisbon Agenda of November 2000).

Undoubtedly, the development of interest in media literacy and media literacy education is a challenge for media studies. Contributing to the development of media education means crossing the invisible but important line that separates academic discourse from the public sphere. It also means working on a new vocabulary, one that can help to deliver messages to people who are educated in other fields. The crucial question is: how do we integrate so many different factors (school, media, etc.) into more systematic lifelong learning strategies of *"media literacy education"*, and how do we ensure that the *"content"* of these strategies can adopt and use the results of media research and analyses? The other question is: how should we organise media studies itself to enable it to communicate with the system of media literacy education? In other words, with the develop-

ment of media education and with the increasing importance of media literacy, media studies are facing an urgent need to establish its own “applied” level of popularisation.

2. THE POPULARISATION OF MEDIA STUDIES

The field of media (and communication) studies has gained a fairly stable position, both in individual countries and on a more international or supranational level. For decades, the fundamental task of media studies has been its emancipation within humanities and/or social sciences. This emancipation has been taking places on many levels – institutional, organisational, international etc. Departments of media studies, institutes for media research and specialised academic journals have been set up, while publishing houses have been putting out series focused on media and communication. Likewise, international organisations have appeared and have started to organise international teaching and research cooperation for media scholars, teachers and students. Further developments have seen the publication of international encyclopaedia on media and communication and the launch of comparative research projects and international study programmes. For decades, one of the important goals for people working in media studies was to prove that media studies was a full, self-supporting academic discipline equal to others in the importance of the topics covered, in its intellectual rigour and vigour and in its methodological soundness.

We can proclaim that this mission has been completed successfully and that media studies has become a well-established academic discipline. But of course, there is no such thing as a free lunch – the price that media studies has paid for this success is being forced to resort to some kind of “defensive strategy”. Thanks to the media themselves, media studies as a subject has always remained closely connected with “real life” and has never locked itself away in the notorious academic ivory tower. Nevertheless, media studies has often had a tendency to go on the defensive and has not developed the proper tools for communicating with other disciplines and with the general public (a well-developed media pedagogy is still the exception in some countries). Rather surprisingly, only a few media scholars seem to be aware of this fact and to act accordingly. Even more surprisingly, media historians seem to be nervous about their lack of media studies skills in making themselves understandable and acceptable. As James Carey once observed:

The major problem with American social thought is its scientific and ahistorical character and our dual task remains a thoroughgoing critique of the behavioral science and the permeation of our studies and our students' thought with historical consciousness. (Carey, 2011: 23, first published in 1974)

The reason why media historians display this sensitivity about the need to develop ways of communicating expert knowledge to a wider audience (students in Carey's example) is, in fact, probably quite simple. Media historians "live" on the border between history and media studies and are aware of the problems of "trans-disciplinary communication". There is another reason – history has a long tradition of self-popularisation. History courses have been part of elementary and secondary education throughout the world. There are numerous popular journals on history and, last not least, history has become a well-established theme in literature, theatre, painting, film etc.

Popularisation as a specific type of communication and as a self-expression of media studies is still a fairly important task for future. At present, there are grounds for optimism, since the importance of media literacy is increasing and the need for an increase in media literacy education is reasonably strong. The international community of media studies scholars and students, media education teachers, media critics, media professionals and many others working in media-related fields should be working on the appropriate tools (journals, websites, computer games etc.) to deliver knowledge and information about the media to the general public. Well-developed programmes of media education as a part of elementary and secondary school education, together with a range of extra-school activities, are a sound basis for accomplishing these goals.

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PART TWO

THE SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENT ABSTRACTS
(in alphabetical order)



ABSTRACT WRITING
WORKSHOP

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

CHANGES IN THE DEFINITION AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF CULTURE IN 20TH-CENTURY ESTONIA

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In recent decades, we have had the opportunity to see at first hand how the term culture has undergone constant change. Above all, the change in the way culture is defined reflects, and is a representation of, society's preconceived notions and conventions. The meanings that arise as the definition changes are not objects but actions – actions that have a reciprocal effect. In turn, the manner in which culture is defined and conceptualised in society influences society's development and determines what we understand as culture. My dissertation interest revolves around the role played by culture in the public sphere from the perspective of Estonian history, and the role of cultural institutions and their engagement with the public. This is related to a number of research projects currently being undertaken at Tartu University's Institute of Media and Communication: The actual complexity of cultural communication and methodological challenges in cultural research; Changing cultural dispositions among Estonians: from the 1970s to the present time; and Developing museum communication in the 21st-century information environment. The objective of my doctoral dissertation is to examine and compare how the term culture was used and constructed in the Estonian media in the 20th century, and to view the period from the early 1900s to the present day. On the basis of my findings, I will elucidate different concepts and contexts of the term culture, and changes in how culture has been defined in Estonian society: how the media have treated culture in various decades and developmental stages. The material comes from content analysis of daily newspaper texts. In terms of cultural institutions and areas of culture, my interest focuses mainly on memory institutions and their role as cultural experts, how museums have been handled in Estonian society and how museums present, elucidate and interpret culture, as well as viewing the experts and audience engaged in these processes. In order to analyse the role of modern cultural experts in the information society, I have conducted interviews with memory institution workers to view their engagement with audiences, and have also analysed different participation actions in museums, libraries and archives.

USER PRACTICES ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES. AUDIOVISUAL FICTION ON FACEBOOK.

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This work aims to analyse user practices in Chile and Spain through the observation, use, appropriation and creation of audiovisual content (TV shows and web-series) on Social Networking Sites such as Facebook. This will be achieved by: - Identifying a theoretical framework to create categories for the development of behavioural variables that shape the practices of users of online social networks in Spain and Chile. - Describing the forms of consumption, use and appropriation of audiovisual fiction content as an object of exchange on Online Social Networks by analysing the practices of Facebook users in Chile and Spain. - Comparing the practices and forms of appropriation of content among Spanish and Chilean users. - Analysing the influence of online social networks on the consolidation of migration between screens (from the conventional TV to the Network). The methodology for this thesis will be the construction of a theoretical framework to create categories for the concrete object of study and then the construction of variables on which the questionnaires and interviews are based. Those are the main instruments for the analysis. The whole process of development and implementation of the questionnaire was carried out using tools available on the Web. First we selected a platform for the distribution of the questionnaire and an Online Social Network for the collection of adequate information. Facebook was chosen because of the sheer number of users across the world. In addition, specifically in Spain, Facebook attracts users who are 20 years old and over, mainly because younger people prefer Tuenti, a platform of Spanish origin which is very popular among teenagers. This also allows us to place the research in a context that is more limited and precise. The distribution tool of choice was Google Documents, and specifically Spreadsheet, which has the ability to integrate the development and implementation of a questionnaire (offering different formats and ways of sharing it) with the automatic collection of results. A spreadsheet can be exported to Excel, SPSS or other applications for the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. The conceptual framework moves from computer-mediated communication theories (Baym, 2010, 2001; Turkle, 1984, 1997, Gómez, 2007), through identity and relationship issues in Social Networking Sites (Baym, 2010; Gergen, 1992, 2009) and the convergence between television and the internet, through user practices with audiovisual fiction as an exchange object in Social Networking Sites.

RECEPTION OF RACIST-DISCRIMINATORY MEDIA DISCOURSE

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Racist/discriminatory discourse put into circulation via the mass media revolves around the definition of the Other on the basis of stereotypes and the presentation of gender, race and ethnicity representations within a similar framework. Furthermore, the regeneration and dissemination of racism are also mediated by the media suppressing and marginalising the alternatives that work against it, and thereby exert a similar influence on other social groups and social beliefs. In spite of this, a receiver of media messages cannot be said to accept all messages as they are, or to limit themselves to the “dominant reading”. Therefore, it is of great importance to research how ideological representations presented through the media are perceived, interpreted, recreated and used by individuals in daily life. The manner in which racist discourse or racism presented within media texts discusses, generates and generalises racism and how these texts are read by the audience have emerged as a significant societal problem in Turkey. To this end, this study will perform a reception analysis for the purpose of revealing the forms of “reading” racist media content used by university students as a sample for the “interpretative community”. The texts to be used as intermediaries within the reception study are to be selected from media in general and from television texts in particular. This dissertation study aims to establish the relationship between the meaning generated by the media texts mediating verbal, audio and visual coding in the generation and generalisation of racist/discriminatory opinions and judgments in Turkey, and the meaning regenerated by the audience. The basic research questions of this dissertation study are as follows: 1. What is the role of media texts in the expression of racist opinions and judgments? 2. What are the discourse strategies used in media texts to generate and generalise racist opinions and judgments? 3. Which socio-cognitive strategies are used to legitimise/justify the racist judgments in media texts? 4. What are the ways in which the media audience reads and attributes meaning to racist media content? How is racist discourse perceived from the perspective of the audience? 5. Which cognitive strategies are used to attribute meaning to racist media content? What are the discursive preferences and justifications of the audience?

FACEBOOK VS. BERLUSCONI: ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS, GRASS-ROOTS MOVEMENTS AND DEMOCRACY IN ITALY

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On 5th December 2009, hundreds of thousands of Italian citizens took to the streets of Rome to say 'no' to the policies of Silvio Berlusconi's government and to demand his resignation as prime minister. The demonstration was planned and organised mainly on Facebook by a group of bloggers. On the same day, organised by Italians living abroad, other demonstrations took place in London, Berlin, Madrid, New York, Paris and Sydney, to name but a few. A single-issue protest rapidly evolved into a social movement, called 'popolo viola', or 'purple people'. The colour purple was chosen because it had not previously been associated with any political movement, as a word to the wise that the movement was not linked to any political party. New groups and pages appeared on Facebook: apart from the page 'popolo viola', counting more than 430,000 members (data July 2011), thousands of pages and groups appeared at local level, inside and outside Italy. Through a case study focusing on popolo viola, this research project intends to assess the correlation between the use of Facebook and the development of Social Movements Organisations throughout their life cycle. Moreover, the impact of the use of Facebook on organisational processes and movements' structure will be evaluated. The methodology adopted for this purpose comprises a triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative methods: on the one hand, a trend analysis of membership and interaction level on the popolo viola Facebook page, and a survey; on the other hand, in-depth interviews with the most active members of the movement, and a content analysis of the online conversation among activists. The hypothesis is that while, from one standpoint, Facebook proved to be a formidable mobilising structure for social movements, its own structure failed to provide movements with a shared management of the resources provided by the popular social network site. The lack of opportunity to manage Facebook pages and groups according to commonly agreed values not only led to controversial management of the Facebook page of popolo viola, but even led to internal divisions that hindered the potential of the movement. I hope that the key contributions of this project will be a cross-disciplinary literature review and a novel ethnographic study, both of which will come together to form a new, theoretically and empirically grounded understanding of how social movements are developing in the age of convergence.

MEDIATING/MEDIATIZING TERRITORY: A GUIDEBOOK ON THE RISE OF LOCATIVE MEDIA

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The aim of this project is to understand how the travel guidebook, considered as a media genre (Parsons, 2008) which offers a specific representation of space through different codes (textual, visual), is used to experience the 'representational space' (Lefebvre, 1991) of a city. The experience of space (Tuan, 1977) mediated by the travel guidebook configures as a very specific experience, negotiated between the function and the form of the representations of the guidebook's text, the 'lived' surrounding space and the forms through which the subject decides to be, or not, 'guided' by this text in the appropriation of a territory. In today's mediascape, the emergence of locative mobile media and their ability to connect users, territory and digital content (Bertone, 2010; De Souza e Silva, 2011) seem to offer the travel guidebook new functions, thus changing the user's relationship both with the guidebook's text and with space. Two preliminary aspects that the digitisation of this media genre seems to tackle are, on the one hand, the different forms of autonomy and control in the tourist's wandering, made possible by the networking and location-aware capabilities of these devices, and, on the other, the relationship between the 'visible' and 'invisible' of a city, highlighted through access to digital and geolocated content. In order to understand this mediated experience of space, and the changing relationship between users and guidebooks, two case studies have been selected, both of which offer a hardcopy and a digital mobile version. In the first phase, a textual analysis of these objects will be conducted to identify what representations of space are offered. In the second phase, ethnographical observation and subsequent in-depth interviews will be carried out with the users of these guidebooks in order to understand the appropriation practices of space through these texts. The sample will be selected during the ethnographic observation phase, and in particular during the act of buying the guidebook, or using one of the two series or 'technological' versions of them in specific cultural sites. The ultimate purpose of the project is to understand how the experience of space is constructed through a medium such as the travel guidebook, and how the functions made available by digital mobile media are changing this experience.

CROSS-MEDIA EXPERIENCES AMONG CROATIAN YOUTH – THE MEANING OF MEDIA, MOBILITY AND INTERACTIVITY IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF YOUTH

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In Croatian science and in the public arena, the discourse on youth and media is shaped mostly by fear of negative media influences, or focuses on theorising the socialisation potential of media in the formative years (Ilišin, 2003) and on the issue of media literacy. Several empirical quantitative studies have examined the way in which children in Croatia use media, but only one study used a sample which enabled generalisation. Within the framework of this study, usage of particular media was analysed in terms of demographics and socioeconomic background. Since the 1990s, more and more Croatian households, besides the traditional media, have been using new information and communication technologies (ICT), like cell phones and the internet. We can assume that new technologies have an important place in the lives of young people, but we still do not have enough data to assess and understand the effects of those technologies on those lives. This project aims to investigate cross-media experience and the meaning of media, mobility and interactivity in the context of the everyday lives of Croatian students and secondary school pupils. The focus of the project is not on certain specific media, but on cross-media engagement and on the way young people use old and new media in a multi-media environment, in the context of increasing mobility, interactivity and media convergence. Comprehension and deeper understanding of the way young people use media, what they use, when, why and how, such as what are the meanings of certain types of media engagement, of mobility and interactivity (participation) from their own perspective, are the main contribution of this project. Young people represent a segment of the population where we can detect changes emerging in a certain social context (Ilišin, Radin 2002), while changing communication patterns within society are among the key variables in understanding social change (Meyerowitz 1984). A grounded approach will be adopted in order to develop a theoretical model for comprehension of the nature and meaning of media in young people's lives, applying combined qualitative techniques of investigation to "youth voices" (Svensson 2011) and what they have to say about their cross-media experiences (written life histories of growing up in a multimedia environment, non-participant observation, in-depth interviews about patterns of media engagement at home, outside

the home, in private, public and semi-public places, and a set of media-engagement diaries with follow-up interviews), together with quantitative data on the way young people in Croatia use media.

INTEGRATIVE FRAMING. EXPLORING THE COMBINED VALUE OF VERBAL AND VISUAL ELEMENTS

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In recent decades, framing has become one of the most popular intellectual guides in analysing news production and consumption processes. The central idea behind framing is selection: social actors and media-makers present and emphasise only a fraction of the available information to the audience. The frame, i.e. the chosen interpretation of an issue, marks off other possible interpretations (e.g. Gitlin, 1980), while it “simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’” (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 137). Despite the overarching potential of framing, most academic inquiry nowadays focuses on the language employed, leaving the impression that visuals are “window dressing for or decorative distraction from the verbal component of television news, which is studied as the ‘real’ content” (Grabe & Bucy, 2009, p. 77). Yet, viewing one channel of communication in isolation (visual or verbal) is not only artificial and incomplete, but also prevents us from understanding the holistic message viewers receive (Coleman, 2010). Nonetheless, visual framing may be able to overcome the cognitive barriers that have the capacity to weaken the effects of verbal framing (Callaghan, 2005), making it possible for viewers to overlook the fact that visuals are man-made constructions (i.e. camera angles, selection and editing practices, etc). Because verbal and visual elements work in tandem and audiences process them simultaneously (Coleman, 2010), this project looks at the verbal and visual framing of unemployed people in Germany in order to explore the question: How can complex frames, consisting of verbal and visual elements, be analysed? References Callaghan, Karen (2005). *Conclusion: Controversies and New Directions in Framing Research*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. Coleman, R. (2010). *Framing the Pictures in Our Heads. Exploring the Framing and Agenda-Setting Effects of Visual Images*. New York: Routledge Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. Grabe, Maria Elizabeth & Bucy, Erik P. (2009). *Image bite politics: news and the*

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COMMUNICATIVE ISSUES OF INTEGRATIVE MULTIMODAL ART: AUDIENCE AND PARTICIPATION

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A recent inflation in the lexical field of participation and a more incentive tone are characterising the institutional discourses of the contemporary art sphere. Encounters with interactive and multimodal pieces of art are qualified as participatory, insofar as the pieces must be turned on so that they acquire the status of artwork (Bando, 2003). The calls to participate physically seem to be leading to a values shift, from practice to scientific rationality, from interaction (face to face) to interactivity with machine. It is important to note that interactivity does not always bring interactions. Interactivity takes on a technical interest because of its programmatic nature (Habermas, 1973): it circumscribes the scope of the public. This heightened bodily involvement can highlight an ambivalence for the visitor between his desire to be autonomous and his research into reproducing good practices to socialise himself and share experiences. Some factors such as sociability, multi-modality and visitor creativity, which are increasingly being introduced into art exhibits, would change the audience statute. My PhD project aims to analyse the construction of the public's representations in this context, where the visitor appears as a co-producer (Bourriaud, 2001). The visitor's body engagement gives a visual image of the piece of art appropriation: it makes it observable. Therefore, the body's image is taking importance in the aesthetic experience as reaching a social network experience : the interpersonal communication is made through the front of visitors. The network experience would redefine the intimacy, the expressiveness and the articulation between the individual identity and the interpersonal structure (Mercklé, 2011). Thus, my research question is: how do visitors appropriate the artistic devices that require physical contact, movement and self-exhibition in a network experience? This is related to several areas of investigation. First, it refers

to the representations of visitors about body policies in cultural places. This is how my research provides a historical context for the body policies which deal with the opposition between participation and representation. Second, participation leads to belief in the creation of social bonds, i.e. relies on a visitor's representations about sociability policies in cultural places. Finally, through the participatory dimension, works of art are becoming ephemeral, random, evolutionary and convertible. How do visitors link the participatory pieces of art to standards? According to Adorno and Benjamin, the conditions required to distinguish art from mass media are the uniqueness and the social connections exteriority of the piece of art, which seems outdated and normative but which would nevertheless have shaped present-day representations, as a continuous process. Methodological inspiration comes from the exhibition's ethnography, highly thought out by Elseo Veron and Martine Levasseur, including a combination of experience narratives with observations. It is my intention to clarify the way visitors perceive the social role and position of actors, themselves and the artistic authority, as far as is given form through the interactions and the representations of multimodality in art.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND GENDER IN ONLINE VIDEO: YOUNG PEOPLE'S SELF-PRESENTATION, IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH ONLINE VIDEO CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION

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Young people today are growing up in a society which is highly influenced by the media. In particular, mobile phones and the internet have become a self-evident part of their everyday lives. Moreover, with the emergence of online video platforms such as YouTube in 2005, the distribution of audiovisual user content has become more and more popular, and online video plays an important role in the daily lives of young people, irrespective of gender, age or formal education level. For young people in particular, the media provide manifold resources for identity construction and are seen as a new opportunity for self-expression, informal learning and social participation. This process involves gender roles, as gender is one of the most important categories in the self-construction of the users' identities. Upcoming new media and technologies have always been accompanied by hopes of more democratic and emancipated access to knowledge

and education. Moreover, the new media are often seen as a chance to open up and overcome static perceptions of gender constructions. With the ongoing digitisation of society, new questions arise regarding the representation and the construction of gender identities within new forms of digitised communication. My thesis seeks to address the question of how gender identity is constructed by consuming and producing online video. The focus of the examination will be to analyse the effects of online video on gender relations and how gender influences the use and the creation of online video. This encompasses viewing preferences and how gender presentations are being perceived, topics negotiated within self-produced videos as well as modes of self-presentation and performing within the videos. The interdisciplinary theoretical framework will consider theories of gender representations and identity construction in the media, cultural participation opportunities in the media, digital stratification, media literacy and the theoretical model of intersectionality.

NEW GOVERNANCE AND AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA POLICY: THE DEVELOPMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF SELF- AND CO-REGULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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This doctoral research operates within the context of the shift from government to new governance regarding audiovisual media policy in the United Kingdom. It is conducted in the context of and due to the substantial changes in both the modes of regulation and the object of the regulation. First, there has been a shift from hierarchical regulation, where binding legislation is imposed by state authorities, to new forms of voluntary governance, such as self-regulation, where non-state actors collectively regulate, and co-regulation, where non-state actors are delegated certain responsibilities in the regulatory process. Second, the media landscape has changed substantially due to technological and commercial developments. This doctoral research is concerned with the regulation of so-called audiovisual media services, which encompass both traditional broadcasting and video on-demand services, the latter offering the option to view content at the users' convenience and available for delivery at their request via different platforms based on a catalogue of programmes. There are three more distinct research objectives. First, one of the aims

is to establish what the wider context of the emergence of self- and co-regulation in the UK is and which factors and actors have influenced its development. In addition, these regulatory developments in the UK will be placed in a wider context through comparison with other European countries and policy areas. The second research objective is to determine to what extent there is a reliance on self- and co-regulation in the UK and how important this mode of regulation is in comparison to hierarchical regulation. The third research aim would be to establish the legitimacy of self- and co-regulatory models that are already in place in this policy area. When different definitions of legitimacy are taken into account, it can be summarised that a legitimate regulatory system is dependent on transparent, effective and efficient institutions, informed public debate involving civil society that makes policy-makers accountable, enabled deliberation and participation by all interested stakeholders, and an accountable regulatory system. Thus, this part of the doctoral research will seek to establish the legitimacy of self- and co-regulation in the UK according to these criteria. To summarise, this doctoral research looks at the phenomenon of self- and co-regulation of audiovisual media services in its entirety, looking at why it has developed, how significant it is now and, most importantly, how well it works.

USE OF NEW MEDIA BY INDIVIDUALS IN EARLY OLD AGE

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This project focuses on the penetration of new media into the life of society and the individual during the post-revolution development of Czech society, more precisely, among individuals in early old age. This is a specific age group of people who are still at a productive time of life and often experience a transformation in their own household – children leaving the nest. This generation, who, in their productive age, were strongly connected with socialism, grew up during the boom of another medium – television. Hence the question: does (and if so, in what way) this generation perceive new media in relation to changes in society since the 1989 revolution? Related to the theory of risk society introduced by Ulrich Beck (Beck, 1992), there is the question of how new media participate in experiencing and managing the new risks in the risk society. According to my hypothesis, new media deal with age-related risks in two ways - first, new

media help individuals to deal with such risks, and, second, new media itself are a kind of risk. For example, expecting to be unable to use new media might be a serious handicap when searching for a new job. It is important to know how this generation – the one that is most endangered by possible job cuts – is getting used to life with new media. Demographic categories, such as the age group, are dominant in conversations about the digital divide. That is why the digital divide issue among this generation and in the social and historical context of the Czech Republic will also be investigated. This topic of the digital divide will be explored from the perspective of four successive types of access: motivational, physical, skills and usage (van Dijk, 2005). An important question in this respect is whether media have any influence on the quality of life of an individual, e.g. whether obtaining the skills required to use new media might result in denying or deferring the fact of getting older. The main methodological approach is qualitative: in-depth interviews, observations and focus groups are at the core of my methodology. In conclusion, the purpose of my paper is to understand how those who have not grown up with new media are getting used to living with them, what benefits these new media offer them, how they deal with them in their everyday lives and what the potential risks of their use or non-use are.

LEGITIMISING DISSENT? WESTERN NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 2011 EGYPTIAN UPRISING

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The relationship between the news media and political protest is rife with complicating factors, considerations and responsibilities. At one end, journalists must be the “eyes of the world”, separating truth from fiction and fact from speculation, couching their reportage within the now universalised professional standard of objective reporting (Golding 1977). Another factor in this equation are the journalists themselves, in terms of what role they see themselves fulfilling when covering a political crisis with significant international ramifications, and how reporting from a particular nation-state may serve as the lens through which they make sense of the event. Such a consideration is further complicated when the distant political crisis in question is taking place within a nation that has significant geopolitical interest to the nation(s) to which the journalists are

reporting. This research aims to explore whether print news media in the United States and the United Kingdom covered the Egyptian opposition protesters who ended the rule of President Hosni Mubarak in 2011 as a legitimate protest movement. Favourable news coverage is the life-blood of any protest movement. Given the normative paradigms by which news media cover political protest, typically framing protests and protesters in terms of their purported deviancy (Gitlin 1980; Hertog and McLeod 1995), this project will instead examine if the opposition protesters in Egypt were constructed as an opposition movement whose voice and aspirations were legitimated, rather than denigrated. Drawing on Foucauldian reflections on power relations and knowledge, this paper will reflect on the role of ideology and journalistic routines in reporting political protest. Through a content analysis of US and UK newspaper articles, in addition to in-depth interviews with journalists from the newspapers I will be examining, this research will examine how the protesters were framed in the period between 25th January 2011, when the protests started, and 12th February 2011, the day after Hosni Mubarak resigned as president. My analysis will demonstrate whether British and American newspapers conferred political legitimacy on the Egyptian protesters in their coverage of the 2011 Uprising. By examining coverage of the initial stages of the Egyptian Uprising, my hope is that it will be possible to better understand how journalists make sense of political events in distant societies.

LIVING VIRTUAL LIVES: FROM MORAL PRACTICES TO A THEORY OF ETHICS IN SOCIAL VIRTUAL WORLDS

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Nowadays, numerous people are investing considerable personal resources while engaging with mediated others in social virtual worlds (e.g. InWorldz, Second Life). A virtual world can be defined as a constant, multi-user, three-dimensional, computer-generated social, cultural and moral space, inhabited by humans and their representational avatars. Other important features are a first-person perspective, real-time interaction between actual people, a shared virtual reality, the lack of a game-oriented goal and an open-end purpose. Surprisingly, little research has been done regarding the question of morality in these worlds, which is in sharp contrast to the extensive studies on moral issues in virtual games. The

most significant difference between worlds and games is that worlds lack a game-oriented goal, leaving residents free to choose how they assign meaning to their in-world activities. It is exactly this freedom to act which is the starting point of this PhD, which combines a media-sociological and philosophical study. In the theoretical part, the rise of virtual reality and the subsequent augmented virtualisation are problematised. The upsurge in virtual reality raises compelling questions about how to understand ethics and morality in virtual worlds. Many of the problems and anxieties related to virtuality are not new, but have taken on new meaning due to technological specificities. Many believe communication in virtual surroundings makes people less humane, as the physical face, a precondition for moral responsibility, is missing (among others Heim, 1993; Cranford, 1995; Lanier, 2011; Turkle, 2011). The fundamental question is how virtuality influences our dealings with the other. To this aim, two fields of tension are thoroughly elaborated on. First, the field of tension between virtuality and actuality: is there a rupture (discontinuity) between virtuality and actuality, or is there a prolongation (continuity)? Second, the field of tension between moral proximity and moral distance is analysed. Due to virtuality and computer-mediated communication, the physical face is missing; does this reduce moral responsibility towards distant mediated others? The most important authors are Lévy, Virilio, Baudrillard, McLuhan and Silverstone. In the methodological part, I will make use of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). The starting point is the in-world moral practice of avid users of social virtual worlds. Research questions include: within what moral framework are virtual practices enacted, and how different is 'virtual' morality from morality in offline social worlds? After finalising the empirical study, research results will be critically analysed and evaluated in light of existing ethical theories and concepts.

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN ACADEMIC CYBERSPACE: ANALYSING THE RELATIONAL-PROMOTIONAL DISCOURSE OF UNIVERSITY WEBSITES IN EUROPE

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Over the last decade, the European University has had to redefine itself to comply with neoliberal policies (enforcing state-driven marketisations of an ever-growing number of extra-economic activities) supported by trans-

national institutions such as the European Commission. Following this scheme, one of the explicit tasks assigned to universities is engaging with the so-called global “knowledge economy”, according to which competitiveness between academic institutions is seen as a one-size-fits-all rule to deliver better public service and research. Moreover, this new, increasingly corporate environment triggers numerous socioprofessional transformations, including an upsurge in research evaluation and accountability, the heavy use of ICTs, the extreme massification of student enrolments or the implementation of management techniques in administration. More particularly, we can detect the emergence of specific imperatives which are often derived from the corporate world and recontextualised in “colonised” university campuses. One such imperative focuses on the creation and fostering of numerous alliances with various “stakeholders” (be they local corporations, students, potential fundraisers or the mass media) which are thought to be critical to sustaining research activities and “knowledge production” in general. For universities, these calls for diversified, heterogeneous relations have generated new communication practices: for instance, most European universities now capitalise on public relations management, which has become a decisive, strategic frame to promote the institution and, along the way, engage with “society”. Furthermore, the use of traditional communication resources is being challenged by the “glocalisation” of universities: contrasting with the “old” media, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and the World Wide Web in particular, have now become indispensable ingredients in outreach communication strategies. More specifically, in this context, I intend to demonstrate how the University Website, considered here as a discourse-shaped, socially constructed cyber-space, can be viewed as a physical focal point where a particular (ideologically loaded) “relational-promotional” discourse can materialise. On a practical basis, I use a three-pronged methodology, applied to a corpus of university websites: first I concentrate on the discourse per se disseminated on these institutional websites; second, I analyse how this relational-promotional discourse structures their architecture; and three, I study their hyperlink networks, which can be viewed as “crystallising” the relationships in which the selected universities (wish to) engage. All in all, this project strives to link a particular emerging discourse in academia with its materialisation in cyberspace - which is always permeable to (neoliberal) ideologies.

A SMALL STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY COMMUNICATION IN A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

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According to traditional understandings of geopolitics and the dominant international relations theories (Realism, Neorealism or Neoliberalism), small states are mainly irrelevant players in the international arena, because of a lack of "hard power" – economic power, military power, territorial size. Issues on the global agenda are initiated and framed by "big powers", and a small state's position is unavoidably constrained by the transcendent security dilemma question, where balancing policy is the main option. The globalised information environment, new communication technologies and the growing role of social media in the political communication process are changing this understanding and creating a new environment in which foreign policy initiatives are formed and conducted – the increased speed of diplomatic messages, quick responses to emerging diplomatic events and crises, the breakup of hierarchies, closed societies and emerging openness, integration, freedom, and democratic tranquillity (J. Diebert 1997; E. Gilboa 2004). In this context, traditional, vertically hierarchical and closed diplomacy is losing ground and a new globally integrated, hyper-libertarian system is emerging, where information and knowledge can be used as soft power instruments (S. Nye, 2005). So, what do such changes mean for how a small country formulates and conducts foreign policy? Are there any new possibilities emerging? Which strategies and instruments of soft power could be used to compensate for a small state's lack of hard power resources? Can proactive foreign policy (FP) communication and communication strategies be regarded as effective tools for the promotion of a small state's foreign policy? One possible way of finding answers to those questions is the social constructivism paradigm and its main claim that meaning is socially constructed through social interaction actors. From this perspective, the global media domain resembles virtual communities of interest, where various actors have the ability to express their goals and initiatives, to try to persuade, to form virtual alliances on a specific issue, and a proactive communication strategy (applying „Cyber diplomacy“, „Digital diplomacy“, „Real time diplomacy“ and „Informational geopolitics“ concepts) could be treated as a small state's „virtual foreign policy enlargement“. Research data based on analysis of the discourse that accompanied the riots that followed Belarus' presidential election in 2009 (analysis of official statements and messag-

es by foreign countries transmitted by AFP, Interfax and Reuters) show that Lithuania was visible in the media agenda despite its lack of „hard power“. Playing an active part in condemning the violent post-election events in Belarus, and joining and supporting other countries' positions and initiatives, led to the formation of a form of virtual alliance. This foreign policy strategy, active participation through the mass media, can be treated as a „soft power“ practice, an effective tool to promote a small state's foreign policy.

AUDIENCE CREATIVITY AND ONLINE PARTICIPATION IN A TRANS-MEDIA ENVIRONMENT: THE CASE OF ONLINE “LOST” COMMUNITIES AS A CONVERGENT SOCIETY

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This PhD project studies modes of creativity and participation among audiences of the TV series *Lost* who are active online; it focuses on the dynamics of collective knowledge-building and -sharing, and on the modes of communication and meaning production that occur around the narrative. Through the framework of convergence culture and its features, which instigate engagement and participation, the aim is to conceptualise and empirically analyse the ways in which online viewers utilise and expand official content and user-generated content to dismantle, reassemble and redesign aspects of the narrative and communicate with one another, as well as with the official creators, through these creations. Problem Formulation: How do participatory means of online user engagement with transmedia storytelling in the TV series *Lost* transform the ways in which audiences experience and interact with the narrative, and how does the collective nature of community-wide meaning production, sharing and articulation in online platforms play into this dynamic? Theoretical Framework: While previous studies have uncovered significant results regarding the online *Lost* Sphere, their focus is usually on a one-way interaction with the narrative. This study proposes a perspective that will potentially investigate both engagement with the narrative and engagement among users, and potentially bridge a connection between community-wide, networked interaction with narrative engagement. For the purposes of analysing the cultural formations, processes of content creation and engagement around the serialised story and the online activities of its audiences,

this study will draw on three main theoretical frameworks: convergence culture and transmedia storytelling, social semiotics and digital content creation and remixing. Methodology: The research study will use virtual ethnography as a methodological framework in mapping out and analysing the activities of online communities. I intend to systematically present the ways in which user-generated content is situated around the official content as well as by itself, both of which are presented through the appropriate channels with the intention of motivating engagement, and the digital content creation practices that arise and transform throughout the growth of this sphere. The methods of engagement, and the ways in which fans interact with the content as well as with one another, which are a focus of this study, are more valuable to the analysis than the advantages and fallouts of utilising online technologies. Instead, the internet and its technological capabilities will be viewed as semiotic resources in multimodal content creation.

TURKEY'S IMAGE IN THE BRITISH PRESS: REPRESENTATIONS, DISCOURSES, IDEOLOGIES

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A common finding in research on Turkey's political image in Europe is that it is divided into historically negative (oriental, backward, poor, culturally different, Islamic, post-Ottoman) and recently constructive (soft power, bridge between East and West, young, secular, democratic, multicultural, Muslim) rhetoric. Turkey's representation in foreign media has received little academic attention in the past, and the studies that have been carried out, are limited in scope and mostly focus on Turkey's EU accession talks. Among the many actors who contribute to the image of Turkey are news media and their journalists, who socially construct news stories about foreign countries. Journalists use the available cultural resources, narratives, shared common discourses and knowledge which is taken for granted and with which the intended audience is familiar. They select and construct the events and opinions that fit in with their format and language. Therefore, the questions of what foreign journalists actually select to cover Turkey and what kind of image they spread or propagate about modern Turkey still remain as an underdeveloped field to be analysed. While looking for the answer to this question, we benefit

from the aforementioned theoretical classifications of social construction of news and news production. My research aims to contribute to the body of journalistic research by highlighting the image of Turkey from a broader perspective, by considering not only political, but also socio-cultural and travel/tourism news. In doing so, I intend to fill a gap by showing what particular arguments/issues/themes were put for or against and discussed and what kind of discourses about Turkey have become much more visible or invisible in the quality versus the popular press, in respect of politics, culture and travel news. In this respect, my study offers a concrete empirical case of how the news media of an ally country, Britain, construct 'the image of Turkey' through various contested negative and/or positive discourses. My analysis covers a five-year period between 2005 and 2010 and looks at three broadsheets (Daily Telegraph, Guardian and Financial Times) and three tabloids (the Sun, Mirror and Daily Mail). In my methodology, first I apply content analysis to map general coverage regarding Turkey; this is followed by a critical discourse analysis. Here I look at how news stories are socially constructed through various types of existing discourses; and at the linguistic elements, metaphors and jargon used in the press by applying a comparative analysis to quality versus tabloid press.

THE CHANGING ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF RUSSIAN JOURNALISM AND JOURNALISTS IN ESTONIA DURING THE SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION OF 1991-2010

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Ethnic minority media embody many of the multiculturalist, multilingual and integration changes in the media landscape and in the wider societal frame as well. Often minority media aim to provide relevant information, but also alternative publicity and empowering experiences in regard to their own identity, language and culture. Through an analysis of journalists' interviews and quantitative data, I will examine how Russian-speaking journalists in Estonia perceive their professional roles. The findings suggest that Russian-language journalists tend to fulfil two controversial tasks – to provide a relevant picture of general Estonian society and politics, and to stress the lines of division between the two main ethnicities. In Estonia, Russian-speaking journalists have found themselves involved

in difficult political and societal processes and transformations. Among them was the process of integration of the Russian-speaking ethnic minority into the host society, and this was something journalists had to cope with. Russian-language minority media remained and still remain the main source of information for the Russian-speaking population because of their insufficient knowledge of the Estonian language. Husband confirms that, in many instances, minority ethnic media are the dominant media for minority ethnic communities, and tend to hinder the flow of individuals and creative capacity from the minority media sector into majority systems (Husband 2005: 462). Sociological surveys carried out since the 1990s have confirmed the existence of a model of "two societies in one state" in Estonia (Lauk&Jakobson 2009: 212). These two "societies" (Estonians and the Russian-speaking population) live in different informational spaces as they use different media channels with different content (Vihalemm 2008: 76). Jakobson pointed out that, from the Soviet era up to now, there have been two concurrent elites in Estonia – Estonian- and Russian-speaking (including not only Russians, but also Jews, Ukrainians etc.) and two media systems – Estonian- and Russian-language (2002:8). The latter forms a serious obstacle to inter-ethnic integration and the creation of a modern civic nation. Both Estonian and Western sociologists (e.g. Brubaker 1994; Kirch & Kirch 1995; Laitin 1996, 1998; Vihalemm 1999) have warned that if socio-political integration is not successful, this model might become dangerous for Estonia, both in terms of social stability and state security (Lauk & Jakobson 2009: 212). For the purposes of the present study, the socio-cultural strand of identity theory will be implemented. Key words: Estonia, Russian-speaking journalists, integration, minority media, professional roles.

PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA WITHOUT A PUBLIC: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTERS AND THEIR PUBLICS IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES

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Taking the Baltic country of Latvia as a case study, this PhD project explores public broadcasting audiences in post-Communist societies. Significant audience losses over the past two decades suggest there is a huge gap between public service television and the public in Latvia, but in this respect Latvia is not unique among post-Communist societies in Central and Eastern Europe. While commercial broadcasting dominates media landscapes across the region, public broadcasters desperately struggle for public support. The starting point for the construction of a theoretical framework for this investigation is Albert Hirschman's influential theory of 'exit, voice and loyalty' (1970). While Hirschman's concepts have previously been utilised to examine individual and collective reactions to the failure of a range of systems, for instance, a unsatisfactory public school system, his approach has not been yet utilised for the purposes of studying a deteriorating public broadcasting system. Current post-Communist media studies have prioritised research on texts and institutions and the reception process is underexplored. Therefore, my study puts the focus on the examination of discourses of audiences and, through qualitative audience research, aims to gain empirically based knowledge on how audiences perceive the idea of public service broadcasting and what their definitions of public service broadcasting are, how their relationship with public service television is negotiated and how audiences' responses towards public service television fare in a spectrum of actions ranging from exit-type to voice-type reactions, and, finally, how audiences experience public service television within their everyday lives. The scope of the study has been limited to the public's interplay with public service television. The project seeks to look at discourses among ordinary people discussing their relationship with public service television, and to examine sense-making processes; therefore a qualitative data-gathering technique – focus group interviews – has been chosen as the most appropriate focal method of the research. Participant observation as a complementary method has been chosen to situate the use of public service television in the context of daily family life. The study will employ an ethnographic perspective to obtain a more detailed insight of perceptions and actions which family members develop in response to public television.

THE INTERNET IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA (1991 - 2011): A NEW NETWORKED SPHERE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

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This PhD research project will investigate the place of social networking websites in post-Soviet Russia. Actually, in this country we can see a remarkable paradox: strong control of mass media by the ruling elite, on the one hand, and the relative freedom of social media (i.e. social networks and blogs), on the other. The regulation of mass media may be explicit: through state ownership (Perviy Kanal, Rossiya, or implicit: via ownership by state enterprises (the NTV channel, newspapers: Izvestia, Komсомolskaya Pravda). Official (dominant) media are incorporated into the state's communication system. They serve as propaganda tools for the political line taken by Russia's ruling elites, as well as a means of "mythologisation" and "socialisation" of Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and President Dmitry Medvedev. They are used to create an image of Russia as strong and powerful. In this semi-pluralistic media environment, we have seen an explosion in the form of the internet, digital communication and information networks, which have spread across Russia at remarkable speed. In December 2010, 46 million Russians were using the internet at least once a month, making it the country with the sixth highest number of internet users. Seventy per cent of internet users read blogs at least once a day and 34% have their own blogs. The goal of my PhD is to explain the social role of these digital networks in Russian society. From my point of view, the relative success of these digital networks can be explained by the transformation in practices within the public space in Russia. In this semi-democratic political system, social actors seek to find alternative tools, without using mass media, to express themselves. This PhD project seeks to study the modern history of network development in Russia over the past 20 years (from the appearance of the Cyrillic sector of the Internet in 1990 until today), strategies of different actors towards networks and the emergence of new actors. We will also examine the status of information in the public space and investigate the tactics of social actors who use digital tools for communication.

STRATEGIC POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN THE NEW MEDIA LANDSCAPE – THE “IRANIAN THREAT” NARRATIVE

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The aim of this project is to advance understanding of the interplay between the new media landscape and political communication. This study examines strategic narratives in political communication and how they are presented, projected, circulated and narrated in the new media landscape, which consists of mainstream media, social media, search engines and new media applications. Since the Iraq war, the importance of strategic narratives and the role of media have been recognised in war studies and political communication. Great powers use strategic narratives particularly during periods of transition in the international system, when challengers to hegemonic powers emerge (Antoniades, Miskimmon, O'Loughil 2010). Freedman (2006) suggests that narratives are essentially “compelling storylines which can explain events convincingly and from which inferences can be drawn”. In a war or a military intervention, a narrative is much more than just a story; it is the foundation of all strategy. Therefore the media, where the struggle of ideas takes place, is considered to be as important as the struggles on the ground. Consequently, mobilising the news media is an essential element of every collective action (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993; Ryan 1991). In order to influence public opinion, a threat must be posed; and politics are made by threat perceptions and threat perceptions are made by politics (Limnell 2009). The study looks at the “Iranian threat” narrative as a developing story between 2005 and 2011. The data includes global news media such as CNN, BBC World and Al Jazeera, as well as other Middle Eastern media (Hebrew and Arabic). It employs textual and visual analysis on data. Social media data during major media events (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube) are included after 2009, since, following the Iranian presidential election, the role of social media and new media applications has become more important in political communication in the Middle East. This study also draws on my extensive fieldwork in the Middle East - interviews with news agencies, international correspondents in the region and social media actors. Some provisional outcomes show that the new media landscape is in formation where political communication occurs through strategic narratives. Further, threat perceptions are posed in this new media landscape. The Iranian threat, a strategic narrative, has five main arguments: Iran's disputed nuclear programme, its support of international terrorism, hostile rhetoric

against Israel and the US, Holocaust denial and human rights violations. Also, the study suggests that the role of social media is becoming more important in strategic political communication.

JOURNALISTIC MULTIMEDIAITY AND PUBLIC DELIBERATION - STRUCTURAL AND MARKET CONDITIONS FOR NEWS PRODUCTION IN A DIGITAL AGE

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This project will investigate the consequences of multimedia news production and reporting for the role of journalism and newspapers in the public debate. The starting point of the project is that newspapers' financial situation requires new thinking in terms of how to make money in the future. Because of declining readerships and falling advertising revenues, their traditional business model is being challenged, and many newspapers seem to be turning to new digital publishing platforms, like tablets and smart phones, as their saviour. The premise of this project is that the newspapers' use of these new digital publishing platforms may affect both their role in the public debate and journalism as such. In order to examine this, the following research questions concerning the relationship between digital publishing platforms, news production and participation in the public debate will be raised: 1) which strategies are developed by the newspapers for the use of new digital publishing platforms; 2) how is everyday news production carried out in a multimedia newsroom; 3) how will the use of digital publishing platforms change the presentation of news; and 4) to what extent will multimedia news production affect the public debate? The first three questions will be answered by combining interviews with managers and journalists, newsrooms observations and content analysis. The Norwegian newspapers VG and Fredriksstad Blad will be used as case studies. These newspapers are chosen first because they are two different types of newspapers, one national and one local, and thus operate in different markets. Second, they have come a long way in adopting new digital publishing platforms in their daily news production. Jürgen Habermas and his theory of deliberative democracy, Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, Nicholas Negroponte's idea of the 'daily me', as well as theories concerning economics and strategy, will form the theoretical basis of this project. Existing theories of democracy, opinion-

making and public deliberation will also be the starting point for an article based on the fourth research question. The project will be a sociological study of news which aims to explain the relationship between technology, economy and journalistic processes. The study will be situated within the fields of sociology, media economics, media strategy, democracy, journalism and newsroom studies.

THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS IN EUROPEAN UNION IMMIGRATION POLICY: HARMONISATION OF NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN POLICIES

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Migration policy is one area that does not and cannot have a silent tradition of European integration. The main reasons are the differing experiences and well-anchored patterns of immigration policy. What is more, it (immigration policy) represents a case in which the political elite is highly dependent on its performance of public resonance. Under these conditions, public opinion finds its niche as one of the decisive factors which legitimises the EU's immigration policy. Research shows that in the Area of EU Freedom, Security and Justice, most European public opinion is divided on asylum and immigration policy harmonisation. Although a clear majority (63%) are in favour of greater European governance in this area, a significant proportion (24%) would like to see a weaker role for the EU. The problem is that only 13% feel well informed about immigration policy and only 27% of respondents would like to know more. This situation supports another trend - the divide between public preferences and the behaviour of the EU elite in this political sphere. Despite the growing public backlash to immigration, the European elite has an agreement to promote a liberal immigration policy in the EU. It is noted that the importance of public opinion strengthens the small networks of academics, lawyers, NGO activists and the elite, which use their expertise and suggestions of the European immigration policy, leaving behind public attitudes and the opinions of immigrants. In addition, one must note the existence and importance of a deep divide between the public, national and EU-based NGOs or other interest groups. It should be noted that the difference between inadequate policies turns immigration into a source of social conflicts, thus allowing the vicious circle between the negative per-

ceptions of immigration and immigration policy-making and implementation. Lithuania, as an EU leader in the field of emigration (immigration will inevitably be the challenge), lacks comprehensive research, that states the consequences of the phenomenon and highlights the challenges. The state should take the EU's active position on immigration policy-making and implementation, in coordination with national and European interests. Thus, this planned scientific work, which will explore the impact of interest groups on EU policy on immigration to harmonization looking through a neo-institutionalistic approach, will be a new and valuable contribution to the analysis of the development of democracy in both Lithuania and the EU.

TOOLS AT HAND – DEFINING OURSELVES THROUGH REALITY SHOWS

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Reality television has a relatively long history, but there is a mutual understanding among media researchers that the sudden explosion of reality shows began at the turn of the millennium, when Big Brother became a popular format around the world. Nowadays, TV schedules contain a range of variations on the genre, namely competition-based, docu-like, makeover/intervention or hidden-camera shows. They all feature participants „being themselves” as they encounter extraordinary situations. According to Pecora (2002), reality shows are also largely unscripted, but heavily edited programmes, focused on group dynamics. The aim of this PhD project is to research audience practices, interpretations and opinions on these modern-day reality shows in order to find out how people use them in their lives. Although the study suggests that viewers can use the experience of watching reality shows for various purposes (entertainment, relaxation, socialising etc.), the thesis focuses on how people evaluate and (re)define their identity, value system, attitudes, ideologies and strategies in life, through contemplating and communicating about the shows they choose to watch. The approach also implies that defining ourselves is a general need –on micro (individual), meso (group) and macro (national/global) levels – and the genre's/subgenre's special characteristics make them suitable tools for this process. The theoretical background of this project is performative media theory (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Csigó, 2005),

which has its roots in uses and gratifications (Blumler & Katz, 1974) and selective perception theory (Klapper, 1960). Performative media theory suggests that there is a constant conversation between the viewers and the media, and people use the discourses offered by the media to define their identity, playing an active and creative role in the process. Television programmes can only be noticed and remembered if the viewers recognise them as narratives of their own lives, and if an emotional bond is formed. The main methods used in this study are qualitative: single and mini-group interviews with (light and heavy) viewers of different types of reality shows, and the analysis of online discussions. It is expected that viewers communicate differently in these situations, and we are looking forward to assessing how these differences relate to the process of self-definition. During the interviews viewers are asked to watch certain reality TV shows and comment on them/discuss them. These discourses will then be analysed, as they may be the key to the question of how reality shows are used by the audience.

BEHIND THE INFORMED CITIZEN: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ALGORITHMS WITHIN THE NEWS DISTRIBUTION PROCESS

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The Internet has changed not only the way we communicate, but also the way we receive and distribute news. In recent decades, the mass media system has been the main source of news production and distribution. Today, because of easy-to-use Internet-based applications, nearly every Internet user is a potential broadcaster. Content, generated by the user, can be published to its audience directly. This ongoing transformation and its social consequences have been discussed extensively, particularly in terms of strengthening democracy and citizen participation. However, these discourses often have the underlying implication that the more information you have access to, the better. But, on the flip side, the more information is produced, the harder it becomes to find relevant information. This PhD's starting point is that "information does not exist, only informed people exist" (Balnaves/Willson 2011: 8). This is relevant because humans play an active role in being informed. In order to do so, people use more and more alternative online sources, e.g. social networks. But time and space do not limit the virtual world in the same way that

print media do. This leads to an overabundance of information, which needs to be dealt with. Historically, culture, time and space have worked as filter systems and eliminated information. However, on the Internet, we have access to all kinds of information and need to filter ourselves. But because our resources are limited, software is often used for pre-selection. For example, aggregation software is used to organise and prioritise information from different sources. Viewed broadly, the prominent way of dealing with algorithms is from a techno-centric perspective ("What the internet is hiding from you", Pariser 2011). But this perspective objectifies software and ignores how software is bound up with human influences, and hence produces technologically deterministic claims about the relationship of algorithmic selection and the users. This PhD seeks a different approach and studies algorithms as social systems. Within three case studies, news aggregation software will be analysed through the lenses of the ICT specialists, the users and the algorithms. The goal of this PhD is to develop a theoretical framework that makes algorithms as social systems accessible to further research.

DIGITAL EXCLUSION REVISITED. TOWARDS ALTERNATIVE POLICY APPROACHES REGARDING THE DIGITAL DIVIDE OF THE SECOND DEGREE: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF CRUCIAL ELEMENTS DEFINING THE USE AND SKILLS OF NEW MEDIA

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Over the past decade, research relevant to the digital divide has undergone a noticeable and undeniable transition at the level of the conceptualisation and characteristics of digital exclusion mechanisms. Evidence shows that digital exclusion is no longer marked by a dichotomous situation of haves versus have-nots. Instead, the digital divide has been transformed into a complex phenomenon covering a wide range of exclusion mechanisms at the level of access, motivation, usage and multiple digital literacies that are often related and intertwined. Even so, lifestyles, life stages and social capital determine why, in what way, by what means and for what goal individuals use new media. Policy interventions have thus far mainly focused on expanding people's access to ICT. With the increased complexity of digital exclusion mechanisms, more advanced policy interventions are needed. Grassroots initiatives aimed at combating the digital exclusion of

at-risk groups have been set up by a large variety of civil society organisations. This has led to a highly scattered, disorganised and unidentified field of approaches to digital inclusion, leaving policy-makers unaware of the scope, effectiveness and sustainability of these approaches and initiatives and of suitable ways to support and improve existing grassroots initiatives. Hence, the main goal of this doctoral research project is to develop alternative policy approaches to counter digital exclusion based on a critical analysis of the implications for policy-making of the transition in digital divide theory. Are actions and policy measures in line with the current complexities and changes of today's digital divide? At what level and how can policy and actions be improved? The theoretical framework of this doctoral research project focuses on the fundamental changes that have occurred in digital divide theory. What new aspects have been brought about that influence and determine access, motivation, usage and skills? How do recently identified issues like lifestyles, life stages and social capital relate to ICT usage and the attainment of skills? How do these different characteristics interact with and influence each other? Additionally, there is also a focus on how domestication theory and the capabilities approach of Amartya Sen (1999) relate to the bottom-up e-inclusion approach of civil society organisations? The empirical research consists of 1) a critical analysis of the bottom-up approach used by civil society organisations to address digital exclusion; 2) a policy analysis of existing policies related to digital inclusion at the level of Flanders, the Netherlands, United Kingdom and the European Union; and 3) a participatory research project with one or more groups at risk of digital exclusion, complemented by in-depth interviews with policy stakeholders.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE INTERNET: GRADUATED RESPONSE IN FRANCE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Graduated response is a means of enforcing copyright by monitoring the Internet, followed by warnings and sanctions (such as Internet filtering and suspension of Internet access) related to copyright infringement. This PhD adopts a critical stance towards graduated response, seeking to answer the questions of how copyright and the Internet are constructed, what kind of society is promoted, and what the power struggles are - in current gradu-

ated response initiatives. I approach the topic from the perspective of the Political Economy of Communication, arguing that there is a commodification and enclosure of information and the Internet, and then testing this claim in two case studies related to graduated response. Information and communication are central in our economy and society. Manuel Castells (2009, *Communication Power*) argues that control over communication and its infrastructure gives power. Being able to shape what kind of information is produced, what is made available and through which communication channels, means being able to determine the agenda and direction of our society. The Internet allows users to “broadcast” their ideas and interests, and has raised hopes of being the ultimate equalising communication medium. Parts of the governance of the Internet have historically also been multi-stakeholder endeavours. Technology, however, is shaped by its uses and policies, and the current open, participatory character of the Internet should not be taken for granted. Graduated response is the result of choices made about the type of society, communication and technology we wish to promote. Stakeholders compete to define the current problem and solution of the losses in the creative industries. Copyright, piracy and the Internet are given a particular articulation throughout the discourses surrounding the copyright enforcement debate. I have chosen two examples of graduated response in policy, namely France and the United Kingdom, as the main cases of my empirical research. France and the UK were among the first countries to pass graduated response legislation. The analysis is qualitative and focuses on the policy-making process. The rationales of the policies, arguments of the stakeholders, and economic and institutional context of France and the United Kingdom are studied to understand how these graduated response policies came about and test whether the explanations of Political Economy of Communication hold up in these cases. This approach to investigating graduated response is valuable, because it raises questions about the construction and role of individuals, information and technology in society.

POST MORTEM: DEATH-RELATED MEDIA RITUALS

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The aim of this project is to advance an understanding of the role the media play at the occurrence of death, in the construction and reconstruction of a global, cosmopolitan community. In the global media sphere there are different voices that make different claims regarding the constitution of the global community and its solidarity. In this context, death plays an important role, demonstrating or reflecting the claim for social order and its maintenance in a global age. In these early stages of the 21st century, we often experience death through the media. The rituals that the media perform when death occurs serve as a means to include or exclude different groups and to give a voice to or silence the call for moral responsibility and caring for distant suffering. Death-related rituals, in this sense, are symbolic actions that reflect more fundamental questions, such as who qualifies as “human”. In this project, I wish to study how the rituals that the media perform at the occurrence of death facilitate social cohesion and a sense of community. The object of the study is the spectacle of death. I intend to focus on the visual aspects of death-related media rituals and on the way the management of the visibility of death delineates the boundaries of the imagined community, thus cultivating a sense of belonging. What is the nature of the imagined global community that such rituals construct? In order to answer this question, I intend to study the performance of death-related media rituals by two global news networks. In today’s global media environment we can identify two dominant voices that tell the leading narratives of the global sphere: the Western world and the Arab world. These narratives, especially in relation to death events such as wars and armed conflicts, often conflict with each other, each promoting a competing agenda. The way they portray death and thus the way they frame the events can serve as a prism to analyse the claims made regarding the global social order. The project compares and contrasts the coverage of global mass-death events, events in which relatively large number of people died and that have the potential to become an event of global significance. I shall examine two news networks that give voice to these two rival narratives – BBC World and Al-Jazeera English.

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF LARGE GERMAN AND FINNISH PUBLISHING COMPANIES DURING THE INTERNET REVOLUTION - A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TEN MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

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This research will be done under the tutelage of the School of Communication, Media and Theatre at the University of Tampere. Starting from April 2011 the author has also received guidance and tutorship from the Institute for Media and Communication Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. • Researched publications: The publications researched include five Finnish and five German newspapers or magazines: 1) Die Welt, 2) Bild, 3) Der Spiegel, 4) Handelsblatt, 5) DerWesten, 6) Helsingin Sanomat, 7) Ilta-Sanomat, 8) Suomen Kuvalehti, 9) Kauppalehti, 10) Keskisuomalainen. The theoretical basis of this work is primarily rooted in the German research tradition of on-line journalism. The comparisons and analyses of the journalistic work practices used by the publishing houses will be carried out, among other relevant models, by applying the Internet public sphere model developed by Christoph Neuberger, Christian Nuernberg and Melanie Rischke. The aim of the research is to seek out workable and sustainable approaches for Finnish and German publishing houses that could be used when restructuring or calibrating journalistic work flows and business models to cope with the demands of the internet revolution. The aim is, in essence, to find out which online solutions have been proven to be both financially successful and meaningful with regards to the quality of content. The research is an examination of the work practices of German and Finnish publishing houses. It has three central research questions: 1) How have the publishing houses structured their journalistic work practices during the ongoing internet revolution? 2) What kind of online business models are the publishing houses using? 3) How are the publishing houses preparing for the future? The analysis of the journalistic work practices used by German and Finnish publishing houses will be conducted using qualitative comparative methods. Journalistic online work practices are categorised into four groups according to their degree of courage or paralysis. The research material consists, first, of in-depth interviews with journalists/managers in charge of the online departments and, second, of other written sources (press releases, stock exchange announcements, financial reports, news articles and trade papers). The research strives to fill an existing gap in journalism studies, namely the scarcity of qualitative comparative analysis of journalistic work practices between Finland and another European state during the internet revolution.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PR PROFESSIONALS AND JOURNALISTS: PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGES, PERCEPTIONS OF THE OTHER PROFESSION AND INTERPLAY IN DIFFERENT NOVEL SOCIAL MEDIA CONTEXTS

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PR professionals and journalists have crucial and meaningful roles in society. Together they act as forces that help in the formation of public knowledge, opinion and deliberation. Their relationship is often thought to be conflicting as they may be perceived to work at the opposite ends of organisational communication and public communication. Professional self-images and perceptions of the other group's professional objectives may have an impact on the relationship and trust-building between the two occupations and, thus, impact on the communication atmosphere in society as a whole. Previous literature has viewed the relationship as one where the two groups are opposed to each other. New literature, nevertheless, perceives the two professions as having more in the way of similarities, rather than opposing objectives (Luoma-aho, Uskali & Winstein, 2009) and views the relationship as one of cooperation, instead of a "love-hate" relationship (Waters, Tindall & Morton, 2010). This study utilises qualitative and quantitative methods and is both descriptive and comparative in nature. Its objective is to find out what kind of roles can be detected and relationships formed between PR professionals and journalists due to perception differences and interaction in the developing social media communication field. The research premises lie within the Professional Communicators in Europe (ProfCom) project, started in 2009 at the University of Vienna, Austria. An internet survey was carried out to gather data from journalists and PR professionals from various European countries. The study results on self-image and image reveal interesting role categorisations and perception differences among the groups in Finland. PR professionals believe they have bond- and trust-building objectives, whereas journalists perceive marketing and financial goals as the main objectives of PR. Journalists identify themselves in roles directed at information-sharing, criticism and service, whereas PR professionals think journalists want to voice their own opinions and inform the public about scandals. The quantitative image findings will be deepened by qualitative interviews and background variable correlation research. In addition, based on the idea of Fifth Estate, created by William Dutton (2009), the study will continue to explore and compare the interplay of the two pro-

professional groups in the Internet and social media field, first nationally on Facebook and later internationally in other social media arenas. The communication activities, complexity of news flows and cooperation and/or power struggles between PR professionals and journalists in the social media arena is a field still very little explored and has the potential to bring important insight to the professional communication research field.

WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: TOOLS FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT?

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The aim of this PhD project is to investigate how the concept of empowerment, taken from Gender Theories, is reflected on the pages of current women's magazines. This idea comes from the understanding that many of these publications describe themselves as empowering tools for their target audience (women), and even define their own work by using the word "empowerment". However, a number of investigations from past decades indicate that the role of women's magazines could be far removed from the definition that this concept has in Gender Theories, since most of the content in these publications deals with topics related to the private sphere, whereas one of the meanings of "empowerment" under the Gender Theories' perspective is the presence of women in all spheres of society. Therefore, this study will address not only some of the theories on public and private spheres, but also the concept at the root of "empowerment", i.e. "power" (Foucault, 1979). Since the idea of empowerment is a wide and complex one, this PhD project intends to cover its emergence in Gender Studies, considering both its origins in the Theories of Development and its main meanings: the collective one (the need to increase the participation of women in all spheres of society) and the personal one (the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able to make decisions) (Rowlands, 1997; Lagarde y de los Ríos, 2000). Additionally, this research will treat the role of women's magazines in the mass media in the construction of their own audience (Winship, 1987, Gallego Ayala, 1990; Castells, 2001; Lipovetsky, 2002; McRobbie, 2004). Methodologically, this project will comprise a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches, using the Spanish editions of international publications as well as nationally published magazines from Brazil, Mexico, Portugal and Spain. The period covered by the study will be the years between 2005 and 2010.

With this investigation, we will try to connect women's magazines - the only women-oriented sector of the print media - with the concept of empowerment, which has become widespread since it was proposed by the United Nations at the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing as one of the strategies to follow in working towards gender equality in modern societies.

STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS OF COMMUNICATION: "DEBATES" AROUND THE NATIONAL NATURAL PARKS

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Currently, different forms of publicising are implemented as a democratic process: public debate, consultation, dialogue, reconciliation with citizens, referendum, etc. Publicising refers to visibility development, through media coverage and debate development. In this context, citizens become, at first glance, actors in the decision-making process and participate in democratic life. But these processes do not come close to producing direct debate between residents and elected representatives, for example, or a direct democracy. Questioning the notion of "participation" shows it may also refer to a simple formulation of public expressions, or the gradual construction of public issues. Thus, democratic devices appear to be more integrated into political communication strategies of opinion management and the anticipation of conflicts than into democratic participation processes. While many debates are initiated on town planning issues, local authorities face difficulties in establishing scientific debates. This was the case with the debate on nanotechnology, for instance. Science-related debates topics seem to complicate the organisation of their participation mechanisms. National Parks are land settlements established by the State, in order to protect the environment. These developments are beneficial to nature but, even so, they are disputed. All National Park projects have caused conflict and have led to much debate. Indeed, the establishment of this protected area is synonymous with high stress for local stakeholders, such as the prohibition of hunting and fishing, habitat limitation and their renovation, the restriction of agricultural areas and prohibition of assembly. Thus, the debates focus on the delineation of the park because this indicates the geographical constraints of the "land users". Land uses will be affected by these constraints. Therefore national stakeholders who support for the creation of the park are opposed to locals, who will suffer the

constraints. But this apparent dichotomy actually reveals more complex issues. This thesis deals with communication on environmental issues. It focuses on “debate” raised by the project over the creation of national parks. This theme makes it possible to understand the communication on environmental issues within the Public Sphere (Miège, 2010). It also links with the territory and all the stakeholders involved in this controversial project, namely the politicians, scientists, residents, associations and professionals. Our research attempts to question communication on environmental issues, which translates into the “localisation” of the public sphere. The underlying assumption is that the regionalisation of environmental issues makes the emergence of a local part public sphere. This problem is about communication strategies on local and national environmental issues and shows they are indicative of the tensions between the two scales. In other words, communication strategies reflect the power relations between stakeholders. These strategies are based on the ratio of players to the territories.

CAPITALIST COMMODIFICATION OF THE SOCIAL SPHERE: RETHINKING THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNICATION

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The aim of this paper is to rethink the role of the political economy of communication (PEC) in the current historical epoch. This is achieved through contextualisation of political, economic, cultural and technological aspects, the result of which are five corresponding and interconnected transformations, namely; neoliberal governance; financialisation of global capitalism; post-Fordist flexible production; ‘postmodernisation’ of consumption and culture; and worldwide social connectedness through networks, instigated by the rise of the Internet. It is claimed that communication has gained a paradigmatic role in the current historical phase of capitalism, which consequently enabled capital to fully colonise most aspects of not only material but also social life. However, these long-developing perturbations also fully reinstated (critique of) the political economy of communication as the main basis and source for analysing the current historical stage of capitalism; because communication permeates all social life and spills over formerly distinct boundaries, interconnectedness on all possible levels has become more obvious than ever. The author develops his

main thesis on the basis of this groundwork, stating that “the structural tendency of capitalism, which has developed into a world-integrated economic system, is not only to commodify and valorise the material and social aspects of life, but also to incorporate human life as such (i.e. species-being) into this economistic circuit.” The historical outline developed in the first part of this paper, together with the ontological, epistemological and methodological starting points presented in the first section, offer a suitable context for examination of three intertwined concepts: audiences, immaterial work and the commons, which assists in providing additional substantiation for the thesis. The current phase of capitalism and its practical influence on human beings can only be understood by fully acknowledging these theoretical starting points. The author bases his arguments especially on critical theory, namely neo-Marxist perspective, and mainly draws conclusions from theoretical outlines of the Italian post-operaismo (autonomia) movement that successfully rethought critique of (post-Fordist) political economy; this approach to critical theory should today be seen as a crucial resource for investigations of PEC. The paper represents a rough and condensed outline of an ongoing doctoral dissertation and aims to clarify and rethink the main research questions and theses that will be considered in this work.

COMMUNICATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF MOBILE AND DIGITAL MEDIA USE IN PUBLIC SPACES - ATTENTION AND ITS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

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Media have become digital, hybrid and mobile. Almost everywhere in public, people use mobile phones or laptops. Today, individuals often use their media set and its functions simultaneously. On the one hand, multitasking seems to function well. But, on the other hand, people also get distracted, because media both absorb and divide attention (Gergen, 2001). Why is attention so important? Communicative interaction is only successful when both interaction partners draw their attention to the exchange of information. Processing information demands a certain minimal amount of attention – but attention is a limited cognitive resource of the brain (Styles, 2006). Furthermore, every interaction is built on specific rules like behaviour norms (Blumer, 2004), i.e. two people principally have

behaviour expectations of each other (Goffman, 1974). In public places (the public is not a homogeneous continuum), both friends and strangers potentially come into contact. Striving to comply with interaction rules in public, a minimum of attention is required. As a theoretical framework, I propose an action-oriented perspective using the theory of Symbolic Interactionism. The empirical approach is multidisciplinary, multi-methodical and multi-level, based on the "Grounded Theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 2010). Performing several group discussions, I have developed a scheme which spreads out the field of investigation. On this basis, I identified conflictual situations where I expect to find hidden social arrangements becoming visible by media usage (Garfinkel, 1967). But media also cause the transformation and evolution of such arrangements (Hoeftlich, 2010). My preliminary study focused on the media user. Qualitative observations and interviews confirmed that media users are distracted. However, they are aware of that fact and sometimes also use media strategically to isolate themselves. Besides, they expect that the people next to them ignore the media contents (e.g. of a cellphone conversation). This indicates that media use in public changes social arrangements. Other people seem to tolerate media use insofar as they are not affected too much by it. In the next step, I will establish a qualitative interview guideline considering attention and concentrating on the characterisation of media and cultural differences. In sum, with due regard to the meaning and characteristics of (attributed) attention in the relationship between media users and strangers, my dissertation will broaden the knowledge of how people in everyday life handle their digital and mobile media set in the public. The results will contribute to both the design of public places and media.

THE PRIZE OF CELEBRITY - CELEBRITY CULTURE IN SWEDEN

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Michael Rübsamen's thesis project is focused on the relationship between media and celebrity in the construction of celebrity status. Within the Swedish research community the study of celebrity is a particularly weak one, with only a handful of scholars working in the area. Aiming to fill the gap on the subject, this thesis focuses on four different case studies of Swedish celebrities, with the process of mediated construction of celebrity as the main focus. The thesis conceptualises celebrity as a mediated con-

structed phenomena, which involves interaction between the audience, the celebrity and the surrounding mass media. Within the thesis, the focus will be on the relationship between the media and the celebrity in question. Celebrity is seen and analysed within the thesis as a form of power elite status, which is established and maintained at the workings and doings of the celebrity in collaboration with the depictions of the celebrity in the media. By applying concepts of modernity and late modernity, the overarching aim of the thesis is to understand the construction of celebrity in regard to the changing nature of achievement. From a modernity where skill and craftsmanship were highly regarded, to a late modernity where talent and potential are valued more highly, this is also reflected in the view of celebrities. The thesis uses the careers of four cases to identify thematically interesting cases, such as the breakthrough, the broadened career and the dichotomy of personal/public space. Two of the cases have had long careers spanning more than five and three decades respectively, while two of the cases surfaced during the 2000s. The empirical data will consist of media texts depicting milestone moments in each case's career, marking moments where the status or image of the celebrity has significantly changed.

CRITICAL ASPECTS IN YOUNG SWEDEN'S INFORMATION SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

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In an era when access to information and communication technologies (ICTs) has become more or less matter-of-course to many people in the Western world, regardless of socio-economic conditions, various social and cultural digital patterns of use have emerged. Previous research concerning digital divides has often been criticised for having too limited and simplified a view of what constitutes these divides; in essence, research has been too preoccupied with analysing access to and use of ICTs (e.g. Burtseva, Cojocaru, Gaiandric, Magariu, & Verlan, 2007; Mäkinen & Naarmala, 2008; Tsatsou, 2011; Vehovar, Sicherl, Hüsing, & Dolnicar, 2006). One way of elaborating a more nuanced view of the problem is to pay heed to differences in people's abilities, motivations and opportunities in using ICTs to improve the everyday quality of life. This sort of more sociological approach aims to grasp digital stratification and inspires the aim of this

research project: to analyse young Swedes' use of ICTs and socialisation into techno-culture as critical aspects of information society participation. The research project is divided into four studies with different perspectives and methods. The first study describes young people's access to and use of ICTs in schools, as well as for leisure. Data were collected through a quantitative survey among young people born in 1994, living in a medium-sized Swedish municipality (n=256, 92.7%). The result describes a high level of access to ICTs both at school and at home, but also different patterns of use where most usage was focused on private communication and entertainment. The second study analyses young people's digital skills in general, and information-seeking skills in particular. These skills are discussed in the light of the Swedish school system's high ambitions of equality in education and young people's opportunities to become participants in 'the information society'. The study builds upon previously collected survey data and complementary interviews with six of the participants. The aim of the third study is to analyse which aspects lead to digital stratification among young Swedes. Through interviews with students at a public secondary school, the study analyses how students with varying levels of access to social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997) are socialised into techno-culture. Students with equal access to ICTs, from both academic and vocational programmes, are interviewed. This leads to a final study (four) that is designed to provide secondary school teachers' views of their role, and the school's mission, to support their students' use of ICTs.

WHO ARE YOU CALLING A JOURNALIST? CAN ONE FORM OF COMMUNICATION COMMAND SPECIAL PROTECTION?

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A critical chasm lies between sociological study and legal practice. Sociological studies of journalism focus on its role, functions, culture and history (Conboy, 2002, 2004; McNair, 1998, 2000, 2003; Schudson, 2002). Legal studies focus on the effects of legislation and litigation (Robertson and Nicol, 2002; Walker, 2004). Brief studies have attempted to define 'journalist' (Clay, 1999; Berger, 2003; Abramowicz, 2008; Flanagan, 2005) but have not adequately defined journalism. This research will examine whether, amid proliferating multi-platform media, a specific form of com-

munication called ‘journalism’ can be distinguished sufficiently to claim special protection, and what forms of this communication should enjoy that protection. The importance of the research is that Anglo-American legal systems, which traditionally regarded legal protection for ‘journalism’ as deriving from citizens’ rights to free expression, now allow and enforce distinct legal protections for journalism separate from these, such as qualified privilege and the right to protect sources. The research will use the United Kingdom context to examine rights now attaching and likely to attach to journalism, the legal status of journalism and journalists, and a theoretical and practical foundation for both. It will examine the operation of the traditional journalist and non-traditional media including the “citizen journalist”, the “blogger”, the campaigner and other media actors. The research will focus on UK media and communications law and practice and its development, contrasted with relevant US and European examples. It will proceed not only through interviews with media executives, lawyers, mainstream and non-mainstream media organisations, and journalists, especially those personally involved in legal cases involving journalists’ rights, but also three closely defined case studies. In *WikiLeaks vs The Guardian*, examination of the processes used by WikiLeaks and the Guardian in the release of confidential information will contrast the unedited dumping of documents on the Internet with the editing, redacting and interpretive function of the Guardian. In *STV Local*, involving the establishment of up to 120 local websites across Scotland by Scottish Television, the role of journalist community editors will be contrasted with non-journalist contributors, examining their roles and the treatment by the newsroom of the material they produce. In the *BBC User-Generated Content Centre*, the way the BBC processes user-generated content, often merging it in different proportions with conventional journalist-generated content, will be contrasted with the treatment of journalist-generated content. These studies are intended to distinguish journalism content from closely-related but identifiably non-journalism content.

ACADEMIC INPUT: THE INCREASING ROLE OF MEDIA SCHOLAR INITIATIVES IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

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Belonging to a specialist elite, academics today form a social group which

is increasingly influential in various fields of the economy and industry (Castells, 1997). Taken into account when managing production processes, investment advice or assistance in the use of resources by a company, the figure of the scholar has moved through the years from being a teacher who gives lectures to a business-oriented professional (see Moles, 2006). This process, denominated by some as the “marketisation of academia” (Rimbert, 2011; Casullo, 2008), does not, however, affect all scholars in the same way; only a few disciplines, faculties and researches are considered strategic for the development of better mechanisms to increase profits and capitalisation: i.e. new technologies, engineering and other hard sciences like biomedicine or pharmacy. The question is, then, how – and to what extent – Humanities and Social Sciences are affected by this fragmentation of “useful” disciplines? The answer is already being provided in many contexts around the globe: less funding, loss of grades and fewer possibilities to find a decent job are just the most visible elements of these processes; but we must also add: 1 - Institutional: that is, state policies and political orientations that damage the social academy’s traditional pertinence to society; i.e. Bologna Plan in EU higher education; Brussels’ Information Society Programmes (IS 2011); 2 - Cultural: represented by socio-cultural beliefs that prioritise scientific-positivist views over concepts such as progress, productivity, history and economy; and 3- Globalisation of Politics: symbolised by large conglomerations of policy bodies that homogenise management and strategy, complicating crowd-sourced policy-making; i.e. the lobby’s complexity, etc. However, when studying specific contexts and their adaptation to these changes, we can see that not every social discipline is losing its traditional role; in the case of communications, a unique – and ambiguous – situation occurs: while fighting for keeping some “legitimated” position in a averse-environment, many professionals and Media scholars are re-articulating, thru those same contextual factors –i.e. New technologies, digitization- innovative forms of participation, collective work, research and even commercialization of their inputs and contents (Gibbons, 1997). After a year studying these elements in two radically different contexts, Spain and Finland, we have concluded that none of those innovations would have been possible without the presence of international initiatives, that is, academic networks operating trans- nationally and cooperatively for common purposes and objectives. Over a number of years, the construction of these academic initiatives in our case studies represented an important motivation, especially for those new students who wanted to participate – and change – current decision-making processes, both locally and outside frontiers. In order to do so, they essentially shared the next characteristics: - Decentralisation: Delib-

erative process - New Technologies-oriented: Transnational communication - Autonomy: Self-regulated bodies - Closeness: Regional concern - Inclusiveness: Incorporation of new generations - Partnerships: Alliances with others civil associations (Users etc.) - Interaction - Participation - Access - Democracy: Greater sense of ownership of the processes - Transparency: Less hermetic. All these elements, analysed in depth through open interviews with their main actors, provided us with possible strategies for better social academic inputs within the EU.

ON THE SPOT - A STUDY OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS WORKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Foreign coverage in Danish and international media is changing. Journalistic concepts such as orientation, insight and immersion are being set aside in favour of 'constant actuality' and 'the reporting of moments' (Luyendijk 2009; Kristensen & Ørsten 2006; Holm et al. 2000; Siune 1998; Bardoel 1996). What is the role of correspondents in the effort to produce trustworthy, authentic and balanced images of the world, when, at the same time, they have to meet an ever growing demand from editors back home to be 'faster', 'sharper', 'closer'? In my PhD project, I want to investigate how foreign correspondents work: how do they find, make and create news? I want to get behind the detailed orchestrated surface of the news and try to understand how the correspondents' stories arise, how they are designed and finally how they are put into the sphere of public mass communication. These questions are used as stepping-stones to a broader investigation into the criteria of validity, of objectivity and the relationship between knowledge and representation in foreign journalism. This basically leads to the fundamental question: how do we describe reality and what is the relationship between this representation and the reality? The project is based on an anthropological approach to the world of journalism. This implies that I want to analytically understand the practice of journalism from the perspective of the correspondent. It is a study about humans, individual agency and navigation in journalistic work. I want to create an understanding of the correspondents not as a distanced group or unit, but as journalists of flesh and blood; as people who are "going through life agonising over decisions, making mistakes,

trying to make themselves look good, enduring tragedies and personal losses, enjoying others and finding moments of happiness", as the anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod once wrote of her informants in Brazil's slums (1991:158). The predominant method in collecting empirical material is four to eight months of ethnographic fieldwork among permanently settled foreign correspondents in the Middle East and among correspondents stationed there for a shorter period of time (four months already conducted). I follow them throughout their day; at work and in their spare time. As an integrated part of my study, I seek what Clifford Geertz calls 'a deep hanging out' with the correspondents, e.g. in the evenings in their homes with their families or for an drink in town after work. It is a way of obtaining an insight into their lives that is not being said, not reflected in conversations, but only bodily felt and expressed – and which characterise both the correspondents and their work.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MEDIUM OF THE COMPUTER GAME AND COMPUTER GAME CULTURE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC, 1980 – 1995

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The dissertation aims to fill in the blank space in the social history of computer games and computer technologies by providing an analytical account of the adoption and use of the computer game medium in Czechoslovakia in the 1980s and early 1990s. It seeks to provide both primary historical research and a thorough analysis of the use of computer games in the period of Czechoslovak and Czech game culture, its communities, values, discourse and the status of computers and computer games as technological artefacts. The context of the late communist and early post-communist era in Czechoslovakia is intriguing, as the software and hardware market did not exist and computer game culture revolved mostly around grassroots communities, some of which used the existing infrastructure of official organisations of the communist state, such as Svazarm (Association for the Cooperation with the Army). Although computers were produced in the country, they were not sold for home use – microcomputers were initially only sold directly to educational institutions. Computer games and computing as such were therefore niche hobbies – in 1989, only 1.8% of Czech households owned a computer. The

video game console market was virtually non-existent. Despite these limitations, there was a vibrant community of home computer users, many of whom were avid gamers. Informal systems of distribution were in place, forming so-called “exchange networks” and a shadow economy. Some of these flourished well into the mid-1990s. Such a multi-faceted topic can only be approached in an interdisciplinary fashion. Building on the findings of game studies about the specifics of the medium (Juul 2005), I am using the concepts of domestication of media technology (Silverstone 1992) and subcultural capital (Thornton 1996) to explain the dynamics of the adoption of computer games by individuals, households and communities. To gather data, I am using archival research and oral history interviews with gamers active in the specific period. These serve both as sources of information that will help to set the context, and as material to be analysed in terms of discourse, values and motivations to play. Different parts of the dissertation will focus on the themes identified as relevant to the particular context: the competing definitions of computer, the informal distribution systems of games, the tension between the global and the local in local game development and reception, and the discussion about the mainstreaming of computer game culture in the 1990s. The dissertation will be structured in a way that allows for future comparative studies among different game cultures.

RADIO AND THE HANSEN FAMILY. NATIONAL IDENTITY IN AN EVERYDAY PERSPECTIVE

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On October 1st 1949, the last episode of Denmark’s favourite radio serial The Hansen Family (tHF) was broadcast. By then it had become something of an institution within the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DBC), boasting 20 years of airplay, over 900 episodes and several spin-off products. However, the serial has been afforded a surprisingly small role in the history of Danish radio and thus remains largely forgotten today. Therefore this Ph.D. project aims to unearth tHF, pointing to its relevance in the development of the serial format as well as in early discussions of Danish public service radio, but most of all reading it as a source for understanding how the radio medium has contributed to an ongoing negotiation of national identity. To develop an understanding of the concept of national

identity and its relationship to public service, the research will go into the field of nationalism theory. The key concepts so far are Michael Billig's "banal nationalism" (1995) and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" (1983), which will hopefully shed some light on the power of repetition (seriality) in the communication of nationalist content, as well as on the feeling of national coherence that helped turn the serial into a success. Finally, as all of the above is deeply embedded in a discussion of public service, this concept will become central throughout. While all the tHF manuscripts have been kept, only two episodes remain as sound recordings, which has some implications for the methodology. Hence, tHF will be approached in the following stages: 1) A thorough parallel analysis of the available recordings and their manuscripts in an attempt to identify what the medium added to the drama text; 2) A content analysis of 10 consecutive manuscripts every five years, focusing on preselected themes and current events at the time; 3) A context analysis placing tHF in a larger historical setting by looking into tHF merchandise, internal documents from the DBC, media clippings etc. Leaving the specifics of tHF aside, this project is also about how a national medium provided its audience with a sense of continuity in a period of great upheaval such as the Depression, World War II and the immediate post-war years.

DISCOURSES ON DEATH AND DYING (WELL): MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MEDICAL END-OF-LIFE DECISION-MAKING

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Death is often considered the ultimate biological essentialism; the moment at which "human control over human existence finds an outer limit" (Giddens, 1991: 162). Such a perception of death seems to result in a privileging of realist and materialist approaches on death and dying, leaving little space for constructivist and idealist approaches. This PhD project precisely applies a constructivist approach to the study of death and dying. More specifically, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is deployed to explain that, while death undoubtedly exists and occurs independently from human will, thought and interpretation, it cannot constitute itself as an object of thought outside discourse. Concretely, this PhD focuses on one sphere of the social where death and dying are pervasive and ubiquitous, i.e. the field of medical end-of-life decision-making. The reasons to

do so are threefold: 1/ due to the medicalisation of death and dying in late modernity, a significant part of the contemporary experiences of dying is captured; 2/ as the permissibility of medical intervention at the end of life is subject to fierce societal discussions, end-of-life decision practices can be regarded as moments of social upheaval where discursive struggles on the meaning of death and dying peak; and 3/ discussions about the permissibility of medical intervention in dying not only build on discourses on death and dying, they are also linked to a pair of secondary discourses, i.e. the meaning systems on medicine and the body. Empirically, this thesis studies the way written media portrayals on end-of-life decision-making in 10 North Belgian media products build on primary discourses of death and dying (well) and secondary discourses of medicine and the body. Using discourse-theoretical analysis, this thesis is particularly interested in the way the basic signifiers around which the discourses on death and dying (well), medicine and the body are constructed – including autonomy and dignity – are articulated. Assuming that mass media function as circulators of discourses which are never entirely fixed, but always embedded within interpretative spaces, the research focuses in its second phase on the receptions of these discourses by the general public, professional care groups and relatives of deceased people. In this way, this thesis aims to offer insight into two intertwined systems of knowledge and meaning - i.e. mass media and their audiences - on end-of-life decision-making and their underlying discourses.

POLICY-MAKING AND PUBLIC DEBATE IN FINLAND – FOUR CASE STUDIES

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My PhD focuses on the interplay between news media, public debate and policy-making in Finland. How do policy-making institutions and political culture, on the one hand, and the media system and journalistic culture, on the other hand, affect the way that public policies are debated in the media? Does the mediatisation of politics result in more openness and accountability, or more secrecy and a growing distance between back-stage and front-stage politics? I will answer these questions with four case studies. The first case is the State Productivity Programme, launched by the Finnish government in 2003. I study when and why the policy process

was covered and debated in the media and how the responsibility of political actors was presented in the media. The second case study is about the SATA-committee, which was appointed to reform the social security system in Finland. The members of the committee seem to have tried to keep the news media away from the negotiations. I am interested in the tension between the increasingly intrusive media and political bargaining. The third case study is about the public debate on nuclear power. I will study the strategic communication of nuclear power advocates and opponents. What arguments are used in public vs. private lobbying? In the fourth case study, I look at how media coverage of law-making processes has changed during the last 50 years. Have the media become more selective, focusing on law-making processes that fit into 'media logic'? And how have changes in the institutional context of law-making affected the public debate? To study these cases, I analyse media content quantitatively and qualitatively, conduct interviews with elite actors and analyse policy documents such as draft legislation.

FROM MASS PROPAGANDA TO CIVIC PARTICIPATION: RETHINKING THE DISCOURSES OF AUDIENCE STUDIES IN MAINLAND CHINA

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Taking 'audience' as a floating signifier, this dissertation focuses on the articulation of 'audience' in China's context over the past three decades. The basic research questions are as follows: (1) What kind of 'audiences' have been articulated in Chinese Communication Studies over the past three decades? (2) What societal factors contribute to the articulation of 'audiences' in Chinese mass communication studies? (3) Based on the case of audience studies, how do we evaluate the performance of Chinese Communication Studies? Within the theoretical framework of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory and the qualitative methodological framework of discourse-theoretical analysis (DTA), which have been applied to 'Western' media audience research, this PhD attempts to scrutinise the articulation of 'audience' in China's specific societal and academic contexts. The body of the empirical analysis contains three parts: 1/ The tradition of 'mass line', political transition, economic reform and the emergence of 'audience' (1978-1989); 2/ The 2nd wave of the economic reform and the

expansion of 'audience•consumer' in the 1990s; 3/ Social transformation and the construction of 'audience•market•public' in the 2000s. In each part of the analysis, I will describe the characteristics of the societal and academic contexts of each era, including political transition and economic reform, the rise of civil society and the development of communication research, etc. In these contexts, based on the textual analysis of audience research papers on scholarly journals, the articulations of the active/passive, micro/macro and public/private dimensions of audience will be closely examined. The contributions of this PhD will be: 1/ seeing knowledge as discourse and integrating discourse theory with the sociology of knowledge; 2/ translating discourse theory into a way of analysing the knowledge construction of the 'audience'; 3/ from this perspective, analysing Chinese scholarly texts on audience studies within China's distinctive societal and academic contexts.

REMEMBERING THROUGH IMAGES

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Cinema is viewed as an arena in which diverse representations compete with one another, and this arena is significant in terms of engaging in political struggle. Stuart Hall underlines that representation is the primary continuum in order to comprise social meanings. Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner place emphasis on representations that are composed during the course of interpretation. According to Ryan and Kellner, movies, within their context, gain sense along with their relevance to other movies, their urges, fears and concerns are designated by representations and transmitted knowledge through the collective memory of earlier eras. Turkish cinema since the 1990s provides an abundant range where different voices can be recognised, distinctive representations take place and the audience can put forward ideas regarding which world view, social and political vision these representations point at. The wealth tax applied to ethnic minority communities during the 1940s was the main motif in Tomris Giriltiöglü's films *Salkım Hanımın Taneleri* (1999) and *Güz Sancısı - Pains of Autumn* (2009). Both movies are about the İstanbul Pogrom, directed against minorities on 6-7th September 1955, representation of the attacks on minorities and their properties. Another movie, *Çamur - Mud* (Derviş Zaim, 2003), focuses on the division between the Turkish and Greek Cyp-

riot communities and the social trauma experienced after the division in Cyprus. *Bulutları Beklerken – Waiting for Clouds* (Yeşim Ustaoglu, 2005) tells the story of a Greek woman of Turkish citizenship who was forced to hide her identity. Considering these movies together, we can draw the conclusion that one of the main interests for recent Turkish movies is “dealing with the past”. Atom Egoyan’s *Ararat* (2002) plays a part simply because it is about the “Armenian Genocide”. Based on this perspective and on those three movies (*Waiting For Clouds*, *Mud* and *Ararat*), this paper will analyse how the past is reconstructed through these movies. This work will also aim to answer questions such as: How do images function as vehicles of collective memory? How do images help us to remember? Is there a way of representing trauma? Moreover, the relationship between cinema and representation will be viewed in the context of earlier stories, essentially opening a new debate in respect of the “possibilities and restrictions of past representations”, and placing cinema within the context of collective memory.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: MEANING, POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF ENGAGEMENT

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For decades, social scientists have bemoaned the state of the public sphere, its constriction and fragmentation, and delved into the possibilities of reviving it, that is, creating new conditions and spaces for articulation and deliberation. Yet it seems they turned a blind eye to their own role in the public sphere, its creation and development, and in influencing public opinion. In my doctoral dissertation I am examining the role of the social sciences in the public sphere, from a normative standpoint, as well as the actual possibilities and limitations of engagement. Primarily the contribution of the social sciences is in the research of social phenomena, in policy-making and mediation between different actors. However, they are not only important in their interpretive and mediative role. By engaging in public and critical discussions in the public sphere, social scientists contribute to public knowledge and understanding of modern society, as well as to a reflexive consideration of the public sphere itself, problematising implicit social values, political processes and institutions. In order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the relationship between the public

sphere and the social sciences, I am exploring the actual possibilities and constraints on scientists' work. In my dissertation I am focusing on one of the major obstacles to public engagement, that is, scientific culture itself. In the struggle for the autonomy of this social sphere, scientists continually construct boundaries between science and non-science as well as boundaries from other scientific disciplines, thereby constructing their identity, as well as setting the rules for engagement in other spheres of action. Besides autonomy and authority, finding the proper balance between legitimacy, credibility and relevance of science is key to reaching common understanding and building trust in the public sphere. The case of sustainable development, both as a research field and as a social problem, serves as a focus for my empirical research into the role of the social sciences. My research delves into whether and in what ways Slovenian social scientists engage in the public sphere, and how they, in this context, conceptualize sustainable development. The goal is to come to an understanding about the motivations of scientists to engage in the public sphere, the possibilities and constraints perceived in their (potential) engagement in the public sphere, as posed by the media and science policy.

PART THREE

TEXT OF THE JOINT WORKSHOP PRESENTATION OF THE YELLOW FLOW, SUMMARISING THE PARADIGMS, THEORIES AND METHODS USED IN THE YELLOW FLOW



POSTER PRESENTATION
WORKSHOP

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

A story of a concept

Agnes Aljas, Andrea Davide Cuman, Antonija Čuvalo, Caroline Didier, Dalma Lőrincz, Hatice Çoban Keneş, Heidi Frank Svømmekjær, Leen Van Brussel, Marta Orsini, Michael Rübsamen, Nilyufer Hamid-Turksoy, Pınar Yıldız, Tal Morse, and Viorela Dan

Once upon a time in a land far far away, a tiny tiny little fledgling concept was lost in a basket of academic debate. Poor thing, without the guidance of a theoretical framework or other concepts to play with, she was simply a floating signifier. Lying all alone, she was found by a warm, loving, all-embracing paradigm: social constructivism. But then another paradigm, realism, an evil and vile creation that had spawned such fierce concepts as functionalism and biologic essentialism, desired and attempted to claim the concept.

With differences unreconciled, a fight ensued. One paradigm named the concept sex and one named it gender, so that it would fit into their respective families. The paradigms both claimed the concept as one of theirs and refused to let the other one have it, to grow and become strong and used all over the world by academics in both big debates and small discussions.

Since the paradigms would not reconcile, they went to a peer reviewer who was assigned to decide which paradigm best fit the concept. The peer reviewer, who was never afraid to split hairs or share concepts, listened as peer reviewers do to different arguments put forth, and suggested the simple solution that the concept be cut in half.

The paradigm social constructivist screamed: “No. Please don’t hurt the concept. It is one of my darlings. Please let realism take it.”

And so the peer reviewer, the wisest of them all, held his arm and did not cut the concept in half.

The peer reviewer handed it over and said: "Then let the concept be named gender and go on to be known as belonging to the paradigm of social constructivism."

Because, and this was why Judith Butler didn't cut it, she knew that only a truly righteous paradigm would rather let the concept be claimed by another than kill a darling.

As the years went by, the concept gender grew in the warm care of social constructivism and became more mature as it was used. But as all concepts reaching a certain age, she became somewhat unruly and contested. There came evil concepts bringing her gifts. All the realist theories were seducing her. She was tempted and she was tested and tried by concepts tried by all the joys that realism could offer, like solid epistemology and a big hard ontology.

Social constructivism, being a good mother, came and urged Gender to be a good concept. She said "Stay away from the temptations. Please, if you are to mate with other dirty concepts, like the wicked twins of Uses and Gratifications or, even worse, your new partner the Public Sphere, be careful and use your critical thinking for protection. Because the only thing that the public sphere wants to do is to nestle into your framework, claim both the private and public and, finally, leave you with an awful mess.

"Please, at least don't bring in any ideas and go away and do things with the public sphere. When concepts like you meet, I know it's difficult. But you need to be careful. If you don't protect yourself, you will end giving birth to a bad theoretical framework."

Now the big question is: What will happen next? Will she fall? Well, according to Aristotelian dramatic structures, we are now entering the third act, where we are supposed to see the two lovers Gender and the Public Sphere like a Romeo and Juliet in the drama of the bard...

But no. This story has no third act. Instead, the moral of this story is to dare to read against your paradigm! We refuse. This is postmodern, liquid, intertextual and we do not believe in grand narratives.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS AND EDITORS



**WORKSHOP ON PARADIGMS,
THEORIES, AND CONCEPTS**

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

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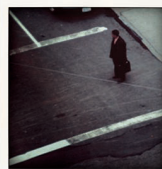
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Critical Perspectives on the European Mediasphere



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