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Media Presence Mobile Modernities

22nd Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research

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Improving research results
through analytical power

NORDICOM invites media researchers to contribute scientific articles, reviews, and debates. Sub-mission of original articles is open to all researchers in the field of media and communication in the Nordic countries, irrespective of discipline and institutional allocation. All articles are refereed.

Aims and Scope

Nordicom Review provides a major forum for media and communication researchers in the Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The semiannual journal is addressed to the international scholarly community. It publishes the best of media and communication research in the region, as well as theoretical works in all its diversity; it seeks to reflect the great variety of intellectual traditions in the field and to facilitate a dialogue between them. As an interdisciplinary journal, Nordicom Review welcomes contributions from the best of the Nordic scholarship in relevant areas, and encourages contributions from senior researchers as well as younger scholars.

Nordicom Review offers reviews of Nordic publications, and publishes notes on a wide range of literature, thus enabling scholars all over the world to keep abreast of Nordic contributions in the field. Special thematic issues of interest are also published from time to time.

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22nd Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research
August 13-15, 2015, Copenhagen, Denmark

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Introduction

Media Presence – Mobile Modernities

The 22nd Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research

Christa Lykke Christensen & Anne Jerslev

On 13-15 August 2015, the 22nd Nordic conference on media and communication research was held in Denmark. It took place at the Humanities Campus Amager, University of Copenhagen. The Department of Media, Cognition and Communication was the host for the NordMedia conference organised by Associate Professor Christa Lykke Christensen and Professor Anne Jerslev and in collaboration with the Section of Film, Media and Communication.

The conference theme was *Media Presence – Mobile Modernities.* The theme was meant to open up discussions on the changing conditions of human interaction and our changing sense of presence in the modern mediatised world. Ubiquitous media are transforming our cultural and social environments, thus influencing the ways in which we interact both in smaller groups and as participants in the wider society. Digital and mobile media enable people to be virtually co-present in a variety of contexts, irrespective of their physical location. This new media environment is likely to influence both the individual's sense of presence and our common ability to construct and maintain social relationships.

Moreover, the conference theme was meant to bring into focus discussions on how the emerging environment of ubiquitous media has a significant potential for improving democratic participation, for creating new and diverse forms of artistic expressions, and for strengthening social ties across time and space. In order to assess these potentials, however, it remains important to frame and study the present media environment from a historical perspective. From a current perspective, it is further essential to consider the challenges posed by new media, which can fragment public spheres, deepen social divisions, and extend social control. The uses of media for democratic, artistic, and innovative social purposes depend more than ever on the development of appropriate global as well as national regulatory frameworks, on media literacies from cradle to grave, and on the capacity of individuals to manage their own presence in the media.

Keynotes

Two keynote speakers were invited to contribute with their views on the overall conference theme. The first keynote speaker was Associate Professor Lee Humphreys, Department of Communication, Cornell University who gave a speech entitled *The Qualified Self: Mobile media and the accounting of everyday life.* Her point of departure was that many of the ways we use mobile and social media today have longstanding precedents in historical media like letters, diaries, and home movies. She pointed out that what we think of as the social media revolution is part of a much longer story about the use of media for connecting people through documenting and sharing everyday life. In her presentation, she placed mobile and social media into a longer historical context arguing that it helps to reveal what is really new about these contemporary communication technologies, what future services might learn from historical communication practices, and what fundamental aspects of the human experience emerge through a variety of media platforms.

The second keynote speaker was Professor Klaus Bruhn Jensen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen. The title of his speech was *Been there, done that: Communication, metacommunication, and presence.* In particular, he addressed the term metacommunication. Media constitute points of access to the world, affording their users presence in different local and global contexts. In the case of metamedia or digital media, users leave behind bit trails – re-presentations of what they did while present there and then. In addition to communicating with and through digital media, users metacommunicate, generating metadata that remain present for others to communicate about and to act on. Following a half-century of theorising and modelling communication, Klaus Bruhn Jensen argued the field of media studies should revisit the concept of metacommunication in order to understand and assess what people – system administrators, advertisers, regulators, spies, and other users – are currently doing with media.

Klaus Bruhn Jensen's keynote can be accessed on pages 7-22.

Plenary panels

To further elaborate on the conference theme, two thematically focused parallel plenary panels were organised. All panellists were media and communication researchers from the Nordic countries.

Plenary panel I

The first plenary panel was invited to present short papers under the headline: *Big brothers and little sisters – Surveillance, sousveillance, and coveillance on the internet.* The discussion paper was as follows: To be present on the internet is to be subject to *surveillance*. The bit trails or meta-data that users leave behind lend themselves to more or less legal and legitimate analyses and applications by businesses and governments alike. At the same time, ordinary users may engage in surveillance from below – *sousveillance* – of the powers that be. And, third, individuals as well as institutions constantly monitor the various groups and levels of society of which they are constitutive parts through

coveillance. Increasingly, communication is recorded in and of the use of digital media, and the records are accessible by more than one big brother and many little sisters.

Panel participants were asked to address the political and ethical implications of the capacity of an omnipresent internet to track and document the whereabouts and actions of users across private and public contexts. Particularly, the panellists were requested to consider three main questions: What is the general state of national legislation concerning privacy in online media? What are some of the current issues being debated in the area? And, what normative principles are at stake in attempts to balance the protection of individual rights with a collective interest in an open, internet architecture?

Participants in this panel were:

Professor Liv Hausken, University of Oslo

Professor Jens-Erik Mai, University of Copenhagen

Professor Miyase Christensen, Stockholm University

Moderator: PhD and Researcher Rikke Frank Jørgensen, The Danish Institute for Human Rights

Presentations by Jens-Erik Mai, Miyase Christensen and Rikke Frank Jørgensen can be accessed on pages 165-182.

Plenary panel II

The second plenary panel was titled: *Nordic media systems: Worth defending, worth developing, worth exporting?* The discussion paper was as follows: The media systems in the Nordic countries have been under continuous transformation for several decades due to globalisation, commercialisation, and digitalisation. Today's cross-media, competitive and networked media environment seems light years away from the mid-twentieth century Nordic media system of national broadcasting monopolies and political newspaper dominance. Still, the media in the Nordic countries display certain characteristics, which set them apart from other media systems in the world. Public service media continue to play a vital role, news media still command a high level of readership and exert a role as a fourth estate, and digital media have enriched the population's engagement in public and cultural affairs. Among observers from the outside, the Nordic countries' media systems are often looked upon with envy: they contribute to an informed citizenry, provide cultural productions of high value, and in certain areas Nordic media have become a global brand.

The panellists were asked to consider the state of affairs of the Nordic media systems and to discuss to what extent and in what ways Nordic media systems still exhibit characteristics, which are worth defending, worth developing, and perhaps even worth exporting. The panellists were asked to address the following questions: In what ways have the Nordic media been enriched by recent decades' transformations and to what extent have changes undermined the cultural policies and democratic ideals underpinning Nordic media systems? What role, if any, may media scholars play in the future development of media systems in the Nordic countries and what kind of research may help enable the Nordic societies to sustain media systems that provide rich cultural experiences, enable an informed citizenry, and encourage democratic participation?

Participants in this panel were:

Professor Trine Syvertsen, University of Oslo

Professor Ingela Wadbring, Mid Sweden University

Professor Hannu Nieminen, University of Helsinki

Professor Ib Bondebjerg, University of Copenhagen

Moderator: Professor Stig Hjarvard, University of Copenhagen

Presentations by Ib Bondebjerg and Ingela Wadbring can be accessed on pages 185-197.

Participants and divisions

332 participants registered for the conference, including 60 PhD students. Altogether there were participants from 18 different countries:

- 118 from Denmark
- 49 from Finland
- 63 from Norway
- 74 from Sweden
- 28 from other countries.

285 papers were presented in 11 divisions – of which the Television Studies was a newcomer, and 6 Temporary Working Groups (TWGs) – of which three were continuing from the Oslo conference in 2013 and three were new: Media and celebrity culture; Researching cross-media communication; and Media across the life course.

In this special issue of *Nordicom Review,* papers presented at the Copenhagen conference and recommended for publication by the division heads have been developed into articles. Nine articles can be accessed on pages 25-161.

For the last time in the history of the Nordic media and communication conferences, we wish to thank Ulla Carlsson for her support, especially during the first year of our work with the organisation of the Copenhagen conference. We are also happy to give our thanks to the new director of Nordicom, Ingela Wadbring, who together with the Nordic Planning Committee and Nordicom have supported both the NordMedia conference 2015 and the publication of this special issue. We welcome her as the new director of Nordicom and we are looking forward to fruitfully collaborating with her in the years to come within the framework of Nordic media and communication research.

Been There, Done That

Communication, Meta-Communication and Presence

Klaus Bruhn Jensen

Abstract
Digital media have been defined as meta-media that integrate new as well as old media on a single technological platform. As such, digital media enable new forms of meta-communication about the conditions under which communication is accomplished. The resulting meta-data bear witness to who was present, when, where and doing what, and these meta-data remain present for system administrators, regulators, marketers and other third parties to reinterpret and recycle. This article outlines the importance of meta-communication for contemporary communication theory, examines mediated presence as an instance of meta-communication, and addresses the implications of digitally mediated presence for current issues of surveillance.

Keywords: communication theory, meta-communication, meta-media, presence, surveillance

Being here, being there

In the oral version of this keynote, I began by suggesting that everybody in the audience felt present then and there. In reading this print version, different audiences will experience different senses of presence: having been there at the conference, or compensating for their absence through a (digitised) print medium, but in each and every instance being present to themselves in and through the act of reading. As suggested by Joshua Meyrowitz (1989: 326), "All experience is local (…) We are always in place, and place is always with us." As biological and historical entities, we cannot *not* be present. But print, digital, and other media have extended our presence in the world and in relation to other natural and cultural entities (McLuhan 1964), for better or worse. Digitalisation is currently challenging media and communication research to make sense of presence and its implications beyond the academy.

Since the Nordic community of media and communication researchers began meeting for biannual conferences during the 1970s, the objects of study have gone through what arguably amounts to three phases of development. During the 1970s, we still referred to "mass media", analysing and assessing what they did to people and, with time, what people did with media (Katz 1959), partly in response to contemporary concerns about

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (2016). Been There, Done That. Communication, Meta-Communication and Presence. *Nordicom Review*, 37(special issue): 7-22. doi:10.1515/nor-2016-0020

and critiques of "the media". One popular sign of the times could be found in the feature film, *Being There* (Hal Ashby, 1979).[1] The tale of a gardener (starring Peter Sellers) who had watched a lot of television while tending his master's garden in solitude, and who came to be perceived as a financial and political sage when he ventured out into the wider world, contrasted personal and public realities. Televised reality, as filtered through Mr. Chauncey Gardiner in a two-step flow (Katz & Lazarsfeld 1955), had become a present reality, and had come back to haunt the society that created it.

The second phase in the development of media, and of media studies, was kickstarted by the World Wide Web from the mid 1990s, when "the internet" became a medium for the general public. This time, an advertising campaign articulated the hope and the hype: Microsoft's launch of Windows 95. One television commercial depicted all the places one could go on a computer, grounded in an operating system that offered overlapping windows on the world.[2] If not persuaded by the images, consumers would perhaps be taken in by the theme song, featuring The Rolling Stones' "Start Me Up".[3] The multimodal web and the graphic user interface jointly afforded users – consumers and citizens – yet another layer of presence.

The third and current phase – with more phases still to come – has been summed up so far in the terminology of "big data". Media users increasingly traverse different, interconnected physical and virtual platforms, leaving traces and becoming present in places and times that they may or may not recognise or appreciate. Another one of Microsoft's mid 1990s campaigns asked: "Where do you want to go today?".[4] Before answering that question, users might like more insight into where they have been today, who knows about it, and who will do what with this knowledge.

This essay addresses the premises for posing and beginning to answer such questions. My main argument will be that, in order grasp the current phase of media history, the field needs to revisit the concept of communication. Whereas the question, "what is a medium?", has been debated regularly at conferences and seminars at least since the second, intermediate phase of networked computing, "what is communication?" represents a key challenge for media and communication research in its current phase.

In the following sections, I go meta: I review three different approaches to human communication, each of which relies on a terminology of "meta", each of which holds distinctive implications, but which taken together help to clarify what it means to communicate, and how this mundane practice is conditioned by changing technological circumstances. The first section notes the status of the digital computer, and of computer-based networks, as *meta-media* – media that reproduce and integrate other types of media, old and new. The concept of meta-media sums up the affordances of digital media, simultaneously as means of communication and as conditions of research. The second section returns to Gregory Bateson's concept of *meta-communication*. While Bateson was examining face-to-face or embodied communication, the concept lends itself to the study of online and networked communication: the bit streams that are accumulated as big data can be understood as instances of meta-communication. Meta-media yield new varieties of meta-communication – and of *meta-data*, which represents the third meta-approach. The third section of the article returns to the mostly technical notion of meta-data and restates it in the vocabulary of communication theory. Meta-data indicate who or what was present in a particular place and time in the past; they also suggest who may do what, to or with whom, in the future. The last section briefly considers the

implications of meta-data and meta-communication for issues of surveillance in the digital media environment.

Meta-media and other media

The digital computer can be seen to reproduce and recombine previous media of expression, representation and interaction on integrated platforms of hardware and software. This unique affordance (Gibson 1979; Hutchby 2001) of digital computing was summed up early on by Kay and Goldberg (1999/1977): computers are meta-media. As modes of expression and representation, digital media recombine text, image and sound, and they incorporate the full range of traditional genres as inherited from both mass media and face-to-face interaction: news, fictional narratives, debates, games, etc. As forms of interaction, digital media integrate one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many forms of communication: in addition to blogging, tweeting and networking socially, digital media are used extensively for interpersonal contact as well as good old-fashioned mass communication. While the networked personal computer, for a few decades, was the pivotal meta-medium in the West, mobile telephones and other portable devices are becoming equally, or more, important access points to the internet around the world (Castells et al. 2007). At the same time, the integration of digital technologies into natural objects, cultural artifacts and social arrangements in a projected Internet of Things (Howard 2015) is challenging, once again, received notions of "media" and "communication", as currently illustrated by location-aware technologies and other ubiquitous communication (de Sousa e Silva & Frith 2012).

Digital technologies invite research to refocus the activity of theorising – from media to communication – and to explore how different flows of communication intersect, on single platforms such as tablet computers, and across several platforms such as smart television sets and cell or mobile phones. Their intersections lend themselves to studies of multistep communications, not just in two steps (Katz & Lazarsfeld 1955), but in three steps of mass, interpersonal and networked interactions (Jensen 2009). To begin, consider some of the prototypical configurations of communication that meta-media enable.

	CONTROL OF INFORMATION BASE	
CONTROL OF TIME AND ITEMS SELECTED	**Central**	**Peripheral**
Central	Allocution	Registration
Distributed	Consultation	Conversation

Figure 1. *Four prototypes of communication (Bordewijk & van Kaam 1986)*

Figure 1 reproduces the early and helpful typology by Bordewijk & van Kaam (1986) of what was referred to then as "telecommunication services". The conceptual matrix distinguishes, along one dimension, between central and distributed control over an available information base. For example, an encyclopedia may be centrally administered

and edited (*Encyclopedia Britannica*), or it may be open, to varying degrees, to input and revisions from distributed users (*Wikipedia*). Along the other dimension, it may be up to a central agency or authority exactly when the particular items of information become accessible, or it may be up to individual, distributed users. This distinction is illustrated by the difference between broadcast television and various dedicated services, from pay-per-view to streaming content such as Netflix.

The two dimensions, in combination, yield four prototypes of communication. *Conversation* refers to the online equivalents of face-to-face interaction (e.g., chat or conferencing), whereas *allocution* covers the traditional formats of one-to-many or mass communication, as recently embedded in digital platforms. *Consultation* is perhaps typically associated with accessing websites and other sources of information, but can also be seen to include, for instance, the more fine-grained process of following Facebook profiles (overlapping, in this systematic, with conversation). Finally, *registration* concerns the automated documentation of users' trajectories within a given system of communication, and perhaps beyond, across interrelated media platforms and flows of communication.

It is this last type of interaction – registration, in which users enter information into the system, more or less willingly – that speaks most directly to current research and debate concerning the power relations and wider structural implications of networked communication. It is essential to note, however, that registration is not a separate type of communication in digital media. Each of the three other types equally involves encoded documentation and similarly establishes particular social relationships among users and service providers. The point is that these codes and relationships are registered in and of the various acts of consultation, conversation and allocution. In a next step, they lend themselves to review and analysis by anyone who gains access to the resulting information trail: system administrators, other users, government officials, hackers, spies, etc. It used to be that communicators would speak into the air (Peters 1999). In digital media, communicators also speak into the system.

One important insight of Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) early model was that what had commonly been thought of as separate types of communication, as associated with particular media technologies and social institutions, were merging or converging on integrated platforms. The model provided a specification of how communication could be seen to flow in meta-media. Subsequent technological and institutional developments have made the lessons of the model almost common sense to the average media user. My laptop, tablet and smartphone afford allocution, consultation, conversation, registration and then some, and yet the definitions of meta-media and their communicative affordances still appear unresolved. In networked media, the flows of communication do not exhibit neat technological or theoretical boundaries. Indeed, the very terminology of meta-media is best thought of as an ad hoc conceptualisation of new, digital media with reference to their embedding of old, analogue media – a memento that the field is still struggling to come to terms with its conceptions of "media".

In this regard, meta-media and meta-communication come with rather different histories. Whereas "meta-media" represents an attempt to move beyond predominant conceptions of "mass media", "meta-communication" returns the field to differences as well as similarities between face-to-face and technologically mediated communication. All media, including humans, meta-communicate; meta-media meta-communicate in largely

unrecognised ways. The following section lays out two aspects of meta-communication and their relevance in the digital media environment.

Two aspects of meta-communication

Bateson (1972) developed the concept of meta-communication with reference to face-to-face interaction, building on a wide range of studies spanning anthropology and psychiatry. His premise was that, far from being simply the literal exchange of information, "human verbal communication can operate and always does operate at many contrasting levels of abstraction" (p. 150). Any given statement carries multiple potential meanings that hold implications for the further course of the communication and its outcome. This *polysemy* is not a contingent product of either channel noise or errors of precision at either end of the channel, but a constitutive feature of human communication. In face-to-face settings, moreover, communication incorporates not just verbal language, but all manner of bodily expressions from the communicators as well as any number of contingent aspects of their context of interaction. Embodied human beings can be considered media in their own right – media of the first degree (Jensen 2010). Much of our face-to-face communication is outside our conscious control, and yet it may qualify as communication as far as other people are concerned. Humans are constantly ascribing meaning to each other and to their cultural and natural environments (Ruesch & Bateson 1987/1951: 6). As students of Bateson summarised the point, humans "cannot *not* communicate" (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson 1967: 49), productively and receptively.

Bateson (1972) identified two aspects of meta-communication. First, people meta-communicate about the *codification* of their interaction. In some instances, this may amount to meta-linguistic (Jakobson 1960) or explicit information about the meaning of particular words, phrases or statements. Taking a standard example from logic – "the cat is on the mat" – Bateson noted that, in a certain context, the reference of "cat" might be said to include tigers, for example, as part of a game. In a wider sense, the codification of communication is in question whenever new topics or vocabularies are introduced into a conversation, and in the common use of humour or irony. In the vast majority of instances, however, people will work out the relevant meaning of statements and expressions as part of the flow of their communication through repetitions, rewordings, examples etc. Humans are remarkably good at finding out what words and, by implication, other people mean without constantly asking, "What do you mean?".

Second, people meta-communicate about their *social relationships*. In Bateson's example, the suggestion that a cat is actually a tiger might be an aspect of children's play, organised role-playing, religious ritual or other cultural practices. In the unlikely event that someone takes the reference literally and, perhaps, is startled, a meta-communication can reassure them that "This is play" (Bateson 1972: 151). Again, the nature of the communication mostly becomes clear to people in the course of their turn-taking, including openings, responses, elaborations, etc. It is only rarely that one finds it necessary to explicitly or directly raise questions regarding interpersonal relations or personal identity: "Who are you?", "Who am I?", and, by implication, "Who are we?", as far as this communication is concerned.

In noting the multiple levels of communication, Bateson was further recognising their interdependence in the practice of communication. For one thing, "the vast major-

ity of both metalinguistic and metacommunicative messages remain implicit" (Bateson 1972: 151) in "the message" as commonly understood. For another thing, "a majority of propositions about codification are also implicit or explicit propositions about relationship and vice versa" (Ruesch & Bateson 1987/1951: 209). Depending on who one is talking to – family, colleagues, strangers – different kinds and degrees of codification are called for. The meaning of the codes that we use in our communications with each other implies the meaning of our relationship. Both these meanings are established in and vary by context.

Bateson (1972) was focusing on embodied interactions in local contexts, but also in technologically mediated communication across time and space, meta-communication is one constitutive aspect of the interaction between user and medium, or between user and user. In the case of traditional *mass media*, codifications and social relationships are signalled and accomplished, not least, by *genres*: discursive conventions of expressing and experiencing a particular subject matter in common. Whereas the analytical category of genre has most commonly been associated with literature, aesthetics and other humanities, recent decades have witnessed a growing literature on genre simultaneously as a discursive structure and a social practice (Bawarshi 2000; Lomborg 2009; Miller 1984; Miller & Shepherd 2004; Yates & Orlikowski 1992). Beyond epic, dramatic and lyrical formats, political negotiations, financial transactions and cultural criticism also constitute discursive forms with social functions. Genres meta-communicate about the anticipated uses of their characteristic contents. For example, news and advertising employ distinctive codes and conventions, and they imply different social relationships with their audiences – as citizens or consumers – who can be expected to interpret the contents as scripts for subsequent action, beyond the moment of communicative interchange.

Digital media join some of the meta-communicative affordances of face-to-face communication and traditional mass communication. On the one hand, digital media, like mass media, rely on a wide variety of genres to address their users – emails, websites, quickpolls, tweets, likes etc. – but also the genres inherited and remediated (Bolter & Grusin 1999) from earlier media forms: news, advertising, serial fiction etc. On the other hand, because of their interactive potentials, digital media reintroduce certain expressive potentials from face-to-face communication – a remediated body language of sorts. Beyond emoticons, users enter and leave behind a great variety of information about the communication and about themselves.

Web search engines (Halavais 2009; Hillis, Petit & Jarrett 2013) offer a useful example of meta-communication in the digital media environment. Search engines codify information: the algorithms lend a coded structure to an available mass of data points, so that users gain access to them (or not) *as* information and as *this* kind of information with some presumed relevance. Search engines also enact communicative relationships: users establish a communicative relationship, not necessarily or explicitly with identifiable individuals or institutions, but with a distributed resource of information, which may lead into multistep flows of communication and interaction, including mundane offline activities such as finding out where to go to in order to meet someone or buy something. Most important in the present context, in and of their searches, users provide input to the medium or system of communication and, in doing so, they reconfigure the system, however minimally. Such meta-communication prefigures subsequent searches

and communications by the person in question and by others: users participate in the codification of a common information pool, and they articulate identities for themselves vis-à-vis the present information.

It is the continuous *documentation* of these two aspects of meta-communication through the architectures of digital technologies that together present one of the most central challenges to current communication theory. Both information and communicators are codified as part of any act of communication. The question is who codifies what – and whom – with what consequences, when it comes to digital channels of communication and meta-communication. To address that question it is useful to revisit the concept of meta-data, which has become increasingly common in the field of media and communication research, but which has retained its mostly technical connotations.

Meta-data, meta-languages and connotation languages

Connotation languages

Whereas social-scientific research traditions tend to refer to communication in terms of data and information, humanistic traditions rather speak of languages and meaning. The process of translation between these traditions has been ongoing for decades, and has yielded various forms of integration between transmission models and ritual models, quantitative and qualitative methodologies (for overview, see Jensen 2012). One particular strength of humanistic traditions has been their sensitivity to the many nuances and multiple levels of meaning inherent in human communication, as also highlighted by Bateson (1972). One common limitation of humanistic traditions has been a reluctance to explicate and systematise the analytical procedures employed, and to specify the relationship between the (verbal and visual) “languages” of communication and the second-order “languages” of research. Semiotics stands out as perhaps the most ambitious attempt at joining nuance and precision, and as a prime candidate for developing an interdisciplinary vocabulary regarding the constituents of communication, whether conceived as information or meaning. This has also been recognised in some publications with a social-scientific orientation, for example, in Denis McQuail’s (2010) classic textbook, now in its sixth edition, which includes the application of semiotics to the study of media texts (pp. 345-350).

Roland Barthes’s contribution to semiotics is particularly relevant for exploring the relationship between communication and meta-communication. However, it is, first and foremost, his conceptualisation of denotation and connotation, and of their role in the production of mythologies or ideologies, that has been widely influential in media and communication research for close to fifty years. Before focusing on meta-communication, then, it is useful to review his more familiar model and to clarify its complementary relationship with the model addressing meta-communication. In both respects, Barthes (1973/1957) referred to “languages” – connotation languages and meta-languages – departing from Louis Hjelmslev’s (1963/1943) formal linguistics.

Connotation languages, first of all, recognise the fact that both individual signs and entire languages are multi-layered structures: one such language can build on another language, giving rise to additional meanings and uses. In modelling connotation languages, Barthes (1973/1957) sought to specify what exactly is entailed by “layers” of meaning. He went on to suggest that signs and statements accumulate as worldviews –

discursive configurations with normative implications. A central motivation of Barthes' work, and of much semiotics, has been the identification and critique of such worldviews, which could be seen to endorse debatable social conditions as desirable or inevitable.

Figure 2 lays out the principles of a connotation language. The first or bottom level is the level of *language* as a basic medium of description. The expressive form (*signifier*) and conceptual content (*signified*) of a word, image or statement together constitute a *sign* that carries a denotation or representational content. The second or top level is the level of *connotation language*. Here, the entire sign from the first level is conceived as the expressive form of yet another sign with a conceptual content, sometimes referred to as a connotation. In a further analytical move, a given set of connotations may be interpreted as the constituents of a more of less unified worldview, ideology or culture. Signs as communicated accumulate as culture.

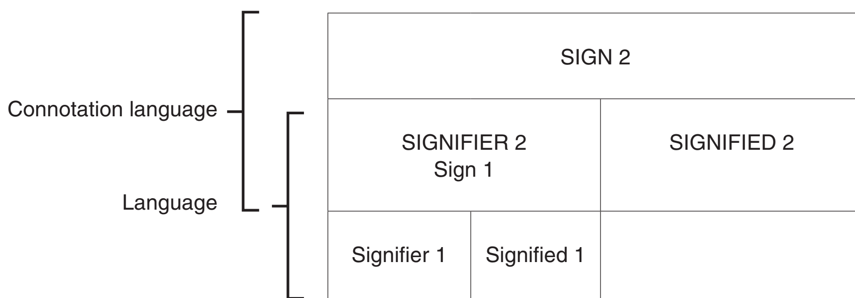

Figure 2. *Language and connotation language (adapted from Barthes 1973/1957)*

To illustrate the principle of connotation languages with one of Barthes' most famous examples, a magazine cover with an image of a young black man in a uniform saluting the French flag might, in itself, be said to carry a relatively neutral or descriptive denotation. Barthes' critical point, however, was that the cover immediately elicits a more controversial meaning or connotation. In its historical context, the cover with its content became the expressive form of a further ideological content or myth: "French imperialism is not a discriminatory system since people of all colors are in a position to salute the flag, to serve and to be a part of the nation." In sum, this two-tiered mechanism of meaning production could be seen to naturalise certain worldviews, while silencing others.

In later work, Barthes (1970: 13-16) reversed the perspective, suggesting that denotations are not points of departure or foundations of meaning, but rather preliminary end points in a more complex and fluid process of meaning production. Nevertheless, in both perspectives, connotations are considered collective and consequential constructs. Signs will assume a comparatively stable shape when they are used by people for practical purposes of representation and interaction. Contrary to a common misunderstanding, semiotics does not conceive of connotations as the outcome of more or less incidental, personal or idiosyncratic interpretations. Instead, connotation languages, as employed by individuals and institutions, serve to reproduce and prefer certain worldviews as social facts, for better or worse.

Using Bateson's terminology, connotations might be characterised as codifications: they add codes or layers of meaning, thus contributing to the meta-linguistic aspect of meta-communication, which helps to ensure the understanding of both explicit and implicit meanings. Connotations pervade media representations and media users' frames of interpretation. Simultaneously, codes serve to situate communicators within social relations, a premise shared by Bateson and Barthes. This premise was elaborated by Barthes in a second model paralleling his model of connotation languages. Drawing again on Hjelmslev (1963/1943), Barthes also referred to meta-languages.

Meta-languages

Barthes' use of Hjelmslev's original terms and concepts was creative, if debatable. Like much of twentieth-century linguistics, Hjelmslev approached languages as systems – systems of communication and second-order systems that either build on or describe such systems. Barthes set out to appropriate – and remediate – Hjelmslev's basic figure of thought for alternative purposes of analysing and critiquing contemporary media and communication. Barthes' accomplishment was to retool the original systemic logic and to apply it to the study of communication as a practice and a process in social context. In addition, Barthes went beyond verbal language to include images and other modalities in his approach to the several aspects and levels of communication.

In Hjelmslev's (1963/1943) account, connotation languages and meta-languages have different but complementary relations to a common reference point, namely, first-order language or language as commonly understood. Connotation languages, on the one hand, add to the meanings of language in such a way that they themselves constitute vehicles of communication. They amount to representations of and statements about the world, as illustrated by Barthes (1973/1957) with reference to myths such as the notion of an innocent imperialism. Meta-languages, on the other hand, describe language. They are not languages in themselves, but languages about languages, for instance, syntactical or semantic descriptions of the English language. In a wider sense, meta-languages can serve to characterise not just a language, but its uses and implications.

Figure 3 presents the principle of meta-languages. While almost identical to Barthes' first model of connotation languages (Figure 2), its implications are quite different, underscoring the semiotic insight that small signs, including the details of models, can make a big difference. Compared with Figure 2, Figure 3 inverts the relationship between signifier and signified at the second level. The point is that whereas connotation languages add mostly implicit meanings to the first level of language, meta-languages explicitly address or thematise the first level, adding some further characterisation to the basic sign or statement. Its meaning (signified) is left intact, but by adding another description or re-description (signifier), the meta-language invites further consideration of and communication about the first level of language. In Bateson's (1972) vocabulary, meta-languages may raise questions such as, "What is the meaning of X?", but also, in communicative terms, "What do *you* mean by X?".

Figure 3. *Language and meta-language (adapted from Barthes 1973/1957)*

Hjelmslev (1963/1943) qualified his typology of meta-languages and connotation languages by making a further distinction between scientific and non-scientific languages. Meta-languages could be considered scientific languages. While primarily defined by their formal operations, meta-languages can be operated and applied, above all, by certain expert users who are in a position to step back and assume a second-order perspective on the language in question. Such expert users would be linguists, but also, in the case of formal languages and other systems of notation, mathematicians, logicians or computer scientists. Algorithms amount to languages that depend on meta-languages for their construction and refinement.

At this point, I should clarify how I propose to treat meta-languages: not merely as systems of analysis, but as practices of communication, i.e., as vehicles of meta-communication, which lend themselves to non-expert uses as well. In doing so, I stand on the shoulders of Barthes, who performed a creative interpretation of Hjelmslev's work in order to develop concepts and procedures for the study and critique of communications and their connotations in an age of mass media. In the present age of digital media, meta-languages and meta-communication have taken on an added significance. A new range of meta-languages has become available that afford new forms of explicit and implicit, intentional as well as non-intentional meta-communication. For one thing, ordinary users of digital media effortlessly employ meta-languages when they tag the blog entries of others; when they customise their profiles at social network sites; and when they forward news stories from websites to friends or colleagues. For another thing, the resulting meta-data are accumulated; they can be re-communicated to and by system administrators, advertisers, regulators and other stakeholders; and the meta-data may inform subsequent actions by any and all of these, with or without the knowledge of the original communicators.

The social uses of meta-data reemphasise Bateson's (1972) point that meta-communication accomplishes not only the codification of content, but also the maintenance of social relationships. In the digital media environment, these relationships involve users, communication systems and a host of other social actors who may access and recycle the trails of communication, across space and time, for commercial or surveillance purposes. Far beyond either Batesonian body language or Hjelmslevian language study, meta-communication has major implications for social interactions and structures today. Meta-communication makes a difference.

Meta-data and differences

The concept of difference provides a common denominator for the traditions of semiotics and cybernetics. In contrast to the widespread, commonsensical conception of information in both scholarship and everyday parlance as an objective entity or delimited product, the concept of difference entails a relational approach to the constituents and processes of communication. According to Bateson's (1972: 351) definition, "'information' may be succinctly defined as *any difference which makes a difference in some later event*". From a media user's point of view, differences manifest themselves, for instance, as messages selected and disseminated (or not) by the press as news; the news of the day as re-communicated (or not) to others face-to-face or online; and actions (or inaction) in response to news of elections, coups and catastrophes.

Bateson belonged to the tradition of cybernetics – the science of "control and communication in the animal and the machine" (Wiener 1961/1948). Cybernetics offers formal descriptions of natural as well as cultural processes, which can be seen to share certain elementary structures of information. One further assumption of cybernetics is that these elementary structures enter into highly complex differential structures, from living organisms to information technologies. Bateson drew some of his ideas from one of the two founders of semiotics, Charles Sanders Peirce. Its second founder, Ferdinand de Saussure, also developed a differential and relational conception of information or meaning, and outlined a framework for studying "the life of signs within society" (Saussure 1959/1916: 16).

A fundamental idea of semiotics is that meaning is not a quality of any given sign, but an aspect of how that particular sign differs from other signs. Sounds, letters and words are defined by the features that distinguish them from other sounds, letters and words. Sentences, books, libraries and databases can be examined as increasingly complex configurations of difference. Peirce especially pursued the idea that the production of difference is not limited to signs or language as such, but carries over to processes of interpretation and social action. In communication theory, one may distinguish between three types of difference (see further Jensen 2010: 44-47):

- *Discursive differences*, or the range of potential meanings of a message: An advertisement is intended to promote some product or service, even if readers may resist or negotiate this meaning (Hall 1973).
- *Interpretive differences*, or the meanings actualised by specific users in particular contexts: The advertisement may be read as consumer information, capitalist propaganda or everyday entertainment.
- *Performative differences*, or predispositions to act: The advertisement may lead readers to either buy or boycott the advertised goods.

The sequential or stepwise aspect of communication, interpretation and action is of special interest for a reassessment of meta-communication in the context of the digital environment. When registered and documented in digital media, communication lends itself to a great deal of delayed and distributed interpretation and action. One familiar example is "liking" a comment or event on Facebook. This communication entails both of the two aspects of meta-communication: establishing or maintaining a social relationship involving (at least) two communicators, and a codification or valuation

of the comment or event in question. In another example, user clicks on a banner advertisement represent interpretations and expressions of interest in a particular (kind of) commodity, leading perhaps to a purchase. Again, a social relationship of buying and selling is enacted, and the representation of the commodity is codified as relevant or attractive from the users' perspective. In a later stage of meta-communication, the resulting data may be analysed and resold as evidence of the socio-demographic profiles of potential customers and their codification of relevant commodities. Depending on the kind of commodity, the same data may give rise to further and controversial issues. In addition to its constructive uses in agriculture and gardening, fertiliser also has destructive potential as an ingredient of a bomb. A search for or purchase of fertiliser might variously be codified and socially profiled as a business opportunity or a security threat.

Returning to Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) early typology, one may begin to specify various types of meta-communication in a digital media environment. Within their typology, the category of *registration* covered the documentation of users' *distributed* access to different services in a *centralised* system of communication. In comparison, current interactive systems, while still centralised in key technological and economic respects, afford more degrees of freedom both to users and to system administrators in terms of access to and adjustment of services.

Figure 4 lays out four prototypes of meta-communication, building on Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) model, and reconsidering the differential capacities of *systems* and *users*, first, to control the information base and, second, to decide exactly what information will be selected, and when. The prototype most familiar from the original model, akin to registration, is that of *processed communication*: the documentation and analysis of individual users' trajectories for purposes of billing, system maintenance, market analysis, strategies of avoiding churn etc. The prototype diagonally across the model – *recommended communication* – is comparable, yet different. Here, the focus of attention is on users as collectives or segments, who may or may not continue to communicate as they have done in the past. By reviewing patterns of communication, system administrators can identify favourite acts of communication, as far as different user segments are concerned, but also complements and alternatives that might be recommended to the same users. While exemplified by recommender services such as those of Amazon for books or Netflix for feature films, the prototype can be extended to include entirely different services from different providers within additional networks of communication. The same logic applies to the marketing and sale of products and services throughout the network to users who are also consumers, and whose communications constitute part of their socio-demographic profile. While the outcome, in Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) terminology, might be thought of as consultation of some communication or commodity, the interaction is different in kind. The offer or recommendation of consultation is the product of an elaborate codification of potential users, who thus enter into a social relationship with the system of communication that is quite different from merely selecting from a database or set menu of news stories, movies, games or other media "content".

	CONTROL OF INFORMATION BASE	
CONTROL OF TIME AND ITEMS SELECTED	**System**	**User**
System	Third-party communication	Processed communication
User	Recommended communication	Iterative communication

Figure 4. *Four prototypes of meta-communication*

Iterative communication is meant to capture the diverse ways in which users interact with reference to each other's communications. The prototype, again, is similar to Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) category of conversation, but reemphasises the pervasive iterativity of the conditions of communication in digital media. In addition to opening, participating in and ending conversations, users comment on, re-send and act on each other's communications, whether synchronously or asynchronously and across far-flung networks. In an even wider sense, users are able to shape interfaces and systems as conditions of their communication. Users will customise their points of access to services and networks. They can pull a later push of information to themselves through an RSS feed (Really Simple Syndication). They may even, to a degree, affect network infrastructures by engaging in collaborative open-source innovation (Benkler 2006; Bruns 2008; Von Hippel 2005). Users thus codify themselves and each other as part of variable social relationships.

The last prototype is *third-party communication*, referring to the accumulation, consolidation and re-distribution of system-wide evidence of communication patterns. Compared with processed communication, the information base in the case of third-party communication is controlled by the system rather than the user. It is only through the intervention of the system as a technological and institutional agent that a certain kind of consolidated evidence that will be of interest to third parties comes into existence. If processed communication is oriented inward to the operation of the system as such, third-party communication caters outward to additional stakeholders, typically by re-distributing (more or less) refined information to advertisers, marketers, regulators and government authorities. In Bordewijk & van Kaam's (1986) typology of communication, allocution or mass communication sends information from a centre to a mass of distributed individuals. In the present preliminary typology of meta-communication, the system can be seen to pass on information from (about) a mass of individuals to other systems and centres of power.

The motivation for elaborating the finer details of meta-communication in digital media is that they make a real discursive, interpretive, as well as performative difference. The implications are suggested most prominently by the prototype of third-party communication, but also by iterative communication, both of which speak to ongoing debates about the participatory and empowering potentials of digital media, often along a utopian-dystopian spectrum (e.g., Curran, Fenton & Freedman 2012; Jenkins 2006). Communication is a form of action in itself; communication also anticipates and negotiates action. In both respects, meta-communication serves to frame and condition commu-

nication. By beginning to develop the conceptual resources for assessing the constituents and processes of meta-communication in the present digital media environment, research may itself make a small difference to future communications and meta-communications.

Having been there, having done that

Media and communication researchers are still brought up on variations of Lasswell's (1948) model – who, says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect – even if they gradually learn to distance themselves from its apparent simplicity, certainly in the presence of other researchers. Still, we live the model; old models die hard. At the present juncture of media history and communication theory, at least a complementary model of meta-communication is needed.

One way of reformulating Lasswell (1948) is to ask: which information is *present*, to whom, for what kinds of action, in what time frame, with which consequences? In the case of meta-media, much meta-communication remains present in the shape of meta-data for others to make sense of and act on. As citizens and consumers, *we* remain present, here but also there. Having communicated and meta-communicated, we have been there, and we have done things.

In order to reintegrate models of communication and of meta-communication, we may return to the complex configurations of one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many communication that digital technologies afford (Helles et al. 2015; Jensen & Helles 2011). A next step is to include many-to-one flows: Which individuals and institutions are in position to monitor the actions of other individuals and institutions for political, economic and cultural purposes? Big Brother now has many little sisters. Compared with the traditional understanding of top-down *surveillance*, citizens, interest groups and social movements are now in position to engage in bottom-up *sousveillance* of the powers that be, in addition to performing *coveillance* of each other (Rainie & Wellman 2012). The question – who knows what about whom? – is, in part, empirical. But, as always, empirical questions are premised on theories and models of what we might expect or imagine.

It was Kurt Lewin (1945: 129) who suggested that, "Nothing is as practical as a good theory" and, one might add, good models. In common parlance, "been there, done that" articulates a certain self-satisfied self-conception, here and now. Dr Dre, the rapper, offered an ambiguous elaboration of this position on his single "Been There, Done That" (1997).[5] Then and there, one may have felt quite satisfied with what one said and did. But things, including meta-data, can be taken out of context; contexts will be contested. Was I *there*? Did I do *that*? The answers to such questions will be of great practical interest to individuals and collectives alike.

Acknowledgements

This article incorporates and redevelops portions of Jensen (2013).

Notes

1. *Being There* (Hal Ashby, 1979) trailer: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZcBccViAtM (accessed 15 February 2016).
2. Microsoft's Windows 95 campaign – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRdl1BjTG7c (accessed 15 February 2016).
3. Mick Jagger & Keith Richards, "Start Me Up": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGyOaCXr8Lw (accessed 15 February 2016).
4. Microsoft's "Where do you want to go today?" campaign: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zwf0EZ-50KUY (accessed 15 February 2016).
5. Dr. Dre, "Been There, Done That": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c80dWbiONqM (accessed 15 February 2016).

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Articles

You Can't Smell Roses Online

Intruding Media and Reverse Domestication

Faltin Karlsen & Trine Syvertsen

Abstract

There is an emerging range of self-help guides advising users on how to minimise their interaction with media. The aim is to create a lifestyle and identity that is less media-centred and more grounded in "real life". This article discusses media self-help in the light of theories of media domestication, highlighting processes where the aim is to reduce the importance of, rather than to incorporate, media and communication technology into users' lives. Based on a sample of 30 guides from the self-help site *Wikihow* dealing with how to handle television, games and social media respectively, the article discusses media self-help strategies in relation to key concepts of domestication theory: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion. In conclusion, the article argues that strategies of withdrawal and resistance should receive more attention in media studies, and point to the concept of *reverse domestication* as one way of highlighting such strategies.

Keywords: domestication, reverse domestication, self-help, television, games, social media, Wikihow

Introduction

There is an emerging range of self-help books and websites aiding individuals and families in making their lives less media-centred and more anchored in "real life". Although users appreciate new media and continue to appreciate established media such as television, the proliferation of self-help texts illustrates that people have problems with media ubiquity (Lomborg & Bechmann 2015). In books, blogs, and other media, users report on how the media-saturation of their lives and households prevents them from living the life that they want (see for example Maushart 2010; Bratsberg & Moen 2015; Ravatn 2014). Studies of active media resistance and abstention have also emerged, showing that staying away from media may be a meaningful strategy for individuals and households (e.g. Kcrmar 2009; Portwood-Stacer 2012; Woodstock 2014; Syvertsen forthcoming). There are also more nuanced studies of why some people, not least among the elderly, do not go online (see for example Helsper & Reisdorff 2013; van Deursen & Helsper 2015). An important question in the latter studies is whether forced exclusion or deliberate choice is the reason for withdrawal: are non-users marginalised "have-nots" or conscious "want-nots"? (Helsper & Reisdorff 2013:94). In the cases where a

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conscious choice is made not to be online or to withdraw from using certain media, it may be interesting to look at the tools and strategies employed in order to withstand pressure and temptation.

In a broader perspective, the phenomenon of self-help strategies for handling media is part of a trend where both companies and individual users are expected to exercise various forms of self-governance. In her historical study of the self-help genre, McGee (2005) argues that the frequent portrayal of self-help as a form of "narcissistic self-involvement" (24) is inadequate. Rather, self-help should be seen as a necessary mental, social, and emotional labour in a situation of decreasing stability of employment and family relations; if you do not self-improve you run the risk of being neither marriageable nor employable (12). Illouz (2008:243) argues that self-help works because it offers tools for handling the problems modern men and women experience in "a culture ridden with contradictory normative imperatives". Self-help is often seen as American, but is also part of the strategy for renewing the welfare state; official policies increasingly include plans for empowerment and self-management (Madsen 2014:16-20).

In media policy studies, the term self-regulation usually describes the trend whereby media companies increasingly regulate themselves, rather than being regulated by the state (Campbell 1999). However, the term can also describe a development whereby users increasingly have to regulate their own consumption. With less direct state regulation and increasingly ubiquitous media and communication services, it is increasingly up to each individual and household to employ strategies to ensure that the media do not become too invasive. Self-help tips to deal with invasive media come in many versions and are found on many platforms. The most established tradition is self-help books featuring titles such as *Get a Life!* by Burke and Lotus (1998) and *Unfriend Yourself: Three Days to Discern, Detox and Decide about Social Media* (Tennant 2012, see also Green 2014, Zane 2014). There are also an increasing number of online sites dedicated to aiding users who experience media as invasive and disturbing (e.g. netaddiction.com, olganon.com, video-game-addiction.org, screenfree.org and tvturnoff.net).

This article discusses media self-help in the light of theories of media domestication, based on a sample of 30 guides from the self-help site *Wikihow*. After this introduction we present theories of media domestication and discuss them in relation to self-help, pointing to similarities and relevance. Then we present the empirical material, before turning to the main analysis: a discussion of self-help strategies under four headings related to dimensions described in domestication theory: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992:19). The main research question explored in the article is: What kind of strategies are recommended to individuals and families who want to reduce the importance of media in their lives, and how can these be understood in the light of theories of media domestication? In conclusion we argue that strategies of withdrawal and resistance should be granted more attention in media studies, and point to the concept of *reverse domestication* as one way of highlighting such strategies. Reverse domestication is not seen as the opposite of domestication, rather it covers aspects of domestication that are less studied and where the aim is withdrawal and reduction rather than acceptance and incorporation.

Media domestication and media self-help

The theory of media domestication was first developed in the early 1990s, most prominently by Silverstone and Hirsch (1992). Domestication represented a shift both from earlier audience studies and earlier theories about dissemination of technology (cf. Rogers 1995), toward a broader focus on social and cultural contexts of the media user. The main tendency within media and technology studies has always been to celebrate the active users who adapt and integrate media and communication technology into their lives and routines; most profoundly seen in diffusion studies (for an overview, see Carey & Elton 2010), and in studies on the digital divide (see van Dijk & Hacker 2003).

Media domestication theory and studies also primarily emphasise how media and communication technologies are becoming increasingly interwoven in users' lives, but this process is not described as linear in the same way as in diffusion theory. In principle, the approach recognises the possibility that adoption may fail and technologies may be rejected. However, it is acknowledged within the literature that too little attention has been paid to domestication processes that are "problematic, reversed, stopped altogether, or influenced by factors such as the availability of resources" (Hynes & Rommes 2006: 125). As such, analyses of concrete strategies of withdrawal and resistance may enrich the tradition of domestication studies.

The reason why we chose to theorise self-help using concepts from domestication theory is the important similarities between the two. Both emphasise the practical and mental strategies that are necessary for people to successfully handle – or cope with – media, including the identity work this involves. Both domestication theory and self-help literature also focus on individuals in context. The household is the prime object of domestication studies (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992), while self-help texts encourage readers to use family, friends and co-workers as resources in the quest to obtain better life control.

There are also some apparent differences, particularly in the language and terms used. The self-help tradition has drawn inspiration from positive psychological and treatment practices oriented toward empowerment, which focuses on regaining control of your life and escaping various forms of addictive behavior (Madsen 2010, 2014, Illouz 2008, Young 1998). Domestication theory, on the other hand, rarely speaks about addiction or excessive use. In Silverstone and Hirsch (1992), for instance, the term addiction is only sporadically mentioned and only in relation to computers, which, at the time, were thought to exert a qualitatively new "holding power" over users compared with earlier forms of technology (77f). The reason for this omission is probably that domestication studies primarily focus on the phase around or shortly after the appropriation of media technology (Haddon 2006).

Traditionally, the term addiction was associated with substances like alcohol and narcotics, but during the 1960s and 1970s psychologists like Weil (1972) advanced the idea that certain behaviours could also be addictive (Milkman & Sunderwirth 2010). This paved the way for concepts like "shopaholic" and "workaholic", as well as media and Internet addiction (Kuss et al. 2014). Concepts like online game addiction and Internet addiction have been criticised for being too narrowly defined and neglecting social and cultural context (Karlsen 2013: 3; Turkle 2011: 294). Furthermore, neither have been recognised as an official diagnosis (DSM-V), but some guides in our sample still refer to it in this capacity, as in *How to Stop Internet Addiction* (SM8), which presumes that

the condition may require professional help. However, within our guides, as well as in other self-help literature, the term addiction is rarely used in a pathological sense; instead addiction is used to describe almost any type of everyday activity that one may do too much of, including eating, gambling, shopping, working, and having sex (Chou et al. 2005). As many as 20 out of our sample of 30 guides have "addiction" or "addicted" in the title, but the concept is used mainly to describe relatively innocent pursuits, as in "reality television has become an emerging addiction that has some viewers in its grips and won't let go" (TV3). Whether the addiction is described as pathological or an everyday type of problem has few implications for the type of advice suggested; in neither case are you allowed to think of yourself as a victim without responsibility for your condition, and the strategies suggested are familiar from general studies of the management of self in modern society (Giddens 1991).

Methods, material and analysis

The empirical material consists of 30 self-help guides drawn from wikihow.com, a site founded in 2005 where anyone can create, edit and improve how-to guides on almost any subject. As of December 2015, *Wikihow* comprised more than 190,000 articles, close to 1.3 million registered users, and "several million visitors" each month (wikihow.com). The sample of 30 guides, 10 for each of the three media types: television, social media and online games, are read by many people and have involved many co-authors. As of June 2016, the most sought-after guide in the sample is *How to Quit Facebook* with almost 2.1 million hits and 111 co-authors. In the two other categories, games and television, the most popular guides are *How to Break a World of Warcraft Addiction* (97 co-authors, 720 000 hits), and *How to Quit Watching TV* (46 co-authors, 230 000 hits).

The reason for using *Wikihow* is the versatility of the site; it provides full-scale guides and not just single posts, and the guides are dealing with problems with different media and of varying gravity. Like other wikis, *Wikihow* uses tools for collaborative editing, and follows a set of guiding principles to ensure stringency and quality (Myers 2010: 12). Although there are variations, inspiration seems to be the twelve-step recovery programme originally developed by Alcoholics Anonymous, a programme later adapted to behavioural addictions such as gambling, overeating, sexual addiction, online gaming etc. (Young 1998, 109). All of the *Wikihow* guides follow a fixed pattern with steps, tips, warnings and sometimes methods. The most read guide in our sample, *How to Quit Facebook,* can serve as an example. The guide has 11 steps and two methods: the first method being "Reflect on your Facebook Use" and the second being "Take Action". The guides are illustrated and interspersed with advertisements, and many are translated; this particular guide is available in eight languages in addition to English.

The 30 guides constitute a strategic sample for qualitative analysis. The reason for involving guides pertaining to three different media: television, games and social media/Internet, is that these fill different roles in the household and are domesticated differently. Media producers also employ different techniques in obtaining loyalty from users. A cross-media sample is useful for identifying types of advice for each medium and for discussing whether there are systematic differences. In addition, the material can be used to identify types of strategies that are common across media, and thereby to say something more general about the discursive and generic characteristics of media self-help guides.

In order to select the sample we searched the site generically on "television", "TV", "computer games", "video games", "social media" and "social networking", combining these with service terms such as "Reality-TV", "Facebook", "Twitter" and "World of Warcraft", and "problem terms" such as "problems", "addiction", "quit" and "stop". There was great overlap between the guides identified in each round, but each search also added new guides to the potential sample. Although we have included the most popular guides in each media category, we have substituted some guides with more hits for guides with fewer hits if they point to a subject matter not covered by others, and we have also omitted very short guides (see appendix).

In the analysis, each guide was first read thoroughly in order to understand the main problem definition and discursive and generic characteristics. Then different types of strategies were identified and aggregated into more overarching topics. In the third round the material was categorised according to the dimensions of media domestication. The analytical ambition has been to describe and investigate the different types of advice provided, pointing to differences in guides addressing different media, and to generate a textual sample that can be used to theorise processes of media distancing and withdrawal.

Wikihow strategies as reverse domestication

We turn now to the discussion of the specific strategies in the *Wikihow* guides in light of the four dimensions of domestication. The main focus in domestication studies is to show how media and communication technology change from being external to becoming incorporated into the household, sometimes reaching a state of being taken for granted. The overall aim of the self-help guides analysed here is different; the imperative being that strategies should be employed to reduce the importance of the media and the degree to which they are taken for granted.

Domestication, in the traditional sense, refers to the taming of a wild animal, and we fully recognise that once you have been domesticated you cannot again be wild. As Sørensen expresses it, "Domestication may end in the sense that the artefact is forgotten or thrown out, but the process is irreversible in the sense that its traces cannot be completely removed" (Sørensen 2006: 48). Consequently, when we use the term reverse domestication, it is not about making the media completely external, but a reflection on the cognitive and practical strategies for distancing and withdrawal.

It is recognised within domestication studies that the domestication process is seldom complete and that media habits may also change after having reached a "taken-for-granted" status (Lie & Sørensen 1996). Haddon states that the general focus on the time of appropriation and the period shortly after, and the very metaphor of "taming the wild", could give the misleading view that "domestication was a one-off set of processes leading to an end-state in which the ICT is finally domesticated" (Haddon 2006: 117). Through concepts like "redomestication" and "dis-domestication" (Sørensen 1994) it is recognised that media usage may also undergo dramatic changes after the conversion is reached, but there are few studies where this is the main focus. One study addressing redomestication is Russo Lemor (2006), which shows that establishing new households after divorce instigates new discussions and new opportunities for negotiating rules regarding media consumption.

The focus here is not households where media use is altered due to non-media factors, but rather on discourses addressing the media itself as the problem. The *Wikihow* guides are aimed at people who wish to minimise the significance of media technology in their lives, sometimes even to completely do without certain media or services. The premise is that the medium in question is already fully integrated into the life of the user, to an extent that he or she needs a mental awakening to change its position.

The analysis is structured according to the four dimensions of domestication theory: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion (Silverstone et al. 1992: 19). The concept of *appropriation* in domestication theory describes the phase of moving a medium or technology – often termed an "artefact" – from the outside and into the household. In the vocabulary of domestication studies, the household constitutes a "moral economy" where norms, values and everyday practices are shared or negotiated (Hartmann 2006). Whether the artefact is a material object like a TV set or immaterial objects like TV programmes, computer games or social media services, they are ascribed meaning to and made familiar and important in the household setting (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992: 23). The second concept, *incorporation*, describes more practical aspects of the domestication process, more specifically the incorporation of media "into the routines of daily life" (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992: 24). Incorporation concerns different forms of time-management, routines and rituals that surround the media in the home; for instance, how people routinely gather to watch certain TV programmes (Morley 1992). The third concept, *objectification*, concerns how the media artefact is placed physically inside the household; whether it is placed in private, shared or contested areas of the home (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992: 23). The media may also be objectified in the conversations of the household, for instance in the ways soap opera characters provide a basis for identification and self-representation (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992: 24). The fourth and final concept, *conversion*, describes what happens when a media artefact has reached a "taken-for-granted" status and become part of the identity of the household (Hynes & Rommes 2006).

Reverse appropriation: Getting rid of media or just changing their meaning?

In its most concrete sense, appropriation is about acquiring a media artefact and ascribing meaning to it; appropriation literally means "make one's own", according to the Oxford English Dictionary. If the aim is reduction of or withdrawal from media, one possible means of self-regulation would be to get rid of the media artefact again, either physically by giving it away or removing apps or programs, or cognitively by using personal distancing strategies. The dilemma of whether quitting is the right thing to do when media are experienced as invasive is debated in many guides. Some guides, like *How to Quit Facebook* (SM7), *How to Defeat a Twitter Addiction* (SM6), *How to Decide against Owning a TV* (TV9) and *How to Overcome an MMORPG Addiction* (CG6), suggest quitting, at least to the extent of terminating a certain service or genre. However, most guides imply that going cold turkey might be too drastic, and that the user may not necessarily have the willpower to carry it through. Although 12 of 30 guides use the term "cold turkey", and discuss whether quitting is the right thing, more space, and faith, is given to less drastic means. This is the recommended strategy in *How to Quit Facebook*:

> Just like smoking, quitting cold turkey will be the hardest approach. Instead, try quitting Facebook for a day or two, and then work your way up to quitting it for a week. (SM7)

What is described here is a form of "detox" or "media fasting", a method increasingly mentioned in media confessional literature as a way of obtaining more distance and control (see, for example, Maushart 2010; Bratsberg & Moen 2015). The vocabulary here, as in many other types of self-help, is borrowed from dieting and treatment of alcohol and nicotine abuse, but in this case complete cut-off is presented as something to turn to only in "a moment of desperation" (SM7). In place of quitting, the *Wikihow* guides contain a range of distancing strategies, many of which are discussed under the three headings below. However, the guides do acknowledge that initiating distancing strategies may require negotiations and conflict resolution. Domestication studies describe how appropriation of a media artefact may require discussions and strategies to overcome resistance in the household, for instance, when children want media technology the parents are reluctant to bring into the home (Russo Lemor 2006). In the same way as bringing a media artefact into a household implies that family members ascribe meaning to it, convincing others to move it out again, or reducing its importance, requires strategic behaviour.

One good example of how the need for such negotiations is acknowledged is the guide *How to Convince Your Family to Turn Off the Television* (TV10). The emphasis in this guide is on the family scaling down its television usage, but at the same time the guide is adamant that the only way of achieving this is to avoid a moral tirade and instead negotiate a solution. The guide suggests calling a meeting: "Set aside a time when all family members come together around the kitchen table, or some other comfortable spot, away from the TV". The guide warns that you must "realize that some members of your family may approach the family talk with unhappiness, or they may feel threatened that they are 'under scrutiny'". In order to set them at ease, the strategy suggested is to serve "some favorite nibbles or snack" before you start, and to have "some facts and statistics on hand to back up your concerns". The guide also stresses: "It is very important that the TV is not on during the family discussion!".

This piece of advice clearly reflects the role of television in the household; television is still to some degree a collective medium. The wording further reflects concern that an intervention of this sort may be seen as moralistic; alluding to a view of television resisters as luddites who "drive a horse and buggy or dress all in black" (Krcmar 2009:59). A similar warning against alienating the user is found in the guide *How to Handle a Spouse's Social Media Addiction* which suggests a "gaming intervention" where you invite your spouse "to a quiet dinner at home" and a "frank discussion about the game" (CG10). This guide also warns you that negotiations may be difficult and that moralising is not a good idea.

Domestication theory points out that appropriation normally starts before the artefact is acquired; there is usually a discussion within the household about the expectations for the new medium and what rules should apply to its use. The implementation of distancing strategies may mean opening these discussions all over again, only now with a different goal – that of minimising the medium's importance.

Reverse incorporation: Changing routines and rituals

The domestication process implies the incorporation of media into routines and rituals of the household. Conversely, minimising and withdrawal implies a change in routines, rendering the medium in question less time consuming and less important in family rituals. In his study of the self as a reflexive project, Anthony Giddens points out that "Self-actualization implies the control of time" (1991: 77). Time management is also one of the dominant themes in the *Wikihow* guides, as it is in almost any project of self-control and self-regulation. A total of 25 guides advocate time management as a key remedy. The main advice is to create a schedule, or rather, a counter-schedule, designed to fight the power that media schedulers have over your life. The suggested schedules are often very detailed and elaborate. For example, *How To Defeat a Twitter Addiction* (SM6) suggests this schedule:

> Allow yourself a set amount of time every day, reserved for Twitter. Some suggestions are: 15 minutes every 3 hours, or one single block of an hour a day when everything else is taken care of.

The suggestion to set aside specific time blocks for media use corresponds directly to the strategies used by media to create immersion and flow. Through a sophisticated range of techniques, media aim to make you stay "hooked" without noticing the time spent (Syvertsen 1997; Zickermann & Linder 2010). Techniques like television scheduling and gamification in social and online media are crucial in making consumers integrate media into their own schedule, and various forms of notifications – be they email alerts or beeps from your phone – are important instruments designed to interrupt users in their non-media pursuits. In the sample material discussed here, six guides, five of which concern social media/Internet, suggest "turn off notifications" as advice for distancing yourself, as in *How to Stop Internet Addiction*:

> Turn off notifications. If your smartphone notifies you immediately every time someone emails you or likes something you've posted on social media, you'll be forever fiddling around on the internet with your phone. (SM8)

It is no surprise that notifications are seen as problematic, particularly where Internet and social media are concerned, as the business strategy largely revolves around grabbing the attention of the user in short intervals. A different strategy, mentioned in five guides, is to activate parental control. Interestingly, only one of these concerns children's use. The guide *How to Break a World of Warcraft Addiction*, for instance, explicitly suggests "Set up parental controls for yourself" and "Make it so your play-time is limited, and use a complicated password that you are sure to quickly forget" (CG2).

In addition to individual micro level time management, users are advised to change rituals involving media, such as browsing social media during breaks or gathering the family together for Saturday evening television. Domestication studies are concerned with how media become part of rituals, and this is also a topic in the *Wikihow* guides, where users are urged to create rituals that have more to do with real life, or rekindle pre-media family rituals. Four of the ten guides on reducing television use, for instance, mention board games as an alternative social activity. The list of possibilities is long:

> Set aside one night a week in which all family members get together to do something together. It might be going out, playing sport, playing board or card games, talking, reading, or even planning a vacation together. Whatever it is, just ensure it's minus the TV and any other electronic devices. (TV10)

The moral imperative is to make the members of the household prioritise each other instead of media, a common theme in confessionals of media detox. For example, the author Susan Maushart (2010) describes how a gradual deterioration of family bonds led to a six-month ban: "Like other parents, I'd noticed that the more we seemed to communicate as individuals, the less we seemed to cohere as a family" (6). Creating new rituals and designing new ways of spending time together are measures used to rebuild communication and a sense of togetherness.

Reverse objectification: Changing the place of media

In domestication studies, objectification is closely related to incorporation, but instead of time management, it concerns management of space: where you place the media artefact and how central it should be in the house and rooms, or – on a more cognitive level – how much room it is allowed to take, for example, in conversations. As Bakardjieva explains: "People choose locations for their artefacts strategically depending on the extent to which they would like to encourage or discourage their use by certain inhabitants of the household and/or for certain purposes" (2006: 65). Obviously, strategies of media reduction and withdrawal also involve these kinds of discussions, but with the opposite intent: how can you reduce the physical importance of media artefacts in your home by changing their locations, and how can you cognitively limit the role of media by displacing them from family conversations and social life.

The media are "increasingly instantaneous, international and interactive", writes Tarlach McGonagle (2013, 191) in a description of today's media. To this list one could easily have added "invasive". Modern media terminals appear in many guises, and with mobility and ubiquity they tend to blend more and more with terminals that you may need for communication and work, such as the telephone (Lomborg & Bechmann 2015). The *Wikihow* guides mention many strategies for physical dislocation of media and communication technologies as part of a distancing and withdrawal project. Perhaps the easiest form of dislocation is when the media terminal has a fixed location, such as a television set, which can be physically moved out, as suggested by the guide *How to Quit Watching TV* (TV4):

> If you do leave a TV in the house, at least put it in an uncomfortable place, like the garage, with no comfy couch to lounge in. (TV4)

The fact that just seeing the medium might make you want to use it is reflected in many other strategies. Several guides suggest covering up or hiding the screen: "when the computer is not looking at you, you are less likely to use it. If you have a desktop PC, try not to go near it or put something over it like a sheet" (SM1). If the media artefacts are separate entities you may also get members of the household to help you out, as suggested in *How to Avoid Video Game Addiction*: "Playing hide-and-go-seek with your parents (hiding your games) is an effective way to minimize gaming overall" (CG1).

Domestication theory acknowledges that media are also objectified in the conversations of the household, for instance, in the ways news events or soap opera characters provide a basis for identification and self-representation (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992: 24). Some guides dealing with television warn that you might have let objectification go too far, to the extent that what you are really experiencing is a form of para-social interaction (Horton & Wohl 1956):

> If your family has started to talk about the Kardashians as though they were close family friends, it may be time to re-examine your interest in reality TV …. Stop yourself from referring to reality TV characters as though they are friends. Create a demarcation of "us" and "them" for your family. (TV3)

As well as physical and technological distancing, attempts to reverse domestication involve creating a mental distance from the media, including alienating yourself from fictional characters.

Reverse conversion: Changing identities, priorities and hierarchies

In theories of domestication, conversion means that the medium is not only incorporated into everyday life but has blended into it and obtained a "taken-for-granted" status; media technology has become part of the identity of the household, and part of what household members express to the outside world. In a sense, all the strategies discussed above are about distancing oneself from media or refusing further integration into one's life. While much advice concerns practical measures, more permanent forms of media distancing and withdrawal entail a deeper introspection into your identity and how media has become part of who you are. Several guides urge you to transform yourself and your life so that media become a less important, even a negligible, part of your identity, and instead develop an identity which is more authentic and less media-related. In societies of abundance, people do not just express identities through what they like and enjoy, but also through dislike and restraint (Syvertsen 2010). In a seminal article on media resistance, Portwood-Stacer interprets refusal to be on Facebook as a form of "conspicuous non-consumption", the alternative to the sociological concept of "conspicuous consumption" where wealthy people use luxury goods to signal who they are (2012).

The guides offer a range of strategies for converting to an alternative identity. One guide, concerning the online game *RuneScape*, suggests making the transition to a life with less media into something resembling a rite of passage, where you can throw an in-game "leaving party" and ceremonially destroy your belongings or "disperse your items among your friends" (CG7). *How to Defeat a Social Networking Addiction* (SM5) says: "Think about the satisfaction you will get by not being an addict to social networking." And, as several guides emphasise, once you have revealed your new identity publicly, you better stick with your new public image: "The good thing about telling your Facebook friends that you won't be on for a bit is that you've just burned a bridge that will cause you to 'lose face' if you do sneak on" (SM4). This also illustrates a difference between media, as cutting down or removing the TV may be done in the privacy of the household, while turning one's back on online games and social media will inevitably be visible in public.

Three strategies stand out across the guides. One is to go through a process of adjusted conversion, a re-domestication where the user switches to media or media genres which require more of the user or are placed higher up in the cultural hierarchy (cf. Alasuutari 1996), for instance, by switching to more educational television genres, more beneficial online activities or more sophisticated games. This also involves transferring attention to older media forms, such as educational television, or, most importantly, print media. A majority of guides urge users to read more instead of turning habitually to mass, social or online media. Typical is the advice in *How to Break a World of Warcraft Addiction*:

> Read. Novels have just as much excitement and adventure as WoW, but you can expand other skills – such as critical thinking and vocabulary – in addition to those that interactive storytelling and game play will build. (CG3)

Reading is stressed most explicitly in guides targeting children and young people. In *How to Stop a TV-Addiction (for Kids)*, parents are advised to "Go to the library with your child and read books over there. Read as many books as possible to stay away from TV as much as possible." (TV2). The advice reflects the opposition between print culture and screen culture, and between online and offline activities, themes that are common in media resistance literature and criticism (e.g. Postman 2005, Carr 2010).

The second strong recommendation is to prioritise "real life" by rekindling other interests or previously active parts of the user's identity that have been displaced by media. Madsen notes that much self-help literature is conservative and takes a position that is critical of modernity (Madsen 2010, 89). We also see this in the *Wikihow* guides, where it is suggested to use board games instead of computer games, telephone instead of Facebook etc. Still, much of the advice concerns simple and everyday activities, such as exercise, being outdoors, playing with your dog and relaxing under a tree.

Equally represented in the guides concerning television, social media or games, is the suggestion that users should join clubs or commit to activities that must be performed regularly to be successful. Ritualising alternative activities is a way of securing that the conversion is not just temporary. Activities such as jogging, starting a band, knitting, learning a language or taking up gardening are time consuming and will fill up the spare hours. In addition, they come with their own schedule, regularity and "notifications"; for example, if you do gardening, you cannot just do it once as the garden will "tell" you that it needs care when you pass by.

Finally, an underlying theme is that one should try to become a more authentic human being. Media are increasingly associated with a constructed, or even completely fake, reality and in order to build trust and strengthen community one must reject the "mediated authenticity" of games, television and social media (Enli 2014). As one of the guides dealing with social media proclaims:

> Stop and smell the roses. You can't smell roses online, well not yet anyway, and even if you could, it wouldn't be authentic. Real life should always come first because this is from where you draw your inspiration, energy and vibrancy. And it's important to get balance so that your IRL (in real life) experiences continue to be your principal form of interacting with others. (SM9)

Conclusion: A case of "reverse domestication"?

This article has studied self-help guides that give advice to users who feel overwhelmed by media. Based on 30 guides from the online site *Wikihow*, the article has discussed how the problems with media are framed and contextualised. The starting point for the discussion was two main research questions: What kind of strategies are recommended to individuals and families who want to reduce the importance of media in their lives? and, how can these be understood in the light of theories of media domestication?

Discursively, the guides studied in this article place themselves in the self-help tradition. Problems concerning media are construed as something which the user as an individual has to deal with for him- or herself. The guides only to a limited degree blame the media industry, or other societal factors. Instead, they reflect the trend towards self-management where everyone is responsible for solving their own problems. The advice outlined in the guides includes both practical and mental strategies. Rearranging the physical placement of the media artefact, as well as reducing its temporal, mental and discursive space in the household, are important measures; disrupting existing media routines and rituals equally so. In order to create more substantial and sustainable changes, however, more profound cognitive strategies are needed. The guides advise users to change their identity by switching to more demanding and older media and genres, books in particular, switching to activities more associated with real life, and striving to become a more authentic human being by distancing themselves from the constructed world of media.

These strategies crosscut the three media types studied, but more media-specific and genre-specific strategies are also identified. The nature of television as a flow-medium and the industry's elaborate scheduling strategies partly explain why it is integrated into daily routines of the household as well as family conversations and rituals. On the other hand, the more permanent placement of the TV set and the regularity that scheduling still provides (despite streaming and on-demand services) means that overuse, to some extent, can be physically and temporally circumvented. Smartphones, tablets and other small devices mean that the use of Internet and social media, and to some extent computer games, is more dispersed than television watching. Social media and online games are also more related to the outside world and private networks and may therefore disrupt the coherence of the family to a larger degree than television. While television may be tightly integrated into the conversations and identity of the household, Internet is more closely integrated into the overall life of the users. Accordingly, the guides focus on particular types of services and games, like Twitter and World of Warcraft, rather than the medium per se.

In the introduction we pointed to the concept of reverse domestication as a useful addition to the conceptual toolbox of domestication theory. We have two reasons in particular for suggesting this concept. The first is that we wish to argue for a greater emphasis on distancing processes and negotiations within the tradition of domestication studies, and we argue that the systematic study of processes of withdrawal would enrich this tradition. Theories and studies of media domestication recognise that individuals' and families' relationships with media may continue to change throughout life, as the terms redomestication and dis-domestication bear witness, but it is also acknowledged that such processes are not much studied.

The second reason is linked with the changes in the media situation. With increasingly invasive media, increasingly complex interrelations between old and new media,

as well as the multiplication of media platforms, there is a need for more studies of how users handle media complexity that also allow for strategies of rejection and resistance. The immense proliferation of self-help literature and online guides on how to handle invasive media, as well as the proliferation of testimonials and books on media fasting and abstention in the public domain, support the need for an expansion of research focus.

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Appendix: Sample of *Wikihow* guides

Television

TV1: How to Overcome Television Addiction
TV2: How to Stop a TV Addiction (for Kids)
TV3: How to Break Your Family's Addiction to Reality TV
TV4: How to Quit Watching TV
TV5: How to Get Your Children away from TV
TV6: How to Watch Less TV
TV7: How to Curb Your Addiction to News
TV8: How to Go Cold Turkey from Soaps
TV9: How to Decide Against Owning a TV
TV10: How to Convince Your Family to Turn Off the Television

Social media

SM1: How to Avoid Internet Addiction
SM2: How to Control a Wikihow Addiction
SM3: How to deal with an Internet Forum Addiction
SM4: How to Defeat a Facebook Addiction
SM5: How to defeat a Social Networking Addiction
SM6: How to Defeat a Twitter Addiction
SM8: How to Quit Facebook
SM9: How to Avoid Social Media Burnout
SM10: How to Avoid Wasting Time on Facebook

Computer games

CG1: How to Avoid Video Game Addiction
CG2: How to Break a World of Warcraft Addiction
CG3: How to Fight Computer Game Addiction
CG4: How to Get Rid of Your Boyfriend's Game Addiction
CG5: How to Get Rid of Your Maplestory Addiction
CG6: How to Overcome an MMORPG Addiction
CG7: How to Quit RuneScape
CG8: How to Stop Being Addicted to Zynga Games
CG9: How to End a Video Game Addiction
CG10: How to Handle a Spouse's Social Media Gaming Addiction

Cooperation, Media and Framing Processes

Insights from a Baltic Sea Case Study

Anna Maria Jönsson & Mikael Karlsson

Abstract

Cooperation and communication play an important role for environmental governance. This holds true for the Baltic Sea in Northern Europe, one of the most disturbed ecosystems in the world, where insufficient cooperation between different stakeholders is one reason for goal failure. This article addresses the linkages between (media) framing on the one hand, and cooperation on the other. The case in focus is a set of negotiations related to the Baltic Sea Action Plan, the most central governance strategy in the Baltic Sea region. Our results show that in order to influence political decision-making, key stakeholders compete over the power to define and interpret problems, causes and solutions to an extent impeding cooperation. We focus the analysis on eutrophication, which we show to be a complex and controversial topic, framed in incompatible ways by different stakeholders.

Keywords: framing, cooperation, Baltic Sea, environmental governance, eutrophication

Introduction

Cooperation is closely linked to framing and can play an important role in the governance of complex environmental problems. This holds true for the Baltic Sea, one of the most disturbed ecosystems in the world (HELCOM 2010). In spite of awareness of these challenges four decades ago, few of the public objectives have been reached (Gilek et al. 2016). In the Baltic Sea area, institutional structures and processes are far from adequate for coping with the challenges at hand and insufficient cooperation between stakeholders is one key reason for failure to achieve goals (Gilek & Karlsson 2016).

Successful cooperation often presumes a basic common understanding among stakeholders about problems, causes and potential solutions, or in other words a common framing. This is sometimes also a prerequisite for cooperation to take place at all. Cooperation is also closely related to the ability to communicate, using different platforms and communication media. While a number of studies have analysed how competition among key stakeholders over the framing of problems and solutions in order to influence environmental politics is reflected in media, the linkages between framing and media, on the one hand, and environmental cooperation, on the other, have only been explored

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occasionally (Tynkkynen (2014) is one example). We aim to fill this gap and investigate how key stakeholders in a specific country, Sweden, strive to frame political processes and influence media in the context of Baltic Sea environmental policy, how their actions are perceived by others, and how this may influence cooperation.

The empirical case in focus is a negotiation round in 2012-2013 on the Baltic Sea Action Plan (BSAP) (HELCOM 2007) adopted by HELCOM, the operative body of the Helsinki Convention on the Protection of the Baltic Sea Area (1974; 1992). The BSAP is the most central governance strategy in this context and we focus the analysis on the problem of anthropogenic eutrophication caused by nutrient emissions. The consequent effects in the Baltic Sea are severe and include oxygen-free bottom zones and huge algal blooms, which damage biodiversity and socio-economic values (HELCOM 2013a). The main sources of nutrient emissions are well known and include agriculture, sewage water and atmospheric deposition, but uncertainties exist regarding long-term effects and how ecosystems respond to mitigation (Karlsson et al. 2016). A previously contested issue concerned the roles of nitrogen and phosphorus, but a consensus emerged that it is necessary for levels of both nutrients to decrease; today the role of the background load of nutrients is debated (Conley et al. 2009; Karlsson et al. 2016).

The governance efforts concerning eutrophication consist of public and voluntary strategies, and the HELCOM collaboration has for long played a central role. The more specific BSAP targets on eutrophication are based on a decision support model that integrates environmental and economic parameters, the Baltic NEST, developed by scientists (Baltic Nest Institute 2014). When the BSAP was adopted in 2007, however, a number of issues were deferred to be dealt with later on, one being implementation of the eutrophication targets. Consequently, at the following HELCOM Ministerial meeting in 2010, the issue was on the agenda, partly based on reports on plans established by the convention parties (e.g. MOE 2010). The parties agreed “to carry out a review of the [BSAP] environmental targets for eutrophication, the maximum allowable inputs and the nutrient reduction targets, as well as the country-wise nutrient reduction targets … [and] based on the result of the review, to evaluate the need for additional measures at the 2013 HELCOM Ministerial Meeting”, which took place in Copenhagen. The more specific national implementation decisions have been in the last few years, the more questions have been raised by affected stakeholders (Linke et al. 2016). This turned out to be one of the key contested issues in the negotiation round studied in this paper.

Against this background, this article describes how the development of and debate around the negotiation round are framed in news media, and it analyses how this relates to stakeholders’ perceptions, strategies and actions. We further discuss how this in turn may influence the potential for enhanced cooperation, both within national and international contexts. Besides zooming in on eutrophication, we focus on Sweden, in order to see how the situation plays out in a country with a strong track record in environmental policy (Lidskog & Elander 2000). We examine how that record influences Swedish positions and what that has meant for the negotiations. Our intention is not to study all the factors explaining the international negotiation outcome, but instead to focus on the national context for one of the key players, Sweden. This is motivated by the fact that the Baltic Sea policy debate, despite concerning an international marine environment, is strongly national or local (Jönsson et al. 2016). Nevertheless we see a potential for learning from this selected example.

More precisely, we will answer the following questions:

- Which BSAP-related positions do the main Swedish stakeholders advocate and how are they potentially trying to push for and frame their viewpoints?
- How is the BSAP framed in Swedish news media and what is identified as problems, causes and solutions? Are there common frames or competing discourses, and how do these relate to the main Swedish stakeholders' intentional framing and claims on knowledge and policy?
- How do these circumstances potentially affect cooperation nationally and internationally?

After this introduction, a section theorising media, cooperation and framing follows. Next, the chosen methods and material are presented. The subsequent two descriptive sections present results, followed by a final analysis and discussion.

Media, cooperation and framing

Media, politics and cooperation

Studies on the role of media in relation to politics and governance has generally focused on political elections or certain issues or events and how media contribute to setting agendas and framing issues. Studies of political communication have also extensively addressed how different actors try to influence media agendas and how media affect citizens' opinions and political behaviour (cf. McNair 2011).

Studies on media and (political) cooperation can be found mainly in fields like political communication and international relations. It is pointed out, however, that it is common to study the role of media in conflicts like war and terrorism, and that this probably is at least partly explained by the fact that news media tend to focus on conflicts of different kinds (Wolfsfield 2004). Our study addresses the issue of cooperation as an important part of environmental (national and international) governance and as a prerequisite for an improved environment. Even though there are obvious links to conflicts we also see challenges related to cooperation that are not directly connected with an explicit conflict. We distinguish between cooperation and negotiations and look at prerequisites for cooperation during a particular process of negotiation.

Wolfsfield (2001) sets out to explain why and how media play either a constructive or a destructive role in peace processes (negotiations) and he puts forward four major types of impact that news media can have on peace processes: *define the political atmosphere; set the tone of the debate; have an impact on antagonists' strategies and behaviour*, and *influence the legitimacy of the actors involved*. Although this theory focuses on media in relation to governments, we find it useful also for the analysis in our case, and especially in order to understand how media have an impact on stakeholders' strategies and behaviour. Stakeholders' actions are affected by previous media content as well as by strategic moves to influence media content and thereby public debate and public opinion.

In order to analyse how stakeholders in our case try to influence the understanding of problems and solutions, how media reflects that, and how stakeholders are influenced by media content, we have applied the theoretical concepts of framing and frames, and combined perspectives from political sociology with media and communication studies.

Framing the environment

In the area of policy-making theory and political sociology, the concept of framing is often used for analysing how actors are involved in debating and setting a particular agenda and furthering its implementation (Rein & Schön 1993). The way issues are framed reflects particular versions of human relations and human agency, and is thus informative also for questions about the role of different stakeholders and their cooperation. Framing, for example, clearly takes place in the environmental debate regarding the Baltic Sea (cf. Jönsson 2011, Tynkkynen 2014).

In risk policy processes, framing can play a double role by simplifying complexity, which in turn facilitates regulation (Lidskog et al. 2011), and by allowing reflection upon this complexity (Boström & Klintman 2008). The concept of "frame reflection" denotes the possibility of improving understandings of one's positions (Schön & Rein 1994), which would also facilitate cooperation. A challenge for policy makers and stakeholders is thus to shape frames that may stimulate perception of several aspects. Frames should attract many stakeholders, and lead towards agreement on problem definitions and risk policies. This is an ideal model – in practice, frames also work to protect actors' own interests.

Media is the main actor for framing problems and solutions on environmental issues in public and political discourse (Allan et al. 2000; Anderson 1997; Hansen 2010). The notion of "framing contests" has been used to direct analytical attention to power aspects of media frames (Gamson & Modigliani 1989; Miller & Riechert 2000). Media frames are shaped by competing stakeholders or claim-makers, such as politicians and social movements (Carragee & Roefs 2004).

In contemporary media studies, the concept of framing consists of two main dimensions; one that refers to the way certain aspects in a text are made more salient (media frames), and one that concerns how frames may affect how people perceive reality (individual frames). In the words of Entman (1993: 52): "to frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described [italics in original]". This is called framing elements in the present study. A frame also suggests what a particular controversy is about, but could moreover work as a tool to construct conflicts and controversies (cf. Gamson & Modigliani 1989).

Framing is thus a concept that has been applied to a wide range of issues and that has been theorised in several different ways. The research area on environmental news frames is rapidly growing in the field of media studies (cf. Berglez 2011; Boykoff 2007; Eide 2011; Olausson 2009); moreover, there are studies on media framings of environmental issues in relation to the Baltic Sea (cf. Jönsson 2011; Lyytimäki 2007; Tynkkynen 2014). A previous analysis of media framings of the Baltic Sea environment, for example, showed that eutrophication was the risk that received most attention. Agriculture was presented as the main problem, while politically-based restrictions were portrayed as key strategies. Moreover, problems with cooperation and mitigation costs in agriculture were mentioned as key barriers (Jönsson 2011).

Few studies hitherto have linked media framings to stakeholders' actions and positioning with the intention to influence the political process, and the importance this relationship may have for cooperation.

Method and material

Intending to identify the main positions and frames in the Swedish public discourse on the BSAP negotiations in 2012–2013, we used a combination of quantitative and qualitative text analysis of the BSAP issue in media in 2012–2013, as well as in reports and position papers collected from the organisations in media focus (i.e. the stakeholders dominating the public media debate in Sweden). Besides these textual analyses we conducted a series of interviews with key stakeholders.

The media study was focused on Swedish print media, including newspapers (local and national) as well as journals and magazines from authorities and organisations. The debate was also present in broadcast media, mainly in webnews, and it was very similar to that in newspaper media, since it used much the same sources etc. For practical reasons, we chose to limit the in-depth media analysis to newspapers. We did however also look into the material from radio and television media and will comment on important differences when called for. To find relevant articles for our analysis we used the search engine "Retriever". One methodological challenge was to find keywords that really identified relevant articles but after using a number of combinations we concluded that the keywords "Helcom" and "BSAP Baltic Sea" in different combinations were useful. In the analysis, we scanned and selected all the articles that met these keywords and the issue at hand.

There is no consensus on how to identify frames in news and other texts. In this study we first identified *framing dimensions* defined as topics, sources and mechanisms (cf. D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010) and drew conclusions on main frames and actors. In the next step we looked into the presence and functions of predefined *generic frames* (cf. de Vreese 2005; Matthes 2009). In this case we chose conflict, human interest, economy and attribution of responsibility[1] as most relevant, using a deductive approach in the analysis. Generic frames are often used for comparative reasons (cf. Carvalho 2007; Semetko & Valkenburg 2000) and we consider them relevant for an extended discussion on the relation between framing and cooperation in different cases. We did not compare countries but looked at different written news media. We also analysed *framing elements,* meaning how problems, causes and solutions were presented (Entman 1993). The framing elements show us how the generic frames are constructed. Based on these we analysed possible framing effects on cooperation. As a way to understand the relations between stakeholder action and media frames we also discussed frame building processes and how internal and external pressures affect framing (cf. Cooper 2002).

We conducted both a general and a specific analysis. The former was based on the broader selection of Swedish media and the mentioned communication material (i.e., news media texts as well as publications from NGOs and other organisations, political organs, authorities etc.). We analysed all identified articles, 124 in total. The material was studied by using a text analysis guide, which helped us inductively to identify issue-specific frame dimensions and elements (topics, sources, main problems, causes and solutions), mainly by looking at headlines, introductions, concepts used and actors' positions in the text. We followed Entman (1993:52) who suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments". We then also conducted a deductive analysis looking for generic frames, following de Vreese (2005) and Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). The analysis was restricted to text and did not include images.

Images do contribute to framing but we concluded that we did not need these to answer our questions. In order to understand the frame building process, mechanisms and framing elements, we also conducted a closer analysis of three articles published in *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* (two of the biggest national newspapers in Sweden). The reason for choosing these articles is that they occur in newspapers with a large readership. The articles also represent three typical articles in this media discourse and are of enough volume to work as illustrations of the relation between media and stakeholders.

In addition to the media and document analysis, three key stakeholders (four individuals) were interviewed: two from a national environmental NGO, which was also internationally active in the region in focus, one from a national and international part of the business community, and one from the governmental side (a civil servant). The interviewees were selected from among the key Swedish stakeholders and participants in the debate and the negotiations at the current time, from the governmental side and from the environmental and business spheres. The interviews were conducted in the first half of 2015; they were semi-structured and lasted from one to one and a half hours. The key themes concerned positions advocated (mainly in relation to our frame elements, as described above), framing strategies, the view on media and on other stakeholders' positions and activities, and reflections on cooperation and governance.

The study thereby included actors' intentional framings as well as media outcomes and stakeholders' perceptions of frames. Using these methods and empirical material we were able to identify positions, strategies and frames in the Swedish public discourse and among some of the dominating actors. Based on this we drew conclusions on possible implications for cooperation and if the media played predominantly a constructive or destructive role.

While our empirical material only includes Sweden, the outcome of the negotiations and possible success of cooperation also depends on positions and strategies from actors in other countries. Stakeholders cooperate nationally as well as internationally. The results also depend on the choice of environmental problem in focus – in this case eutrophication – and that problem's particular contexts. We do however argue that by analysing the relation between actors' positions and media framing and the actual framing processes in Sweden we learn about important elements in (environmental) cooperation and the role of the media, even though the media landscape and the relation between media and different actors differ between the Baltic Sea countries.

The following sections present our empirical analysis. We start with a presentation of the BSAP-related positions that the main Swedish stakeholders advocated and the framing strategies used.

Positions and communication related to the ministerial negotiation round

The preparatory process of the 2013 Ministerial started in June 2012. A draft report on potentially revising the BSAP eutrophication targets was presented by HELCOM at a meeting of the Heads of Delegations (HOD) (TARGREV 2012), in which stakeholders participated. The parties then agreed on a plan for preparing the Ministerial (HELCOM 2012a).

A preliminary draft declaration came at the next HOD meeting, but many delegations were not ready to discuss it. Our respondents clearly state that business interests and

environmental NGOs were highly active, though, which for instance led to some adjustments in the model on effort sharing. In November, the parties discussed substance issues and the NGO Coalition Clean Baltic (CCB) gave oral input (HELCOM 2012b). A more thorough first draft was published in the beginning of 2013, and was discussed at both a HOD and a HELCOM meeting in March, at which CCB again added comments, also in writing (CCB 2013). CCB proposed that the Ministerial should agree on additional mandatory requirements for nutrient management.

Until then, farmers' organisations had not participated. However, the Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) had presented a text for the Swedish Environment Minister back in September 2012, arguing that the targets on eutrophication were impossible to reach, due to high background load and long environmental repair processes (LRF 2012). In addition, LRF (2013) sent a consultation paper to all stakeholders and argued that the targets were too high and the background loads not considered, and that national politics should be more influential. According to our respondents, this paper brought the controversies into the political sphere and fuelled debate, including debate between the environment and agriculture ministries, despite their respective ministers being of the same party. WWF Sweden and others responded with criticism (WWF 2013a).

A second draft in May (HELCOM 2013b) and a third draft in June (HELCOM 2013c) gradually became more precise, including on the issue of eutrophication. In parallel, stakeholders increased their efforts in terms of lobbying both the HODs and governments and on the public stage, where media played an important role, according to our respondents. They all clearly stated that neither the farmers' nor environmental organisations were satisfied with the Swedish government's positions. WWF Sweden presented – just before the agenda-setting "Almedalen Week" in Sweden[2] – a larger assessment of the state of the Baltic Sea, including a critical analysis of governance efforts (WWF 2013b). Similarly, the view of LRF that targets were unreasonable was echoed in the debate. When the time for the October Ministerial approached, stakeholders published press releases that reflected their positions, directed towards the negotiating politicians. These advocacy efforts also led to debates in the Swedish Parliament (Environment Committee 2013; Interpellation Holm-Ek 2013).

In the governmental process it became increasingly clear that some nations had problems with various concrete proposals. Regarding eutrophication, and due to pressure from the farmers, the Swedish government questioned the entire basis for calculating national responsibilities to decrease nutrient emissions (HELCOM 2013d). This caused criticism from environmental NGOs and some countries, not least Denmark, the host for the Ministerial. The new Swedish position became difficult to defend, even in the eyes of the environment minister, according to our respondents. Sweden thus agreed on the modelling, but still managed to soften the language on compulsory measures for farmers (HELCOM 2013e).

Afterwards, environmental and farmers' organisations took critical but opposing views on the outcome of the BSAP revision, according to our respondents. Judging from them, the decisions on measures against nutrient leakage were one of the most critical components in the negotiations and the dispute was far from resolved.

We now move on to the question of how the BSAP was framed in Swedish news media and how these framings related to the main stakeholders' intentional framing and claims on knowledge and policy.

Framings of the BSAP negotiation process

Mapping the discourse

Swedish printed media published a total of 124 articles about the Ministerial negotiation round in 2013. These 124 articles were spread across almost 50 different publications and most media only published one or two articles on the theme. About 95 per cent of the articles were published in newspapers (local and national). There was also a clear pattern that the reporting about BSAP and this case mainly came out in July and October 2013 (about 80 per cent) (Figure 1) and that this was closely linked to the events and actions taken by the key stakeholders.[3]

In July, WWF presented a report (WWF 2013b) that criticised Baltic Sea governance and showed that the BSAP goals were not reached. All countries, and especially Russia, were said to have failed in more or less all areas, with measures against eutrophication taken by Finland and Germany as possible exceptions. The report was acknowledged in general news media, as well as in print and online forums for different organisations and authorities.[4] The relatively high visibility was probably due to WWF being judged a credible sender. More or less all articles were re-writings of the WWF press release. As noted above, the report was presented just before the "Almedalen Week" in Sweden, during which attention to Baltic Sea issues is often high.

The next peak for the BSAP issue, in the beginning of October 2013, related to the Ministerial meeting taking place. This event was more closely linked to the journalistic discourse and the media worked actively with their own journalists, contributing with their own frames.

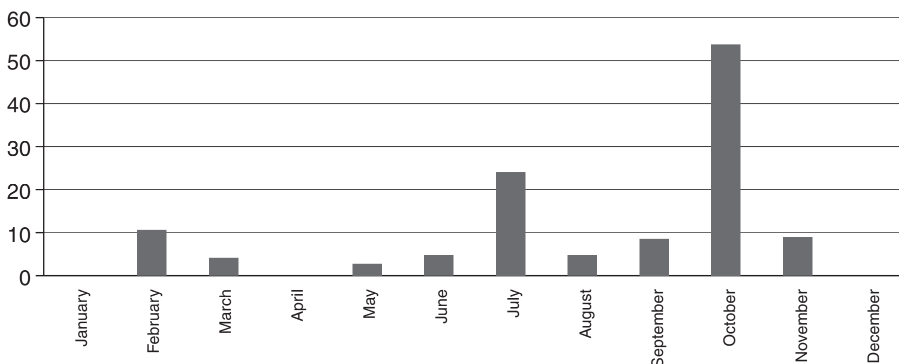

Figure 1. *Number of articles about BSAP in Swedish media in 2013*

If we consider the numbers of printed media articles, however, the mediated discourse mainly took place outside the mainstream national media discourse, i.e., in local media and special interest media. These were local newspapers in the south of Sweden and close to the Baltic Sea, or journals and other documents published by NGOs and other organisations. These are not the main agenda-setting media on the national arena but may be important for specific groups. Some of the local newspapers have the same owner or are part of a consortium, meaning that they sometimes publish the same material. Hence, not all of the 124 articles were unique. These newspapers also to a large extent used the same sources (mainly TT and SMHI) resulting in much the same frames and

perspectives. Overall the news media presented a very similar picture of the negotiations and the Ministerial meeting. In the interviews our respondents stated that the BSAP negotiations were seldom a topic for national debate. However, they also claimed that the debate that took place had obvious political implications in, for example, the government, including between ministries. This shows that it was not the amount of reporting that was decisive in this case.

The main stakeholders involved in the actual negotiations were also highly visible in the media discourse and central in the frame building processes (influencing the construction of frames), in line with what they strived for, according to the respondents, albeit not to the extent considered desirable. As for stakeholders' influence on framing and the degree of success in positioning themselves, there was certainly a difference between different media genres. Editorials, for example, are the voice of the media and journalists while opinion pieces express views from stakeholders and elite actors, such as politicians, scientists and larger NGOs. Letters-to-the-editor, on the other hand, are generally presenting the voice of the citizens. In this case, news articles, editorials and opinion pieces dominated the media discourse while active voices of citizens through letters-to-the-editor were rare. Previous research also shows that citizens' voices are often missing in mediated discourses on environment (Egan Sjölander & Jönsson 2012).

Media framings – dimensions and elements

The main topic in the BSAP media discourse in 2013 was "eutrophication", where the risk was presented as mainly caused by humans, foremost agriculture, and where restrictive actions were seen as needed. Eutrophication is also closely related to the problem of algal blooming, which is one of the most newsworthy among environmental risks, since it is comparatively easy to illustrate, and because the audience can easily identify itself with the problem (cf. Jönsson 2011). One respondent said this was a problematic simplification of the situation.

Looking at the generic frames, the attribution of the responsibility frame was highly visible in the whole material and concerned the role and responsibility of politics and regulation in relation to voluntary action. The conflict frame was also common (often in the same article as the attribution of the responsibility frame), not least represented by LRF in media, in attempts to downplay the role of agriculture and to focus on other measures. LRF's arguments were also closely related to an economic frame, with a focus on how actions can and will cause economic problems. It is also obvious that there was a kind of "us against them" dimension in the Swedish news media discourse in this case, with Poland, Russia and the Baltic States regularly being portrayed as the troublemakers and therefore framed as part of the problem. The European Union, on the other hand, was often presented as an institution through which it would be possible to improve cooperation and coordination. To present the issue as a conflict between different interests can be seen as a framing mechanism. There were not many examples of the human interest frame in this discourse and the individual perspective was clearly not in focus.

According to Entman (1993), it is important to analyse how media work to promote a particular problem definition and solution recommendation in order to understand how a certain issue is perceived and acted upon. In our study it was interesting to analyse which stakeholders' positions and ideas were represented in the media discourses. In

2013, the main stakeholders were politicians, experts and representatives from different NGOs (mainly LRF and WWF), all being actors who can be regarded as central in the frame building processes.

In order to understand the frame building process and framing elements in terms of representations of problems, causes and solutions, we next provide a closer analysis of three articles published in *Dagens Nyheter* (national broadsheet, liberal) and *Aftonbladet* (national tabloid, social democratic) during 2013. As noted earlier, the reporting about BSAP and the Ministerial was scarce in national newspapers. In 2013 there were only two articles in *Dagens Nyheter* and one in the tabloid *Aftonbladet* about the issue. As a comparison, we studied the media discourse in 2012 and 2014 to see if the 2013 Ministerial changed the debate, and if so how. Moreover, in 2014 the BSAP was not present at all in the studied Swedish media.

The first article in *Dagens Nyheter* in June was an editorial (presented as part of a cluster of articles around the theme "Will the Baltic Sea survive?")[5] with the headline "Utopian demands for the Baltic Sea".[6] The article was published shortly after the presentation of the third draft declaration, and after the LRF consultation paper, and took as its starting point the claim that stricter regulations on phosphorus emissions were to be decided at the Ministerial. The choice of wording in the headline – utopian – is important for the framing that there was huge uncertainty regarding the solutions, and that the goals and tools were more or less unrealistic. "Twice as much phosphorus has to go. But how? Nobody knows, and few dare to say that it is impossible". The journalist claimed that neither science nor politicians can solve the problem with phosphorus in the near future and that the problem mainly was caused by past sins (part of the sediments today). Therefore, less responsibility should be placed on the agricultural sector. According to the journalist, the agricultural sector is unfairly seen as something of a scapegoat for eutrophication. The stakeholder from the business side interviewed for this study was clearly very positive about this article, whereas the environmental NGO respondents found it problematic. The civil servant interviewed stated that this article made a substantial impression in the internal governmental debate.

Dagens Nyheter also published one regular news article in October 2013, just before the ministerial. The article, with the headline "Criticism against Sweden before Baltic Sea meeting"[7] focused more or less entirely on eutrophication, and already in the beginning a conflict was presented. "Eutrophication is threatening the Baltic Sea. This Thursday environmental ministers from the Baltic Sea countries meet to come to an agreement about emission quotas. But several environmental organisations are sceptical and are now criticising Sweden for slowing down the process around emissions from agriculture." The article reported that the Swedish government had been criticised for lagging behind some other countries (using voluntary measures rather than binding rules) and quoted an expert at WWF Sweden who represented this strand of criticism. The environmental minister at the time, Lena Ek, was allowed to make her voice heard and she claimed that she did not understand the criticism. The stakeholders obviously did not share the same problem frame, which was also confirmed in the interviews. According to Ek, one of the main challenges at the Ministerial was how to get countries like Poland and Russia on board. The article presented as a fact that establishing national emission quotas for nitrogen and phosphorus was one of the most important issues, and that agriculture bore the main responsibility. Poland and Russia were also

identified as part of the problem. This followed a common pattern in Swedish public discourse on international relations that Russia is a threat. The article used an overall dramatised discourse with colourful language that framed the issue, for example: "The cod is fighting for its survival and sea beds are dying".

The tabloid *Aftonbladet* published only one article, in July 2013, in the form of an opinion piece with the headline "Sweden is betraying its promise to fight algal blooming".[8] It was written by WWF Secretary General Håkan Wirtén, and WWF Baltic Sea expert Lennart Gladh, and was an extension of the WWF study at the same time, arguing for stricter measures. The problem issues discussed were eutrophication and algal blooms, caused mainly by phosphorus (but nitrogen was also pointed out as source) and imposing health risks on humans and animals. Agriculture was framed as the main problem. The timing is evidently part of the framing process since algal blooming is a typical news theme in Sweden during July: "Algal blooming arises when seas and lakes are over-fertilised. Emissions from agriculture are often the single biggest villain." The article also indirectly criticises politicians who, according to the authors, only adhere to "inadequate measures". Politicians are framed as responsible for the solutions and the Ministerial meeting as the place and the time when politicians should shoulder their responsibility.

In general, the respondents were not satisfied with the media coverage of the BSAP process and did not consider all the frames to be "theirs". As late as in 2015, the interviews clearly indicated a high level of irritation on the other side, albeit this criticism focused on substantive issues rather than on specific persons. There was a high level of "understanding of the role" that others were taking, but seemingly still far from a desirable situation for setting up cooperative processes. When asked if the media coverage and debate was beneficial for the societal dialogue on the topic, and if it enabled frame reflection and a better understanding of other perspectives, the respondents generally considered the debate to obstruct rather than promote collaboration, which they all saw as important in order to improve governance, irrespective of their differing viewpoints on what that means in practice.

Conclusions and discussion

Framing and communication are central for the governance of complex environmental issues. In this case study on a debate that mainly came to concern eutrophication in the Baltic Sea, we see that media played an important role in Sweden for public communication of the problems and potential solutions at hand, both during the preparatory negotiations on the revision of the BSAP and at the time of the Ministerial meeting in October 2013. We also see that several key stakeholders participated actively in the Swedish public discourse and managed to influence the Swedish media coverage, even though we also acknowledge that each of them expected a greater impact. It is additionally clear that various stakeholders, like environmental NGOs and farmers' organisations, deliberately tried to influence the frame building process and "use" media in order to communicate their own analysis of the situation and the positions they advocated themselves. This concerned both problem definitions and the policy outcomes they considered desirable. Moreover, the existing scientific uncertainties communicated by scientists and the disagreements communicated by stakeholders opened the way for positioning and debate.

In this "context of uncertainty", both environmental NGOs and farmers' organisations were able to place their own agendas on the public stage, although it was commonly done in different media and on different occasions. In Baltic eutrophication policy the pendulum has thus swung back towards conflict, after a period of more or less consensus (Karlsson et al. 2016). These views held by stakeholders on key issues and the disputes in the BSAP negotiations were furthermore framed in the media discourse in the desired way, according to the stakeholders, albeit not with the desired volume. All in all, organisations were at least somewhat successful in their campaigns, to judge from the fact that the limited media coverage, together with other measures taken by stakeholders, did lead to a wanted political debate. In addition, it is clear in the study that the Swedish societal debate, including in media, had an impact on the outcome of the Swedish preparatory process and also on the international negotiations, where the Swedish government's manoeuvring led to international reactions and counteracting policy proposals from other countries, albeit the details in this political game remains to be detailed more closely in forthcoming studies. It is nevertheless evident that individual organisations in individual countries can play a significant role in international policy processes.

Regarding the impact of the media debate on the potential to cooperate on governance issues, both between various stakeholder groups and between the different politicians who engage themselves on different sides in the process, we can conclude that the situation is problematic. The media debate with its preference for conflict framings obviously contributed to paint a more negative picture of "the others" and led to increased irritation and confusion, rather than to understanding and recognition of other perspectives and viewpoints. Our study, as well as previous research, shows that controversies often in themselves are paths to publicity, and we can thus see a negative spiral where media publicity fosters conflict rather than consensus and cooperation. Media also tend to reduce complexity; something that would decrease the possibilities for them to contribute to actors' frame reflection. Based on these conclusions, a rather gloomy picture emerges in relation to our starting point that cooperation is pivotal for environmental governance, and that successful cooperation ought to be based on at least a basic common understanding about the problems at hand, as well as their causes and potential solutions.

If the debate in a single country with a large number of shared media – a situation that, according to Wolfsfield (2004), would mean a more constructive role for the media in negotiation processes – and with comparatively strong environmental ambitions, cannot foster a larger common "framing denominator" than we saw in this study, it is difficult to see how an international debate could be more fruitful at present. Linking this to previous studies on Baltic Sea environmental governance (Gilek & Karlsson 2016), we see a need for institutional initiatives that again can help building a strong science-based picture of problems and potential measures relating to eutrophication. While we of course cannot prejudge how that would impact on framing exercises, media and cooperation, we still consider it would be helpful when aiming for the internationally agreed BSAP objectives. Moreover, and in particular if the media debate were to be contested in countries around the Baltic Sea, it also seems important to develop international forums for dialogue, where stakeholders such as environmental NGOs, farmers and other business representatives can meet together with scientists and governmental policymakers, in order to build mutual trust and seek the largest common denominator on world-views and strategies from multiple governance perspectives. Similar arrange-

ments for scientific consensus building and societal dialogue might be worth striving for as complementary strategies in completely different areas of complex environmental issues, where stakeholder framing attempts and contested media debates are not proving fruitful enough in relation to the need for cooperation on environmental governance.

Notes

1. Conflict: journalistic practice of reporting stories of conflicting interpretation; human interest: brings a human face or an individual's story to the presentation of an event/issue; economy: focus on profit and loss; responsibility: presents an issue in a way that attributes responsibility for causing or soling to a particular group of actors (cf. de Vreese, 2005).
2. During this annual event in July, thousands of politicians and stakeholders gather in Visby in Sweden for thousands of seminars, see http://www.almedalsveckan.info/6881.
3. This is also the case with the reporting in Swedish radio and television.
4. WWF was also one of the main actors in broadcasting news media.
5. 'Överlever Östersjön?', Dagens Nyheter.
6. 'Utopiska krav för Östersjön', Dagens Nyheter, 2013-06-11.
7. 'Sverigekritik inför Östersjömöte', Dagens Nyheter 2013-10-01.
8. 'WWF: Sverige sviker löfte att bekämpa algblomningen', Aftonbladet, 2013-07-16.

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Examining the Experiences of Older Women with ICTs

Interrelations of Generation-Specific Media Practices and Individual Media Biographies

Barbara Ratzenböck

Abstract

A current empirical study explores how Austrian women aged 60 to 70 use and ascribe meaning to ICTs such as television, radio, mobile phone, computer or the Internet. In the study, life-graphs, semi-structured interviews, and indoor walking interviews are used to examine the everyday usage and interpretation of ICTs by older women, coming from various social backgrounds and living in the Austrian region of Styria. Analysing empirical material of the study, this paper focuses on the interrelation of generation-specific media practices and individual (media) biographies as they both influence older women's usage of and attitude towards ICTs. By using Maierhofer's concept of "anocriticism" as a frame for the analysis of the material in addition to Mannheim's idea of "generation location", it becomes possible to elaborate on a more nuanced understanding of the relation between collective experiences within time and individual life-course perspectives in the context of ICTs.

Keywords: older female ICT users, ageing, generation-specific media practices, media biographies, anocriticism

Introduction

An empirical study currently being conducted within the framework of the research project "Cultural Narratives of Age and Aging" explores life-course experiences of women aged 60 to 70, in the context of information and communication technologies (ICTs). The study focuses on the question of how women of this generation have been using and ascribing meaning to "old" and "new" ICTs such as radio, television, computers, the Internet and mobile phones throughout their lives or – more precisely – how they have been acting *together with* ICTs, to refer to Bruno Latour's notion of technologies as "quasi-objects" (1993: 55), as artefacts which negotiate social space and power (Wise 1997: 36). Researching the usage of ICTs by older women is of relevance, as unequal access and competencies related to digital ICTs remain a problem for equal social inclusion in a digitalised world. Across Europe, there is a considerable digital divide

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between different age groups (Eurostat 2012: 3). In addition to age, gender also plays an important role in this context.

As the data for Austria indicates, in 2015 nearly 70 per cent of men between 55 and 74 years of age stated that they had used the Internet in the past three months, while only roughly 49 per cent of women of the same age range gave this response (Statistik Austria 2016). Thus, this empirical study aims to provide deeper insights into strategies of use and processes of ascription of meaning to ICTs by older women, a group doubly affected by the digital divide in Austria. Embracing a broad conceptualisation of ICTs, this study draws on a definition of ICTs established by the United Nations Development Programme.

According to this definition, ICTs can be described as "a varied set of goods, applications and services that are used to produce, store, process, distribute and exchange information" (UNDP 2001: 2). In order to investigate the everyday usage and interpretation of ICTs, this study employs three qualitative research methods: the discussion of life-graphs on media biographies, walking interviews in the homes of the participants, and semi-structured interviews. While the life-graph discussions help to establish a life-course perspective in the conversations and the indoor walking interviews are employed to explore more implicit and embodied aspects of media practices (Buse 2010), the semi-structured interviews focus on a variety of topics that are relevant to the usage of ICTs, such as strategies of usage and attitudes towards a range of specific ICTs.

Drawing from examples from the empirical material, this paper presents preliminary findings of the qualitative study conducted. In the context of the analysis of the empirical material, Karl Mannheim's (1952 [1927/28]) notion of "generation location" serves as an important theoretical tool. However, in order to understand the multifaceted role of ICTs in older women's lives, this perspective is not sufficient, if we understand living and ageing itself as an interplay of continuity and change (Kriebernegg, Maierhofer & Ratzenböck 2014: 10). Thus, this paper suggests Roberta Maierhofer's (1999; 2003; 2004a, 2004b; 2007) concept of "anocriticism" as an additional theoretical tool in the analysis of ICT experiences of older women which highlights the importance of individual perspectives.

Notions of generation and generation-specific media practices

Like other social categories such as, for example, class, "generation" as a concept expresses collective experiences as well as social orders (Jureit & Wildt 2005: 7). Thus, as Ulrike Jureit and Michael Wildt (2005: 9) argue, the idea of "generation" first and foremost refers to the aspect of identity which relates to specific (and rather stable) ways of thinking, feeling and acting.

But the notion of generation does not refer to collective experiences only; most importantly it refers to collective experiences in specific periods in *time*. As Heinz Bude (2005: 28), writing on the German author Winfried G. Sebald, states, the term generation also refers to a sense of "belonging" within time.[1] This aspect draws attention to the importance of time for identity construction. Social actors do not only identify with geographical, socio-economic, political, religious or gender groups, but also with specific periods in time.

Within sociology, youth experiences are said to have a particularly strong influence on notions of "belonging" in terms of value systems and attitudes. Most prominently,

the hypothesis of the strong influence of youth experiences on life-long attitudes and perceptual patterns was put forward by Mannheim already in the 1920s, as he explored the correlation between youth experiences and social change. Mannheim developed the concept of "Generationenlage" (generation location) in arguing that the shared socio-economic experiences of a certain cohort during their youth later influence interpretations of the social world (Ecarius et al. 2011: 32-34). According to Mannheim (1952 [1927/28]: 296), youth experiences are especially influential on the formation of patterns of attitudes because of the "moulding power of new situations". Although individuals continue to have new experiences throughout their lives, the impressions of early life have the tendency "to coalesce into a *natural view* of the world" (Mannheim 1952 [1927/28]: 298), as he puts it. Elaborating on this idea, Mannheim (1952 [1927/28]: 298) argues that all life experiences are interpreted on the basis of previous experiences, be it in affirmative or negative ways. Although emphasising the particular importance of youth experiences, Mannheim (1952 [1927/28]: 298) explicitly neglects the idea of life experiences as "summation or agglomeration" but rather puts forward the idea of an "inner dialectic" in the context of various life experiences.

This is important to note, since Mannheim's idea of the particular influence of youth experiences on the formation of general attitudes and perceptual patterns otherwise seems to fall into the trap of an all too simplified binary image of young and old in which young is associated with dynamism and old only with stagnation. This kind of more complex theorising of the influence of life experiences is essential, as research in ageing studies has shown that binary models of "young" and "old" can be challenged, for example, by examining the ways in which these categories interrelate and particularly by rethinking age as a category of ambiguity (Kriebernegg & Maierhofer 2013). Thus, also from a Mannheimian perspective, investigating generational aspects of the usage of ICTs does not mean conceptualising a generation as an entirely homogenous group. Following Mannheim's thoughts, a generation does not constitute a community characterised by personal connections, but rather a group with a "similarly 'stratified' consciousness" (Mannheim 1952 [1927/28]: 297).

Such notions of generation are of relevance in the context of studies on ICT usage by older adults, as for example Göran Bolin & Oscar Westlund (2009) have shown by identifying varying patterns of mobile phone use of different media generations and as also Christina E. Buse (2010: 997) has argued in her study on older adults and embodiment of computer technologies. Another instructive example regarding the role generational elements play with regard to user behaviour is a study conducted by Burkard Schäffer in 2009 in which he investigated the media practices of different generations. Also following Mannheim's lines of thought, Schäffer conceptualises interaction with media devices as informed by generation location and thus by widespread media experiences and practices during the youth of media users. In this context, Schäffer develops the concept of "generation-specific media practice cultures".

These practice cultures denote modes of media use which are based on youth experiences with media and which are habitually incorporated into everyday life (Schäffer 2009: 42). Schäffer empirically investigated such habitualised practice cultures in the context of media devices with various age groups, the oldest one ranging from 60 to 70 years of age. Among others, Schäffer was able to show in his study that the older participants preferred carefully planned and executed actions to "trial and error" approaches

to new ICTs such as computers, the latter being more applied by younger participants. As Schäffer (2009: 46) argues, such differences in practices can be related to different generational experiences with analogue media. Findings of this type emphasise the relevance of a generational perspective when researching the use of and ascription of meaning to ICTs by older adults as they draw attention to the embeddedness of individuals into collectively shared experiences and temporal frames of reference.

Individual aspects of ICT experiences

Usage of and ascription of meaning to ICTs are influenced by generational identity, as elaborated above. However, generational elements are not the only relevant dimension in understanding the interpretation and use of ICTs by older adults in everyday life. More individual elements of ICT usage and changes in (media) biographies are also relevant in this context. These include, for example, personal life-long interests in technology (Fernández-Ardèvol & Arroyo Prieto 2012: 20), professional experiences (Buse 2010: 996), or changes in personal living conditions, such as health status (Van der Goot, Beentjes & Van Selm 2012).

Yet, although the multidimensionality of ICT experiences of older adults has been demonstrated repeatedly, there is still a need for theoretical tools supporting the *methodical highlighting* of individual aspects of ICT experiences of older adults in empirical material. This is important because dominant cultural narratives of old age that inform interpretations of cultural representations (such as research material) emphasise – often in negative terms – the relative homogeneity of old age and older adults (e.g. Gullette 2011: 4; Cruikshank 2013: 6) and thus can impede a comprehensive, multifaceted analysis of the experiences of older adults in everyday life.

These narratives include, among others, the idea of old age as being connected to helplessness and passivity (Maierhofer 2003: 40) as well as technical illiteracy (Östlund 2005: 29). Building on these thoughts, this paper thus suggests the analytical lens of anocriticism (Maierhofer 1999; 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2007) as a theoretical tool to examine systematically the individual ICT experiences of older women, in addition to collective, generational experiences. The concept of anocriticism was originally developed by Maierhofer (2004: 156) "as a method of tracing the aspect of female ageing in texts of American literature", but can also be used in the analysis of other cultural representations. Building on feminist theories and their distinction between "sex" and "gender", Maierhofer (2007: 111-112) argues for a similar distinction to be made between chronological age and cultural ascriptions related to age. Anocriticism thus is "an interpretational approach that validates individual experience of age and ageing in resistance of normative assumptions" (Center for Inter-American Studies 2015). In addition, Maierhofer argues that age should be theorised and researched in connection to gender since the experiences of ageing differ for men and women due to their ascribed social roles (Maierhofer 2004b: 158). This is of particular relevance in the context of ICTs as previous studies (e.g. Richardson, Weaver, & Zorn 2005) have shown that the intersection of age and gender is of relevance in the ascription of meaning to ICTs.

Building on this perspective, the study focuses on various aspects of individual media biographies and engagement, such as personal patterns of media use and influences of media usage on structures of daily life – which both constitute central areas of research

with regard to media biography studies (Vollbrecht 2009: 25). When researching individual media biographies it is important to keep in mind that aspects of continuity and change are of equal importance. This has also been shown by a study on the usage of ICTs, in this case television, conducted by Margot Van der Goot, Johannes Beentjes, & Martin Van Selm (2012).

In this study, they investigated changes and continuities in television consumption of Dutch citizens aged 65+. Analysing their results, Van der Goot et al. were able to show that changes in structures of everyday life such as retirement, health status or household composition significantly affected the television consumption of participants in various ways. Thus, they strongly argue for research on ICT usage, in this case, television usage, addressing *both* change and continuity in order to obtain a fuller and more accurate picture of media biographies (Van der Goot, Beentjes & Van Selm 2012: 147).

Findings of the current empirical study

Since the beginning of the data collection, five semi-structured interviews and five walking interviews[2] in the homes of participants have been conducted with Styrian women aged 60 to 69 years and analysed subsequently. In addition, most interviews also included the discussion of life-graphs[3] on media biographies, drawn and written by participants prior to the interview appointment, which were then used as starting points for the conversation. The semi-structured interviews focused on media-biographic memories, strategies of usage and attitudes towards a range of specific ICTs (computers, the Internet, mobile phones, television, and radio) as well as general strategies of usage.

The subsequent discussion of first analytical results draws on the material of all data collected, although primarily focusing on the semi-structured interviews, since they – so far – constitute the most extensive body of material. The interviewees were mostly recruited through snowball sampling, after contact with the first interviewee had been established by a research colleague.

Selection criteria for participants for the study are gender (female), age range (60-70 years old) and place of residence (the Austrian province of Styria).[4] In addition to these standardising criteria, the selection of participants for the study aims at diversification. Included are women from urban as well as rural areas and with diverse living arrangements (living single, with a partner, or with extended family) as well as various professional experiences.

The analysis of the material was framed by the theoretical concepts outlined earlier and thus particularly focused on generational elements in the context of ICT usage, on the one hand, and descriptions of individual elements of ICT usage and media biographies on the other hand. Aside from these two broad thematic frameworks, an analytical strategy based on the approach of open coding as described in Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990) was applied.

Generational elements in the context of experiences and interaction with ICTs

Using Mannheim's (1952 [1927/28]) notion of generation location as well as Schäffer's (2009) concept of generation-specific media practice cultures as analytical tools, three main categories emerged from the analysis of the material. The first category, *genera-*

tion-specific media experiences, consists of two subcategories: "early experiences related to ICTs" and "experiences of change". In the context of early experiences related to ICTs two themes were particularly dominant: a learned sense of distance through certain rules regarding ICTs and collective interactions with ICTs during childhood. With regard to the former, all five interviewees shared memories of childhood rules for ICT usage, mostly radio. One rule often mentioned was "Don't break it", another predominant one was "Be quiet when the radio is on". Interviewee three, a 60-year old former secretary and homemaker living in a suburb of the Styrian capital Graz stated that

> [f]rom childhood on, it always was like "Don't break it, don't break it!". It was always like that because new things were hardly affordable. Back then, times were not as they are now. It wasn't a throw-away-society as it is nowadays.[5]

Another example of a childhood rule which can be interpreted as inherently conveying a sense of distance is "Be quiet when the radio is on". As interviewee one, a woman aged 66, coming from the Styrian capital who used to work part-time as a secretary in the public sector, besides being a homemaker, explained: "[F]ather, when he listened to the news [on the radio], then it was like 'Shh, be quiet! Daddy is listening to the news'".

Aside from rules regarding (mostly) the radio, which reinforced, as it seems, a sense of distance towards ICT devices (e.g. a hesitancy to "just touch and try" in particular new ICT devices) in some cases, another predominant theme in early experiences related to ICTs was the experience of collective interaction with ICTs.

All interviewees shared memories of collective interactions with ICTs. Examples included, among others, watching TV with others at somebody's house in the village, going to the cinema to see the weekly newsreel ("Wochenschau") or listening to the radio at relatives' houses. In this context, interviewee five, a 62-year old woman from a small city in Upper Styria, who has been a homemaker and carer for most of her life, after having completed a seamstress apprenticeship in her youth, vividly remembered hiking to the neighbouring village in a remote mountain area once a week in order to be allowed to watch a children's television show (*Punch*, or "Kasperl" in German) at the home of a local midwife and how this was "a sensation for the whole valley back then".

With regard to the second subcategory, "experiences of change", perceptions of massive and significant overall changes related to ICTs throughout the life course were mentioned multiple times. Interviewee four, a woman from a small village in southern Styria in her mid-sixties who used to work as an accounting clerk before retirement, elaborated on "semiautomatic accounting machines" which they had at the office where she used to work as an accounting clerk and added that "[o]ne absolutely cannot imagine this anymore today, although this was not an eternity ago. Yes, the years, the difference, right".

But experiences of change were not only referred to in the interviews in the context of changes in devices, but also in the context of changes in general strategies for the interaction with ICTs. For instance, interviewee two, a 69-year old woman from the suburbs of Graz who has been a homemaker for the most part of her life and also used to work as a secretary in commerce and the social sector, thematised printed user guides which used to come with all kinds of ICT devices and which are becoming less frequent nowadays, often only being available online or within the device itself (e.g. saved in the TV set and only available digitally).

While all interviewees – unsurprisingly – were very aware of massive changes with regard to ICTs within the past half century, multiple interviewees also referred to notions of continuity. In particular, a sense of "growing with" new technologies was mentioned. Interviewee four states that people have always been "growing with" technologies.

> We grew with it, but for the old people this probably wasn't easy, they also grew with it, of course. It probably was the same also for my grandmother. – When was she born? – 1886 [...] She almost became 100 years old, she experienced it all. There were no cars, no electricity, it all just started then.

This is particularly interesting as such statements foreground the importance of investigating ICTs from generational and intergenerational perspectives as well. Interestingly enough, however, besides very general allusions to continuing experiences of overall change related to ICTs and associated processes of "growing with it", continuities in the context of ICTs were not referred to very often in the interviews. In the future, this topic will thus be addressed more explicitly, in order to explore further the interplay of continuities and changes in generational experiences of ICT usage, since one working hypothesis of this study is that ICT devices change faster over time than basic modes of interaction, e.g. trial and error or precise action planning.

The second main category developed regarding generational elements in the context of experiences and interaction with ICTs can be termed *generation-specific strategies of ICT usage*. In this respect, the strategy of "guided and planned execution of actions" was of great importance and mentioned frequently. This strategy refers to what could be termed the antithesis of a "trial and error" approach. Interviewee three illustrated this strategy by stating:

> And this is always at the back of my mind, that you should not break anything. It is idiotic, I know very well that I won't break anything, but it doesn't work anyways. I prefer asking first and then I do it.

This notion of preferring to ask instead of just trying and possibly breaking something is probably related to generation-specific early-life experiences with ICTs such as the commonly cited childhood rule of "Don't break it" and it again emphasises the relevance of Mannheim's concept of "generation location".

The frequent and diverse mentioning of the preference of "guided and planned execution of actions" – for example through the consultation of user manuals, children or grandchildren or online support channels – also seems to confirm the findings of Schäffer's study from 2009 outlined earlier and highlights the relevance of his concept of generation-specific media practice cultures.

Another strategy of interaction mentioned, particularly related to the Internet, was to apply a similar mode of usage on different types of media. The most prominent example for this strategy is to overall conceptualise and use the Internet as a form of "encyclopaedia". Remarkably, all four interviewees who stated they used the Internet (interviewees one to four), explicitly compared the Internet to an encyclopaedia or book (although no interview question was related to this comparison). Interviewee one stated that through using the Internet, "you don't need a music encyclopaedia or an encyclopaedia of choir literature anymore" and adds that "the bookshelf can shrink".

As it seems, this conceptualisation of the Internet as an encyclopaedia or book also influences the ranges of Internet usage. Besides writing e-mails, interviewees first and foremost stated that they use the Internet as a source of information that one typically used to find in encyclopaedia. This finding is relevant as it impressively highlights the influence of previous and historically situated experiences with other media types for the conceptualisation of and thus interaction with new types of ICTs, by showing that modes of interaction can "travel" across periods of time and across different types of media.

Another approach which was mentioned repeatedly and might be related to generation-specific concepts of ICTs is the request to "use media moderately". The imperative to use ICTs moderately in the interviews conducted was often related to money and memories of how expensive phone calls used to be in the mid-twentieth century, since in Austria national phone calls were charged according to which of the geographically relatively narrow "zones" one belonged and the distance between them, as, for example, interviewee one explained in detail.

The third category emerging in the context of generational elements of ICT experiences can be termed *intergenerational experiences connected to ICT usage*. In particular, intergenerational assistance in the usage of ICTs was an important topic in every interview, a theme which Neil Selwyn (2004: 373-375) also found to be prominent in interviews with older adults. Upon finishing the coding process, this subcategory included by far the most coded text segments.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that intergenerational assistance with ICTs was referred to in a heavily gendered manner as predominantly sons were mentioned. Only on one occasion was a daughter mentioned as somebody assisting with ICTs, and only occasionally grandchildren of both genders (although some interviewees also had daughters). There was a clear pattern of "the son helps with ICT issues". Interviewee two, for instance, stated that her son does the "technical support" regarding ICT matters. Although most interviewees thought of the assistance of their sons as support, interviewee two at some point also mentioned that she is "dependent" on the technical support of her son. Besides assisting with ICT usage, sons were also often referred to when interviewees wanted to purchase new ICT items, particularly computers. Interviewee three describes this in a nutshell when she says: "He [our son] said, this is the one we buy, he set it up for us and we then were only users". A similar observation about gender was also made by Barbara Crow & Kim Sawchuk (2015) in a recent study on the use of mobile technologies by Canadians aged 65+. As Barbara Crow & Kim Sawchuk (2015: 196) outline with regard to their findings: "[M]any in this study received 'hand-me-down' mobile devices from sons or daughters, although in the stories we heard it was most often sons".

Although the theme of the son as "technical supporter" was very dominant, "counter-stories" were also brought up in the interviews. Interviewee two, for example, talked about a recent experience when her modem did not work and she thought about calling somebody but then decided to try and fix the problem herself and succeeded in doing so.

Another interesting aspect in the context of intergenerational interaction with ICTs is that stories about ICT usage with grandchildren were framed in a different way than stories on "assisting sons". ICT interaction with grandchildren seemed to be more playful and less framed in terms of "assistance" and "help" and instead focused more on "exploring", "finding out" and "learning with them".

Individual elements of ICT usage and media biographies

Applying anocriticism as an interpretational approach in the analysis of the empirical material, the diversity of life-course experiences as well as professional backgrounds could be identified as important factors in the context of ICT usage, in addition to generational influences. In total, three main categories emerged with regard to individual elements of ICT usage and media biographies.

The first main category, *individual ICT experiences*, consists of two subcategories: "continuities related to ICTs" and "discontinuities related to ICTs". In general, continuities related to ICTs were thematised more often by the interviewees than discontinuities. Of particular importance in the context of continuities were work-related experiences with ICTs, which were shown to be of great influence for the usage of and ascription of meaning to ICTs, as has also been argued by Britt Östlund (2005: 34). In the words of interviewee one, who used to work part-time as a secretary in the public sector:

> This was a matter of fact for me that I will continue [using a PC] at home when I retire. And yes, then I just bought a computer before [retiring], [...] so I could continue [using a PC] seamlessly, in a way.

Other interviewees also mentioned the importance of their professional experiences with ICTs for their general usage of ICTs, particularly computers and the Internet after retiring. Interestingly, even interviewee five, who claims to be a non-user of computers and the Internet, expresses a sense of continuity with respect to ICTs in connection to professional experiences. According to her, ICTs altogether played no role during her job as a seamstress in her youth and continued to be, with the exception of radio and television, of very little importance throughout her life until the present day.

These examples and the general importance of work experiences for the framing of ICTs throughout the interviews conducted illustrate how anocriticism can help overcome the "binary opposition of young and old" (Maierhofer 2004) by paying attention to varying life courses and highlighting differences in the experiences of women with the same generational identity. In terms of "discontinuities related to ICTs", travel related to medical treatments as well as retirement have both been mentioned multiple times as occasions upon which the usage of ICTs changed. Interviewee four said that she purchased a laptop in the previous year when she went away for medical rehabilitation because she did not want to be "entirely without a computer". Interviewee one argued similarly in the context of a stay at a health spa and stated that she purchased an Internet-ready mobile phone before leaving because she wanted to be able to check her e-mails.

Besides changes in location for medical reasons, retirement was also mentioned as a reason to purchase new ICT devices or change habits of use. Interviewee three reported that she purchased a laptop upon retirement and interviewee four said that she started listening to a longer news show broadcast on the radio at noon because this "had not been possible at work"; multiple other participants stated, for example, that they now occasionally watch more TV in the evenings since they do not necessarily have to get up at a certain time the next day. Such findings point in a similar direction as the study conducted by Van der Goot et al. (2012), which outlined that changes in structures of everyday life such as retirement or changes in health status affect the interaction with ICTs (in their case, television). Thus, their suggestion to research ICT usage in connection to *both* change and continuity in order to gain a more accurate picture of media

biographies (Van der Goot, Beentjes & Van Selm 2012: 147) is also supported by the findings of this study.

The second main category relating to individual elements of ICT usage and media biographies deals with *personal attitudes towards new ICTs*. During the interviews, conceptualisations of and attitudes towards several ICTs were specifically addressed in an equal manner by the interviewer. However, most interviewees elaborated on their conceptualisations of and attitudes towards "new" ICTs (computers, the Internet, mobile phones) in more detail.

Besides conceptualising the Internet as some kind of "encyclopaedia" or book, multiple interviewees thought of the Internet as a "gateway to the world". Interviewee one, for example, stated that she feels "connected to the world" due to her Internet connection and the resulting ability to communicate with friends and family living abroad. Interviewee two referred to the Internet in a similar manner, as did interviewee five who identified herself as a non-user of computers and the Internet and who perceived it as something one can "retrieve a lot" from. Another positive dimension of the Internet brought up by interviewee four was the opportunity of political engagement. Interviewee four explicitly referred to herself as a "political person" and stated that she thus regularly also signs online petitions for environmental causes (e.g. for the free availability of plant seeds). This example illustrates that besides generational experiences and experiences related to professional backgrounds, very personal and individual interests inform dimensions of ICT usage as also Selwyn (2004: 379), Richardson, Weaver & Zorn (2005: 234) and a recent study on digital seniors conducted by Quan-Haase, Martin & Schreurs (2016: 698-699) have shown.

Besides positive aspects of the Internet, all interviewees also referred to dangers related to the Internet. The perceived risks of the Internet varied substantially across the interviews and thus also pointed to the relevance of personal and individual life-course experiences and frames of reference in the context of ascriptions of meanings to ICTs. While interviewee two particularly highlighted her scepticism with regard to the ethical use of personal data collected online by state institutions, interviewee three continuously emphasised potential health hazards of radiation from mobile phones and wireless networks. In a different manner, interviewee one referred to bad health effects in the connection to ICTs when she stated that because she is using the Internet she has less time to exercise. In this context, she compared herself with her husband who goes for a walk several times a week while she does not have time to do so. Interviewee five, who does not use the Internet, mostly had negative opinions about it and continuously referred to it as a waste of time, as something for people who have enough time to waste – like a friend of hers who spends whole afternoons in front of her computer chatting online. Repeatedly, she conceptualised the Internet as the opposite of "nature", in stating repeatedly that she does not use the Internet because she has a dog she walks several times a day. In explaining her attitude towards the Internet she stated: "[W]e go out, into nature […] and we don't sit in front of this box for hours, right, it's useless". As Selwyn remarks, such interpretations of computer technologies as "useless" do not necessarily reflect unfamiliarity with the device but rather a "genuine lack of interest in computers" (2004: 376) and are "often based on a complex and interdependent on a series of events over time" (2004: 377).

The third main category developed in the context of individual elements of ICT usage and media biographies refers to *personal strategies of ICT use*. While generationally

framed strategies of ICT usage, among others, comprised guided and planned execution of actions, similar usage of different kinds of media (the Internet as "encyclopaedia") and the notion of moderate usage of media, more individual strategies of ICT use mentioned in the interviews were "planned ignorance", "trial and error" or variations of structuring daily time with the help of ICTs.

The strategy of "planned ignorance" refers to a conscious decision of "not having to know everything", as interviewee four put it. "Trial and error" as a counter-strategy to the more widespread procedure of guided and planned execution of action, which has also been identified as generationally framed by Schäffer (2009), is addressed by interviewee two when she stated that sometimes she also practices "learning by doing" in the context of new ICTs.

The usage of ICTs to structure time in everyday life was mentioned by all interviewees, but with great variety. Interviewee five ascribed great importance to the television for the structuring of breaks during her day, interviewee one stated that her day starts and ends with reading her e-mails, and interviewee four noted that listening to an extended radio news show at noon is part of the structure of her everyday life.

Conclusion

As Margaret Morganroth Gullette (2011: 6) succinctly put it: "The least studied theme in life-course understanding used to be the interplay between historical circumstances and personal experiences. Even now, the practice of demonstrating the interplay is hard and lags behind in the conceptual models." This also applies to the study of life-course experiences that relate to ICT usage.

Analysing the interplay of collective, generational experiences and more individual, biographical experiences remains a challenge. In order to examine systematically generational and individual elements in the context of experiences and interaction with ICTs by older women, this paper suggested Mannheim's (1952 [1927/28]) notion of generation location and Schäffer's (2009) concept of generation-specific media practice cultures as well as Maierhofer's anocriticism approach as analytical tools. In the context of generation-specific experiences related to ICTs, the analysis conducted illustrated the importance of early-life experiences with ICTs. Particularly striking examples in this regard were childhood rules referring to interaction with ICTs as well as early experiences of collective media interaction.

Such generationally framed references were of relevance as they informed the usage of ascription of meaning to ICTs throughout the life course of interviewees, which confirms the relevance of Mannheim's idea of the importance of early-life experiences for the formation of attitude patterns (Mannheim 1952 [1927/28]: 296). Although there is evidence for the particular importance of youth experiences for the formation of attitudes in the context of ICTs, one has to be careful not to fall into the trap of a simplified binary image of "young" and "old" by identifying youth as the predominantly "relevant" and formative category and identifying "old" with static. A more nuanced analysis of the experiences of older women with ICTs that recognises the *continuous* interplay of continuity and change throughout the life course is enabled by the use of Maierhofer's concept of anocriticism, an interpretational lens that emphasises the individuality of older women's experiences.

Using anocriticism in the analysis of the empirical material, the importance of biographical experiences, for example, professional experiences, for modes of engagement with ICTs was highlighted which had also already been identified as significant in previous studies (e.g. Buse 2010). In addition, anocriticism also argues that "it is important not only to emphasize the looking back, but also to consider the subject of women growing old" (Maierhofer 2004a: 334). Thus, it draws attention to the importance of not identifying old age with the past only but also with the present.
In the context of the usage of and ascription of meaning to ICTs, this implies to take into account explicitly the *more recent experiences* and *current interests* of older women and to investigate how they influence their engagement with ICTs. In the context of this study, political interests and leisure preferences were identified as influential factors for the usage of and ascription of meaning to ICTs by women aged over 60. That points to the need to understand ICT usage of older women as a continuous, creative interpretation of life-course experiences. Future investigations need to address the question of *when* and *under which precise circumstances* generational or individual experiences have a stronger influence on usage of and ascription of meaning to ICTs.

Notes

1. According to Bude (2005: 28-29), Sebald used the word "Zeitheimat" ("home in time") in an interview when talking about his age group.
2. In this study, walking interviews are conceptualised as conversations taking place while jointly walking through the homes of the interviewees. For a more detailed description of the method of walking interviews in small domestic spaces in the context of ICT experiences of older women, see Ratzenböck (2016).
3. Life-graphs are graphic representations of the life course of an individual in a particular context. On the x-axis, participants draw periods of time and on the y-axis participants note relevant experiences and events in a chosen period of time, e.g. in this case in the context of ICTs. For an example of a life-graph, see: *Transitions in practice: climate change and everyday life: The shower-bath path* (http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/staff/shove/exhibits/showerv2.pdf [accessed July 30, 2014])
4. The reason for the limitation of the age range to 60–70 years was the aim to create a comparable group of interviewees. The Internet became more widespread in Austria in the early 2000s (GfK Austria 2012: 2). Thus, women of this generational identity are likely to have been confronted with new ICTs such as the Internet on a discursive or a practical level already during their careers (if employed before retirement). The limitation to the geographical area is based on the fact that Styria is one of the three Austrian provinces which are close to the overall Austrian percentage of Internet users (Statistik Austria 2012).
5. All interviews were originally conducted in German. All passages quoted were translated into English by the author.

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Gaming Expertise

Doing Gender and Maintaining Social Relationships in the Context of Gamers' Daily Lives

Claus Toft-Nielsen

Abstract

This article argues for an attempt to rethink what counts as gaming expertise. Often, expertise is configured as a fixed and measurable rather than relational capacity – having the necessary level of knowledge with a skill to become expert, or to rise above a particular and objectively defined level of competency. Drawing on interviews with women playing the massively multiplayer online game[1] *World of Warcraft*, the article argues for an understanding of gaming expertise as a relational, highly contextual capacity, operating and embedded in everyday situations. Through the lens of gaming expertise, the article teases out the complex ways in which gender, technology and identity intersect and are constructed and negotiated in different social contexts.

Keywords: expertise, gaming, gender, everyday life, game culture

Introduction

In digitally saturated environments, digital media users of all kinds, engaged in different areas of activity, are increasingly categorised in terms of their ability to appropriate and use digital media; they are regarded as non-users, experts, literates, or as someone possessing a natural expertise, as digital natives, for instance. Often, expertise is configured as a fixed rather than relational capacity – having the necessary level of knowledge with a skill to become expert, or to rise above a particular and objectively defined level of competency. Expertise is here regarded as something that is measurable. This is apparent in studies where expertise has been conceptualised as pertaining to a specific domain, as exceptional experts such as chess grandmasters (Chase & Simon 1973) or in comparative studies between expert and non-expert practices (Proffitt et al. 2000). When turning to the field of game studies, we find that the same conceptualisations of expertise often pervade; more specifically, expertise in relation to digital games and gaming has been framed as a particular kind of literacy (e.g. Steinkuehler & Duncan 2008), connected to cognitive problem-solving and spatial representation (e.g. Greenfield et al. 1994), social skills and cultural capital (e.g. Chen 2009), or sports and professionalism (Taylor 2012). Rather than continuing to view expertise as something displayed in an expert skillset of

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gamers – a form of superior ability or level of excellence – I want to shift the focus to an understanding of how digital expertise emerges and is negotiated among everyday gamers in domestic contexts.

Yates and Littleton argue that we need to understand "computer gaming as something that is constructed out of a set of practices that computer gamers engage in" (Yates & Littleton 1999: 569). Following this line of thought, I opt for viewing technology and gender as mutually shaping and intersecting *as* expertise, whereby expertise is viewed as a socio-material construction. Working within the intersections of gaming and gender, this article inevitably ties into similar and recent work within this very field. Witkowski's work on male-dominated sporting-esque cultures and structures of high-end competitive e-sport events shows that gender and gaming culture clearly intersect, but also how the construction of gender identities is contextually dependent. Both hegemonic sporting masculinities and counter-hegemonic practices and identities can emerge within the same space (Witkowski 2013). In a different context, Shaw's work on gamer identities points to contextuality and intersectionality as important factors to take into account, in the sense that gamer identity "exists in relation to, but is not determined by, other identities like gender, race, and sexuality" (Shaw 2012: 31).

Recently, the margins between gaming culture and gender studies have become highly contentious, as the GamerGate controversy clearly demonstrates (Salter & Blodgett 2012). This controversy is perhaps the most visible eruption of a much more ingrained hegemonic masculinity understood as "systemic structures [of] the industry and gaming culture as a whole" (Chess & Shaw 2015: 208-209). As Consalvo (2012) has pointed out, the current gaming culture can be toxic in many ways. Despite the changing image of gaming being for everyone, there is still a pervasive notion of the 'gamer' as the straight, white male. While this article is not about GamerGate or the toxicity of gaming culture, this nevertheless points to an important point. The gendering and hegemony of specific spaces or practices are not novel topics within gaming studies, and not even specific *to* game studies; it is also ingrained in other technological contexts, which tie into notions of, among other things, expertise. Taylor argues in her seminal book on gamers in *EverQuest* for the importance of "keeping in mind the historical context, [so] we can begin to draw on past battles (and victories) over the role of women in technology and science, 'masculine activities', and claims for active subjective positions" (Taylor 2006: 100-101). Following Taylor's argument, I seek to contextualise game studies within a larger context in order to tease out and unpack how expertise is contextually embedded in social contexts, both shaping and in turn being shaped by these.

For the sake of argument, this article will focus on female gamers – on how they experience, articulate and perform their gaming. The male gamers' point of view will be included in so far as it serves to highlight a certain aspect of the argumentation and exploration of expertise, especially when discussing gaming couples. The analysis of the empirical data of course cannot offer a representative picture of what gaming looks like for European adults; neither can the results be generalised to a larger population. Instead, the intention is to push forward the theoretical discussion of ways expertise operates in different social contexts. What Yin argued furthers the idea that qualitative insights are "generalizable to theoretical positions and not to populations or universes" (Yin 2003: 10). That is, the purpose of such studies is to expand theory and not statistical generalisation.

Expertise as the intersection of gender and technology: past research

It is difficult to shake loose the hegemonic discourses and practices that surround and delimit our everyday gendered subject positions, especially in relation to technologies and expertise. While technologies can be understood as gendered due to the context or culture of their production, they also carry with them and embody what we might call particular assumptions *about* social relations. In 1987, McNeil published a collection on gender and expertise in which authors such as Cockburn, Harraway, Lynn and McNeil herself explored different avenues of expertise (McNeil 1987). Here, the authors argue that expertise is by no means a simple question of technological competency, but rather how the operating assumptions about what constitutes technology and expertise are fraught with power relations. They warn against "a technicist approach to expertise: the expectation that we can extract the knowledge without ourselves entering into the power relations" (McNeil 1987: 2). McNeil understands technology as material culture and expertise as a material social relation, and this social embedding makes it also a gendered relation.

Writing in the context of industrial production and automation in the mid to late 1980s, what was at stake in the McNeil volume was the very question of expertise. Fighting against a craft system of largely male print workers organised in craft-based unions, the jobs of women in keyboarding operating positions were not accepted as requiring skilful computational expertise. What became evident was that technology itself was a highly gendered medium of power; through processes of inclusion and exclusion it acted as "a political economy of expertise […] distributed across both bodies and machines" (Bassett 2013: 209). Half a decade later, Cynthia Cockburn, building on the idea of the social shaping of technology (MacKenzie & Wajcman 1985), furthered this notion by arguing that

> the social relations of technology are gendered relations, that technology enters into identity, and (more difficult for many to accept) that technology *itself* cannot be fully understood without reference to gender (Cockburn 1992: 33).

These authors highlight the fact that what counts as technological competence and as expertise in regards to these technologies, are highly gendered:

> The construction of 'woman' and of 'technology' are not separate practices, similar, even congruent, power relations obtain. Men's work is often defined as technical, technical work is seen as men's work. And the obverse: women's work is often defined as non-technical, non-technical work is seen as woman's work (Lynn 1987: 134-135).

Moving to the field of gaming, we find that the same discourses and perceptions pervade. Here, the powerful association of masculine gamers and game designers, as well as the presumption of male technological competence and abilities, have positioned women and girls as less able, less competent and more casual gamers (Laurel 2001). This strand of research on gender and gaming has been identified as a major research pitfall, in which *gender is constructed as lack* (Jenson & de Castell 2010). Here, existence is bifurcated into sexes and persistently descriptive accounts of girls and gaming, and familiar gender assumptions are reaffirmed, which uncovers nothing new in relation to gender and gaming. The second pitfall in research surrounding gender and gaming is

gender as superfluity, where gender is invoked merely to dismiss it as an insignificant factor. Qualitative research, including reports on the number of women/girls playing computer games, tends to fall into this category of research, which neither problematises nor interrogates any of the self-evident terms (ibid.).

Research that avoids these pitfalls does so first and foremost by recasting the purpose of gender and gaming research, in which concepts and practices are destabilised or reorganised instead of merely describing and reauthorising them. What is more important is that both women and men *perceive and articulate* gaming as a specific masculine activity (Griffiths et al. 2004; Ogletree & Drake 2007; Phillips et al. 1995; Selwyn 2007; Williams et al. 2008). Yates & Littleton (1999) argue that the more fruitful approach is not to look for women that play games, or do not, but instead to determine how various players construct the act of gaming and how that process plays into their gendered identity. In a similar vein, Kerr found that the construction of particular characters and identities reveal that gender and technology intersects as a dynamic practice for female gamers (Kerr 2003).

These studies challenge the taken-for-granted presumptions traditionally attributed to gender, mobilising a framing of gender that echoes Butler: “Whether gender or sex is fixed or free it is a function of a discourse which seeks to set certain limits to analysis or safeguard certain tenets of humanism as presupposition to any analysis of gender” (Butler 1990: 12). It is here informative to consider Dovey’s concept of *technicity*. As an amalgamation of ‘technology’ and ‘ethnicity’, the concept ties into the very idea of competence and expertise:

> The notion of technical virtuosity, of a particular easy adoption of and facility with technology, is a fundamental aspect of the contemporary ideal subject within the technosphere. This historical moment produces technological competence as a key marker for success as a participant in the modern culture. A focus on technicity will also enable us to emphasise the ways in which particular kinds of identity are privileged (Dovey 2007: 3).

Technicity is about the privileging of certain technological skills, the ability to adopt, handle and be at ease with new technologies, as well as the ways identities and gender are increasingly mediated by technologies and abilities, practices and relations with these technologies. The concept of technicity can, in the following, serve as a focal point for studying gaming expertise as the performance of gendered relations. Rather than approaching gaming expertise from the site of the technology or the games themselves, I focus on how these are articulated by actual gamers. This enables us to see how technologies and understandings of expertise connected to these are bound up in discourses concerning gendered identities of users; further, it also enables us to see how “[d]iscourse does not merely represent or report on pregiven practices and relations, but it enters into their articulation and is, in that sense, productive” (Butler 1995: 138). In doing so, I explore the discourses of expertise as a material social relation where gender emerges as a complex enabler of constructed media engagements and through normative practices and behaviours pertaining to gaming.

Method

The empirical data presented here stem from a triangulation of qualitative focus group interviews (Halkier 2008), offline observations of gamers' physical gaming set-ups in their homes, and three years of in-game participant observations of gaming sessions in the massively multiplayer online role-playing game *World of Warcraft* (*WoW*), for three to four hours several days a week, involving frequent and skilled gamers (Toft-Nielsen 2013). I started by conducting in-game participant observations of gaming sessions for several months, through which sessions participants for the following focus group interviews were recruited. By combining these methods, I am able to obtain and compare the players' subjective perceptions and negotiated attitudes (the focus groups), and their practices (the in-game participant observations and offline observations). In the following, I draw on the focus group interviews, as these produce specific insights specifically pertaining to gender constructions and negations that were not readily visible through in-game participant observations. Focus group interviews produce "accounts *in* action" rather than "accounts *about* action" (Halkier 2008: 10), meaning that the method is well suited for exploring how the participants interact, present, discuss and negotiate their knowledge and experiences in action, making the interview itself a "microcosm" mirroring the social, everyday context of their gaming sessions (Kvale 2007). The interviews included in the present article are three focus group interviews with twelve adult *WoW* players – three heterosexual couples, three single men and three single women; however I will only cursorily include the all male interview. While there are notable exceptions (Thornham 2008; 2011), this age bracket (adult game players) is still somewhat under-researched within gaming studies, which has traditionally focused on young people or children (Buckingham 2008*;* Carr et al. 2006; Livingstone 2002; Walkerdine 2007).

The participants were recruited from two *WoW* guilds[2] from the same European PvE-server[3] of which I was a member for a period of several years. The first interview included three couples playing the game together. Gaming couples were chosen because most women are introduced to MMO games through a male relationship (Jenson & de Castell 2010) and two-thirds of all female MMO gamers play alongside their romantic partner (Yee 2008). Initially, gender was not a focal point in this first interview (genre preferences and media use were); however, some crucial insights into gender dynamics in relation to gaming quickly emerged. This prompted me to pursue the gendered constructions of gaming further in the following interviews with men and women in gender segregated groups, of which the women interviewees will be included in this article. Interviewing couples who play together as well as interviewing an all female group produces accounts of gaming both within and outside "the heterosexual matrix" (Butler 1990), which reflects the social power dynamics framing and affecting the identity positions from which they speak.

The participants all knew each other in-game and they all participated in the guild-specific gaming practice of *raiding,* where multiple players together try to defeat challenging 'end-game' content in organised, achievement-oriented collaborative events. Apart from this shared practice, the participants were a very diverse group, chosen on a principle of maximum variation sampling, based on variables such as gender, age, education and location/geography. Their ages ranged from 21 to 40 and they came from different European countries (Denmark, England, Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden) as well as having differences in level of employment and education, ranging from unskilled and unemployed to university students and fulltime employees, one of whom had a

PhD. In this way, the sample was strategic, meaning that the participants were deliberately chosen to cover a variety of diverse perspectives. The insights produced via this sampling method are to be understood as "a specimen perspective" of the intersections between gender and gaming expertise: "A specimen as a form of research material is not treated as either a *statement about* or *a reflection of* reality; instead, a specimen is seen as a part of the reality being studied" (Alasuutari 1995: 63); that is, it shows one of many simultaneously existing pictures of what it sometimes looks like in a gaming context. Through this method, I want to highlight how gendered identities and relations are produced or articulated *within* and *around*, and not as a direct result of, gaming.

Focus group findings: positions of inclusion and exclusion

One of the most obvious results emerging from the first study on gendered gameplay is how the three women during the couple's focus group interview all claimed a secondary or outsider position in relation to their husband or boyfriend. Despite the fact that the couples played together every day and two of the women played more often and in longer sessions than their husband/boyfriend, the three women all positioned themselves as less able, less skilled and less knowledgeable than the men. The women constructed themselves as gendered and therefore initially as excluded as the normative gamer is gendered male. As a result of this, the women were extremely hesitant to seek out information outside the game on their own, relying solely on their boyfriend or husband to provide the information needed:

> Lykke: "Well, I have a husband that tells me what I need to know".
>
> Line: "Yeah, me too".
>
> Tina: "Yeah, I'm leaving that up to Martin to find out…".

The women positioned themselves as subjected to the more active agencies of their boyfriend/husband whereby traditional gendered power dynamics on and around gaming emerged.

What is emerging here is the notion of expertise specifically in regard to gaming capital. Consalvo introduced the concept of gaming capital "to capture how being a member of game culture is about more than playing games or even playing them well" (Consalvo 2007: 18). The concept is a re-contextualising of Bourdieu's "cultural" capital for the field of gaming and describes a highly contextual and dynamic currency, which entails being knowledgeable about game information, knowing where to find that information and knowing what to do with it. Consalvo recognises that gaming capital is sought by players and becomes instantiated in a diverse range of user practices and productions – such as knowing what to do in-game and when to do it, and installing and configuring game add-ons and interface modifications. We may read this concept in light of digital expertise, which helps to frame expertise as something pertaining to other aspects than just the act of playing the game. Gaming capital connects digital expertise to a range of out-of-game practices, and in all three focus groups the men continuously claimed gaming capital at the same time as the women clearly did not. Both the female and the male gamers coded these out-of-game competencies as strictly masculine, and as such the women left it to the men to perform them.

Moreover, what was echoed again and again in the interviews, by both men and women, was the perception of the normative gamer as gendered male; the women described gaming as "a men's club", "for the boys", something "these blokes do"; a masculine domain into which women can be invited, but where "there is a lot of sexism going on" and the women run the risk of being positioned as "the token female", as one female interviewee describes it. These findings echo earlier studies in that there is "an assumed […] included (men) or excluded (women) position articulated in relation to the medium" (Thornham 2008: 132). What is at stake here is more broadly a gendered technological competence, which:

> [H]as less to do with actual skills and more to do with construction of a gendered identity – that is, women lack technological competence to the extent that they seek to *appropriately perform* femininity; correlatively, men are technologically competent by virtue of their *performance* of masculinity (Jenson & de Castell 2010: 54).

By *not* claiming gaming capital and positioning themselves as ignorant in regard to the out-of-game practices, the women claim what Walkerdine has termed "the habitual 'feminine' position of incompetence" (Walkerdine 2006: 526). This position is echoed in the interviews themselves where the women let the men do almost all of the talking and explaining. It is also echoed in Martin and Tina's domestic gaming practices, where Martin's dual-boxing – playing two characters on two different computers at the same time – results in Tina *not* having her computer to play on, even if she wants to. Martin's gaming practices are here given precedence, in regard to both technology and time. This highlights the fact that gender and technology mutually constructed each other, to the extent that it was also the women's gaming time that was cut short due to domestic chores and housework – making dinner, doing dishes, cleaning etc. – which clearly demonstrates how "gaming sloths into the existing nexus of domestic power" (Schott & Horrell 2000: 49). Some of the female interviewees were very aware of how gaming technologies and gender intersect in different ways, as they articulate how different technologies are coded along specific gendered lines:

> Kirsten: "Well *WoW* is related to *Dungeons and Dragons* and… when my ex was playing it I said, you're never gonna get me playing that, you know […]. I think people think more of … like *Call of Duty* and games like that as reasonable online games. Because they are games that relate to the PlayStation, the Xbox, the Wii – all generic game consoles, whereas this is purely a PC game, and a fantasy PC game at that, so people tend to look at it that way…"

> Nessa: "Everyone has a PlayStation or a Wii or an Xbox, some kind of console, and it is seen as … cool, what everybody has no matter how different they are, whereas PC games they have always had this … like the geek image or something. It's just how it is, and if you say you are a girl playing it, it's 'What, why, why would you do that?'... you know".

We see here how genre choices, the activity of gaming, the technology itself and the cultural heritage of gaming are all gendered and coded as always already masculine, having a "geek image". All of these must be carefully negotiated if and when the women are to engage with them: especially in regard to what kind of gaming activities are admissible

and sought after. Because the women *do* use the same technologies as the men, they *do* play the same game and they *do* engage in the same type of gameplay, but they perceive, frame and negotiate it quite differently. The three women interviewed together defined themselves as gamers in opposition to their ex-boyfriends or ex-husbands through the notion of "the geek": as in "my geeky ex-boyfriend". One of the women "was engaged to a … geek basically", another had a boyfriend, who was "a bit of a geek", while a third woman was married to "a complete geek". Here, the women demarcate "normal", female gaming practices from "geek" male forms of gaming. What this entails becomes clear in a comment made by Tina. At one point she got so caught up in *WoW* that she completely lost track of time, framing the incident, as "I was the geek". It is interesting that the notion of "geek gaming" is found throughout the interviews with both the couples and the women, where sanctioned modes of gaming are discussed and labelled. Kirsten tells how her "geeky ex-boyfriend" "didn't want to play with other people, he wanted to play as a single player, whereas I loved the social aspect of the game". Nessa backs up Kirsten's experiences:

> I really agree with the socializing part because my boyfriend, he really didn't care, he was just doing his quests […] and I was just standing talking to people for hours in-game […]. So I went over to his house to see what he was doing and I got really interested in it just by myself and I thought, hey, this may be a good way to sort of keep in touch a bit more, you know, because he had become a bit more distant, so I bought the game myself.

The women all rationalize their time spent gaming as legitimate due to the *social function* of the game. They demarcate "solo gaming" from "social gaming" and discursively install a binary between the wrong, *geeky* way to play the game and the normal, right way to play it and this demarcation is carefully drawn. This echoes Thornham who in a slightly different context found, that "for normal gamers, games are *useful* in their *function* as social devices […]. 'Geek' gaming is excessive and anti-social pleasurable gaming, laden with signifiers of the lone perverted male." (Thornham 2008: 134). These similarities between my own project and previous research projects investigating gender and technology point to such parallels as not just a "stylized repetition of acts" (Butler 1990: 179) but perhaps also highlight how the sedimentation of some acts, over time produces hegemonic behaviour (ibid.: 171-180). Throughout the interviews, we find a careful distinction and negotiation around what kind of gaming skills and aspects of gaming expertise are admissible and what kind are deemed inappropriate. These are gendered not only in terms of technological competencies and level of gaming capital but also in terms of what aspects of gaming they support and permit, such as solo gaming and social gaming.

Games as social devices – everyday life and gaming

In this final section of the article, I want to shift the focus from the discourses around gaming and instead focus on the various media-related practices that surround and intersect with gaming. In doing so, I aim to show how gaming expertise and gaming practices are deeply interwoven with the fabric of everyday life in such a way that the act of playing a computer game – *gaming* – should not be viewed as an isolated activity, but rather as an "open-ended range of practices" (Couldry 2004: 4). Such an approach

starts with “media-related practice in all its looseness and openness. It asks quite simply: *what are people* […] *doing in relation to media* across a whole range of situations and contexts?” (Couldry 2012: 37).

As with other technologies, integrating the PC into individuals’ and couples’ everyday lives involves a double-sided process of domestication, in which the technology is adapted to everyday life (Silverstone et al. 1991), at the same time as everyday life is adapting to technology (Aune 1996). Following this line of thought, I examine more closely how gaming as a practice by is no means limited to the individual’s consumption of specific computer games, but also involves understanding how the practice of gaming is integrated into and related to other activities, other media, and other practices involving the computer, and how these activities and practices are socially organised.

Despite the differences between the interview participants, two ubiquitous tendencies emerged. First and foremost, the interviewees were very experienced gamers, playing *WoW* almost every single day. Secondly, the interviews also revealed two different explanations for what originally motivated the participants to start playing games in the first place. Whereas the men all told stories of starting to play *WoW* because of an interest in the game itself, the women’s motivations were quite different. Forty-year-old Sharon’s introduction to gaming was “playing with the children on their consoles. […] I would play anything with my children.” Thirty-two-year-old Lykke told how she was introduced to computer games by her “ex … he was a system administrator so he had to sit by a computer 24 hours a day… So I might as well do that also, so he bought me *Neverwinter Nights* and from that moment on, I was sold.”

Twenty-one-year-old Line echoes this when she tells of her introduction:

> Well, I used to think it was a shitty game. I had been living with Morten for quite some time and he sat out there and I sat in here in front of the TV. Sometimes I’d go out to him and look at his computer screen and I had *no* clue what was going on. And when we had Thomas and Lykke over for dinner, they all talked about the game and I was not in on the conversations and still had no idea what was going on. […] So I started to play.

These quotes highlight the fact that the women started to play computer games not because of the games themselves, but in order to spend time with their children, a husband or a boyfriend. Despite the fact that games function fundamentally differently from other media, owing to the complex levels of interaction between player and game (what is normally termed “game play”), games are also social devices. Bird has argued that we need to study the role of media in our culture by focusing on how media outlets are embedded in everyday communicative and cultural practices (Bird 2003) and, in following her, I view gaming as a social practice that extends well beyond the actual moment of game play. As such, it is both inclusive and exclusive, and in order to be included, the women started playing the game, either with or alongside their partner, who in turn helps out with the difficulties the women encounter in relation to gaming. This is yet another instance of gaming capital in use: one person with gaming capital teaches another while at the same time maintaining a relationship. Here, playing the game and using the game console or the PC functions as a technology in the overall, socially organised practice of doing “parenthood”, as with Sharon, or the practice of doing “relationship”, as Lykke’s and Line’s introduction to gaming demonstrates.

If we shift our focus from the women's descriptions of gaming to the couples' gaming practices, we find a number of similar coping strategies. In her chapter "Playing Along", Malin Sveningsson explores how female *WoW* gamers adopt different coping strategies for handling situations of being within the male-dominated online gaming context of the game (Sveningsson 2012). The examples discussed here show how such coping strategies are by no means are isolated to in-game contexts, but extend to out-of-game practices of organising gaming as a social practice. Using gaming as a social practice is a means of spending time together and the physical gaming set-up of the couple's computers reflects this. They had placed their computers so that they sat side by side, next to each other. These arrangements highlight the importance of including both the material structures and social interactions in the analysis of a practice because these set-ups allowed the couples to be together, both in-game and physically out-of-game, as the following conversation shows:

> Lykke: "My parents have asked me why Thomas and I didn't spend more time together, watching TV or something…"
>
> Line: "But, it's the same thing!"
>
> Morten: "Yes, it is"
>
> Lykke: "It *is* the same! Whether we are sitting on the couch watching TV or we sit next to each other at our computers – I can't see what the difference is."
>
> Line: "Well, apart from the fact that we can't hold hands while gaming…"

As the women started to play together with their partners, the game itself became an activity they shared, something they did together. Despite the fact that playing a game and watching television require quite different skill sets, the couples came to understand the two different media uses as similar because of their social function. Here, mediated and non-mediated interactions intertwine as the couples engage in and perform two simultaneous, socially organised practices: gaming and relationships. Both their *doings* (how the couples created set-ups that allowed them to do things together both in-game and physically out-of-game), and their *sayings* (how they explicitly articulate, compare and understand their co-gaming practices similar to sitting together on the couch and watching TV together), reflect this. The computer has created a new possibility for situations of "togetherness" that draw on some of the same elements, understandings and engagements as other media-related practices.

Conclusion

In this article, I have explored gaming expertise as a socio-material relation through a practice-based approach. The first perspective highlights how expertise is a relational quality and how games and gaming are always already inherently and materially gendered as a *dominant technicity*, "offering a particular masculine identity a valuable cultural space in which to create imaginary, controlled worlds" (Dovey & Kennedy 2006: 75-76). Gaming as a specific activity takes place within and forms part of a culture that is not gender neutral. Gendered structures of inclusion and exclusion are at work in the mediation of access to both games and play in a number of different ways. This is not a

focus on the technology as such, but rather the approach or attitudes towards technology, the discursive framing of it and how this slots into the construction of a gaming identity and intersects with domestic power relations.

All the women quoted in this article constructed both the normative user, the technology and the computer game as gendered male through positions of exclusion. They articulated a feminine position of technological incompetence as a particular kind of gendered femininity, which seemed to actively exclude technology itself and any kind of digital gaming expertise. When addressing why they *did* play, the motivations and engagements offered by the women were framed by negotiations of what kind of gaming expertise and technological competence is admissible and what kind is deemed inadmissible and geeky. If the first move the women made was towards a position of exclusion based on simplified gender, then the second move was a positioning and a careful negotiation in reference to the social. This was highlighted by the practice-based approach, which has highlighted the sorts of things people are regularly doing with media, amid the proliferating complexity of digital media and everyday life. Adopting such an approach in relation to gaming has highlighted the interconnectivity of the use of technologies involved in media consumption as it moves away from understanding gaming expertise as a fixed type to reframing gaming as continuous, relational activities in multiple, intersecting everyday life practices. We have seen how changes in specific kinds of media consumption have allowed for new types of sociality, new possibilities of doing "togetherness", and new forms of practices emerging from the activities and elements of older, earlier practices. This can be viewed as the women's negotiated way of engaging with and expressing digital expertise by means of connecting it to the social aspects of gaming. Gaming is "allowed" due to the social functions it supports, and these functions are important facets of "feminine cultural capital" (Skeggs 1997: 72). In making such a move, the women's engagement is articulated not in the technology and gaming in itself, but rather in the social scenarios and the social function of the games and gaming. Regarded through these lenses, the notion of digital gaming expertise has to be approached in such a way that it recalls the material construction of technology as always already gendered.

Notes

1. Massively multiplayer online games are games capable of supporting large numbers of players interacting, competing and cooperating, as they simultaneously inhabit the persistent open world of the game space.
2. A guild is an in-game association of players, formed to make group activities easier and more rewarding, as well as to create a social atmosphere in which to enjoy the game. Membership in a guild offers players admission into a broader social network.
3. A PvE server (Player versus Environment) is a type of server that facilitates a style of play, where the player-controlled characters compete against the game world and its computer-controlled denizens – as opposed to Player-versus-Player (PvP) servers, where players fight other players. PvE is the dominant form of MMORPG games.

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News Framing in a Time of Terror

A Study of the Media Coverage of the Copenhagen Shootings

Hanne Jørndrup

Abstract

On Saturday afternoon, 14 February 2015, a man attacked a public meeting at Krudttønden in Copenhagen and later the city's synagogue, killing two persons. The attacks did not take the Danish media by surprise since they had recently been engaged in the coverage of similar events, reporting the attacks at the Charlie Hebdo office in Paris in January 2015.

This article analyses how the Danish television channel DR1 framed the attacks in the newscast from the first shot at Krudttønden and for the following week. Furthermore, the analysis will discuss how the framing of the shooting as a "terror attack" transformed the news coverage into a "news media" media event, abandoning the journalistic norm of critical approach while the media instead became the scene of national mourning.

Keywords: framing, terror, media events

Introduction

In the afternoon of Saturday, 14 February 2015, a shooting took place at Krudttønden, a public venue in Copenhagen. On that day, Krudttønden was the venue for a public meeting with the Swedish artist and cartoonist Lars Vilks. A gunman shot several rounds of bullets against the windows of the building, injuring three police officers. The gunman fled the area and, on the way out, he shot and killed a civilian who tried to stop him. From then on, an intensive police search for the gunman began, but he managed to strike again in the late evening when he fired shots at the synagogue in Copenhagen, killing a civilian from the Jewish community and injuring two police officers. The next day, the gunman was finally located near his residence, where he entered into an exchange of fire with the police and consequently died. On Monday, 16 February, a commemoration was held close to Krudttønden and later in the week the two victims were buried as well as the gunman himself.

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The research subject

This is, in short, an account of what happened during that week in February 2015. The way Danish media presented these events is the scope of this article. The media reported on the event from shortly after the shooting at Krudttønden and extensively over the next few days. The two national television stations went into "breaking news" mode and followed every step in the developing news story on their 24-hour news channels (TV2 News and DR2), while the major online news services had ongoing coverage on their websites. What is interesting to analyse is how the media from the very beginning picked up the event as more than just a simple shooting. In this article, I will demonstrate how a dominant frame in the news coverage interpreted the events in Copenhagen as a terror attack that was part of a broader conflict between radicalised Islamic forces and the freedom and virtues of the Western world.

The terror frame has been omnipresent since the September 11 attacks in the USA in 2001. Increasingly over the last ten years, an additional notion has emerged within this terror frame – the notion that terror would eventually hit Denmark. The assumption that *Denmark is next on the terrorists' list* was based on previous terror attacks in London and Madrid, on Denmark's contributions to wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, and last but not least on the so-called cartoon crisis in 2005. Asta Smedegaard Nielsen (2014) made a study of previous incidents concerning terror in Denmark since 2001. The anticipation of terrorism in Denmark was also a feature in the media coverage of these events. Nielsen describes how journalists refer to a public anticipation of terrorism – formed by the media's previous coverage of the subject – which leads the unfolding event to be classified as a terrorist attack (Nielsen 2014).

In this regard, the intensive coverage of the attack on the Charlie Hebdo offices served for Danish journalists as the preview to this domestic attack. During the coverage of the attack on Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, Danish journalists constantly referred to Denmark, compared the work of the French magazine with the publication of the famous Danish cartoons of the prophet Mohammed, and repeatedly emphasised the French-Danish connections through these cartoons, which Charlie Hebdo had also published. This so-called "Danish angle" on international events is a common feature in reporting foreign news in Denmark – even though editors rarely want to admit it (Jørndrup & Rohleder 2013). In this case, it became almost prophetic and placed the notion (or fear) within the Danish public that something similar might happen in Denmark at any given moment.

Therefore, the combination of the dominant frame of "terror" and the anticipation of an attack in Denmark presents us with a somewhat extraordinary case compared with studies of previous terrorist attacks, like September 11 in 2001 or Utøya in 2011. Unlike these attacks, the Copenhagen shooting lacked the dominant element of shock that, according to several studies, was a crucial element in understanding the way the media reacted and why journalists willingly abandoned the role of critical watchdog (e.g. Zelizer & Allan 2011b (2002)).

The aim of this article is to examine whether the news coverage of the Copenhagen shootings followed the path of previous terror attacks even though the anticipation of a terrorist attack replaced the element of shock. In the following, I will return to some of the studies of media and journalism in time of terror and present Hillel Nossek's notion of "the 'news media' media event" combined with Daniel C. Hallin's three spheres of

journalistic practice, which will be the theoretical concepts in analysing the framing of selected newscasts.

Theory

Terrorism has been present in many parts of the world for decades. In Europe, organisations such as the Red Brigades and the IRA have a long record of terrorist attacks, just as various Palestinian organisations have operated with terror as part of their struggle for an independent Palestinian state. The media have reported these events over the years, but there have also been several attempts to keep the terrorists and their claims away from public attention (Carruthers 2000).

Nevertheless, it is fair to state that news coverage on terrorist attacks entered a whole new dimension on 11 September 2001, due to both the magnitude and unexpectedness of the attacks and also the transformation of the media landscape with unprecedented 24-hour news coverage both on television and the internet (Zelizer & Allan 2011b). With an unexpected attack on a city with numerous television stations and thousands of journalists, everything went on air directly to a worldwide public. Danish television stations went to live coverage shortly after the first plane crashed and cancelled all scheduled programmes for the rest of the day and more or less for the following days (Qvortrup 2002). This pattern recurred when a bomb exploded in the streets of central Oslo followed by the shootings on the island of Utøya in Norway in July 2011. For a short period, Norwegian media focused exclusively on the attacks and eliminated all other news stories from the agenda. Similarly in this case the interest from foreign media was present from the very beginning (Andenæs 2012), just as Danish media tuned in on the event in Norway (Nielsen 2014).

Immediate live coverage following the unfolding of an event is now a common feature that leaves little time for any editing or selection of news items. Zelizer and Allan describe it as a situation where the journalists have to operate far from their everyday context: "News organizations – together with their sources – lack a readymade 'script' to tell their stories, a frame to help them and their audiences comprehend the seemingly incomprehensible" (Zelizer & Allan 2011a:1).

These studies also reveal another common feature of how journalists reacted in the first phase of the attacks – they all worked non-stop. Even though they *lacked their script* there was a common understanding that this story was mandatory. Commercials, entertainment programmes etc., were either abandoned or down-scaled, and journalists kept on working even long after their shifts had ended (Rosen 2011). In Norway the attack happened during the holiday season, but many journalists gave up their holidays and rushed to either Oslo or Utøya to report on the attacks (Andenæs 2012). In Schudson's words, on September 11, the feeling among journalists in New York could best be described as "'At last!' they seemed to sigh. 'This is what journalism is about! This is why I am a journalist!'" (Schudson 2011: 49).

Again, when comparing the studies from New York (e.g. Zelizer & Allan 2011b) and Norway (Andenæs 2012), significant similarities in the journalistic practice appear. The first phase of these attacks exposed both a sense of operating on unknown ground simultaneously with a sense of facing a task of utmost importance, an event journalists should make their very best effort to explain to the public. How did they go about that task?

In short, journalists (both American and Norwegian) did two very different things. On the one hand, they focused on one of the core elements in journalism – the gathering of facts. This connects to a basic ideal of journalism as an essential institution in a democratic society – with the duty to inform the public about important events. On the other hand, journalists neglected another core virtue in journalism – that of being a critical opponent to the establishment, the government and its institutions. This ideal also demands journalists to separate facts from opinion and emotion (Zelizer & Allan 2011b; Andenæs 2012).

Schudson describes, with reference to Hallin (1986), how the coverage on September 11 quickly shifted from the standard ideas of how to report in a balanced and objective manner within *the sphere of legitimate controversy* to reporting within *the sphere of consensus* where a value-based *we* was considered under siege by evil forces. Authorities such as the police, the fire brigade and the US president were national heroes, and journalists did not make any effort to balance their views with those of Osama bin Laden or any others. On the contrary, the terrorists and their actions were reported within the *sphere of deviance* and demonised as the very antithesis of the national or Western *we* (Hallin 1986: 116-117; Schudson 2011). "Instead, post-September 11 journalism sought to provide comfort or reassurance, not just information or analysis" (Schudson 2011: 48). Andenæs (2012) also gives accounts of this shift in the basic journalistic attitudes from Norway in 2011. Several journalists explained how they never challenged the information from the Norwegian police even though they knew that it was inaccurate.

In Nossek's concept, the media turn a terrorist attack into a "'news media' media event" (Nossek 2008: 326-327) where the media perform the same roles as in classic media events like royal funerals or weddings (as promoted by Dayan & Katz 1992).The critical approach is abandoned in favour of a role where journalists act as masters of ceremony towards the audience to ensure that tradition is upheld (Nossek 2008: 314). In Nossek's altered interpretation, the event is clearly neither state-organised nor preplanned, but the media act independently in accordance with the ruling values in society and master a ceremony of mourning after the terrorist attack. Critical voices towards society or the government are stifled just as they are when the media engage in traditional media events (Dayan & Katz 1992; Nossek 2008). In Hallin's concept, a 'news media' media event signals a shift away from the everyday reporting within the sphere of legitimate controversy to reporting about the society within a sphere of consensus and respectively reporting the terrorists within the sphere of deviance. The shifts are not deliberate choices made by journalists or news media, but a reflection of the political consensus on the subject in the society as such (Hallin 1986: 116; Jørndrup 2012: 50).

Schudson emphasises how there are three occasions when journalists willingly abandon the idea of neutral reporting, (1) moments of tragedy, (2) situations of public danger and (3) threats to national security. In the attacks on September 11 all three aspects were in place, and journalists willingly did their best to help overcome the trauma and tragedy by lending public grief a voice, distributing practical as well as emotional guidance, as well as embracing and applauding the national *we* (Schudson 2011: 49). In Nossek's words, media worked intensively in order to reject the terrorist message and to restore society (Nossek 2008).

Zelizer and Allan describe, with reference to Herman (1992), that journalists play a key role in a process to lead a society from trauma to recovery. It is a process with three

stages: establishing safety, engaging in remembrance and mourning, and reconnecting with ordinary life (Herman 1992 in Zelizer & Allan 2011a:2). Only at the third stage, when the imminent threat seems to have disappeared and ordinary life has resumed, will journalism reconnect with the ideals of critical, balanced reporting which includes a critical stance towards the authorities' role in and responsibility for the event.

Methods

With inspiration from these studies, I will have a closer look at the media coverage of the Copenhagen shooting in order to see to if these different stages and corresponding shifts in journalistic praxis were present in the Danish case. To grasp how the news media interpreted the event within different journalistic spheres, I will make a framing analysis of selected news items. The concept of framing is widely used and exists in so many different theoretical and methodological varieties that it might be impossible to describe framing analysis as only one thing (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010; Entman 1993; Hjarvard 2015). A common feature in most approaches to this concept is the basic assumption that we do not relate to the world in a direct and unfiltered way, but that we recognise and interpret events within existing ideas.

This article follows Entman's concept of framing as a specific logic that selects and interprets some aspects of an event and ignores others. To be able to identify a coherent frame and distinguish it from other frames, Entman defines a frame as constituted by : (1) problem definition, (2) causal interpretation, (3) moral evaluation, and (4) solution or treatment recommendation for the problem (Entman 1993:52). These four dimensions together form a framework, a specific gaze on the world, which constitutes the context for how news media present and interpret events. Entman also describes framing as "a way to describe the power of a communicating text" (Entman 1993: 51). Framing entails the power to define what and who are good and bad, to single out both the problems and solutions and to influence moral judgements of the events. Framing mechanisms also thereby act to prime the ways in which future events will be perceived and have an influence on both norms and politics. Kuypers refers to this as "framing extension" (Kuypers 2010).

I will use these four functions of a frame as tools to scrutinise the unfolding event that began at Krudttønden on 14 February 2015. To enhance the framework I will analyse the descriptions of the event, the actors, the motives and the reactions by asking the four questions related to Entman's four dimensions: (1) *What* kind of event is this? (2) *Who* is to blame? *Why* did it happen, and what was the motive? (3) What kind of moral evaluations refer to the event – and who has the right to pass these judgements? (4) Finally, what to do next?

The news framing of the event reveals itself in these small details, and – as I will argue – reveals itself as being exactly a frame that is not identical to the events, the actors, the utterances and other elements that made up the news story.

I have decided to focus on one medium only, television, and one channel, DR1, in particular, its regular newscast, *TV-Avisen*, broadcast daily at 6:30pm in the period from 14 February and the week that followed. This limited sample enables me to make an in-depth framing analysis on a single newscast and see exactly how the framing of the event constitutes itself through the four functions and how it evolves from day to

day. Since DR1 is part of a media organisation that also runs breaking news on another channel (DR2), I expect to get the daily summary of the whole news production from DR. One might see it as a way to perform a spot check on the framing of the event. The 6.30 pm newscast was the first regular newscast on DR after the shooting took place and the only newscast that is broadcast daily on DR1.[1] Since the element of live broadcast is a vital part of the concept of a media event, it is obvious to choose television newscasts for this analysis.

The analytic focus is on how the framing constitutes the event as a terror attack and how to locate shifts between the different journalistic spheres. In this regard, I am less concerned with the question of whether or not the newscast at DR1 is representative of the news coverage in the Danish media in general. DR as the leading public service media in Denmark is, however, expected to be very much in accordance with the mainstream media and consequently with the political consensus in Denmark (Hallin 1986). DR's position as a public service medium may have reinforced its role in the public mourning since DR acted as co-coordinator of the commemoration held in Copenhagen on Monday, 16 February 2015.

First, I will make an analysis of the very first newscast on 14 February, which was broadcast at a time when neither the media nor the police knew anything about the perpetrator or the scope of his crimes.

Saturday, 14 February 2015

When the newscast begins at 6:30pm, it is three hours after the shooting at Krudttønden, but hours before the shooting at the synagogue. The identity of the gunman is still unknown.

The newscast on Saturday is broadcast in the regular scheduled time slot, but it reports solely on the shooting. On the screen is a bar with the headline "Shooting drama" and below that "One killed in Østerbro" – later this is changed to "One killed and several injured". In the studio are two people, the news anchor and DR1's crime reporter, who plays a role as both co-anchor and expert on the subject. During the newscast, the anchor is in dialogue with a number of journalists dispatched to different locations in Copenhagen. Two reporters are in place near the scene of the shooting while a third is located in the northern part of the same neighbourhood where the police have found the getaway car. Another reporter is at the police headquarters. There are also interviews with eyewitnesses who happened to be in the vicinity at the time of the shooting.

The number of live reporters in the field indicates that the event was significant and newsworthy, as does the absence of any other news stories not related to the shooting. The sources used in these newscasts were primarily the police and some ordinary citizens, but the crime reporter also used an iPad to access news from both international media and social media while in the studio.

What is the problem?

How does DR1 present the event at this stage? First of all, the labelling on the screen tells us that it has to do with a shooting incident with casualties. Nevertheless, the crime reporter states in the first minutes that the police do not consider it a terrorist attack *yet*

Figure 1. *Screenshot from DR1, TV-Avisen, 6:30pm, 14 February 2015*

(DR1 14/02/2015). Hence, the idea of "terror" is active from the very beginning and is therefore present in the framework, just as the word pops up on several occasions during the newscast.

In a discussion on the kind of weapons used in the shooting, the co-anchor states that it is presumably some kind of heavy automatic weapon. To this the anchor adds: "… and without making any conclusions, we have to be cautious, we don't know the motive or the circumstances, but it was the same we witnessed at the attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris, where the same kind of heavy weapons were used". Again, the framing tells us that this is not just a single shooting, but also a much larger problem.

Why has there been a shooting – what was the cause?

At the time of the newscast, there is still no indication of who the gunman is or whether he acted alone. Nevertheless, the journalists do speculate openly about what could be the target and the motive, and they base their speculations on the fact that Krudttønden hosted a meeting with "the Mohammed cartoonist Lars Vilks". A couple of minutes are dedicated to explaining the role of Vilks in the Mohammed cartoon crisis of 2005 and the number of attacks and threats he has received since then. During this commentary, the anchor says, "We don't know anything about the motive, so we have to be careful. But it is obvious that it (the presence of Lars Vilks) leads us to believe that the shooting is related to the Mohammed cartoons". The co-anchor agrees with this assumption and confirms that the police are working with the same theory.

With reference to "voices on Twitter", the crime reporter also states that the news of the shooting does not really elicit a feeling of shock, since people have expected an attack of this kind to strike Copenhagen at some point. Equally, the TV presenters state that media from around the world have great interest in the shooting, "not least because of this link to the Mohammed cartoons," as the anchor states.

The repeated references to these cartoons emphasise the notion of Denmark as an expected terror target. At this stage in the coverage, a clear framework was present and articulated even though the journalists were very cautious in their wording and constantly emphasised that they "do not know this yet", talking about the "presumed motive" or the "alleged perpetrators" etc.

The moral evaluation

The newscast includes plenty of comments that condemn the shooting. These moral evaluations appear primarily in interviews with people on the streets who utter their shock and disgust towards the shootings. Many comments focus on the fact that the shooting took place in an ordinary neighbourhood full of children and families who were just going about their regular business and who could all potentially have been in danger. Children playing in the park and semi-automatic weapons fired in the street do not go well together, so according to civilians the shooting is a threat to everyday life.

These interviews with civilians were very long compared with normal standards on DR1, which also indicates the priority given to moral judgements. In addition, the reporters on the crime scene gave their personal reports on how they received the news of the attack and thereby transgressed the journalistic ideals of omitting emotions from news reporting.

The solution

The major part of the newscast is concerned with the police investigation and focuses on two questions: what happened, and what will happen next? The journalists trust the police to answer both questions, and they concentrate on informing the audience on every move in the police investigation. DR1 has reporters placed close to all crime scenes and at the police headquarters. The anchor and the crime reporter also engage in an interpretation of the police work, which is supportive of the police officers and their role as provider of security. The crime reporter states that there is intensive patrolling of police cars in the neighbourhood surrounding Krudttønden and tells us that this is part of the search for the gunman. Furthermore, he explains that it is just as much a signal to the public that it is safe to walk the streets again.

By offering this interpretation of police work, the crime reporter himself engages in the reassurance and guidance of the public thereby helping to restore order in society. The journalists also actively seek to help the police, urging the public not to call 112 (the emergency number) unless an extreme situation occurs since the lines are overloaded. Equally, when the anchor asks the crime reporter what people are writing on social media, his initial answer is, "First of all, there is a widespread recognition of respect towards the authorities involved".

To sum up: the coverage on DR1 to some extent followed the pattern from September 11 and Utøya. The journalists were very much concerned with the gathering of facts: What do the police know? What happened? In addition, they placed great trust in the police and their investigation as the way to overcome trauma and restore everyday life. The journalists at DR1 even did their bit to help the police by communicating vital information from the police to the citizens. Nonetheless, it is clear that an existing framework

of a terror attack was omnipresent from the very beginning in spite of the reservations that were continuously emphasised.

Towards the end of the newscast, the anchor receives news that leading ministers are summoned to a meeting in the special national Security Council. The journalists interpret this as an indication of a threat to national security and it leads them on to a discussion on whether PET – the national police intelligence office – will raise the national security level as a response to an ongoing terrorist attack. So whatever doubt has been uttered during the newscast in regard to what kind of event we are witnessing, it is pushed aside with this final news from government officials.

There were no indications of any alternative framework through the newscast, and during the following days, the terror framework was strengthened.

The following week: 15–19 February

Between the newscast on Saturday and that on Sunday 15 February, numerous events took place. The shooting at the synagogue and the police shooting that killed the alleged perpetrator were the major events.

Just as important to the framing is the fact that the politicians now entered the news. Both the prime minister, the minister of justice and party leaders were central in the news from Sunday through the following week. More importantly, the prime minister herself named the event a "terrorist attack". Hence, the newscast on Sunday evening was literally framed as news of *terror*, as written in the right corner of the screen and illustrated by a photograph of a police officer with a machine gun. DR1 used this graphic frame during the following week whenever stories related to the terror attack were on the newscast.

The terrorist attack was the only story on the Sunday newscast, which was extended from the usual half an hour to a full hour. The importance of the event was also noticeable by the fact that DR used its most prominent journalists as reporters. Journalists usually working as anchors appeared in live reports from the crime scenes just as a global reporter was suddenly reporting from the streets of Copenhagen. This upgrade in the prestige of the reporters might be interpreted as a signal of the importance of the event (as shown by e.g. Hallin 1986), but it could also result from the same phenomenon as in the September 11 and Utøya attacks, when all journalists flocked to participate in the news gathering.

In the following days the newscast resumed its regular time slot, and on Monday, for the first time, stories not related to the attack entered the news. But the anchor had to comment on this explicitly: "We are putting a temporary end to the news on the attack for now (…) there are after all other news to report on today" (DR1 16/02/2015). For the rest of the week various aspects of the terror attack continued as the top story, but other stories were present as well.

On Monday, the memorial ceremonies were the prime focus, on Wednesday it was the burial of the Jewish guard. Both events appeared with a special picture frame called *Commemoration* and *Funeral*, while the burial of the alleged perpetrator Omar El-Hussein received just a brief mention in the newscast on Friday. The intensity of the coverage changed during the week, but the initial terror frame dominated the entire week, just as different functions of the frame were emphasised on different days.

In the following, I will search for Entman's four functions of the frame throughout the week and show how, once again, the frame reveals itself as something more than the event.

What is the problem?

On Sunday, it was obvious to all the journalists that Denmark had fallen victim to a terrorist attack. They knew it with certainty because the prime minister had said it at a press conference. The conclusion (made by her and the media) was apparently based on both the actions and the identity of the alleged perpetrator Omar El-Hussein, but the arguments for why this was an act of terror were never put forward, neither did the journalists ever inquire. The police described Omar El-Hussein as "born in Denmark" and "with a Palestinian background". He left no manifesto (like Breivik in Norway) or any other explanations of his actions before he died. This did not deter journalists and politicians from concluding on his motives, however. One of the first questions asked by the journalists when the police revealed the identity of Omar El-Hussein was whether he had been fighting for ISIL in Iraq or Syria. When news emerged that he had recently been in prison, the journalists immediately pursued the question whether the prison environment had radicalised him to become a militant, extremist Muslim. These questions reveal that the media already had a clear picture of a certain type of terrorist in mind. Since Omar El-Hussein had died, he could not object to the way the media portrayed him. On an overall level, the news framing did not primarily focus on him or his actions as the problem. Instead, the framing referred to a global problem with Islamic terrorism. El-Hussein was merely a representative of this phenomenon now present in Denmark.

This elevation or generalisation of the problem from single attack to being exemplary of global terrorism was a dominant feature in the narrative from journalists, politicians and citizens quoted in the news. The minister of justice described the attack as "part of the waves of terrorist attacks that are striking Europe" (DR1 15/02/2015) and how "terrorism reveals its ugly face" (DR1 17/02/2015). Along with the prime minister, she elaborated on the target of the attack. Omar El-Hussein fired shots at Krudttønden and the synagogue, but in the political interpretation it was an attack on freedom of speech and assembly, on the entire democratic society and on our freedom to live our lives as we wish (DR1 15/02/2015). The international community magnified this framing, when heads of state all over the world expressed their solidarity with Denmark and its democratic values. A special bond with France emerged due to the attack on Charlie Hebdo only weeks before, which DR1 emphasised repeatedly.

Journalists seemed to accept the political interpretation of El-Hussein's attack to be part of a global Islamic threat to democracy, and asked no critical questions; neither did any alternative framing appear in the week after the attack.

Why did this happen?

In the newscast on Saturday the 14th, the journalists' dominant focus was on Vilks and the cartoons as the most likely reason for anyone to attack the meeting at Krudttønden. After El-Hussein's death, there was no longer the same search for an answer to *why* this happened. The reasons seemed somehow self-evident, and El-Hussein was therefore

immediately identified as a terrorist and furthermore a radicalised Muslim. Just as the framing cast the shootings as an element of global terror, the causes transposed to a different level. El-Hussein apparently did not have any individual motives, but presumably was guided by a general animosity towards democracy, freedom and the Western world as a whole. Even though many aspects of El-Hussein's life and last days were scrutinised, the interest in El-Hussein was more as a representative of all terrorists than in the man himself.

The idea that terrorism was bound to strike in Denmark was also very dominant during that week. On Wednesday, the queen of Denmark herself expressed this in an interview. She explained to a Dutch journalist how the attack "came as a shock but not a surprise", since the feeling in Denmark consisted of: "Will we be next? – and we were" (DR1 18/02/2015).

The moral evaluation

In accordance with the terror framing, moral judgement is clear and undisputed. The prime minister and leading politicians are all eager to condemn the attack and the anti-democratic forces behind it, and they condemn it in the name of the whole nation. This framing is repeated when reports are made from the memorial sites that have emerged. Journalists act as masters of a mourning ceremony when they broadcast live and continuously, for instance, from the synagogue where both politicians and citizens have placed candles and flowers "in respect for the victims", as it is explained. Everyone is questioned about their feelings – pre-defined as fear, grief or solidarity. A participant in the commemoration in Aarhus tells the reporter: "It could just as well have happened here or anywhere in Denmark" (DR1 16/02/2015). The picture frame emphasises the unity with words like "Denmark stands united" or "All of Denmark commemorates the victims" (ibid.). The media participation in giving voice to the grief and fear reaches its climax Monday evening, when the scheduled programmes on DR1 are cancelled for the benefit of the commemoration held close to Krudttønden with the participation of prominent ministers and politicians as well as Crown Prince Frederik. DR1 has several reporters present, just as Danmarks Radio co-organises the ceremony in collaboration with an alliance of political parties in Copenhagen.

The notion of a united nation under siege also includes an articulated gratitude towards the police and their efforts, and the police are very often present in the footage.

Solutions

The question of how to prevent further terrorist attacks became more dominant during the week as the investigation of the event and the perpetrator yielded new information. Even though there was some interest in the life of Omar El-Hussein, he was mostly a stepping-stone for general ideas of how terrorism works in our society. On Monday, an interview with a former classmate of El-Hussein appeared, but only to confirm that he also knew him as a radicalised Muslim.

The unanimous condemnation of terrorism continued in the discussions of the solutions. Both government and opposition parties suggested different kinds of political legislation to prevent radicalisation of young Muslims like Omar El-Hussein. The newscasts prioritised these initiatives, but the way these political issues are covered differs

Figure 2. *Screenshot from DR1, TV-Avisen, 6:30pm, 16 February 2015*

to some degree from the normal standards of political journalism, where conflicts and disagreements between political parties enjoy a favoured position. Conflict seemed more or less suspended in this period. The parties promoted different suggestions on how to fight terrorism and radicalisation, but did not meet criticism from other politicians. When the leading opposition party put forward a number of anti-terror initiatives, the journalist ask the party leader: "Are there any of these initiatives that you expect the government NOT to agree to?" To that, the party leader respond: "I hope not! We need to reestablish safety in society". Compared with normal standards within the *sphere of legitimate controversies* the potential for conflict is restrained.

One of the political ideas was to increase the powers of the police intelligence authority, enabling PET to monitor Danish citizens and their phone calls when going abroad in order to locate radicalised Muslims travelling to fight for ISIL in Syria or Iraq. Even

though Omar El-Hussein was not known to have been an ISIL fighter, this suggestion became relevant in the framing of a general threat from Islamic terrorism.

Conclusion

A terror frame was omnipresent in the news coverage from the very beginning and was undisputed after the prime minister called it a terror attack. In February 2015, there was a widespread consensus that Islamic terrorism menaced Denmark and our whole way of life. The consensus was so deep-seated that even the queen – who is not supposed to comment on political or controversial issues – could say it aloud. This placed the interpretation of the event in a *sphere of consensus*, while the descriptions of the event itself and Omar El-Hussein fall within Hallin's *sphere of deviance*. According to Hallin, norms of objectivity and balanced reporting are not applied in either of these spheres (Hallin 1986).

In the studies of September 11 and Utøya, the shock was a dominant feature and might serve as an explanation for why journalists abandoned the critical approach. Nonetheless, this analysis of the Copenhagen attack shows how even without any element of surprise the media turned the event into a "news media" media event" *(*Nossek 2008). This indicates instead that the element of *consensus* – in politics, media and public opinion – triggers the sense of a situation where critical journalism is neither required nor desired.

In this case, DR1 followed the described stages for news media after a terrorist attack (Zelizer & Allan 2011a). The first stage had the focus on the *establishment of safety*, the police investigation being the primary news subject on the first day of the attack and gradually less so in the week that followed, when the perpetrator had died, his alleged accomplices were arrested and safety was restored. DR1 also engaged actively in *commemoration* of the victims, beginning with the prime minister's visit to the crime scene where she placed flowers in front of the synagogue. As in classic "media events" DR also helped to organise memorial ceremonies and broadcast live from these events. Furthermore, with a continuous presence at the commemoration sites DR reporters guided the viewers to these locations to express their grief and solidarity by lighting candles, placing flowers, etc., live on television. The process of *reconnecting with ordinary life* began on Monday, when other stories entered the newscast even though the critical approach was less significant than usual. Even on the political initiatives to prevent terror in the future there was a sense of consensus, with a spillover effect to the media coverage.

One final question remains: What happened to the terrorist's message? In Nossek's notion, the media operate in order to reject the message sent by the terrorist by emphasising the values and the solidarity of the society. In Norway the rejection completely altered Breivik's political message in a media coverage that framed him as mentally deranged (Falkheimer & Olsson 2015). What kind of message then did Omar El-Hussein send, and to whom did he address it? At a press conference on Monday a representative of the police stated that they worked with the assumption that the perpetrator had been inspired by the events in Paris (DR1 16/02/2015). Perhaps El-Hussein was a disturbed man copying the terror attack at Charlie Hebdo, which had received enormous media attention just weeks before? Politicians and media, however, explained his actions as the wilful doings of an anti-democratic terrorist and suspected him to be in some kind of affiliation with a global terrorist movement. They formulated his message by denouncing it.

Schudson describes how journalists abandon their critical stance when met with tragedy, public danger or threats to national security. We cannot really know which of these circumstances were present in the actions of Omar El-Hussein, or which of these the media coverage constituted in their making of a "news media" media event. Danish media had anticipated a terrorist attack and that is exactly what happened – at least according to the media framing.

Afterword

In the year that has passed, debates have arisen on central elements of the media framing. Fierce discussions on the very use of the word terror concerning Omar El-Hussein's actions appeared a couple of weeks after the attack. The trial of El-Hussein's alleged accomplices began in 2016 and revealed a story of an attack which seemed much more arbitrary in nature than the work of any well organised terror cell. Nevertheless, the initial framing persists and Danish media now commonly refer to the Copenhagen shooting as "the Copenhagen terror attack".

Note

1. The DR1 newscast at 8.30pm is only broadcast from Monday to Friday, while there is a special Sunday newscast at 9.00 pm.

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Measuring Resurgence of Religion?

Methodological Considerations in a Study of Swedish Editorials

Alf Linderman & Mia Lövheim

Abstract

The debate about a resurgence of religion in the public life of Western European societies is ongoing in media and academic circles. Yet there is a shortage of systematic and longitudinal empirical studies of the coverage of religion in European mass media. This article presents some empirical findings, but the focus is on methodological considerations in a longitudinal quantitative content analysis of indicators of religion in editorials in the Swedish daily press from 1976 to 2010. We present and discuss how the selection of keywords and of analytical units affects the outcome of our analysis as to tendencies over time regarding the frequency of religion indicators. As our results show, the question of a resurgence of religion in the daily press has no simple answer. Thus, methodological issues concerning reliability, validity and reflexivity are of crucial importance for this and similar studies measuring cultural change as reflected in the daily press.

Keywords: religion, editorials, Sweden, methodology

Introduction

In 2005 the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas gave a lecture for the Holberg Prize seminar with the title "Religion in the Public Sphere". This lecture, later published as an article in *European Journal of Philosophy* (Habermas 2006), can be seen as the starting point of a debate about a possible resurgence or new visibility of religion in the public sphere of secularized Western, primarily European, societies. In his lecture Habermas stated:

> We can hardly fail to notice the fact that religious traditions and communities of faith have gained a new, hitherto unexpected political importance. The fact is at least unexpected for those of us who followed the conventional wisdom of mainstream social science and assumed that modernization inevitably goes hand in hand with secularization in the sense of a diminishing influence of religious beliefs and practices on politics and society at large. (Habermas 2005, http://www.holbergprisen.no/en/juergen-habermas.html).

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In the following, we take as our point of departure the scholarly and political discussion about a resurgence or new visibility of religion in the public sphere of contemporary society that followed Habermas's 2005 lecture (Habermas 2005, 2006, see also Micklethwait & Wooldridge 2009; Toft et al. 2011). More precisely, we address the critique within the sociology of religion that followed this debate (see Beckford 2010; Hjelm 2015), which centres on the question of whether this resurgence is supported by empirical evidence or rather has to do with a change of discursive practices within politics and philosophy (Davie 2015: 28-29). A general assumption in this discussion has been that the media is the most obvious "site" where we could see the manifestation of some sort of public resurgence of religion. However, as pointed out by Köhrsen (2012), there is in this debate a lack of clarity regarding how to measure this resurgence. For example, many studies of the resurgence of religion in the public sphere, he argues, overstate the presence and impact of religion due to an "excessively vast definition of religion" (2012:278). Our discussion in this essay is based on a study of references to religion in Swedish newspaper editorials covering a time period from 1976 to 2010.[1] This study is part of the growing number of empirical studies investigating claims of an increased presence of religion in the media. Similar studies are, for example, the UK-based project on media representations of religion and the "secular sacred" (Knott et al. 2013) and the Nordic comparative NOREL project (Niemelä & Chistensen 2013, see also Hjarvard & Lövheim 2012). These studies have all used quantitative content analysis, based on search words chosen to capture a wide variety of references to religion, combined with qualitative analysis of particular cases or time periods (see in particular Knott et al. 2013).

In line with these previous studies, one of the major research questions guiding the study that we discuss here concerns whether empirical evidence of an increased visibility of religion can be found in Swedish editorials over the time period from 1976 to 2010. Our primary aim here is, however, to address the methodological considerations regarding measuring a potential increase of public references to religion in society. We will particularly focus on the use of keywords to analyse such change over time, and the choice of unit of analysis in quantitative content analysis. As we will show in the following sections, we found during the course of the empirical work that our methodological choices had a major impact on the empirical results. Our argument in this article is that, in order to develop further our understanding of changes in the presence of religion in the media, a substantial discussion of definitions and methodological choices is crucial. This discussion is relevant not only to a study of references to religion, but also for studies researching other dimensions of cultural change as expressed in the written content of the daily press.

Our discussion of methodological issues when studying changes in references to religion in Swedish editorials will be structured by the following three headings:

- Resurgent religion – the Swedish case
- Methodological issues, findings and solutions
- Lessons learned for future studies

Resurgent religion – the Swedish case

Our focus in the present essay is, as was stated above, not on the empirical results from our study of Swedish editorials *per se*, but rather on methodological questions and challenges that we had to face in the context of this study. Nevertheless, in order to contextualize this discussion, we need to introduce the research question for our study and why we found it both interesting and important.

For a study investigating whether empirical evidence for an increase of references to religion in the media discourse can be found, Sweden seems to be a particularly interesting case. Political scientist Ronald Inglehart, initiator of the World Values Survey (Inglehart 2008), together with Christian Welzel, has constructed a so-called cultural map based on data collected from a large number of countries all over the world (Figure 1). This map has frequently been referred to in the scholarly discussion about social and cultural implications of the development of modernity. Furthermore, this map has also been used as a point of reference in the media as well as in the general political discourse, and for good reasons. The World Values Survey, the context in which this cultural map was created, is a solid research endeavour involving many researchers in many different countries.

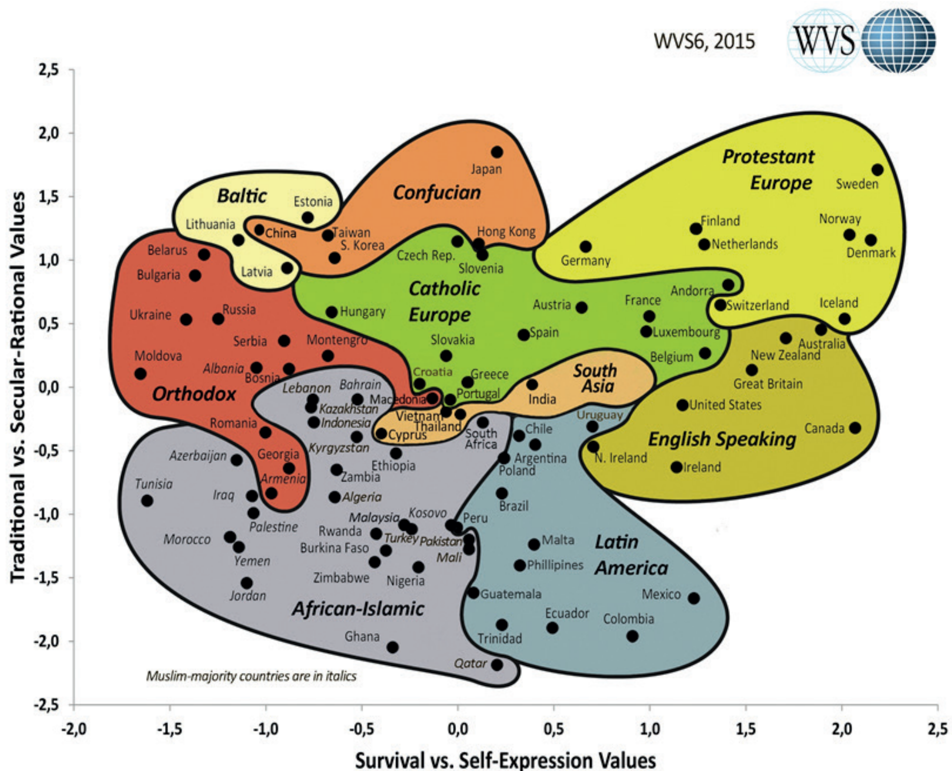

Figure 1. *Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map – WVS wave 6, 2015*

Note: Inglehart and Welzel's Cultural Map is based on comparative studies made in the context of the World Values Survey. Available at: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/images/Cultural_map_WVS6_2015.jpg

This map shows Sweden in a position in the upper right corner of the map. Thus, Sweden has moved further in the development towards self-expression and secular-rational values than most other countries. Since secular-rational values have replaced more traditional values, including religiously grounded value systems, one could interpret this map as illustrating that Sweden should be one of the most secularized countries in the world – and secularized here would mean that there is a reduction of the significance of religion in a general sense (cf. Habermas 2005). This, of course, is interesting in its own right. But it is also interesting for an empirical study of evidence for a resurgence or new visibility of religion. If there is empirical support for some form of growing presence of religion in Swedish society, then there are good reasons to discuss further the general assumption that growing modernity naturally will imply a reduction of the significance of religion. Such assumptions were common in the academic debate in the latter part of the twentieth century, in the sociology of religion as well as in other academic fields (Davie 2013). Assumptions of this kind are also typically part of the discursive traditions within secular modernity. This is the case in Sweden, but also in many other parts of the world – not least in Protestant Europe. Hence, it seems to be of particular interest to explore empirically if there is support for assumptions about a growing presence of references to religion in the media discourse in Sweden.

Methodological issues, findings and solutions

As will be discussed further below, we used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches in our study. The qualitative approach made it possible for us to study more closely the various ways in which references to religion were used in Swedish editorials (see Lövheim & Linderman 2015; Lövheim 2015). The assumption about a resurgence of religion in modern society implies some sort of quantitative dimension, however. It implies that there has been an increase of references to religion over the last few decades. This is a quantitative assumption which made it appropriate for us to use quantitative research methods. This would make it possible to explore quantitative changes over time. It was also in the quantitative approach that we came across methodological questions that turned out to be essential to our empirical findings. In the following, we will discuss methodological issues concerning the use of keywords to analyse cultural change, and the choice of unit of analysis. These methodological questions are not inherently related to the specific research questions in our project – even though for obvious reasons they take a shape and form related to our specific area of research. Rather, these questions are relevant to a wide range of empirical studies of cultural change over time where newspaper material, i.e., words and phrases, are the object of analysis. As pointed out by Riffe et al. (2005), it is important to consider the general character and function of the media material one aims to study, and to make relevant methodological decisions based on such considerations. The discussion below illustrates how theoretical considerations and methodological choices impact the results in computer content analysis of newspaper editorials.

A primary methodological issue for studying changes in the media presence of religion concerns the choice of texts. The choice of editorials as a genre was based on their close connection to political debate combined with the tendency to express continuity of opinions over time (Nord 2001:74). Religion in a general sense is something that has been pointed out as a precarious area for journalism, especially in the context of

news reporting (Hoover 1998; Schmalzbauer 2002; Mitchell & Gower 2012). Compared with other newspaper content, editorials might in particular be regarded as upholding values of secular modernity due to their strong connection to ideals of the humanistic enlightenment tradition, such as freedom of opinion, rational arguments and a general balance between various opinions and special interests (Nord 2001). Thus, on the one hand, one could expect this area of discourse to change slowly compared with other media contexts. On the other hand, changes that emerge in references to religion in editorials are for the same reason interesting to study as expression of more profound changes of the cultural landscape and the prevailing value systems in Swedish society.

The methodological approach of this study draws on two previous research projects studying cultural indicators in the Swedish daily press. These two projects, respectively, cover the post-war period from 1945 to 1975, and the period from 1976 to 1995.[2] The first of these two projects used manual coding of "cultural indicators" in randomized samples of opinion articles, with the aim of analysing changes over time of the cultural climate in Sweden (Block 1984). The second project was primarily aimed at making digital newspaper data for the period from 1976 to 1995 available to other research endeavours (Linderman 2001).

In our study, we have used the same technique for sampling as was used in the previous studies of cultural indicators. We have digitalized editorials from 1996 to 2010. Since we use the same technique for sample drawing as was done in the previous projects, we have also been able to use the digitalized material stemming from the second of the two projects mentioned above. Thus, we have a digitalized sample of opinion articles covering a period of 35 years, from 1976 to 2010.

We have chosen to analyse the largest newspapers in Sweden, newspapers with a circulation of over 80,000 copies[3]. For each year, we have a randomized sample including about 30 to 32 publishing days. In total, we have 4865 newspaper editorials in our database. This means that we have approximately 139 editorials for each year.

Our method is a content analysis based on a list of keywords. This list of keywords is made up of words used in previous studies as well as words selected through an inductive procedure related to the digital texts that we were going to analyse in the present study (cf. Knott et al. 2013; Niemelä & Christensen 2013). Thus, the presence of religion has been analysed through a quantitative content analysis using these keywords. These words have been clustered into larger categories that represent various indicators of religion. The indicators cover a broad spectrum of references to religion, including direct references to all the world religions, but also to various dimensions of religiosity and spirituality in general.[4]

The compilation of a list of keywords that could be used as search words in our computer content analysis resulted in a number of different larger categories. Thus, these categories were indicators covering different dimensions of religion. We also used a number of categories of indicators related to different dimensions of modernity since we wanted to explore the relation between the process of modernization and the presence of religion in the public sphere in Sweden (cf. Figure 1 above). The discussion of the relation between religion and modernity, however, falls outside the main scope of the present essay with its primary focus on methodology.

For all categories, there were typically a number of word stems, exact words, and/or word combinations that constituted the category. Each such category became one

specific variable. Altogether, the list of words consisted of 48 different categories – thus resulting in 48 different variables. Of these 48 variables, some related to religion, some to modernity and some to other things that we wanted to be able to analyse, like the name of the specific newspaper, political profile, gender, etc.

After having constructed the list of keywords to be used as indicators of references to religion, the first obvious question concerns the frequency of these indicators in the material. To get a general picture of the development over time, all religion indicators were combined into one variable. This variable was then recoded to show only the presence of a religion indicator or not, not the actual number of appearances of various religion indicators. The analysis of this variable, however, gave very different results depending on methodological decisions. Figure 2 shows the three different results we got as to the general presence of religion indicators in editorials in the Swedish daily press from 1976 to 2010.

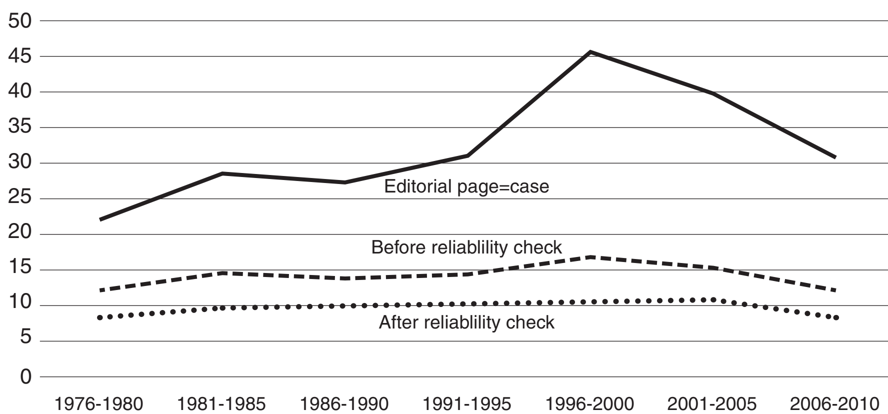

Figure 2. *Relative frequency of religion indicators by five-year intervals – based on different methodological choices*

This figure vividly illustrates the differences in results. Not only is there a significant difference in the degree to which religion indicators are found in the editorials, but there is also a significant difference in the tendency over time. While one line indicates a significant increase over time, and with a specific peak in the last years of the twentieth century, the other two lines are on a much lower level and do not at all reflect the same tendency over time of religion indicators. We will briefly discuss the empirical results as such later, but the primary objective here is to explore the significance of methodology for the variances in the empirical findings.

In a general sense, it is interesting to note how methodological choices completely determine our empirical findings. This is interesting not only in relation to this particular study. If certain methodological choices can be so important for the empirical findings, it is of course essential to evaluate empirical results in the light of the methodological choices made in a certain study (cf. Riffe et al. 2005). Thus, we need to explore further how methodology can affect the results of content analysis of this kind of media text. In the following, we will describe and discuss a couple of significant methodological issues, issues explaining the differences in the results of our longitudinal quantitative analysis of religion indicators in newspaper editorials in Sweden.

The dashed line in the middle in Figure 2 was the first empirical result that we obtained in our study of religion indicators. Since we wanted to get a better picture of exactly what it was that we were measuring, we decided to explore further the indicators that actually were found in the database using this quantitative procedure. When we took a closer look at the sentences where indicators of references to religion had been found, we made an important observation. Even if all the indicators we had constructed were supposed to be valid examples of references to religion, this did not always seem to be the case. For several keywords, we had to work with word stems to make sure that we would include as much as possible of the presence of these indicators in the material. However, this also meant that words became included as indicators on completely misleading premises. One of the most illustrative examples was the Swedish word for "farmers" (bönder). The word stem of this word is also a word that means "prayer" (bön). A similar example was the word "sect", a word that can relate to religious sects but also as a word stem appears frequently in words like "sector" and "section". We realized that this is a significant challenge to quantitative computer content analyses of the kind that we were conducting. Even if dual meanings of many words are obvious when identified, as in the examples above, it is very easy to define indicators in a way that might lead to misleading results. We had definitely not been careless as we worked on the list of keywords to be used in this study, but when taking a closer look at the first results we still found a number of problematic cases.

The conclusion was that we had to test the reliability of all indicators. This was done by manually exploring all indicators to find the ones that represented some kind of problem. Such problems were solved either by making the indicator more specific, or by excluding the indicator altogether. After having gone through all indicators found in the material, we could again analyse the general presence of religion indicators over time. The result of this second analysis was the dotted line in Figure 2, the line that indicates the lowest presence of religion indicators in our material. In terms of the general tendency, however, which was at the core of our research questions regarding changes over time, there is almost no difference between the two lowest lines, the dashed and the dotted, in Figure 2. Thus, the reliability test did affect the degree to which we found religion indicators in our database, but it did not change the result as to changes over time in terms of the presence of religion indicators in editorial texts in the Swedish daily press.

The next methodological issue that we will touch upon here was even more significant for our empirical findings. This was whether the editorial text, each individual editorial text on a specific editorial page, should constitute a single case in our study, or if we should use the whole editorial page in a specific newspaper as a single case. The obvious assumption upon which the present study was founded was that each editorial text should be considered as one case. This strategy became natural for several reasons. The main reason was that part of the material we used, which was digitalized in the previous research project KUSS 2, was organized in such a way. The first main editorial text was indicated with number 1, and the consecutive texts were ordered accordingly. The number of editorials varied between newspapers, but there was also a striking difference in length of the texts. The first editorial text on the editorial page is typically a relatively long text with ample space to develop reasoning and arguments. Many of the other text units on the editorial page were considerably shorter. There were many text units that are no more than one to three sentences.

The difference between shorter and longer editorial texts also showed a development over time. Shorter texts are more frequent in the later years than in the earlier part of the time period, and these shorter texts also add to the total number of texts on the editorial page. Out of the 1229 newspapers included in the study, there are 113 newspapers having seven different text units on the editorial page. Eight editorial texts were found in 37 newspapers, nine text units in 9 newspapers, ten text units in 2 newspapers and finally one newspaper containing eleven text units on the editorial page.

In addition to the development of the length of editorial texts over time, there are also differences in the layout of the editorial page. Editorial pages towards the end of the period look different than they did more than 30 years ago. This is illustrated by Figure 3. The image shows two full pages from the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. The first editorial page in Figure 3 is from 7 January 1996, and the second from 12 November 2008. As the figure shows, there are significant differences between the 1996 example compared with the copy of the editorial page from 2008.

1996-01-07

DN.

Clinton som vårt bästa kort

Den svenska Pettersson-kurvan

En mindre smickrande jämförelse

Jul med plastgran i Castros Kuba

Den politiska kyrkans budskap

2008-11-12 A

LEDARE

Inte i Allahs hand

DN.

DAGENS NYHETER

Figure 3. *Dagens Nyheter's editorial page in 1996 and 2008*

The differences in layout of editorial pages together with differences in length of the editorial texts do, of course, pose a problem. Is it methodologically valid to compare long texts that contain elaborate discussions with very short texts including only a statement like, "Read this or that person's blog"? There are good reasons to answer "no" to this question. The alternative is either to include only the first, or perhaps the first two or three, editorial texts in each newspaper or to consider the editorial page as a whole to be one case. Reducing the sample available to analysis does not appear to be the most attractive path forward. The option to use only one or two text units from each of the 1229 newspapers included in the sample would drastically reduce the size of the sample. As a consequence, some of the richness of the available material would be lost. Thus,

the remaining strategy would be to identify each editorial page[5] as one case. This change of strategy made it necessary to transform the way in which our sample was structured. After this operation, the analysis could start again – now with editorial pages as cases. We then had 1229 cases altogether – since we had 1229 newspapers in our database.

We can now return to our empirical findings. In Figure 2 above, the solid line at the top of the figure illustrates our empirical results when using the whole editorial page as one case. Instead of finding indicators of religion in about 10 to 15 per cent of the cases when using each editorial text unit as a single case, the use of the whole editorial page as case leads to a very different result. Now, we find indicators of religion in around 25 to 45 per cent of the cases. This, however, is not the most interesting difference. It is not so surprising that larger text units, i.e., the whole page vs. each individual text, lead to a significant increase in the relative number of cases where we find references to religion. What is more interesting is that while the use of each individual text as a case showed almost no change over time, the new approach using the whole editorial page as a case actually shows a significant increase in terms of the relative presence of religion indicators from 1976 to 2010. Given our focus on exploring changes over time in our longitudinal quantitative analysis of religion indicators in editorials in the Swedish daily press, the use of the whole editorial page as a case made our empirical results much more interesting.

Are these results, which we obviously found more interesting given our research question, actually valid results from a methodological perspective? Or, phrasing the question in a different way, are the results using editorial pages as cases more valid than using each separate text unit as a case? Given the difference in terms of empirical findings, this is of course a very important question. It is unquestionably so, however, that using single text units as cases implies great differences between the different cases. Very short texts are then on equal terms with much longer and more elaborate texts. Using each editorial page, and all editorial texts on this page, as one case makes all cases more consistent and the whole empirical quantitative study more coherent. Thus, the solid line in Figure 2 represents what we, after a thorough methodological discussion, consider as our empirical findings in this quantitative study. We will now return to our general research question and briefly discuss these empirical findings *per se*.

As illustrated by the solid line in Figure 2 above, there is an increase over time in references to religion on the editorial pages of the Swedish press. This, however, is not a linear development going from a lower level at the beginning of our time period (1976) to a higher level 35 years later (2010). As indicated in the figure, the period from 1996 to 2005 show the highest relative presence of religion indicators. If we compare these results with the results for each year, we actually find that the absolute peak is 2002. Even if there is a decrease over the last ten of the 35 years included in the study, it is still interesting to note that the level for the last five-year period is almost 40 per cent higher than was the case for the first five-year period. There is an increase from just over 22 per cent 1976-1980 to just over 31 per cent in 2006-2010.

If we look specifically at the various different kinds of religion indicators that we used in our quantitative analysis, such as indicators of different religious traditions, we find that there are statistically significant changes over time for three main categories of indicators: Christianity, Islam, and references to religion where religion is used in a metaphorical way. Indicators of Judaism, other world religions and new spirituality did

not show any statistically significant change over time, and such indicators were also generally very infrequent in the material. Islam, Christianity and the use of religion indicators as metaphors however, all increased from 1976 to 2010. Most interesting perhaps is the development for indicators of Islam. The level for the first period of five years is very low. For the first five years, there are indicators of Islam in only about 3 per cent of our cases. There is a peak for the five-year period from 2001 to 2005. During this period, almost 12 per cent of all editorial pages included references to Islam. For Islam, as for religion in general, there is then a decrease for the last five-year period in the study. But still, the general increase of indicators related to Islam from 1976-1980 to 2006-2010 is almost 300 per cent: from 3 per cent for the first five-year period to 9 per cent for the last five years.

Some additional things are interesting to notice when looking at our findings. References to Christianity and references to religion as a metaphor are the most common references to religion. In the early 1990s, however, Islam is actually – together with references to religion as a metaphor – the most common reference to religion. For the following time period, the relation is the opposite. References to Christianity and references to religion as a metaphor peak at the same time as there is a sharp decline in references to Islam. The last five years up to the Millennium obviously sparked an increase in references to religion, but then more in line with Sweden's historical religious situation with a dominance of Christianity and religious references used as metaphors.

As described in the introduction, we also used qualitative text analysis in our study. A content analysis of the editorial texts containing one or more indicators of religion, in total 481 texts, showed three main ways in which religion was used: as a description of an individual, group, or country; as a metaphor; and as the main topic for discussion (see further Lövheim & Linderman 2015). Indicators of religion used as descriptions made up the largest category (45 per cent). A slight majority of these articles include references to Christianity, such as priest, bishop, pope, church, Protestant or Catholic, but an almost equally large group use words that refer to Islam, such as Muslim groups, Muslim countries, Islamic fundamentalism etc. Furthermore, more than half of the articles in this category describe an event or situation in an international context. Many of those are ongoing wars or conflicts between or within nations such as the war in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

In the second largest category of indicators (33 per cent of the 481 cases where one or more religion indicator was found) religion is used in a metaphorical way. The majority of the words used in these texts relate to a Christian, biblical tradition, such as prophecy, preaching, doomsday, martyr, sacred, hell and blessing. The smallest category (22 per cent) consists of editorials where religion actually is the main topic of the discussion. For these cases, the large majority contains indicators that refer to Christianity while a smaller fraction refers to a Muslim tradition. The qualitative content analysis of the material shows, in line with the quantitative analysis, an increase of references to religion particularly in the period 1996-2005. This tendency is most salient in the category where religion is the main topic of discussion and where, as we have seen, references to Christianity are most frequent. In the category of indicators where religion is used as a description of something, of an individual or of a group of people, the pattern is not so drastic but an increase is clearly visible: from 25 articles before 1990 to above 40 in the period 2001-2010. Here, references to Islam are also more frequent.

Lessons learned for future studies

The aim of this article has been to discuss methodological issues that emerged from a study of whether empirical evidence of an increased presence of religion over the latest decades can be found in the media, using the texts of Swedish editorials as our case. As shown above, the results of our study show an increase in religion indicators in Swedish editorials over the period from 1976 to 2010, in particular with regard to the period from 1996 to 2005. Given our research question this result is intriguing, and also well in line with previous studies using a similar methodology. The Nordic comparative NOREL project reported a similar tendency of increase in references to religion in the daily press in 1988, 1998 and 2008, in particular between 1988 and 1998 (Niemelä & Christensen 2013). A continuing interest in religion in secular media is also reported by the UK-based project on media representations of religion and the "secular sacred" (Knott et al. 2013). Our findings of an increased diversity in the representation of religion, where references to Islam increase in the editorials over the time period even if references to Christianity still dominate the picture, is also in line with these contemporary studies from the Nordic countries and the UK.

While these results can be interpreted as supporting the argument about a resurgence or new visibility of religion in the part of the public sphere represented by editorials in the daily press, our main point in this article has been that our methodological choices had a major impact on our empirical results, and thus that the interpretation of these results is a complex matter where methodological choices have to be discussed and evaluated.

In conclusion, we would like to offer the following reflections with reference to further studies using quantitative methods for analysing indicators of religion, or other cultural dimensions, in the daily press. The first reflection concerns the importance of issues concerning *reliability*. The use of keywords is a common method in quantitative content analysis of newspapers. As our experiences of using keywords to form indicators of religion clearly show, the importance of a thorough reliability test that ensures that word stems and words used do not measure the wrong things is crucial. This might seem like a very basic statement, but the risk of jumping too quickly to conclusions about tendencies of cultural change from the frequency of certain keywords is evident when time and economical resources for empirical research are scarce. Our scrutiny of the way in which certain indicators of religion were used in the editorial texts also made us realize the variety of meanings conveyed with references to "religion" in one way or another.

Another insight from our study concerns the value of using qualitative content analysis in the process of attaining higher reliability of keywords used to measure cultural change in media material. The results of our qualitative content analysis of religion showed that indicators of religion in the editorial texts were used in different ways and with different purposes (Lövheim & Linderman 2015). Our analysis of when and how religious words were used as descriptions, metaphors and as the main topic made it clear that increase of the frequency of certain religious indicators do not in any simple way equal a return of religion as a topic in the political debate. The most frequent ways in which religion was referred to in the editorials was, as shown above, as a description or as a metaphor rather than as a topic for explicit debates on contemporary cultural and political issues. In line with Köhrsen's argument (2012: 278), the lack of clear definitions of religion, together with a lack of rigorous attention as to the reliability of search

words and the categories used to measure religion, makes it easy to overstate the public presence and impact of religion.

Our second consideration concerns the importance of using *comparable cases* for the outcome of a quantitative analysis. As the differences in tendencies of changes over time between using editorial texts or editorial pages as the unit of analysis made clear, great consideration has to be taken to make sure that the analytical units are comparable. Here, knowledge about the content and genre of the media texts analysed is also crucial – as pointed out by Riffe et al. (2005). Moreover, it is important to take into consideration the character of the concepts that are analysed. Religion is a complex category, and as the qualitative study has shown, references to religion can be made in many different ways. Moreover, religion is perhaps not the most expected category to be used in the context of the editorial discourse in the Swedish secular press. This also has implications for reflections on what to consider as comparable cases in a specific empirical study. In our study of religion indicators, using the whole editorial page as case proved to be the most relevant strategy to explore changes over time.

The NOREL study referred to earlier (see Niemelä & Christensen 2013) chose to analyse a selection of major daily newspapers and covered particular shorter periods of time. Furthermore, the NOREL study covered a broader range of genres in newspaper coverage of religion, such as news articles, feature texts, cultural debate, chronicles and editorials. Although quantitative differences between various genres to some extent were accounted for in the analysis (see also Lövheim & Lundby 2013), a more profound discussion of the particularities of various genres is lacking. The material chosen for the study discussed in this essay was limited to editorial texts. This choice can, on the one hand, be seen as more limited than the range of texts analysed in the other studies. On the other hand, this choice enabled us to conduct a more focused study of changes over a longer period of time within one newspaper genre. Our choice of editorials as genre is rooted in their central role over time in Swedish political debate, which makes them an interesting case to study in terms of a possible change in the position of religion in political debates. The fact that editorials might in particular be a genre where values of secular modernity dominate also implies that the tendencies of change we have found need to be interpreted with caution. The presence of religion might be more, or less, salient in other areas of public discourse. Nevertheless, since our findings show that changes in terms of references to religion also seem to be found in editorials, these changes are, for the same reasons, important to study with regard to what they might reveal about changes in the position of religion in Swedish political debate. This also makes our findings as to the representation of religion in editorials of potential interest to media scholars researching cultural and political change as expressed in opinion material of the daily press.

Finally, our study underlines the general importance of practising methodological *reflexivity*, not least in the study of newspaper editorials related to the general political debates and value changes of society. In studies using quantitative content analysis to analyse these issues, the methodological problems and solutions researchers face, and the way they influence the results, are often presented in footnotes or in a methodological appendix. By bringing these issues to the fore in this essay, we have attempted to open up the discussion of the complex relation between methodological choices and empirical results. Given the methodological considerations discussed here, we have

come to the general conclusion that assumptions about a new visibility of religion in the media, sometimes referred to as a resurgence of religion, do not relate to simple linear processes. The role of religion in late modern society is a complex issue. It has to be explored further, but then with great focus on the implication of methodological strategies and choices. More likely than not, the same is the case for studies of other dimensions of cultural change and development when using newspapers and other media content as empirical material for quantitative research.

Notes

1. The research project “The Resurgence of Religion?! A Study of Religion and Modernity in Sweden with the Daily Press as Case”, which was funded by the National Research Council of Sweden 2010–2014.
2. The projects “Kulturindikatorer: svensk symbolmiljö 1945-1975” (Block 1984); KUSS 1 (1945-1975) and KUSS 2 (1976-1995).
3. Aftonbladet, Arbetet, Expressen, Dagens Nyheter, Dagens Industri, Göteborgs-Posten, Göteborgs-Tidningen, Kvällsposten, Svenska Dagbladet, Sydsvenska Dagbladet, Helsingborgs Dagblad.
4. Keyword categories (translated from Swedish): religion, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, world religion (includes Hinduism and Buddhism), new forms of spirituality, religious metaphor.
5. In a few cases, more than one page was allocated to editorial material.

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Mediated Spies

Cold War Espionage Affairs in European Newspapers

Paul Bjerke

Abstract

This article explores how 13 mainstream newspapers in five countries (Norway, Sweden, BRD, DDR and UK) covered the first week of three high-profile spy affairs in the late Cold War: Arne Treholt (Norway), Geoffrey Prime (UK) and Günter Guillaume (BRD).

The Eastern European newspapers followed in their governments' footsteps and prolonged the politics of silence. In the West, newspapers framed the espionage using an issue-specific cultural frame, *the traitor*. Stories are spiced up by irrelevant and false facts, inspired by the spy stories in the fiction media. The traitor frame is constructed in two variations: the single spy betraying his country and the government forsaking its people by being "soft on the Soviets" or "careless about security". The study indicates no significant differences in coverage between the four Western countries or between the three espionage affairs.

Keywords: espionage, Cold War, newspapers, framing, Treholt, Guillaume

Introduction

News and fiction about spies, intelligence and espionage were central aspects of the Cold War, and contributed elements to the overall Cold War conflict framing in the media. Spies were *popular* in literature, art, film, politics, and in the news media and journalism also. Press coverage of spies and espionage affairs is therefore comprehensive, but fragmentary, incomplete and confusing – and sometimes absolutely wrong. Spy stories were not new to the media during the Cold War period; they had formed a well-known news media genre since the early days of the mass media, especially since the dawn of the American yellow press. What was new during the Cold War was that the antagonists were the same over a very long period. The consequences were that the media had very few framing categories to select from when telling the stories.

Coverage and construction of spies and espionage stories were important in the construction of the Cold War frame in the late 1940s and early 50s when Senator Joseph McCarthy claimed that 205 Foreign Department employees "have been named as members of the Communist party and members of a spy ring" (Rovere 1959:123ff). And Julius and Ethel Rosenberg's conspiracy to commit espionage, which led to their conviction and execution for treason in 1953, "played a crucial explanatory and justifying role in the formulation of the Cold War" (Carmichael 1993:xi).

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Research findings show that news reporting on these kinds of espionage affairs helped to establish the concept of the "internal enemy" (van Dijk et al. 2013:417; Robin 2001) and the Cold War as "Something People Can Understand" (Carruthers 2009). Such findings support Robert Entman's claim that the period of the Cold War was characterized by a dominant paradigm (or meta-frame) that organized normal elite thinking, media coverage and public response to foreign and defence policy: "Virtually any problematic situation that arose in the world could be, and was, assimilated to the Cold War paradigm" (Entman 2004:95).

In an in-depth analysis of media espionage coverage in Sweden, however, Marie Cronquist (2004) finds that while the spies in the 1950s were framed according to the Cold War paradigm, this changed in the 1960s. When Colonel Stig Wennerstrøm was exposed as a Soviet spy by his house cleaner in 1963, the affair was framed in the mainstream Swedish press as *class struggle* or more precisely, as a confrontation between the social democratic "folkhem", the Swedish model of a public welfare state, and the upper-class Colonel Wennerstrøm.

This article uses three espionage affairs from the late Cold War era as cases to discuss whether espionage coverage in Europe in the late Cold War was framed according to the Cold War paradigm, as Entman claims, or as "class struggle", like the Wennerstrøm case in neutral Sweden in 1963.

My three research questions are:

R1: *Which frames can be found in the texts in mainstream media in six different European newspapers' coverage of espionage affairs?*

R2: *Do these frames link to the "Cold War" paradigm or to a "class struggle" paradigm?*

R3: *Are there differences between the three cases and the five countries in the material with regard to the frames to be found?*

The spies: Guillaume, Prime and Treholt

The espionage cases in the study are Günter Guillaume (BRD, 1974), Geoffrey Prime (UK, 1982) and Arne Treholt (Norway, 1984). Formally, they are three different cases which have been chosen for the following reasons:

- They represent espionage in the *later years* of the Cold War. They are all post-Wennerstrøm affairs which occurred in different periods of the Cold War: Guillaume in the détente era, Prime and Treholt in the last era of confrontation.
- They were all *important* espionage affairs and subject to broad public attention, both at the time of disclosure and later.
- The spies worked in three *different* European countries.

Günter Guillaume arrived in BRD as an East German "refugee" in the turbulence of the Hungary Crisis in 1956. In reality, he was an officer in the DDR Army who was sent to the western part of Germany to conduct espionage. Guillaume immediately joined

the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and demonstrated a strong organizational talent. He made a career in the party and in 1970 was appointed as personal secretary to Chancellor Willy Brandt. His task was mainly to organize Brandt's contacts with the SPD (which Brandt at the time chaired). Through the years as Brandt's secretary, Guillaume had no regular access to classified documents. He was, however, able to read (and take pictures of) documents that were passed to Brandt, and he was of course able to give his masters a great deal of information about German politics in the decisive years of Brandt's *Ost-Politik*. Unfortunately for Brandt, it turned out that Guillaume was handling classified documents *after* the suspicions of his espionage had been revealed to the government and the SPD leaders.

Guillaume was arrested in April 1974. He immediately admitted that he was a DDR officer. It transpired that the DDR agent had not only organized Brandt's contacts with the SPD party – he had also organized Brandt's visits to prostitutes. And it was also disclosed that the counter-intelligence services and the SPD-FDP government had done a very poor job in covering up his roles. Facing a potential personal scandal, a coalition breakdown and a dramatic loss of voters, Brandt chose to resign on 7 May 1974 when the opposition was sharpening its knives and the media hunt was in the starting blocks. Guillaume was given a 13-year prison sentence (Guillaume 1990; Drath 2005; Schreiber 2005).

Geoffrey Prime was a linguist who served in the British Royal Air Force. When he was stationed in Kenya, Prime was shocked by the poverty of the Africans and the racism of European settlers, and what he perceived was the exploitation of Kenya by the British colonial authorities (Aldrich 2011). In Kenya, Prime began to listen to Communist radio broadcasts and started reading the *Soviet Weekly* magazine. Prime was later transferred to Berlin and on his own initiative recruited as a KGB spy in 1968. When his service in the RAF ended, Prime was appointed to a position at the Government Communications Headquarters (*GCHQ*) in Cheltenham, a joint British-US-Canadian-Australian intelligence and security organization responsible for providing signal intelligence. In his GCHQ years, Prime was able to read and photograph classified documents and hand them over to the KGB. Prime resigned from his post at GCHQ in 1977, but still did some work for his old employers. Prime handed over his final information to the Soviets in November 1981.

Six months later, Prime was interviewed by the police because of a paedophile affair; he had attacked a 14-year-old girl. The same night Prime admitted to his wife both the attack and his 15 years of espionage. She eventually informed the police. Prime was arrested and interrogated for a long time before he confessed. In mid-July, the arrest was leaked to the press, and on 11 November 1982 Prime was sentenced to 35 years' imprisonment for the espionage (Cole 1999; Prime & Watson 1984; Aldrich 2011).

Arne Treholt was a renowned journalist, politician and civil servant in Norway. He belonged to the leftist faction of the Norwegian Social Democratic Party (Arbeiderpartiet). In the mid-60s Treholt was part of a European struggle against the junta in Greece and started a long-lasting period of cooperation with Jens Evensen who was later Norway's chief negotiator with the European Union and who in 1974 was appointed Minister of Trade. Treholt was Evensen's Secretary of State. During the years 1982–1983 he studied at the Norwegian Armed Forces Joint Staff College. Through the years, Arne Treholt took part in the public debate on Norwegian foreign and security policies. He advocated

a Nordic nuclear-free zone, a proposition that was seen as Soviet propaganda among the leaders of his party.

From 1977 onwards, the Norwegian secret police suspected a mole in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Treholt was one of the suspects, and after several years under surveillance, he was arrested in January 1984 on his way to a clandestine meeting in Vienna with Gennadi Titov, a leading KGB officer. The arrest was a political sensation. After his trial a year later, Treholt was sent to prison for 20 years (Haugestad 2004; Vale 2009).

The newspapers and the sample

The study concentrates solely on the mainstream printed press. The coverage of the issues was different in the niche media (Carmichael 1993; Fonn 2015), but as my interest is whether news media contributed to the Cold War paradigm in public opinion, the mainstream media that reaches the majority of the population is most relevant.

The study includes three Norwegian, two Swedish, five German (two BRD, three DDR) and three UK newspapers. I have chosen the Norwegian social democratic broadsheet *Arbeiderbladet (Worker's Daily)*, the conservative *Aftenposten (Evening Post)* and the conservative tabloid *Verdens Gang (The World Today) (VG)*. The liberal broadsheet *Dagens Nyheter (The News of Today)* and a left-leaning tabloid *Aftonbladet (Evening News*) represent the Swedish press. The selected BRD papers are the conservative tabloid *Bild Zeitung* (*Illustrated News)* and the two liberal weeklies *Der Spiegel (The Mirror)* and *Die Welt* (*The World)*. From the DDR, the Communist party's main newspaper *Neues Deutschland (New Germany*), the largest regional newspaper *Berliner Zeitung (Berlin News)* and *Die Neue Zeit (The New Times)* have been selected. The last three newspapers in the study are from the United Kingdom, the conservative tabloid *Daily Express* and the liberal broadsheet *The Guardian* including its Sunday twin *The Observer.*

The text sample is all the articles that were printed in the newspapers in the first week after the arrest. A few articles from other periods are included in the analyses to illuminate some points. There are several reasons for this sampling. One is economy, I had to limit the number of articles. I chose to analyse the first week (instead of other weeks) because the first week is of special interest. First, in espionage affairs, the secret services often keep their secrets. This allows room for public dissemination of false rumours, misunderstandings, strategic and non-strategic leaks from insiders. I presume that when journalists have to write articles based on a very limited amount of facts, they make more salient the *other* elements of the frame. For example, the "central organizing idea" (see below) may be easier to locate in a text in the first week when the verified facts are few.

Secondly, research (e.g. Halloran et al. 1970) has shown that the early media framing of an incident tends to *establish* a frame that lasts through the evolving event. Or, as Jim Kuypers (2009) writes: "Once the framing process is initiated … the established frame guides both audience and journalist thinking" (Kuypers 2009:185).

On the other hand, the possibility to generalize from this kind of small, qualitative study is usually limited. The frames may change, too, when the events develop and more facts are available to journalists. This happened when it was discovered that the Oslo terrorist in 2011 was a white, Christian Norwegian (Grydeland 2012). Taking this into account, nevertheless, the study may contribute to the knowledge of espionage news texts.

Framing the Cold War

Framing theory and methods are a tool to discover the news media's role in distributing cultural narratives and shaping public opinion and policymakers' decisions in the Cold War.

This is not the place to scrutinize in detail the different schools of framing studies (Goffman 1974; Entman 1993; Van Gorp 2007; Entman et al. 2009; Matthes 2009; Borah 2011; Brueggemann 2014; Scheufele & Iyengar 2014). In this article I will take my point of departure in Robert Entman's much-cited definition of framing: "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatments recommendation" (Entman 1993:52).

This definition has been used by scholars of different traditions; however, I prefer a sociological position that "posits that the relation between news frames and audience frames is based on collective processes of negotiation over meaning, rather than on individual exposure to news frames" (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen 2011:111). I find this way of thinking most relevant to the study of Cold War news frames, and I find it fruitful to relate this sociological version of frame analysis to historical-cultural analysis like that by Carruthers (2009) and Cronquist (2004) because of their related use of concepts like "cultural values".

The two historians use concepts like "something people can understand", "cultural values" and "mindset". Cronquist says:

> In a Cold War mindset, the Spy stands out as a key symbol that incorporates cultural values and the fantasies of daily life, the Spy with a capital S was a "man in the middle" a point of everyday orientation through which a contemporary bipolar world was visualised. Cultural images of the Spy were constructed by a set of Cold War dichotomies, good and evil, black and white, legal and illegal, hidden and revealed, freedom and oppression, security and insecurity. (Cronquist, 2004:371).

These kinds of values and dichotomies bear a clear resemblance to what some framing theory researchers call the *central organizing idea* of a frame. This concept adds *culture* and *meaning* to Entman's definition. To Gamson and Modigliani, a frame is, for example, a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning" to events related to an issue. The organizing idea is the *core* of a "frame package" which also contains various policy positions as well as a set of "symbolic devices" (Gamson & Modigliani 1987:143). Van Gorp (2007) claims that the manifest framing devices and the manifest or latent reasoning devices in a frame "are held together under the heading of a central organizing theme – that is, *the actual frame* [my italics], which provides the frame package with a coherent structure". Baden (2010) supports the idea that "frames give meaning by following some central organizing idea" and adds that "not any set of selected beliefs constitutes a frame: There needs to be some kind of semantic *coherence* that renders the set meaningful" (Baden 2010: 23). And finally, to give meaning to a larger audience, this central organizing idea must *resonate with mental structures that are widespread in society.* As Scheufele & Iyengar (2012) put it: "If the relevant schema does not exist at all among audience members, framing effects are unlikely to occur". The central organizing idea must be both culturally *available* and *applicable* (Baden 2010). This pivotal idea will therefore be the element in a frame that most strongly connects a text to an overarching paradigm.

I have therefore operationalized Entman's definition according to Van Gorp (2007, 2010), based on an understanding of a media frame as "composed of three parts (…): the manifest framing devices, the manifest or latent reasoning devices, and *an implicit cultural phenomenon* (my italics) that displays the package as a whole" (Van Gorp 2007: 64). The media frame is established through the choice of manifest framing devices such as sources and salient facts and the choice of the "implicit cultural phenomenon", the "central organizing theme" (ibid.) that binds together the selected sources and factual elements in a piece of journalism and thereby helps to convey manifest and latent reasoning devices as "causal interpretation and moral evaluation" (from Entman's definition) of the events that are communicated. Among the "cultural phenomena" that may serve as "central organizing theme" are, according to Van Gorp, the archetype, a mythical figure, a value or a narrative.

One of the most common organizing themes is to assign the media story's participants to a familiar type-gallery, often based on centuries-old myth and narrative structures where "heroes", "bullies", "witches" "victims" – or "traitors" – play a central role.

When searching for the frames, I will follow Tankard who identifies frames from, for example, titles, ingresses, photographs, captions, lead articles, selection of sources and citations, logos and statistics (Tankard 2001: 101) and use a revised version of Van Gorp's (2010) schema for identifying *issue-specific* frames through the following terms: *problem definition*, *source of the problem, responsibility, solution, moral basis, cultural motive, metaphor/stereotype* and *visual image*.

In the following parts of the article I will identify the frames in the sampled news texts.

The national frame

Most news media are national, and foreign news are often framed "in tune with the national government" (Dimitrova et al. 2005). How about espionage stories? An important finding is revealed in Table 1:

Table 1. *News articles and paragraphs[1] in the first week after the arrest by newspaper and spy*

	Treholt	Prime	Guillaume
VG	72/56	4/0	3/0
Aftenposten	51/37	1/0	9/0
Arbeiderbladet	63/31	1/0	4/1
Aftonbladet	10/0	1/0	2/2
Dagens Nyheter	8/1	1/0	6/1
Die Zeit	1/0	0/0	10/0
Der Spiegel	2/0	0/0	12/0
Neues Deutschland	0/0	0/0	1/0
Neue Zeit	0/0	0/0	0/0
Berliner Zeitung	0/0	0/0	0/0
Daily Express	0/1	5/0	4/0
The Guardian	4/1	10/0	6/1

As we can see, an important difference in the coverage follows the Iron Curtain itself. I have done electronic searches in the digital archives of *Neues Deutschland*, *Neue Zeit* and *Berlin Zeitung* on relevant search strings such as the spies' names, espionage, spy, spi*, Oslo etc. and found only *one* article discussing Treholt, Prime or Guillaume in the period of this study.

From Table 1 we can also see that the scope of the coverage of the affairs in the Western newspapers was dependent on the nationality of the spy. The differences were most prevalent in the Norwegian press. The tabloid *VG* printed 72 articles in one week on the national spy Treholt, but only four and three on the foreign spies. *The Guardian* printed ten articles on Prime, six on Guillaume and four about Treholt in the first week after their arrests. The *Daily Express* printed only *one paragraph* on Treholt (the same size and on the same page as one on Caroline Kennedy's weight loss).

It was not only in scope that the coverage was national. The espionage affairs were mainly *framed* as national, domestic affairs. *VG's* largest article concerning Geoffrey Prime had the headline "Norwegian intelligence compromised?"[2] The day after Guillaume's espionage was revealed, two Norwegian newspapers told their readers that "German spy was in Hamar",[3] a small Norwegian municipality where Brandt had his holiday cabin. Guillaume's holiday trip added a local, national flavour to the German story.

Die Zeit did not report on the Prime affair before the verdict in November. It then started the report with an anti-British hint: "With beautiful regularity, the British discover agents of foreign powers in the midst of their espionage and counter-espionage organizations" (my transl.).[4]

The national frame as such does not link the espionage cases to either a "Cold War" or a "class struggle" paradigm.

The human interest frame

The Western media constructed the espionage cases as melodramas: Brandt's "fall had fizzled out in a tear-jerking melodrama", Viola Drath (2005) wrote in her Brandt biography.

It was probably neither the espionage itself nor the wrongdoing of the counter espionage that forced Brandt to resign. It was fear of blackmail – in a kind of alliance between the spy, Brandt's political enemies and his main press enemy, *Bild Zeitung* – that made Brandt leave office. He feared that a constant stream of facts revealing his affairs with women (and whisky) and the moral condemnation would ruin both his private life and the party's chances of winning the next general election.

All the three espionage affairs in this study were "sexed up" in the press. Naturally, the tabloids were most eager to pick up (or make up) the spicy details from the story and make them most salient in their coverage. The broadsheet papers were only a few steps behind, however. For example, a few days after Guillaume was exposed, *Bild Zeitung* told its readers that "Bahrs Secretärin Gelibte des Spions (The Spy Loved Bahr's Secretary)"[5] and the *Daily Express* headlined with "A Spy's Secret Love".[6] *The Guardian* printed the same story – in one column on page 3.[7]

Egon Bahr was one of Brandt's closest political allies, and the Springer-owned *Bild* did not like either of them, or their *Ost-politik*. According to Bahr's police statement, "Guillaume had intimate relations with Bahr's second secretary who assured Bahr,

however, that Guillaume never asked her for information" (my transl.)[8] The secretary, Marieluise Müller, was never formally accused of anything; *Bild's* unsubstantiated accusations were probably false.

Both *Bild Zeitung* and Norwegian *VG* had a front page top story about the "Female Spy in Love with Brandt",[9] a story from the early 1950s about Susanne Sievers ("Die Rote Atombombe") who at that time was a DDR agent. Her job was to spy on Willy Brandt. But she allegedly fell in love with him instead. They started an affair which ended when Sieverts was jailed in the DDR, charged with being a *Western* agent. Parts of the affair had been reported in the press when it happened, and Sieverts later wrote a book about the incidents. The story had strictly speaking nothing to do with the Guillaume affair.

In every spy case the press made allusions to James Bond, George Smiley or other fictional characters. When Guillaume was arrested, Norwegian *VG* presented him as "the little, colourless man in Brandt's proximity" who "is no agent type at all. He could not fit into agent movies or novels" (my transl.).[10] Referring to his own experience during his vetting, a *Guardian* journalist confessed that the interviewer from MI5 "could not have looked less like James Bond. He was small, deferential and almost apologetic".[11]

All the newspapers printed information in the first weeks that later proved to be false. The *Daily Express* referred to "MPs who believe the police killer Barry Pourdom[12] may be linked to the spy scandal surrounding the Government's communication centre". It was not. *Bild Zeitung* indicated a "spy ring" around Günther Guillaume.[13] There was none. *The Observer* claimed that Guillaume was a double agent who in earlier days spied for the BRD Social Democratic Ost.[14] He was not.

In Norway, it was the Social Democratic Party's main newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* that – with no disclosed sources – published a rumour that Treholt had a "secret child behind the Iron Curtain"[15] and the KGB's threats to the child were allegedly the reason for his espionage. The child did not exist.

The front page headlines of both *The Guardian* and the *Daily Express* the day Treholt's trial started in Norway referred to an alleged sex story: "Norwegian Diplomat Took To Spying after Moscow Orgy"[16] and "Sex Orgy Diplomat Blackmailed into Spying".[17] According to Treholt and his lawyer, Treholt made up the story as part of a "confession syndrome" (Haugestad 2004: 60) after the arrest. The story has never been corroborated by independent sources and was not a part of the later verdict, but it is a classic feature in spy novels.

The Swedish tabloid *Aftonbladet*'s headline after the arrest of Treholt was "The Spy Victim of His Gaming Debt".[18] Treholt did not have any gambling debt. Another story about his wife, the TV celebrity Kari Storækre ("The End of His Wife's TV Career")[19] was also false.

In the last week of January 1984, when Norwegian spy Arne Treholt was the big media story in both Norway and Sweden, the *Daily Express* had one notice on him, while it had a front page story on the long-lasting allegation that Roger Hollis, the former director of British counter-espionage service MI5, was a Russian spy.[20] This is one of the stories that Adam Curtis refers to as nonsense in a harsh critique of espionage journalism (Curtis 2013).

The common feature of all these erroneous stories is that they resemble well-known themes and features from popular spy culture. The fantasy world of espionage fights its way back to journalism; which often ends up with the telling of human interest stories

mixed up with erroneous "facts" that fit in. The human interest frame links the factual spy stories to the fictional spy stories; and the borders between reality and fiction become blurred, partly because very little factual information is available.

The human interest frame as such does not link the espionage cases to either a "Cold War" or a "class struggle" paradigm. However, this frame is a prerequisite for the issue-specific *traitor frame.*

The strategy frame

One of the most commonly used frames in mainstream political journalism is the strategy frame, where political questions are transformed into questions of competition, strategies and tactics (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000). The journalists avoid discussing the issue itself and instead turn to discuss the (party) political outcomes of the crises, e.g. like this:.

> After the most important spy scandal in the history of the Federal Republic, the Social Democrats are facing a loss of voters (…) Now, they fear that the affair may revive the old prejudice, that the SPD is unreliable and not suited to conduct government business. (my transl.)[21]

The Guardian, too, a newspaper that only printed a small teaser on its front page the day after the arrest, referred to the German debate in its first day report: the Government attempted to present the "affair as a triumph of the counter-espionage work".[22] However, the opposition "did not view the case in this way. They have demanded that the Government should make a statement to Parliament."[23]

The Guardian printed one more article concerning the espionage facts in the first week, and then turned to the political consequences. The article, "Taint of Spy Case Rubs off on to the Brandt Regime",[24] referred to an opinion poll that gave the SPD only 30 per cent of the votes, down from 39 per cent a month earlier. *The Guardian* referred to the opposition accusing the SPD "of having belittled the Communist threat so much that they had weakened the resistance of the security services". It "cannot be trusted with the task of safeguarding the security of the State".[25] According to the newspaper, there were 15,000 spies in Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) (West Germany) at the time, and there were constant disclosures. However, the Guillaume affair was of a different character; "indeed a feat"[26] to have penetrated the Chancellor's office. The liberal UK newspaper quoted opposition sources' personal attacks on the responsible minister, Ehmke, who "neglected the security interest".

The strategy frame, like the human interest frame, does not link the espionage cases to either the "Cold War" or the "class struggle" paradigm.

The "media are not to be trusted" frame

As shown above, on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain, the espionage was not made salient at all – with one exception. This exception was an article printed in *Neues Deutschland* in early May 1974, and the theme was Günter Guillaume. It was probably too difficult for *Neues Deutschland* to uphold its absolute silence on this matter because it was so intensely mediated in BRD and most of the East German citizens could (illegally) receive BRD's main television channels (Havens et al. 2013).

Hence, *Neues Deutschland* made an exception to its rule and published a relatively long editorial on the Guillaume affair, in the form of *media criticism*:

> One who is forced, for professional reasons, to read the press in the Federal Republic, is amazed about the "level" of the journalists of the "most free country in the world" at this time. The whole press follows the theatrical thunder of the Springer Press and the officially prescribed outrage. (my transl.).[27]

The main point of the *Neues Deutschland* article was that the opposition and the right-wing Springer Press had started a witch-hunt where the victim was the Federal Government itself. Guillaume was allowed to remain in the Chancellor's office for a year – under suspicion of treachery – while the government and the secret services tried to uncover an "agent ring". In April 1974 they arrested five people, however, after a week, there was "nothing left" of the alleged "ring".

This is in a way *true*. Guillaume, suspected as a spy, was left untouched at the Chancellor's office for a year. Nothing like an agent ring was ever revealed – and we still do not know what kind of damage his espionage did to the BRD's security interests.

When Brandt resigned in May, *Neue Zeit* argued that the reason for this "Schritt" was the evolving economic crisis and the increasing unemployment in BRD. The Guillaume affair was strongly downplayed: "Several domestic and foreign correspondents here in Bonn point out that the Guillaume affair is no more than a pretext for the resignation of Willy Brandt" (my transl.).[28] In their coverage of Brandt's resignation, the DDR papers consistently referred to the "Guillaume Fall" as only a triggering factor, but they never described what this "Fall" actually was. The frame in the only DDR article in the first-week period is "*The media are not to be trusted*". The important cultural theme, here, the core in the central organizing idea, is "class struggle" against Willy Brandt and other politicians who preferred peace.

***Table 2.** The construction of a frame in DDR coverage of espionage*

	Media are not to be trusted
Problem definition	Right-wing media and politicians are aggressors
Source of the problem:	Right-wing media and politicians
Responsibility	Rests with the Springer Press and the right-wing politicians
Solution	Political struggle against right-wing politics
Moral basis	Truth. Peace
Cultural motive	Class struggle
Metaphor/stereotype	The cynical reporter
Visual image	None

The "traitor" frame

The spy

All the western newspapers in all the cases provide the *story of the traitor*, persons who let their people down for money and/or women. The day after Prime's verdict, the *Daily Express* front page cried out "38 Years for the Master Spy Who Betrayed His Wife and the Country. THE ARCH TRAITOR".[29] A spy who also is a paedophile cheating on his

wife is definitely a good journalistic story. The article revealed, however, absolutely no factual information about Prime's espionage. The traitor frame was constructed mainly by *indications* of what the spies may have destroyed and what damage their activities may have done to their countries.

Spying is often connected to persons with a weak character of some kind. In the British press Geoffrey Prime was framed as a friendless misfit, a sexual abuser, a loner and a loser who for some strange reason found meaning in life through espionage. *The Guardian* wrote, citing his lawyer, that "Prime was always a sexual and social misfit. Alone. Unhappy, pathetic, tripping to a psychiatrist at certain crucial points."[30] On the other hand, Prime was married twice and had a bright career at GCHQ in Cheltenham, so the real picture must have been multidimensional, which also is the conclusion in the two books about him (Prime &Watson 1984; Cole 1999).

Die Zeit's picture of Treholt was of the successful career man with "a 200-square metre apartment behind the Royal Palace": "The KGB spy lived the life of a well-situated, upper-class citizen; married to the beautiful TV journalist Kari Storækre. He had a child and a Saab 900 Turbo in the private parking lot." (my transl.).[31] This was the only element of "class struggle" framing I found in the Western media texts.

Guillaume was framed as a rather strange figure. He was a strict DDR officer, "no agent type at all"[32] – the clever organizer *and* a man who at the same time "served both his wife and two mistresses". According to sources, Guillaume had dated Marieluise Müller and another woman simultaneously.

The villain of the Guillaume story was to a higher degree the Eastern Bloc regimes rather than the spy himself. *Aftenposten* was very harsh towards the DDR government: asserting that it had played "a game so cynical and non-friendly that there is no reason to question Brandt's disappointment and disillusion" (my transl.).[33]

In this way, two storylines were intertwined, the story of the persons with a weak character and the story of the evil KGB, which exploited these character weaknesses. At the same time, defectors from the Eastern Bloc were usually framed in the opposite way, as *strong* characters, supported by the "good" secret services of the West. Spies are consistently framed as heroes or villains *depending on their employers*. "Our" spies were heroes, especially Russians spying for the West, who had actually betrayed *their* mother country.

The governments

Not only the spies in question, but also the governments are framed as "traitors", not "vigilant enough" against communism and the Eastern Bloc threat. In all three cases, a considerable part of the articles focused on political intrigues and controversies. It may be that these would be different in other spy cases, because both the Treholt and the Guillaume affairs were strongly political per se. Treholt was a well-known social democratic politician and Guillaume was the Chancellor's secretary. However, even the Prime affair, which was non-political as such, was strongly politicized. In the very first article about the affair, *The Guardian* linked the information to a political controversy in parliament, where the Labour opposition used the security problems to attack the Tory government. The Norwegian tabloid *VG* took the same approach:

> Quite a few MPs have challenged the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on the security and the espionage at the Cheltenham (…) However, the Government has used all its power to try to downscale the affair (my transl.). [34]

In the late Cold War, Norway and Sweden (and the DDR) still had a partisan press; and the press in the UK and the BRD were also politically polarized. These political leanings were apparent in the coverage of the spy affair. For example, the day after the arrest of Guillaume, *Bild Zeitung* printed a large picture of Brandt together with his now arrested secretary under the headline "Verhaftet. Brandt's Vertrauter: Ostspion" ("Arrested. Brandt's Intimate: Eastern Spy").[35]

Bild Zeitung's front page resembles the conservative Norwegian broadsheet paper *Aftenposten*'s top story the Monday after Treholt's arrest – a large, eye-catching picture of the arrested Treholt, together with a Russian minister and Minister Jens Evensen. The headline was "Sentralt Plassert Spion" ("Centrally Located Spy")[36] and the framing is clear, at least to a Norwegian audience. Treholt was a spy, Evensen (and the Social Democratic Party) gave him a central position in the difficult negotiations with the Soviets concerning fishing rights in the Barents Sea, and the result was a disaster.[37]

As we can see from these examples, the Spy Scandal links the social democratic parties to the spy and to the communists; they are not reliable, they are too "soft" on the Soviet Union and the communists.

The right-leaning British tabloid *Daily Express* was quite critical towards the conservative Thatcher government in its writings on the Prime affair, especially because the affair coincided in time with two other security scandals. The most tabloid-worthy of these was the Michael Fagan affair. Fagan had been able to break into the queen's bedroom in Buckingham Palace. When it was revealed that the queen's bodyguard had visited male prostitutes, the scandal was complete, and the main target of the *Daily Express* was Thatcher's Home Secretary, William Whitelaw – who was also responsible for counter-espionage.[38]

When Geoffrey Prime was arrested and the rumours started to spread in Westminster, the *Daily Express* wove all three cases together in its attacks on Whitelaw. The headline was "Massive Spy Scandal Faces Maggie" which would "eclipse even the Philby, Burgess, McLean storm in the Fifties".[39] The *Daily Express* referred to Labour MPs who said that "Law and Order under the Tories seems to be crumbling, whether at Buckingham Palace, or at the sensitive communication networks".[40]

In Table 3, these analyses are summarized according to my operationalization of Entman's frame definition:

The main frame is the *traitor* frame. This traitor frame is constructed in two variations: the single spy cheating on his country[41] and the government betraying its people by being "soft on the Soviets" or "careless about security".

There is no room left for *doubt*: the Eastern Bloc spy is a traitor while "our" spies are heroes. When the well-known Norwegian social researcher Johan Galtung called Arne Treholt a "spy for peace", he was ridiculed. Today, when the East–West frame is substantially weaker, this is much more discussed. While numerous Western mainstream media frame Edward Snowden as a spy and a traitor, Norwegian mainstream media frame him as a "whistle-blower" or "hero". Because it is not clear whether Snowden is a spy or a whistle-blower, the mainstream media cannot use the traitor frame, but more narrow issue-related frames.

Table 3. *The construction of frames in Western coverage of espionage*

	The spy as a traitor	*The government as a traitor*
Source of the problem:	Ideology, weak character, women, gambling debts	The government is “soft on Soviets”
Responsibility	rests with the traitor and the KGB	rests with the Government
Solution	Strong surveillance and counter intelligence	New government/ministers
Moral basis	Loyalty (to the nation)	Loyalty (to the nation)
Cultural motive	The archetype of the traitor	The archetype of the traitor
Metaphor/stereotype	The deviant person	The politicians are not to be trusted
Visual image	The traitor and the enemy, the traitor as a weak man	The government and the traitor (and the enemy)

Conclusion

In my three espionage cases, the Eastern European newspapers followed in their governments’ footsteps and prolonged the politics of silence. In the only article on the theme, the espionage was (like Wennerstrøm in Sweden in 1963) framed as “class struggle”.

In the West, newspapers framed the espionage using three of the more common generic frames of the news media: *the national frame*, *the strategy frame* and *the human interest frame* and combined them with an issue-specific cultural frame, *the traitor*, all “sexed” up with irrelevant and false facts, inspired by the spy stories in the fiction media. The study indicates no significant differences in coverage between the four Western countries or between the three espionage affairs. In the first week after the arrests, all the newspapers in all countries (except the DDR) in all three cases use these four frames in their coverage and all allowed more space to their “own” spies than foreign spies. The facts that were made salient were the spy’s weak character, the organizing theme was “the traitor” in the Cold War against the East, *not* acting according to the “remedy” in the established Cold War paradigm which was “constant vigilance and struggle on ideological, diplomatic, economic and military fronts” (Entman 2004: 95).

Treason is a morally strong cultural frame; deeply embedded in Western culture: Judas, Brutus and Quisling, to name but a few. The traitor frame is approvable and approved in many different social situations and issues: adultery, war, football and religion. M. Gregory Kendrick (2016) discusses the traitor as an extreme archetype of villainy in Western societies:

> There is only fear and loathing for the traitor. In large part, this is because we live in societies that are predicated on the notion that we can believe in faith and credit of our friends, neighbours and countrymen. When a person, group or institution betrays this assumption, they undermine the trust that makes possible everything from marriage and family life, to religion, politics, law, commerce and diplomacy. (Kendrick 2016: 61)

The study shows that Western European media, in Sweden. Norway, the UK and the BRD in 1974 and the 1980s made the Cold War “something people can understand” by

using one of the strongest cultural organizing ideas in the collective Christian heritage: the traitor.

In the three cases, the "class struggle" frame is only significant on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain. The study suggests that the framing of Wennerstrøm was a deviant, local, time-limited framing of an espionage case.

Notes

1. The first number in each cell refers to news articles, the second number to paragraphs
2. VG 20.07.84
3. VG 26.04.74, Dagbladet 26.04.74
4. Die Zeit 11.11.84
5. BZ 03.05.74
6. Daily Express 04.05.74
7. The Guardian 04.05.74
8. From American intelligence reports. http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1975DUSSEL01273_b.html [accessed 7 November 2014]
9. VG 10.05.74, Bild Zeitung 10.05.74
10. VG 24.04.74
11. The Guardian 21.07.82
12. Daily Express 19.07.82
13. BZ 26.04.74
14. Observer 28.04.74
15. Arbeiderbladet 23.01.74
16. The Guardian 26.02.85
17. Daily Express 26.02.85
18. Aftonbladet 22.01.84
19. Aftonbladet 24.04.84
20. Daily Express 26.1.74
21. Der Spiegel Vol. 5/74
22. The Guardian 01.05.74
23. The Guardian 26.04.74
24. The Guardian 01.05.74
25. The Guardian 01.05.74
26. The Guardian 01.05.74
27. Neues Deutschland, 02.05.74
28. Neue Zeit 08.05.74
29. Daily Express 11.11.82
30. Guardian 11.11.82
31. Die Zeit 03.02.84
32. VG 24.04.74
33. Aftenposten 08.05.74
34. VG 19.07.82
35. BZ 26.04.74
36. Aftenposten 23.01.84
37. For years, Norway and the Soviet Union negotiated on the so-called "delimitation line" in the Barents Sea – and the conservative press in Norway was very dissatisfied with the agreement that Evensen and Treholt had signed.
38. Daily Express 16.07.82
39. Daily Express 17.07.82
40. Daily Express 17.07.82
41. (and even his wife). In all three cases it was a central element in the press coverage that the spies had cheated on their wives.

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The Role of Offline Places for Communication and Social Interaction in Online and Virtual Spaces in the Multinational Workplace

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Abstract

There is a common assumption that information communication technology (ICT) enables employees to work together and to be virtually co-present, regardless of time and place. However, previous studies of social networking sites (e.g. Facebook and social enterprise media in work settings) show a consistent tendency among users to reconnect and communicate online almost exclusively with people they already know. The paper at hand examines in depth what role shared places have in knowledge work and in creating a virtual or online co-presence among knowledge professionals. The findings of the present study show that the tendency of communicating with known others in online spaces is also at play in the offline workplace, as professionals approach those whom they already know when in need of work-related help. One of the conclusions is that the geographical workplace plays a key role in creating a common ground for communication and social integration among employees, since a core dimension in knowledge work is social interaction. The paper uses insights from a qualitative and longitudinal case study (2010–2013) of a multinational consultancy company.

Keywords: co-presence, workplace, working practices, social interaction, social enterprise media, ICT, structuration theory.

Introduction

It has been said that new media environments influence the individual's sense of presence and ability to construct and maintain social relationships[1]. Digital, mobile and social media enable people to be virtually co-present in a variety of contexts, irrespective of their physical locations, and this influences the way they interact in smaller groups and as participants in society at large. Similarly, digital media and information communication technology (ICT) enable professionals who are physically separated to work together and be virtually co-present. However, social media applications and platforms vary by having different technical features, or coding (Van Dijck 2013), and the platform user has different connecting strategies. Twitter, for example, allows users to form asynchronous

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connections with others, where the follower graph is 20 per cent reciprocity, meaning only 20 per cent of those you follow on Twitter follow you back (Wu et al. 2011:707). Facebook's concept, however, is based on establishing synchronous relationships (although Facebook also allows users to follow updates from others besides their friends) (Van Dijck 2013). On Facebook people connect with friends they already know, communicating online almost exclusively with others they already know, have physically met in co-presence, and who they meet regularly offline (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe 2011; boyd 2009; Subrahmanyam et al. 2008). Thus, social media platforms vary both in terms of functionality and users' connection strategies. Many organisations use social enterprise media platforms (e.g. Yammer, SharePoint, Jive) in the workplace (McKinsey & Company 2013) to increase internal collaboration, knowledge sharing and working connections among staff from different geographical locales who would not otherwise know each other in person (Cook 2008; McAfee 2009; Chui et al. 2013).

However, the research on social platforms in work settings states that people use these platforms almost exclusively to communicate with those they already know from their offline relationships rather than establish new ones (Steinfield et al. 2009; Riemer et al. 2015; Pettersen 2016). I have explained this tendency using the theory of structuration (Pettersen 2016; see Giddens 1984; 1979; 1990; Giddens & Pierson 1998;). This theory explains how established relationships have the potential to extend into online spaces. Similarly, co-presence – the state of being meaningfully together in real time (Giddens 1984; Goffman 1959) – connects otherwise separated persons across time and space due to structuration processes, as when two people speak on the telephone (Giddens 1984). Co-presence can be achieved when conversation partners at different geographical locations connect in real time using communication technologies; however, offline elements are influential in expanding social relationships into virtual or online spaces. The knowledge worker depends on other people to work (Barley 1996; Barley & Kunda 2001; Orr 1996; Yanow 2006), and the more complex the task, the more it requires human interaction (Brinkley 2009; Løwendahl 2005). To understand communication among employees across offline and online settings, what these employees do for work and the settings in which they perform must be examined (Ettlinger 2003; Trygg 2014). The present study explores the interplay of employees' work, communication practices and social interaction in depth. This will provide insights into key elements that influence the ability to work and collaborate in virtual spaces, which will in turn illuminate *why* employees tend to reconnect with offline colleagues on social enterprise platforms (which is the connection strategy at Facebook) rather than seeking new acquaintances (which is typical for Twitter users). To communicate mainly with known colleagues has critical implications for organisations attempting to use social platforms and other ICT initiatives to increase innovation or interconnectivity within the company. This paper asks the following research question:

What role does geographical location play in affecting co-presence in online spaces?

To answer this research question, the present study uses findings from a qualitative and longitudinal study (2010–2013) of a multinational organisation. The theory of structuration (Giddens 1979; 1984) and Giddens's (1990; 1991) later work on modern society will be consulted. Insights from this study will be useful for organisational research on virtual work, outsourcing, cross-cultural communications and collaboration.

Theoretical approach

According to structuration theory, social structures and human agency are inextricably related. Social relations and the rules and drivers at play in relationships created in a particular structure have the ability to exist "out of time and place", independent of the context in which they were once created. Giddens (1984) labels this process "structuration". Daily routines are integral to individuals and structures; individuals have a motivational commitment to routines founded in traditions or habits, and these routines are fundamental to the predictability of an individual's daily interactions with physically co-present others (Giddens 1984). Personal trust is the fabric of social activity and depends on connections between people and their day-to-day social contexts (Giddens 1984). Routines play an important role in maintaining or reproducing social systems that exist in two manners: through social and system-mechanic integration. Social integration refers to the reciprocity between co-present (face-to-face) actors in real time, while system or mechanical integration concerns reciprocity between actors who are physically removed in time or space. In this latter system, reciprocity must travel across time-space (co-presence). Co-presence, Giddens (1984: 67-73) argues, is of key importance for growing trustful relationships and thus social integration. Hence, co-presence is critical for getting to know colleagues and learning the implicit rules, norms and values of social interaction in the workplace, all of which are necessary to solve work tasks.

In structuration theory, a place is not simply a "point" in space, but is closely related to its temporality (time) and spatiality (space) (Giddens 1984: 118). "Time" therefore cannot be separated from "place". Time does not refer to clock time, but to "co-presence" or "time-space" – a state of being physically and ontologically together with our bodies in the here and now (Giddens 1984). Giddens's understanding of co-presence and "time-space" builds further on Goffman's (1959) work, in which "space" emphasises the importance of face-to-face encounters for meaningful conversations and social interactions that take place through everyday language. Conversation coordinates social interaction, and as such all social interaction is closely related to interpretation (Giddens 1984). A shared language serves as a social lubricant among people; such a common ground is important for communication to be meaningful (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008). The implicit rules so important for meaningful communication are manifested primarily through language and communication, and are learned in everyday work activities where employees are socially integrated (Giddens 1984).

Historically, people have lived (and therefore interact) geographically close to each other. With the development of modern society, the necessities for social interaction, meaning and ontological security have been removed, or "lifted out" as Giddens (1990) coins it, away from physical closeness, routines and co-presence in a shared context, or as Giddens refers to it, a local "protective cocoon" (Giddens 1991:3, 167). In modern societies, however, interaction can extend across time and space (Van Dijk 1997). According to Giddens (1990; 1991), modern society has two closely related key characteristics: a time-space distantiation and the disembedding of social relations from local contexts. When social relations are stretched farther and farther from their original contexts, they exhibit the "disembedding mechanism". As examples of such mechanisms, Giddens lists English as a universal language, the global "lingua franca", and *anomie* (lack of norms), in which closeness to others no longer relates to a geographical location where individuals interact in the presence of others in real time (Giddens 1990).

Van Dijk (1997; 2012) argues that virtual communities are entirely dependent on an underlying material reality; they cannot exist without the social organisation of known organic communities (Van Dijk 1997: 53). The ability to communicate regardless of "time and place, does not mean that the context of space and time, or material and social reality generally, can be discarded" (Van Dijk 1997: 53). Virtual communities, Van Dijk argues, will not replace organic communities, which are characterised by close relationships in traditional society; rather, they will be in addition to them, build on them and possibly strengthen them (Van Dijk 1997: 60). This agrees with the existing research that finds Facebook and social enterprise media bridge online and offline relationships and networks (Subrahmanyam et al. 2008; Pettersen 2016; Ellison et al. 2011; Boyd 2009; Steinfield et al. 2009; Riemer et al. 2015).

Nandhakumar (2002) found that employees needed to build conventional working relationships before they could initiate virtual teamwork, explaining that "until we have a real good drink and a good meal and good social chat at length we are not going to be a 'real team' (…) we can then use the technology to maintain it [the relationship]" (p. 52). Physical meetings are important for establishing trust and getting to know one another, elements that virtual outsourcing lacks. With outsourcing, employees do not establish social relationships, and poor communication and misunderstandings often occur (Thompson 2014). In knowledge work, communication and social interaction affect task completion. However, modern conceptions of work often ignore that most work involves other people (Barley 1996; Barley & Kunda 2001; Orr 1996; Yanow 2006) and few work tasks are truly independent (Barley 1990). Consultants are especially heterogeneous and difficult to define in general terms (Løwendahl 2005). The literature describes consultants as knowledge workers who solve complex problems and tasks (Alvesson 2004). Knowledge work concerns the ability to problem solve, interpret and adjust to new challenges (Alvesson 2004). Also, the more complex a knowledge work task, the more it must be developed through experience and human interaction (Brinkley 2009; Løwendahl 2005). Research by Bailey, Leonardi & Barley (2012) reveals that being geographically and socially close are important for problem solving. Nandhakumar (2002) found that ICT did not provide the emotional satisfaction needed to build trustful working relationships among virtual team members. As such, studies of online communication and virtual work environments need to include employees' social relationships and working practices (Ettlinger 2003; Trygg 2014).

The case study

This study will examine a French-listed, multinational, knowledge-intensive organisation that employs approximately 5000 consultants with entities in over 20 countries across Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. The company will be anonymised as Tech Business Company (TBC). TBC offers consultancy services and technology with a shared service portfolio. The sample for the present study is made up of knowledge professionals – namely consultants – who provide daily services to TBC clients. TBC introduced a global enterprise media platform (Jive Collaboration Software version 4.5.2) in 2010–11 to increase cross-divisional collaboration, internal knowledge sharing processes and interconnectivity.

Research design and data collection

A mixed methodology (ethnographic field studies, qualitative interviews, and social network analysis) was used in this study, as recommended for gaining "holistic" data (Moore 2011).

Ethnographic field work

An anthropologist's most important research tool is ethnographic field work (Eriksen 2001). Ethnography is the close study of groups' and peoples' everyday lives in their social settings (Emerson et al. 2011), and typically involves the development of close connections between the ethnographer and the subject or situations being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). Ethnographic field studies were conducted in offices in Norway and Morocco (3 weeks each in June and July 2011), as well as participatory observations in offices in Norway (1.5 days in May 2011), Denmark (3 days in May 2011) and the UK (1 day in September 2011). The field studies in Norway and Morocco were repeated one year later (2012); this return was perceived by employees as a respectful gesture, and information that was deemed too sensitive in 2011 moved to the forefront in 2012 (e.g. conflict in work settings, discrimination, power, management styles).

Although TBC was a partner in a larger research project (of which the present study was a part), the researcher of this study still had to gain acceptance by TBC employees to be let into their social groups. The entity's community manager posted on the enterprise platform about the researcher being present at the workplace as part of a study of the social enterprise platform. In contextualised settings, the researcher worked on a laptop in the company of others in the shared main office space. By adopting a vague persona and following the participants' dress code, the researcher neither symbolised management nor appeared as an outsider. In time, TBC professionals seemed to forget the researcher's role, and the consultants in the field responded to the researcher as a trusted colleague and friend with whom they could discuss work. The researcher arrived at the workplace early and went home late. Coffee and lunch breaks were a particularly important space for informal conversations and for getting TBC professionals to share their insights and thoughts. Several informal meetings and talks with consultants, managers and middle managers were held during the workday to obtain the best understanding possible. These informal conversations were not recorded (as the 27 interviews to be described below were), but were noted in the researcher's field diary. In the field, the researcher took on a student role in addition to using an existing background as a consultant – a field access strategy recommended by de Jong, Kamsteeg & Ybema (2013).

Approaching the field of study through an anthropological lens brought a valuable, in-depth understanding of the object being studied. With this approach, the researcher could observe how employees worked, who they interacted with at work, who they spoke with during lunch, met with at the coffee machine, sat next to during working hours, and more.

Qualitative interviews

Twenty-seven open-ended, in-depth interviews were conducted with TBC employees from six offices in four countries (Norway, Denmark, the UK and Morocco) from May to September 2011. All but two of the interviews took place in the participants' contextual

settings, and were carried out by two researchers (see Table 1). In June and July of 2012, four participants from Norway and four from Morocco were interviewed again. All 27+8 interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and anonymised. Each interview lasted approximately one hour, and the participants received a gift card as an incentive. The sample was made up of 9 women and 18 men aged 22-59 years. The gender difference was representative in that the majority of ICT consultants are men. All the main services offered by TBC to clients were covered in the interviews with the following participants:

Table 1. *The interview sample*

	Gender	Age	City	Country
1	Male	Forties	Oslo 1	Norway
2	Male*	Forties	Oslo 1	
3	Female*	Forties	Oslo 1	
4	Female	Forties	Oslo 1	
5	Male	Thirties	Oslo 1	
6	Male	Fifties	Oslo 2	
7	Male*	Forties	Oslo 2	
8	Male*	Thirties	Oslo 2	
9	Male	Forties	Copenhagen	Denmark
10	Female	Fifties	Copenhagen	
11	Male	Thirties	Copenhagen	
12	Female	Thirties	Copenhagen	
13	Male	Forties	Copenhagen	
14	Male	Thirties	Copenhagen	
15	Male	Twenties	Rabat 1	Morocco
16	Male*	Twenties	Rabat 1	
17	Female*	Thirties	Rabat 1	
18	Male*	Twenties	Rabat 1	
19	Female	Twenties	Rabat 1	
20	Female	Thirties	Rabat 1	
21	Female	Forties	Rabat 1	
22	Male	Twenties	Rabat 2	
23	Male*	Twenties	Rabat 2	
24	Male	Thirties	London	The UK
25	Female	Twenties	London	
26	Male	Fifties	London	
27	Male	Thirties	London	

Note: The interview sample from 2011, consisting of 27 employees (9 women and 18 men) aged 22-59 years, from six offices in Norway, Denmark, Morocco and the UK. Those eight that were interviewed again in 2012 are marked with an *.

Social network analysis

Social network data concerning whom the 27 participants approached for help and advice during the working day, and which co-workers approached them with work-related problems, were gathered at the end of each interview. Participants received and completed "colleague maps" with the photographs and names of employees in their departments. Blank spaces were left open so the participant could add any individuals not listed (e.g. from other entities). This created a roster network design (Wasserman & Faust 1994). This social network analysis (SNA) data was further coded in UCInet. The 27 participants listed in total 391 TBC colleagues as important to them. However, when asked to mark colleagues on the map who were important to their work, several participants commented that such individuals were not included in the map because they were clients or contract consultants rather than employees of TBC.

It was important to recruit participants from different departments and countries. Participants in this study were recruited using the snowball method. Starting at one entity (Oslo 1), the first participant was selected from the middle of the employee list. However, because the participants seldom listed colleagues working at entities other than their own, the snowballing process had to start over again several times. A limitation of the snowball methodology is its risk of leaving key persons out of the sample (Hanneman & Riddle 2005). However, because the snowballing had to start over again several times, and because it used a mixed methodology and included various entities and service areas in the sample, the main tendencies are believed to have been captured.

Data analysis

An exploratory case study, inductive and descriptive in its form, was chosen for this study. The aim of this study is analytical, rather than statistical generalization, a distinction suggested by Yin (2012). The analysis was inductive and holistic, starting when the researcher entered the physical settings to begin the data-gathering process. The analysis was characterised by moving in and out and back and forth between field notes and interview transcripts, analysis and theory in a holistic circle (Hastrup 2010; Wadel et al. 2014).

The data analysis process involved five phases. First, data was collected. This involved moving back and forth between transcripts and field notes, adding new dimensions along the way and sometimes contacting the participant at a later stage with follow-up questions. Second, the recordings were listened to repeatedly and the field diary read several times so as to identify themes, take notes and develop analytic categories and constructs. Third, the interviews were reviewed several times to identify overall themes and findings. These were then coded and analysed using NVivo 8 software to look for key patterns, similarities and differences. More than 240 nodes were coded and sorted into main topics (e.g. power, work model, pay model, user patterns, language, workplace, problem solving). However, this coding in a standardised computer system did not allow for a "dynamic" analysis, so it was used instead as an "assistant tool" to the field notes. The main findings were then discussed in depth by two researchers. Fourth, the researcher categorised the 27 participants in an Excel sheet, where each one was coded according to the main categories identified during the analysis (e.g. which entity they perceived as most similar or different to themselves; number of speak-to colleagues).

Finally, the findings were presented to the TBC professionals involved as insiders (Brannen & Thomas 2010) to validate the findings, which they did.

Findings

The analysis found that knowledge work at TBC differs in three regards: (1) *where* work takes place (spatiality); (2) *how* the workday is organised in clock time and week/calendar days (temporality); and (3) the *degree* of co-presence in working relationships.

Workplaces and workspaces

The social network data regarding who TBC professionals address when seeking work help – and who seeks them – suggests there is little cross-unit collaboration across the 20+ entities in TBC, even when located within the same country or city. The analysis reveals that TBC consultants perform work in six different contexts: (1) from the main office (a category of workers labelled "In-housers" and "Overlappers" to denote the group of consultants in slack (between projects), (2) with clients ("Out-housers"), (3) with clients' clients ("Fixed-site Teleworkers"), (4) from home ("Teleworkers"), (5) from a different country ("Distant Workers", solving tasks that have been outsourced to them), and (6) on the go, unrestricted to a place and time ("Nomads").

In TBC's work landscape, most employees across all entities work in the same physical place day after day, close to colleagues relevant to what they are working on. When TBC professionals need assistance in their work, they approach colleagues sitting physically close to them. As explained by one consultant from the UK, "it tends to be a locational thing. The people who literally sit near me.". In the organisational work context, TBC employees choose communication spaces that are closed, small (e.g. the coffee machine, during lunch breaks) and personal (direct conversations, telephone or email), and that provide a good overview of who is part of the conversation and who is not. This tendency is expanded to closed groups in the enterprise platform, which provides a good overview of who the other members are. With smaller, semi-private online spaces comes a trust-building overview of the group members who are watching or participating in the conversations. The open nature of the platform, though, does not provide insights of who the others are, who can be trusted, or the boundaries in the conversation. To speak publicly in front of everyone in TBC's enterprise platform differs from speaking to a smaller group, in line with the theories of Giddens (1984) and Goffman (1959). Moreover, how one communicates in groups in the online platform at work depends on the audience, one consultant explains:

> It depends on the group. We have a closed group for us here at the office, and we have a group for those working with [given topic] in Europe. They are very different settings. The office group has a funny name, and it is something totally different when I'm going to speak with people I sort of do not know at all. One puts on a seriousness filter in some of the online spaces. (Male, 40+, Norway)

Observations during field work in Norway revealed that in-house consultants were located close to other relevant colleagues, with whom they interchangeably communicated about work ("Did you get the report I just sent you?") and life ("How did things go at

the car repair yesterday/at the farewell party at school?"). In Denmark, a group of consultants were seated close together and discussed work loudly. Despite a smaller office space in London, employees were still able to roll their chairs to nearby colleagues to look at their computer screens or answer or ask questions. In the offices in Morocco, loud discussions on work and life matters among employees sitting close to each other took place. Distant workers sat together with other consultants to carry out work that had been outsourced to them, despite the fact that most of their tasks were completed alone or in the company of another outsourcer. Sitting close to important colleagues was observed among out-housers. These patterns demonstrate that sitting physically close to colleagues helps with work completion, as this consultant from Norway explained when asked where he seeks the information he needs to work:

> I get much of what I need through the people I work with because this is knowledge the client and their two suppliers that we work with have, and now [name of another consultancy firm] are also working on it. (Male, 40+ Oslo)

TBC professionals mainly consulted individuals they already knew and worked with. In this way, physical placement significantly influenced whom the employees approached when they needed work-related assistance. When sitting close, the employee also controlled conversation boundaries and maintained a good overview of the conversation partners (Giddens 1984; Goffman 1959). If close colleagues in the shared working context could not provide the needed assistance, the inquiring employee often asked these same colleagues for a personal recommendation instead of reaching out on TBC's social enterprise platform where over 5000 colleagues might help. When asked why they do not do so, several explain that they feel that asking out in the open where one does not know the audience is unpleasant, and that they put on a "seriousness filter" depending on the context (e.g. online group with management as members discussing TBC-related matters, or social groups planning the summer party).

Interestingly, many employees called, emailed or otherwise addressed non-TBC professionals with whom they are connected on external social sites (such as Facebook or LinkedIn) when in need of work-related assistance. These social sites allow employees to reach out to their contacts outside the company, as their contacts and friends often work on similar tasks and domains. This also follows the pattern of connecting only with those the employee already knows and works closely with (Pettersen 2016; Steinfield et al. 2009); employees communicate with those they already know rather than approaching new TBC colleagues.

Interestingly, the analysis of the social enterprise platform reveals a consistent pattern that communication and social interaction practices in the employees' organisational context is expanded, or "lifted in" to use Giddens' terminology, to the online platform. Those with whom the TBC professionals work with on a regular basis are mainly the ones they follow in the online enterprise space (the following feature), and other members in the platform's group are those whom the employee works with or shares other work characteristics with (e.g. belongs to the same department). When a consultant in his forties from Norway was asked who he has added as contacts in the enterprise platform, he replies; "Oh, almost everyone, I think. At least the Norwegian colleagues, and at an international level are those I have some kind of relation with". Having a joint history plays a key role in developing trust (Giddens 1984), and shows the importance

of building a social relationship the conventional way before expanding it in online settings, similar to Nandhakumar's (2002) study of virtual teamwork.

Moreover, the enterprise platform makes it possible to join groups regardless of geographical and organisational belonging in TBC, and strangers entering a group originally created for a specific local use pose a new situation for the group's members to interpret. A consultant shows me on her computer a group she created in the enterprise platform:

> I have created a group so we can have a place to have documents. And everyone in the team should be here … [She pauses and studies closely the group members.] Well, there are more members here than the team. Him, for example, I have no idea of who he is or where he is from. [She clicks on him and reads out loud his name] from [work topic name]. I have no idea of who this is. Here it says he is from [another entity]. Oh dear, how exciting. But I created it originally because I thought it should be our collaborative space. (Female, 40+, Norway).

However, groups typically are created to serve a team's offline needs, and when others who are not part of the group offline enter it, it presents employees with a new situation different from how they work in practice. As Goffman (1959) would have put it: the front-stage suddenly occurs in the employee's more trustful, back-stage settings.

Worktime, rhythm and organisation

With the exception of the nomad group, work at TBC was organised in a certain work time or workday rhythm across all contexts, beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon. Daily morning greeting rituals took place to symbolise the beginning of a new workday. Female employees in Rabat greeted each other verbally while kissing each other's cheeks. In Oslo, employees welcomed their colleagues with informal verbal gestures, often around the coffee machine, to have a social chat before they begin the workday. When leaving the workplace in the afternoon, personal symbols were often left at employee desks if the office had a landscape model (e.g. a yellow note or a family picture). Interestingly, although the teleworkers worked from their homes, they also organised their work as a typical workday, beginning in the morning and ending in the afternoon. One teleworker from the UK described a typical workday at home as follows:

> I tend to start work at about half past seven in the morning. I'll read my emails, work out if there's anything urgent that needs doing immediately. And I manage most of my to-do list in a mixture of Outlook and a spread sheet. So I sort of consult those and decide what I need to do urgently. I tend to be most productive from about half past seven in the morning up to lunch time. So I try to get the most important things that require a lot of thinking, and then I can focus on maybe other things in the afternoon. I work until sometimes seven in the evening.

The teleworkers also structured their work time in meaningful sequences, despite being physically separated from their teams. This is very different from the nomad worker, who typically picked up and continued work tasks (e.g. emails, completing documents, work tasks related to daily work and clock time) as needed. Nomad work was also done on days not typically regarded as work days, such as weekends and holidays. Nomad work was observed be done on the go, in cafés, from airports, from home, while travelling, etc., lending a temporal quality to the work.

Co-presence

Working with nearby colleagues makes fast replies on work matters in real time, in co-presence, very easy. Conversations were observed in the employees' respective native languages (Arabic, Danish, etc.). However, working closely did not only influence getting work done; it also had an important social dimension. Social interaction was found to be a core dimension of TBC professionals' working practices, where conversations among employees during the workday influenced their work, similar to Orr's (1996) study of copy technicians. During the workday, social and work aspects overlapped in conversations among employees. Social interaction mainly manifested through language and communication (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008), and a key factor in interpersonal communication was the social aspect (Brinkley 2009; Goffman 1959). Working together in the same geographical place, employees were socially integrated in their shared social working structures, and thus learned the implicit rules and practices of work tasks and social working relationships. When first established, social relationships among TBC employees can exist out of time and space as structuration processes due to mechanical integration (Giddens 1984). This illustrates how geographically removed teleworkers were still able to work in co-presence with their teams.

> Every day at 9:30, we have a call for half an hour where we catch up and, you know, anyone that's got anything. Often, someone needs to discuss something with a particular person, and if they can't resolve it in a couple of minutes, then we'll take it and have a call afterwards. We have a continuous Skype joint chat running, so if anyone wants to ask anything, we're always on Skype. But we keep this daily chat as a separate area so we can effectively say what we want. And also, it does get some social chat, non-work chat, on it as well (Male, 50+, UK).

The quoted consultant illustrated the social aspect of work communication. TBC teleworkers communicated online throughout the day in co-presence. However, it is important to note that these relationships had been established previously when they workers were in the same physical workplace. These work relationships were deemed important by TBC employees; a consultant from Morocco described how she cared about her colleagues at the TBC office:

> I like my work very much. It's a lot of work, but I really like it. To work with these colleagues is great – everyone is young and has the same mentality! We send a lot of emails to know the next steps to work on, or if there is a problem or something. We exchange emails during the weekends, and we phone daily. […] It is human to help someone that asks for something, and if they don't help you, the day they will ask for help, it is normal that you say, "Oh, I don't know" [she laughs]. It is human nature. It will help me to help you. (Female, 30+, Morocco).

The consultant continued on to explain that her team is like a family that trusts each other. She also described assisting others in need of help beyond her team members with reciprocal gains. Trust, reciprocity and shared practices were routinely confirmed on a daily basis in TBC by employees working closely together, and described to influence social integration among employees in their office social structures. Reciprocity could also be a key reason for why employees were able to do nomad work.

A joint history facilitates the development of trust (Giddens 1984), exemplifying the importance of building conventional social relationships before expanding them to online settings, similar to what was explained in Nandhakumar's (2002) study of virtual teamwork. Being located together in a shared place – at least until employees get to know each other's personalities, social structures and practices – seems to be essential for work. As such, co-presence is crucial to the development of personal trust. When the employee becomes socially integrated, this state can be lifted out of time and space via mechanical integration (Giddens 1984). Their social involvement can then exist in a virtual space even when the employees move to different geographical places. The distant workers observed in this study, however, were not only geographically far from the work problem they were outsourced to solve (e.g. fix a bug), they were also socially far from their colleagues and the social structures in which the outsourced work problem originated. Unlike the teleworkers who worked from home, the distant workers seldom met those for whom they were fixing problems. Keeping in mind that social interaction is a core dimension in much knowledge work (Ettlinger 2003; Trygg 2014), the distant workers lacked important dimensions when solving work tasks, such as knowing their colleagues and other implicit aspects related to social structure. Simply put, the distant workers had no common ground or co-presence with the people they were helping.

A young consultant in his twenties from Morocco explained that the TBC entities he assisted had specialised personnel on the specific topic he supported. The IT problems the distant workers worked on were communicated from the client or via a TBC entity located in Europe via a service desk platform.

> They are providing us documentation, but they are the ones that develop the application, and they will therefore know more than we do, so we need additional information because they have information we don't have. They are very knowledgeable, and they are always providing additional information that we could not know of since they are the ones that develop the applications. On the surface level, we know the application, but then there is a deeper level in which we need some documentation so we can understand the problem.

The distant worker received only a brief or "shallow" description of the work problem he was supposed to solve, communicated in written text via the service desk tool. He never learned the implicit rules or practices at play in the social structure from which the work problem came; he did not know the key individuals in that context, nor what their jobs were (Nicolini 2011; Orlikowski 2002). He also lacked the social relationships that would allow him to discuss and better solve the work problem. The interviewed TBC professionals working with outsourcing tasks had no social relationships with the individuals involved in their work problems and were never part of their social structure. Some expressed that they wished they knew the people they assist more personally. A distant worker in his twenties from Morocco explained as follows:

> It would be interesting to collaborate together because we don't really interact. By collaboration, I mean collaboration as get there with the team, have trainings together, to be more human in the collaboration. Technology can do the job to a certain point. We can do it through Skype, the social enterprise platform, or for any means of communication. We can communicate about everything, but we

> do not know the person on the other side of the computers, so I don't know his profile, his personality, and how they interpret what I am saying.

It is important to meet physically, he explained, because "you get much more comfortable when you know the person you are communicating with". Geographical location provides a space where employees learn to know each other's practices and foster trustful and predictable social relationships. As such, geographical separation corresponds to the separation of social structures. The interviewed distant workers were not "lifted in" to the client's social structure, to use Giddens's (1990) terminology; instead, the problems they were tasked to solve were "lifted out" from the contexts in which they were established. This was not without difficulties; misunderstandings and conflicts occurred easily due to the absence of a common ground or co-presence.

Discussion and conclusion

This study asked, *What role does geographical location play for affecting co-presence in online spaces?* The analysis found that both organisational context and geographical place are instrumental in developing social relationships due to the employees working together on a daily, temporal basis. TBC employees who worked together in a shared location or workplace communicated constantly and built trust through solving work problems together. This demonstrates that immediate physical proximity has a direct effect on co-presence due to daily, integrating routines in which employees develop shared practices and predictability of their daily interactions (Giddens 1984), and face-work (i.e. facial expressions) allows for the correct interpretation of communications and social interaction (Goffman 1959). Trust and knowing one's communication partners were also found to play key roles in employees' online interaction patterns. Social cues provided in face-work, engaged listening, enclosure, turn-taking in conversations and interactions, the opportunity of choosing and signalling to withdraw and to be absent from a conversation, all still seem to come into play, regardless of whether the interaction is situated in offline or online settings.

In being geographically close, employees are also close to the social structure in which other colleagues and work problems to be solved are located. However, it is not the geographical place *per se* that matters when creating co-presence; rather, it is the social structure to which people belong in a shared contextual place. In contrast, distant workers – those working with outsourcing tasks – were found to lack important insights into the social structure to which their work problems and colleagues belonged. These insights were typically taken for granted among the present members of the social structure. This separation from social structures and other participating individuals hindered outsourced workers' ability to solve daily work problems, due to the key role of social interaction in knowledge work (Ettlinger 2003; Trygg 2014; Pettersen 2015).

Working practices in TBC were heavily influenced by the individuals and personal drivers within social relationships. Knowledge work in TBC was found to rely on communication and social interaction among colleagues, where trust, reciprocity and mutual familiarity were key components. Social integration and co-presence were thus expanded, or "lifted in" via mechanical integration (Giddens 1984). The distant workers, in not knowing others' practices, lacked the main tools for meaningful communication, social interaction and ontological security, which is established during co-present interactions

in traditional societies (Giddens 1990). While teleworkers had a co-presence with their teams in virtual or online spaces, albeit in different physical places, distant workers were absent in both social and geographical terms. Distant workers' working tasks or problems were therefore disembedded, or "lifted out", from the context in which they were involved. This might explain the tendency of employees on social enterprise media platforms to connect and collaborate with colleagues they know well and work with daily (Steinfield et al. 2009; Pettersen 2015; Riemer et al. 2015), rather than establish relationships with strangers. In a similar pattern, employees approached people they already knew offline when they needed work-related assistance. This supports Van Dijk's (1997) claim that virtual communities will not replace organic communities, but will build on and possibly strengthen them (Van Dijk 1997: 60). This clearly has implications for organisations that implement social enterprise platforms or other ICTs to create a more connected workplace. Advice to practitioners is therefore not to underestimate the importance of arranging social gatherings so employees can physically meet and work together and thus establish a common ground for communication and social relationships that may expand into virtual spaces. Despite the many great opportunities new digital media provides, geographical proximity still matters (McClay & McAllister 2014).

This study was not without limitations. Just 27 participants from four countries employed by one multinational consultancy company were interviewed. However, due to the mixed methodology employed by the current study, it is the belief of this researcher that the most important tendencies to the study were observed.

Note

1. This was the topic for the NordMedia 2015 conference in Copenhagen, Denmark.

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Construction of Populism

Meanings Given to Populism in the Nordic Press

Juha Herkman

Abstract

The terminology of populism is often taken for granted, even though the very meaning of populism is quite unclear. The article approaches populism by exploring the meanings given to the term in the Nordic press during the first parliamentary elections of the 2010s in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. A combination of the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative frame analysis of the leading quality and popular papers is favoured. In the study of the use of populism in the British press the conclusion was that the term was used more or less explicitly in a pejorative way, although uses of the term varied and had no consistent logic. In the Nordic press recurring frames were found, but the meanings given to populism were only fully understood in their political and cultural contexts. The different life phases of the domestic populist parties as well as differences in Nordic political cultures especially explain the variation in the usage of the term.

Keywords: populism, Nordic countries, newspapers, frame analysis, constructivism

Introduction

There is an agreement that populist movements have grown during the last few decades – in Europe and elsewhere. However, scholars have stated that the meaning of populism is unclear due to the vagueness or slipperiness of the concept (e.g. Canovan 1999: 3; Taggart 2000: 1; Mazzoleni 2003: 4). In many political cultures and languages the term "populism" carries negative rather than positive connotations (cf. Canovan 2005: 75; Andersson 2009: 8-9), even though the etymological background of the word, deriving from the Latin noun "populus" meaning "the people", gives it an emancipative or empowering signification (cf. Williams 1988: 66).

This article approaches populism by exploring the meanings given to the term's use in the Nordic press. This involves adopting a constructivist design to ask, How is populism signified? rather than an essentialist approach exploring, What is populism? Populism as an ideology or political style has been studied extensively, although analyses of the actual uses of the term in political discourse are rare. In fact, only Bale et al. (2011) have studied the use of the term by the press and compared it with scholarly usage, and their focus was solely on a quantitative content analysis of the UK print media. Therefore, this study brings comparative and qualitative approaches to research on the subject.

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The context of the study is four Nordic countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, which provide an interesting framework for this approach for three reasons. Firstly, a political party that has often been defined as "populist" has gained remarkable success in all those countries during the twenty-first century. Secondly, the Nordic countries have remarkably similar media and political systems, and they are prominent representatives of the so-called Democratic-Corporatist Model in Hallin and Mancini's categorization (Hallin & Mancini 2004; Strömbäck et al. 2008). Thirdly, despite their similarities, the geopolitical, cultural and language contexts of the Nordic countries vary, especially in their political cultures and in the formation of their populist movements (e.g. Fryklund 2016).

The article examines the meanings given to populism through a combination of quantitative content analysis and qualitative frame analysis of the leading quality and popular papers of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The main objective of the study is to find new insights into the discussion on populism as a universal but simultaneously local phenomenon by analysing the construction of populism as a term in specific contexts. The study is also important because the public meanings of populism have real effects on politics and the success of populist movements.

The research questions are:

RQ1. How is populism framed in its public portrayal within the Nordic press?

RQ2. How do frames differ between newspaper types and journalistic genres?

RQ3. How do different media and country contexts explain the framings?

The article starts with a short introduction to theories of populism and to the relationship between populism and the media. After introducing the contemporary Nordic populist parties, the method and materials of the study are discussed and the frame analysis of the usage of populism as a term in the Nordic press is reported (RQ1 and RQ2). The article ends with a discussion of the results (RQ3).

Defining populism

One way to define populism has been to consider it an ideology. As a political ideology, however, populism has been thought to be "a-political" (MacRae 1969: 157) or "thin" (Stanley 2008), since no solid ideological spine has been found from comparing different forms of populism (cf. Canovan 1981; Taggart 2000; Andersson 2009). Wiles (1969) described populism as "a syndrome" rather than "a doctrine" – a reaction to other political movements and their ideologies rather than an ideological starting point as such.

According to Canovan (1999: 3), an appeal to "the people" and opposing the establishment and its societal values have been the most common features of populism in modern democracies. Hence, populism differs from coherent ideological traditions or "full ideologies", such as liberalism and socialism. Therefore, Stanley calls populism a "thin ideology". For him, "the thinness of populism" – the fact that its core element is that of "anti-elite appeal" actually "ensures that in practice it is a complementary ideology; it does not so much overlap with as diffuse itself throughout full ideologies" (Stanley 2008: 106-107).

Another common definition of populism has considered it a political movement that arises during times of political crisis (see Laclau 2005; Andersson 2009). Thus, it can be defined as an anti-elite protest movement with no genuine ideological substance or political programme, carried out by a group calling themselves “the people” (see Rydgren 2005: 12-13). The problem of this definition is that the understanding of the people, the elite and the protest vary from context to context, thus the meaning of populism remains unclear.

One way to try to solve the vagueness of populism is to reduce it to a political rhetoric or style. Jagers and Walgrave (2006: 322), for example, define populism as “a political communication style of political actors that refers to the people”. This is a thin understanding of populism, in which “populism is totally stripped from all pejorative and authoritarian connotations” (ibid.: 323). However, Jagers and Walgrave also analyse the “thick” definition of populism with its anti-establishment ideas and its simultaneous exclusion of certain population groups (ibid.: 322). Thus, understanding populism primarily as a style or rhetoric seems simplistic (Mazzoleni 2014: 46), leading Jagers and Walgrave (2006: 336-337) to conclude their analysis by emphasising populism as a combination of style and ideology.

Regarding historical forms of populism, many scholars have talked about neo-populism as a specific phenomenon in contemporary Western democracies (e.g. Taggart 2000; Mazzoleni 2003; Mudde 2007; Andersson 2009). Neo-populism is characterised as a protest movement that criticises bureaucratised states and the alleged corruption of established parties (Taggart 2000: 75; Andersson 2009: 48-54). It is also connected to anti-immigration policies, xenophobia and even racism promoted by extreme or radical right-wing movements (see Taggart 2000: 76-83; Rydgren 2004; Andersson 2009: 64-76). However, not all researchers agree that neo-populism should be defined by right-wing extremism or nativist ideology (e.g. Laclau 2005; Andersson 2009). This is true also of Nordic populist parties, which do not necessary fit directly such definitions of neo-populism (Andersson 2009: 73-76; Herkman 2015).

Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2012: 8) have tried to formulate a “minimal definition of populism”, and defined it as “a thin-centred ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ and ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people”. Their definition eloquently combines most meanings given to the term in the research literature and it certainly helps to operationalise the empirical analyses of the phenomenon. However, even this definition does not encompass all cases under the title of populism and, as a scholarly endeavour, it does not fix the meanings given to the term in public discussions.

Nordic populist parties and the media

In the Nordic countries included in this study, political parties with backgrounds as anti-elite populist movements combined with nation-centric perspectives and criticism of immigration have enjoyed remarkable success in the twenty-first century. The Norwegian Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, NFP) was the largest party in Norway in the early 2010s, and joined the conservative government after the 2013 elections. The Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset, PS) was the second largest party in the 2015 parliamentary elections

of Finland. In Denmark, the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti, DF) supported the conservative government between 2001 and 2011 and once again after the 2015 general elections. The Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna, SD) won seats in the Swedish parliament in 2010 and in the 2014 parliamentary elections gained an astonishing 12.9 per cent of votes, upsetting Sweden's political *status quo*.

Those parties cannot be directly compared to the neo-populist movements of Western and Eastern Europe since, according to the European Social Survey (ESS), their supporters are quite different and rely on a democratic society (Mesežnikov et al. 2008; Paloheimo 2012: 337). Populism in the Nordic countries has not been as radical or offensive as in countries where politics in general has been more confrontational (see Widfeldt 2010: 179). NFP and DF have become established political players, appearing to be more mainstream than traditional populist movements in domestic contexts (cf. Herkman 2015). However, all these parties have intensely questioned immigration policies since the 1990s, thus linking them to the European populist radical right-wing party family (Jungar & Jupkåps 2014).

The importance of the media for the rise and development of the neo-populist movements has been alleged and reported in several studies (e.g. Mazzoleni 2003; Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart 2006; Albertazzi & McDonnell 2008; Koopmans & Muis 2009; Roodjuin 2014). However, Bos and Brants (2014) indicate that the populist styles, ideas and policies represented in the media might be far less prevalent than often claimed. Some studies stress that media coverage is essential for the public images of all political leaders (Bos et al. 2011) and Pauwels (2010) reminds us that the media effect on the development of populist movements should not be overstated.

The meanings given to populism in studies on the Nordic countries have most commonly been tied to the ideological or social dimensions of the movements (e.g. Arter 2010; Jungar 2010; Rydgren & Ruth 2011; Jungar & Jupkåps 2014). The majority of the media-based research has considered Nordic populism in relation to right-wing extremism and anti-immigration rhetoric (e.g. Rydgren 2004; Hellström & Nilsson 2010; Horsti & Nikunen 2012). However, the style of populism has also been studied (e.g. Niemi 2013), and in Finland and in Sweden the media portrayal of the domestic populist parties has been analysed with regard to the overall coverage of the elections (Pernaa & Railo 2012; Ljunggren & Nordstrand 2011).

The multiple definitions of populism have been considered in academic theorisations for several decades (Wiles 1969; Canovan 1981; Taggart 2000; Laclau 2005), but actual uses of the term have rarely been studied. The alleged pejorative use of the term has been stated (e.g. Canovan 2005; Andersson 2009), but few empirical studies of the subject have been published. Elmgren (2015) has studied the term's use, but her focus was on the self-identification of the Finns Party. Only Bale et al. (2011) have explored the usage of the term in the media. They concluded that the term was used more or less explicitly in a pejorative way, although uses of the term varied and had no consistent logic. This study examines whether this is true in the Nordic context and considers the possible effects of the construction of the meaning of populism.

Methods and materials

The material analysed in this article comes from articles collected during the first parliamentary elections of the 2010s in Finland (April 2011), Sweden (September 2010), Denmark (September 2011) and Norway (September 2013). The articles in which the term populism, or its variants, was explicitly used during a 30-day period surrounding the parliamentary elections – polling day plus 16 days before and 13 after that date – were sieved out from the largest quality and popular newspapers of the countries by using different domestic press archives. The search word used was "populis*" because it allowed us to encompass all variations of "populism", "populist" and "populistic" in the Nordic languages. The sampling of the material was carried out by native research assistants with good track records in media and political studies from a total gathering of 3337 journalistic articles discussing the elections (see Herkman 2015). In this study, news articles other than election stories, letters to the editor, readers' comments and other non-journalistic articles were also included, thus increasing the total amount of articles in the search to almost 5000. In total, the material analysed here amounts to 170 articles sampled by using the search term "populis*". After the assistants had collected and copied the articles from the archives, I proceeded with the coding and frame analysis.

Election campaigns create a particular moment for public discourse and may distort the material found by stressing political populism at the expense of, for example, "cultural populism" (cf. McGuigan 1992). The chosen elections were especially interesting, however, because a political party which was commonly termed "populist" gained remarkable success, consequently highlighting the term and the meaning given to it through the various public discussions in which it participated. PS attained 19.1 per cent of the votes in Finland, SD won seats in the Swedish parliament for the first time, and NFP joined the Norwegian cabinet for the first time in its history. Thus, the appearance of "populist parties" can be said to have increased the public debate on populism.

The differing approaches of the elite and the tabloid media have usually been discernible from each other in studies on populism (see Mazzoleni 2003: 8). However, the Nordic countries do not have tabloid papers similar to those found in the Anglo-American or Central European context. Sparks (2000: 15) defines Nordic tabloids as the "semi-serious press" in his pioneering analysis of "tabloidization" because they publish serious news content resembling that of the quality press. The term "tabloid" is also confusing, since many Nordic quality papers changed from broadsheet to tabloid format during the twenty-first century. However, according to their journalistic style and topics, the Nordic popular papers can be defined as a sort of tabloid media (cf. Jungar 2010: 215-216). Accordingly I use the terms "quality" and "popular" press.

The papers analysed are *Helsingin Sanomat* (quality) and *Ilta-Sanomat* (popular) from Finland, *Dagens Nyheter* (quality) and *Aftonbladet* (popular) from Sweden, *Politiken* (quality) and *Ekstra Bladet* (popular) from Denmark and *Aftenposten* (quality) and *Verdens Gang* (popular) from Norway. There are no clear political affiliations in these papers today, although the quality papers usually represent more "liberal" and the popular papers more "conservative" values. However, their historical backgrounds might reproduce some left-of-centre tendencies in *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet* and right-of-centre tendencies in *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftenposten*. *Aftonbladet* is defined as "independent social democratic".

The articles using the term "populism" are first analysed quantitatively, but the main research method here is a qualitative frame analysis. In media studies, framing usually means the various strategies, practices and techniques by which the media or journalism bring meanings to the fore and the way certain aspects of reality are stressed and others are deemphasised (Gitlin, 1980: 7; Entman, 1993: 53). Media frames can be separated from audience frames, meaning the ways journalism represents and frames reality (de Vreese et al. 2001: 107). Audience frames, in turn, refer to the ways audiences receive and interpret the media. In this study, the focus is on the media frames the Nordic press uses to underline the meanings of populism.

First, the sentences and statements where the term populism, or its variants, were used was identified. Next, those sentences were classified according to the main meaning they (and the context of the story) constructed of populism. These significations constitute the media frames of populism as a "floating signifier" (cf. Laclau 2005; Herkman 2016).

Five main frames were found to indicate the ways the Nordic newspapers constructed meanings of populism: (1) the nationalism frame, (2) the nativism frame, (3) the empty rhetoric frame, (4) the political movement frame, and (5) the voice of the people frame. However, the frames overlapped somewhat, and the coding of the main frame was not always unambiguous. The nationalism and nativism frames, for example, were sometimes difficult to separate. In such cases, primary and secondary (or supplementary) frames were coded.

In *the nationalism frame* populism is understood as a project emphasising national traditions, history, language and culture. Within this frame, hostility towards "outsiders" is not important, instead populism is identified mainly as a nostalgic yearning for the "good old days". Thus, the nationalism frame resonates intimately with Taggart's (2000: 95-97) idea of "heartland" as the core dimension of populism.

The nativism frame is close to the nationalism frame, but instead of positively identifying with the nation, the nativism frame is focused on the negative and even hostile exclusion of others. Consequently, it is closely linked to definitions of contemporary neo-populism associated with the extreme or radical right, which attributes to populism xenophobic, racist and anti-immigration connotations (see Mazzoleni 2003: 4-5; Mudde 2007; Andersson 2009: 48nn).

The empty rhetoric frame constructs populism as a political style that appeals to people through a down-to-earth rhetoric (cf. Jagers & Walgrave 2006; Niemi 2013). However, it also carries with it strong negative connotations connected to irresponsible policymaking and is commonly used pejoratively (see Bale et al. 2011). In this frame, populism refers to statements that do not result in actual political acts, trust or responsibility.

The political movement frame approaches populism in a more neutral manner. In this frame populism is used as a descriptive label to separate different political movements or parties from each other (cf. Andersson 2009: 5).

The voice of the people frame is the only clearly positive framing of populism. It accords with Laclau's (2005) idea of populism as a manifestation of a political logic whereby a group of people identifies itself as "the people" in the meaning of political agency. This frame is also used by some (populist) politicians, when they announce themselves to be the voice of "the real people" (see Elmgren 2015).

Framing populism

In general, the words "populism" or "populist" and their variants were seldom used; only about three per cent of the articles explicitly used the terms during the sample period. The result is similar to that found by Bale et al. (2011: 117) in the UK context, who state that "populism is almost never the central concept in news coverage". It is also justifiable to argue that both journalists and politicians avoid using the term in the Nordic consensus-seeking context because it is a pejorative term rather than a neutral notion (Andersson 2009: 8-9).

More than one third of the articles mentioning populism were news articles (36.5 per cent). Editorials, opinion pieces, commentaries or columns amounted similarly to 37 per cent. If we take into account letters to editors and comment articles (13 per cent), then half of the story types mentioning populism were genres in which subjective evaluations and critique are typical. Similarly, the British press used the term more pejoratively in opinion pieces and commentaries than they did in news articles, which were usually neutral in style (Bale et al. 2011: 124).

Table 1. *Number of articles mentioning populism in the different countries and genres*

	News articles	Editorials / columns	Letters to editors	Other	All
Sweden	26	22	2	10	60
Finland	26	18	8	8	60
Norway	4	10	8	3	25
Denmark	6	13	4	2	25
Total	62	63	22	23	170

Note: N=170.

The Swedish and Finnish press used the term more often than Danish and Norwegian press – 120 mentions in the Finnish and Swedish papers, but only 50 articles in the Danish and Norwegian papers (see Table 1). If we take into account the fact that Finnish papers published the fewest election articles during the sample period and Danish papers the most (cf. Herkman 2015), the relative share of populism discussions was significantly higher in the Finnish press than in the other countries, especially Denmark.

A total of 167 primary and 52 secondary framings could be coded. The analysis was focused on political populism, but 12 articles (six in Sweden, three in Denmark, two in Finland, and one in Norway) of the 170 approached populism predominantly through the meaning of "cultural populism" (McGuigan 1992). In Sweden, for example, it was reported that the cultural taste promoted by political institutions or the media had become hostile towards the high arts and was more supportive of popular taste.

Cultural populism was also linked to politics through secondary framing, however. For example, in *Dagens Nyheter* politicians were criticised for favouring easy-going popular culture (16 September 2010) or being populist in their national film industry policies (23 September 2010). Thus, cultural populism did not appear as an independent frame as such but was diffused with the framings of political populism. Except for two articles (published in *Aftonbladet* and in *Verdens Gang*), cultural populism was only discussed in the quality papers.

Table 2. *Share of primary (and secondary) frames (%) in the different newspaper types*

Paper type/frame	Nationalism	Nativism	Empty rhetoric	Political movement	Voice of the people	Total (%)
Quality	17 (14)	30 (11)	38 (5)	8 (2)	7 (1)	100 (33)
Popular	6 (8)	34 (3)	34 (5)	16 (6)	10 (5)	100 (27)
Mean	12 (11)	32 (7)	36 (5)	12 (4)	9 (3)	

Note: N=170.

In general, the quality papers favoured slightly more critical frames than the popular papers (see Table 2). Quality papers also concentrated more on the populism discussion, especially after polling day in both Sweden and Denmark. The dominance of the quality papers regarding negative or critical framings (nationalism, nativism and empty rhetoric) supports the alleged difference in paper types and their relationship to populism (cf. Mazzoleni 2003: 8).

Table 3. *Share of primary (and secondary) frames (%) in the different countries*

Country/ frame	Nationalism	Nativism	Empty rhetoric	Political movement	Voice of the people	Total (%)
Sweden	5 (8)	50 (5)	29 (3)	14 (3)	2 (2)	100 (21)
Finland	15 (25)	23 (9)	31 (7)	16 (7)	15 (5)	100 (53)
Norway	12	32 (8)	48 (8)	–	8	100 (16)
Denmark	28	5 (16)	52	–	5	100 (16)
Mean	15 (8)	28 (10)	40 (5)	8 (3)	8 (2)	

Note: N=170.

The national emphases found in the framings are shown in Table 3. However, more substantial qualitative analysis is needed to explore the ways the press constructs the meanings of populism. Therefore, a qualitative frame by frame analysis of the 170 articles is made below.

The nationalism frame

The nationalism frame was most emphasised by the Finnish papers, but it was also relatively popular in the Danish press (see Table 3). In Finland the frame often featured as a secondary framing with nativism, but in Denmark it was often used as the primary frame when discussing the lack of real European politics, for example, in a commentary article written by left-wing candidates who criticised Danish political discourse for being too parochial (*Politiken* 31 August 2011).

The nationalism frame was typically located in a non-domestic context rather than a domestic one, especially in Sweden, for example, when discussing the Belgian (*Dagens Nyheter* 9 September 2010) and Finnish (*Dagens Nyheter* 11 September 2010) contexts and when defining debates over minority language rights. Swedish newspapers generally favoured the nativism frame, however. In Finland the nationalism frame was popular in *Helsingin Sanomat*, especially in several editorials and commentaries. That frame was crystallised two days after the Finnish election in a column written by political journalist Olli Kivinen, who claimed that Asian-driven globalisation and the recession in Europe's

economies had led to the rise of populist movements holding nostalgic ideas about the nation state (*Helsingin Sanomat* 19 April 2011).

The nativism frame

The nativism frame was popular, especially in Sweden, where populism has usually meant extreme right-wing movements. SD was commonly portrayed through this frame and criticised heavily in both the quality and popular papers. *Dagens Nyheter* (17 September 2010) stated before the elections that the world-famous Swedish soccer player Zlatan Ibrahimovic "is not Swedish for SD", because in "SD's biologically coloured world" structural discrimination against immigrants was promoted. Journalist Anna Lundell provocatively stated in her *Aftonbladet* column that "SD's racist propaganda is bullshit" (10 September 2010).

The political discourse in the Swedish press generally criticised SD and other political parties also refused to collaborate with the party (cf. Rydgren, 2005: 117). *Aftonbladet* even announced a counter-campaign called "We like different people" (22 September 2010) when SD entered parliament by attaining 5.7 per cent of all votes cast.

The Swedish press also framed populism as nativism in other European countries. *Dagens Nyheter* published several stories discussing extreme-right populism in the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, France and Lithuania, framing populism as inherently meaning xenophobic and anti-immigration policies. The leaders of the European radical right-wing parties have repeatedly and routinely been associated with populism in the British press as well (Bale et al. 2011: 121). However, the Swedish popular paper, *Aftonbladet*, did not associate populism with foreign right-wing movements but focused solely on SD; the focus of debate turning domestic also in *Dagens Nyheter* after the Swedish election.

The Finnish press partly resembled the Swedish model. *Helsingin Sanomat* published several articles about extreme-right movements around Europe before the elections but made no clear references to PS. After the unexpected success of the PS, *Helsingin Sanomat* often framed its articles with the type of criticism common to countries facing triumphant right-wing populists. However, popular paper *Ilta-Sanomat* barely used the nativism or nationalism frames.

The nativism frame was seldom used in the Danish papers, but if it was, it was used as a secondary frame accompanying the nationalism or empty rhetoric frames. In Norwegian papers the nativism frame was used relatively more often, but the majority of these articles debated whether the NFP was a populist party or not. The debate was especially promoted by the popular paper *Verdens Gang* in which the dominant argument was actually the "anti-nativism" of NFP; the writers stressed, unlike foreign media commentators (who were reputed not to understand Norwegian politics) and some domestic dissidents, such as Heikki Holmås from the Socialist Left Party, that the NFP was not an extreme-right movement. The debate culminated in a press conference intended for the foreign press and covered extensively by *Verdens Gang* (19 September 2013).

The empty rhetoric frame

The empty rhetoric frame was favoured as a primary frame in all Nordic countries and in both the quality and popular papers, even though the nativism frame was more common in

Sweden. This was also the dominant frame in the British press, which used populism in a mostly pejorative way but with significant variation between the topics and actors (Bale et al. 2011). In the Nordic context, the empty rhetoric frame was slightly more common in the quality than the popular papers, being relatively more popular in Denmark – but only in *Politiken* in such articles as Lasse Jensen's column which criticises Danish media policies (30 September 2011), or Peder Rasmussen's critical commentary on the Danish government's strategy for branding Denmark as one of the world's leading design nations (31 August 2011). The frame was quite often used with regard to foreign news like the European Central Bank's action in the Euro crisis (*Politiken* 18 September 2011), or Antonios Samaras' opposition policies in Greece (*Politiken* 21 September 2011).

It was typical of the empty rhetoric frame that it was used with a wide variety of topics and with many different actors (cf. Bale et al., 2011). Whereas the nationalism and nativism frames were connected to Europe's extreme right or to anti-immigration domestic parties, the empty rhetoric frame was also used to describe domestic mainstream party politicians. The leading figures of both the mainstream left-wing and right-wing parties, respectively Mona Sahlin and Fredrik Reinfeldt, were said by *Aftonbladet* to use a "populist rhetoric" (12 September 2010). The leader of the Social Democratic Party and the Finnish Minister of Finance, Jutta Urpilainen, was called "a populist" in *Ilta-Sanomat* (6, 7, 14, 15 and 16 April 2011).

The empty rhetoric frame was also used to describe Norway's concerns over the direction of modern politics, for example, in 15-year-old Jacob Schram's commentary on why Norwegian youngsters had lost interest in politics (*Aftenposten* 22 September 2013), or in Harald Reppensgaard's opinions on the erosion of democracy in Norway. Reppensgaard argued that populist politicians sought media and opinion poll attention but lacked solid political principles (*Verdens Gang* 18 September 2013). Thus, the empty rhetoric frame usually signified populism in a pejorative way by referring to the supposedly empty political promises of political leaders.

The political movement frame

The political movement frame approached populist parties in a more neutral way. It was only used in Sweden and Finland, which can be partly explained by the fact that populism was discussed more often in the Swedish and Finnish papers than in Denmark or Norway. A further explanation is that SD and PS were gaining political ground in the beginning of the 2010s and there was a need to distinguish them from other parties in news stories. NFP and DF were more established in their countries, hence there was no need for the press to label them (see Herkman 2015).

The political movement frame was especially common in *Helsingin Sanomat*'s news stories, in which PS was considered one party amongst others in an analysis of an online candidate selector, a Web-application in which voters can test candidates with the help of their questionary responses before the elections (*Helsingin Sanomat* 20 April 2011), or in a story analysing why the Centre Party lost votes so heavily (*Helsingin Sanomat* 22 April 2011). This framing was also used in *Ilta-Sanomat*, though it generally favoured the voice of the people frame.

The political movement frame was also used to discuss the Swedish minority government's challenges regarding the exercise of successful financial policies with a populist

movement (e.g. *Dagens Nyheter* 20 and 21 September 2010). However, in articles about SD the nuance was usually negative, such as when the prime minister asked: "Can we call on Jimmie Åkesson [SD's leader] in times of economic recession?" (*Dagens Nyheter* 18 September 2010).

The voice of the people frame

Finally, the voice of the people frame was the only clearly positive media frame for populism, and it was the least common in the articles. In this frame, the media portrayed "the people" with the same kind of signifier as Laclau (2005) in his theory of populist reason. For example, after the elections, *Dagens Nyheter* published an article in which the supporters of SD from Skånean Almgården were allowed to speak for themselves (21 September 2010). Moreover, in another interview article Per Westerberg from the right-wing Moderate Coalition Party advised readers to respect "the Swedish people's vote" (*Dagens Nyheter* 22 September 2010).

The Norwegian papers also published two articles in which the possibility of defining populism more positively from the viewpoint of "the people" was discussed, whereas in Finland this frame was mainly discussed by *Ilta-Sanomat*, which published several post-election articles introducing the new members of parliament or PS's supporters. *Ilta-Sanomat* portrayed PS's parliamentarians in the story "They Are Like This" (18 April 2011), in which an MP declared "he is a proud populist" and that "for him, populism means democracy". In the same issue, a major article about PS's election gala appeared with the headline: "The Forgotten People Triumphed".

Ilta-Sanomat (19 September 2011) then interviewed newly elected Johanna Jurvanen (PS), whose political aim was to enhance the social security of the disadvantaged. Jurvanen was labelled a populist who "immigrants, gays and culture enthusiasts need not fear". Furthermore, in a column published on 23 April 2011 *Ilta-Sanomat* declared, "Even the populist party [in Finland] is moderate, house-broken and cooperative."

Conclusion and discussion

As in the British context (Bale et al. 2011), the Nordic papers seldom used the word populism, even though a political party generally termed a populist movement gained a significant share of the vote in the first elections of the 2010s. The avoidance of the term becomes clear when considered in comparison with all the other election stories published during the same period, in which more than 40 per cent discussed the domestic populist parties (Herkman 2015). Thus, most of these stories discussed the parties without using the term populism. The avoidance of the term would perhaps be an even more accurate observation during periods when no electoral campaign was in progress. Furthermore, when the term populism was used, its meanings were mainly constructed within negative framings. The word's negative and pejorative connotations, in turn, limit its use by politicians and journalists, especially in Nordic consensus democracies, which have a modest political style and a rather "politics friendly media" (cf. Nord 2007).

Bale et al. (2011) indicate that the term "populist" was used pejoratively in the UK press by many commentators but that the meaning of populism varied so much that no common definition could be found. The use of the term in the Nordic press finds a similar

range of meanings. However, five dominant frames – nationalism, nativism, empty rhetoric, political movement and voice of the people – reveal recurring themes. The empty rhetoric frame was most often linked with populism and a broad range of subjects. The other frames usually connected populism to contemporary political movements. In particular, the nationalism and nativism frames linked populism to Europe's extreme-right movements and/or assessed domestic populist parties from this perspective. However, the differences between the countries and the newspapers emphasise that the meanings given to populism can only be fully understood in their political and cultural contexts.

The Finnish and Swedish papers explicitly discussed populism more often than their Norwegian and Danish counterparts. This is explained by the different life phases of the domestic populist parties; PS and SD were experiencing their "insurgent phases" (Stewart et al. 2003: 219-220) in entering parliament, whereas DF had assisted conservative governments for two terms and NFP had been a prominent player in Norway's political arena for decades. Therefore, DF and NFP were experiencing their "established phases", suggesting their populism was no longer an issue as their media attention had been "normalised" (ibid: 223).

The Swedish papers stressed the nativism frame, which anchored populism to xenophobic and racist extreme right-wing movements (cf. Mudde 2007). That can be partly explained by the fact that SD differs from other Nordic populist parties as its roots lie in the National Socialist movement (Baas 2014). Another explanation is that populism, in the Swedish political discourse, is mostly used to refer to right-wing populism (*höger-populism*), linking populism with racist and fascist connotations (Andersson 2009: 14, 54) and leading Sweden's quality and popular papers to agree a *cordon sanitaire* – an exclusion of SD from the agenda setting (Andersson 2009: 47; Rydgren 2005: 117).

In the Danish press the nationalism frame connected discussions about populism to domestic political decision-making, but the extreme-right connotations of nativism were uncommon and not used in relation to DF. This is interesting because this study's Danish newspapers had left-of-centre tendencies, which might have been thought to increase their use of populism in a pejorative way against right-wing movements (cf. Bale et al. 2011: 125). In general, populism terminology was rare in Denmark, either because it was unusable or was purposely avoided. This might indicate that the long-term influence of DF on immigration policies had, for example, normalised such policies, meaning they were no longer discussed in relation to European neo-populism (cf. Rydgren 2010; Bay et al. 2013).

The nativism frame was relatively common in Norway, but was used to prove the anti-nativism and thus anti-populism of NFP rather than to frame the party as xenophobic or racist. Consequently, most debates on populism in the Norwegian press reflected the domestic political environment, which was, according to the debaters, "misunderstood" abroad.

The Norwegian case reveals the "here–elsewhere" dimension in public discussions on populism. Due to populism carrying negative connotations, it is located outside the domestic environment. This contrasts with the British case, where the pejorative use of the term was more common in the domestic than the foreign news context (Bale et al. 2011: 124), possibly resulting from the different journalistic and political cultures of the UK and the Nordic countries. In Swedish and Finnish quality newspapers, populism was critically approached in the pre-election period through foreign examples of Eu-

ropean right-wing radicalism, but after the election, the approach focused on domestic right-wing radicalism.

The Finnish press differed from other countries in often favouring the neutral and positive frames of political movement and the voice of the people. However, the positive meanings of populism were promoted almost solely by the popular paper *Ilta-Sanomat*, while *Helsingin Sanomat* favoured neutral frames. Thus, the Finnish case demonstrates that a clear difference between the quality and tabloid media could be made (cf. Mazzoleni 2003: 8).

The public meanings of populism are interesting not only because they reveal differences in national political and journalistic cultures, but also because they may have real political effects. Firstly, since the media have power in political agenda setting (see Walgrave & Van Aelst 2006; Van Dalen & Van Aelst 2013), media frames can influence politics because they assess political actors through populism, especially during election campaigns. Secondly, the analysis of the public or vernacular use of populism contextualises the academic usage of the term, in which negative and normative connotations are generally more frequent (Bale et al. 2011: 115). Thus, this analysis of the meanings given to populism increases our understanding of the phenomenon on both a theoretical and an empirical level, even though further study is required to obtain knowledge from different contexts.

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Panel I

Big Brothers and Little Sisters
Surveillance, Sousveillance, and Coveillance on the Internet

The Right to Privacy under Pressure

Rikke Frank Jørgensen

Today we are facing something of a paradox with regard to our right to privacy. On the one hand, the international human rights system has never been clearer in its message that the right to privacy applies online as well as offline. This message has been confirmed in UN resolutions, by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Council of Europe, the European Court of Human Rights, the European Court of Justice etc. On the other hand, however, there are very few possibilities to enforce the right to privacy on the internet. Data is collected from a large number of public and private players across national borders; there is a very limited idea of the scope and little control with regard to this data collection; users routinely give their consent to allow their data to be collected; and privacy policies are hard to access and are only read by a minority of users.

The leak by Edward Snowden of documents from the US intelligence service, which started in the summer of 2013, has illustrated the amount and scope of the personal information that can be tapped from the internet infrastructure and online services. Snowden's revelations led to the adoption of the first UN resolution on the right to privacy in the digital age (UN General Assembly Resolution No. A/RES/68/167) on 18 December 2013. The Snowden case is about the access of intelligence services to personal information, but the current challenges for the right to privacy are much broader. Basically, the challenges relate to the fact that personal information is increasingly being considered as a commercial raw material, and that today there are unprecedented possibilities to harvest and exchange this raw material (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier 2013; Lane et al. 2014; Matzner 2014). In this context there is a close link between the nature of the media (digital), the use of personal information and the challenges these pose to privacy. The following is a brief account of the current challenges facing the right to privacy, a summary of the regulatory framework and a couple of ideas for possible solutions.

Right to privacy under pressure

Privacy is a human right according to the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 12 of the Declaration stipulates that: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon

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his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks." A number of international conventions contain similar provisions to protect privacy, including the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. Moreover, the right to privacy is protected under the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights. The right to privacy is not absolute, but interventions must follow human rights standards, including statutory authority, and they must be necessary and proportional. The duty of states to protect privacy applies both offline and online, as stipulated in the first UN resolution on human rights on the internet in 2012 (UNHRC 2012).

The privacy standard has been subject to extensive research and elucidation, since the definitive article by Warren and Brandeis (1890), in which the right to privacy is defined as the right to be let alone. The dominant perspective has focussed on the right to privacy as the possibility of control; control of what others know about us (control of information), control of decisions related to us personally, and control of a physical area. "Something is private when I am in a position to and have a right to control access to it – whether to data, to a home, to decisions or to ways of acting" (Rössler 2007: 27). The principle of control of one's own data permeates EU data protection legislation, which contains specific requirements for consent. The idea of control through consent is based on the assumption of informed citizens who consciously choose to submit, or not to submit, their information to a given authority or private service. In other words, if the user is provided with sufficiently clear and accessible information, then the user will have real options and there is a basis to grant informed consent. However, recent research indicates that this rational approach to data protection fails to capture the special characteristics of online services. "Notice and consent remains a procedural mechanism divorced from the particularities of relevant online activity" (Nissenbaum 2011: 35). This is partly because the internet changes the perceptions of public and private life, and thereby the foundation for protecting privacy.

On the internet, users' activity and the information they disclose is generally recorded, shareable, searchable and commercially very valuable. In contrast, keeping information private is a challenge that demands extra effort and use of technical protection tools. Where it has previously required an effort to step out of the private domain and into the public, today the situation is the reverse. On the internet we are *public by default*, and only to a limited extent, and through individual effort, can we maintain our private space. Even data from types of communication we traditionally consider as private, such as telephone and email, is increasingly being stored and used to combat serious crime. This is due in part to the digital form of the internet (all activity leaves a searchable footprint), but it also reflects that data has become increasingly valuable, both commercially and in terms of national security. One example is the controversial EU Data Retention Directive (2006/24/EC), which in 2006 established the legal foundation to register and store information about all EU citizens' use of telephone and email, even though the information basically belongs to the private domain and the citizens in question are not under suspicion. In 2014, the Data Retention Directive was overruled by the European Court of Justice, as the Court found that general registration of all communication by EU citizens was a violation of the right to privacy, as protected by the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights (Digital Rights Ireland and Seitlinger and others, Joined Cases C-293/12 and C-594/12)

In addition, the internet is characterised by a radical heterogeneity comprising a myriad of social and commercial practices that in many contexts have blurred borders with regard to the public and/or the private. For many, social media represent a social infrastructure, but they are also commercial services which survive by selling advertisements based on users' preferences, identified through their shopping patterns and information which users disclose about themselves. In other words, information which users disclose in one context (social interaction with friends) is used in another context (targeted advertising based on users' behaviour and preferences). The widespread use of social media means that contexts that have traditionally been separate (home/work, school/leisure, private communication/public disclosure, social sphere/commercial sphere) are increasingly melting together (Marwick 2012: 379). These characteristics are challenging protection of privacy on the internet, and the associated legislation on processing personal data, on several fronts.

Since 1995, EU Member States have been bound by the EU Data Protection Directive (95/46/EC), which imposes requirements on both public and private enterprises with regard to the processing of personal data. The Data Protection Directive is based on the premise that specific types of data should be protected, i.e., information that directly or indirectly can be traced to a person. This personal information may only be processed in relation to a predefined target; there must be proportionality between the objective and the data collected; as little data as possible should be collected; the user should generally give his or her consent; and specific security regulations should be observed. However, the reality on the internet is that the complexity and amount of data collected is huge (and often a mixture of several types of data); data is collected across countries and very different contexts; the use of data is far wider than the original purpose; there are very different levels of security; there is poor transparency with regard to the practice of enterprises and authorities; and consent is granted as a requirement for using a given service rather than as a conscious choice. These factors challenge the effectiveness of the existing data protection rules, including the concept of control through consent. In addition, there are no common binding standards for data protection at the international level. The OECD's guidelines for protection of privacy and transnational data flow (OECD, 1980/2013) are often referred to, but they are merely guidelines and not binding. The Council of Europe Convention no. 108 (CoE, 1981) represents one of the first standards for the area, and like the EU regulations, it has undergone extensive revision, among other things to account for online services. Convention no. 108 is, however, only binding for member states of the Council of Europe. At the global level, UN resolutions have confirmed that the right to privacy is under serious pressure in the online domain, and that states have an obligation to ensure that national legislation and practices that intrude on the right to privacy meet the international human rights standards for the area (UN General Assembly Resolutions No. A/RES/68/167, 18 December 2013 and No. A/RES/69/166, 18 December 2014). However, these resolutions are not binding and they focus primarily on government (not commercial) monitoring.

A further challenge is linked to the fact that most of the infrastructure and basic services on the internet (technical infrastructure, information search, social network, etc.) are administrated by private companies, many of which are American. This poses a number of specific challenges with regard to enforcing EU legislation on personal data, as illustrated in the recent Schrems case concerning Facebook´s transfer of personal

data of EU citizens' to the United States. As a result of the case, the European Court of Justice on October 6, 2015, invalidated the Safe Harbor arrangement, which governed data transfers between the EU and the United States (Maximillian Schrems v Data Protection Commissioner, Case C-362/14).

The way forward?

As mentioned in the introduction, there are different ideas as to how the right to privacy can be strengthened in the online domain. One principal player at the European level is the European Commission, which since 2011 has been working on an extensive reform of the Data Protection Directive. In April 2016, the new Data Protection Regulation was finally adopted and will enter into force in all EU member states in 2018 (Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016). The Data Protection Regulation aims at a uniform level of data protection across member states, and includes a number of provisions to increase protection for individuals, especially when using online services. For example, the requirements for consent have been strengthened, the possibility for extensive fines has been introduced for companies that violate the rules, and there are requirements that data protection be incorporated both at technical and organisational levels (privacy by design and privacy by default). The new regulation has been described as an extremely ambitious response to the challenges described above, and it has met massive resistance from US industrial lobbyists in Brussels (European Digital Rights 2011). Furthermore, the Data Protection Regulation does not solve the fundamental problem that users' activities and preferences are essential elements in the business model of many internet services, and the cost to the users for not taking part may be that they have no access to the social community represented by the service (Bechmann 2014; Jørgensen 2014). Effectively, user consent to processing of personal data is the price paid for access to the majority of internet services. In reality, this limits users' options; especially in situations where the service is experienced as an important requirement for being part of a community. For example, a 2013 study of Danish high school students on their use of social media such as Facebook highlighted that consent is perceived as a necessary prerequisite for participating in social networks, rather than a real option (Jørgensen 2014). Therefore there is an increasing mismatch between the concept of informed users who, through their consent, choose to disclose information for a very specific purpose, and the practice by which data is disclosed and used on the internet. In response to this challenge, several have argued that, as a supplement to consent, data protection should be context-specific standards that stipulate limits for what information can be collected and shared.

Nissenbaum (2010; 2011) in particular has described a model for data protection based on "contextual integrity". The point here is that the need for protection should be determined by the context rather than by an attribute incorporated in specific data. Data is increasingly exchanged between different contexts, and for many different purposes, in ways that are impossible to understand for the individual user. Therefore, the point of departure is that each context should be linked to standards distinguishing between appropriate and inappropriate information sharing. On the basis of these standards, which will be more or less formalised depending on the specific context, it will be possible to stipulate requirements for how companies and authorities process personal

information such that the primary responsibility for data protection is defined on the basis of the context rather than user consent. One of the arguments is that the dominant metaphor of a market place, based on assumptions of the free market and the free user, is not adequate to define and enforce standards for fundamental societal functions on the internet (Nissenbaum 2011: 42). Instead, we have to specify that functions at the core of the democratic life of society, such as access to the internet, facilitating information searches on the internet and availability of a social infrastructure, are expected to meet independent quality standards in line with professional standards linked to specific professions, irrespective of whether these functions are managed by public or private players (Anderson 1995: 147). In other words, the point is that important societal functions have to be controlled by quality parameters, in addition to an economic premise, which are anchored in normative standards linked to fundamental rights, including transparency and due process. However, the challenge in Nissenbaum's model is that it is difficult to see how it can be implemented in practice. Who is to define which rules should apply in which contexts? What about contexts that are not clearly defined or delimited? Should the respective sets of standards be realised in legislation? And who should monitor whether they are being observed or not? While current data protection is based on a simplified and rational view of control of personal information, the contextual model allows for a complexity which is hard to translate into practice.

Conclusion

We are currently facing huge challenges with regard to online privacy. There are no binding international regulations, and the EU rules, which in global terms are the most well developed, are still based on consent as the central control mechanism. This is despite the increasing scepticism as to the value and effect of consent, especially for online services. There are alternative proposals for regulation of the area, not least Nissenbaum's proposed contextual approach to data protection. The idea of a more differentiated regulation, based on analyses of standards in different situations, in contrast to a one-size-fits-all philosophy for privacy, seems to be a sensible response to the current challenges. However, as outlined above a number of unanswered questions remain, which make it difficult to see the model translated into practice".

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Three Models of Privacy

New Perspectives on Informational Privacy

Jens-Erik Mai

This panel is based on two observations: (i) that digital media are designed such that they track and record people's interactions, behaviour and preferences; they are by design surveillance machines, and (ii) that different perspectives can be taken when observing people's interactions with digital media; from above (*sur*veillance), from below (*sous*-veillance), or by peers (*co*veillance).

In this commentary, I will advance the idea that as we think about and research the ethical implications of digital media by focusing on their inherent surveillance capacities, we need to be conscious about the conceptual perspective we take. While the title of this panel suggests that *perspective* is important – whether we are looking from above as a Big Brother or from below or as peers, as Little Sisters – I suggest that *perspective* is just one among a number of important conceptual constructions that needs consideration. To help guide this dialogue I will present three models of privacy that can advance thinking and research about digital media's implications for privacy protection.

Privacy has historically been conceptualised as freedom from intrusion, protection of the private sphere, the right to be left alone, and other similar notions (Solove 2008). Agre (1994) argued that the typical model for privacy has been the "surveillance model" (Agre 1994: 105), which has focused on data collection and the use of that data. I will in this commentary propose that a different model of privacy is needed when it comes to big data and digital media, namely a datafication model of informational privacy.

Informational privacy

There are currently two major conceptualisations of the privacy of (personal) information: one that regards privacy as the ability to "limit or restrict others from information about" oneself (Tavani 2008: 141) and another that views privacy as the "control of personal information" (Solove 2008: 24). Both concepts operate on the assumption that information is something that can be controlled or to which access can be restricted. Data or information are typically regarded as objective entities that exist and it is assumed, though often unarticulated, that there is a direct and true correspondence between

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the data or information and the actual state of affairs in the world – hence the notion of *footprints*. Footprints presume that there is a neutral and direct one-to-one relation between the traces left behind by human activity, the footprint and the actual state of that human activity. The basic premise is that people enjoy privacy when they have the abilities to control and/or restrict access to data or information about themselves – that is, when they control and/or restrict access to the footprints they leave behind (Mai 2016b).

In the age of big data, personal information has become a commodity that is traded on the market of information empires and between data brokers. Personal information is something that holds monetary value: "personal information can be viewed as a kind of property that a person can own and negotiate within the economic or commercial sphere" (Tavani, 2008: 134). The digital information society has brought about an information utopia where the use of computers and network technologies track all the activities humans engage in, though Winner (1986) suggested as early as the the mid-1980s that "as a badge of civic pride a citizen may announce, 'I'm not involved in anything a computer would find the least bit interesting'" (Winner 1986: 115).

Personal information, however, is not only valuable as singular pieces of data. Information about my age, marital status, profession, income, mortgage, address, credit score, health record, hobbies, employer etc. has some value in particular situations, but those data are only really valuable when they are assembled into a big dataset where predictive analytics is possible. In other words, when I control or restrict access to information about my recent purchases at the local petrol station I may enjoy privacy at that moment. I may decide to pay in cash, to decline their offer of a discount card, shield my face and licence plate from the CCTV cameras, etc. to protect my privacy and personal information. However, at that moment it may seem to be a relatively small piece of personal information to provide the petrol station with information about my purchases at that particular petrol station, for which the petrol station in return offers a decent discount on the already very expensive fuel. I may therefore decide to give away that small and insignificant piece of personal information to the petrol station. I get a discount and they get to know my fuel purchase pattern. Who cares how many litres of petrol I purchase anyway? However, once that information enters the pile of big data about me and my consumer segment, it is possible to gain insights about me that I may never have provided to anyone. The really interesting part is not what I purchased at the petrol station, but how that information together with other individual pieces of personal information that I have sold on the information market can reveal new information and insights about me. While I may control or restrict access to information about my fuel purchases, how would I control the new information and insights that can be computed about me from the pile of big data?

The traditional approach to restricting, limiting and controlling access to personal information "has remained largely unchanged since the 1970s" (Solove 2013: 1880). The traditional approach has been to ask people to consent to the collection and use of their personal information and the basic assumption has been that people are able to "make conscious, rational and autonomous choices about the processing of their personal data" (Schermer, Custers & van der Hof 2014: 171). This approach obviously fails today, now people are asked to enter several consent agreements on a daily basis as they navigate the digital information environment and use digital media. In some instances, people consent without reading the agreements in full, and often they do not understand the

details of the agreements they enter. In other words, the traditional approach to privacy needs to be reconceptualised and reconsidered.

The important question, however, is not whether big data and digital media increase the risk to privacy, because the right to privacy is clearly at risk in the digital information society. The real question is whether big data and digital media fundamentally change the character of the risk. If the risk to privacy is merely larger in the digital information society, then the laws and rules that currently protect privacy may still work in the new information age; all we need to do is to redouble our existing efforts. However, there are clear indications that the problem has changed. The traditional approach to privacy protection through consent and the ability to restrict, limit and control personal information comes short given new information and communication technologies. In other words, we need new solutions and new conceptual approaches to understand privacy in the digital information society.

Three models of privacy

While there have been a number of proposals for new and improved understandings and definitions of informational privacy in the digital information society, it is my sense that we need to change the metaphors we use to discuss privacy. I will here follow Agre's (1994) programmatic paper, in which he argues that the notion of privacy ought to be re-conceptualised from a "surveillance model" (Agre 1994: 101) to a "capture model" (Agre 1994: 101). I build on Agre's work and extend it with a "datafication model" of privacy – I have discussed these models in more depth in a recent paper (Mai 2016a).

The objective behind the shift in focus from *definitions* of privacy to *models* of privacy is to shift focus from establishing characteristics of privacy with the purpose of determining the definition that captures all aspects of privacy, regardless of time and place, to focus on how privacy works and how thinking about privacy shapes the language we use to discuss privacy. The purpose is not to provide a new and improved definition of informational privacy, but to suggest that in the digital information society we need to think differently about privacy – and I want to show that there is a need for a datafication model of privacy for that purpose.

I will use Agre's (1994) original, rather loose definition of a *model*, which is simply: "A 'model,' for present purposes, is a way of looking at things; specifically, it is a set of metaphors. Distinct models do not divide the world's sociotechnical phenomena into nonoverlapping classes." (Agre 1994: 105). Different models may look at the same phenomena in the world, but they will focus on different aspects and highlight different characteristics. The language used to discuss the phenomena will differ, and different models will use different metaphors to describe the phenomena. Agre operates with metaphorical components that together outline the two models of privacy. Unlike definitions, the aim is not to describe or prescribe the characteristics of privacy, but to provide metaphors that indicate how privacy functions. These following three models of privacy can help us think through the problem space and help us devise possible solutions:

The panopticon model: the metaphor of watching. This is the traditional understanding of privacy and surveillance, and also the model embedded in the language and conceptualisation of this panel. This model applies visual metaphors such as Orwell's "Big Brother is watching you" and Bentham's panopticon. The basic idea is that surveillance

and the breach of privacy is conducted by someone "watching" someone else, and it is assumed that the watching is "nondisruptive and surreptitious" (Agre 1994: 105). The model applies metaphors such as "the 'invasion' of a 'private' personal space", focuses on the "opposition between 'coercion' and 'consent'", and employs the notion of a bureaucracy's centralized orchestration of sets of 'files' and is as such often identified with "the state, and in particular with consciously planned-out malevolent aims of a specifically political nature" (Agre 1994: 106).

The focus of the panopticon model of privacy is therefore on the tensions between the watchers and the watched, between public and private spheres, and on inherent power relations.

The capture model: the notion of a grammar of action. The capture model changes focus to be primarily concerned with how human activities are constructed in "a computer system's representation languages", and as such, the model applies structural metaphors and describes the captured activity as assembled from a "'catalog' of parts provided as part of its institutional setting" (Agre 1994: 107). The organization of activities is decentralised and heterogeneous and the activities take place "within particular, local practices that involve people in the workings of larger social formations", and unlike the panopticon model, the capture model is "not political but philosophical" and the captured activity is "reconstructed through assimilation to a transcendent ('virtual') order of mathematical formalism" (ibid.).

In the capture model of privacy the focus is on the codification of activities, the sociotechnical nature of computer technology, and the unclear purposes of data collection.

The datafication model: the metaphor of patterns of behaviour. While both the panopticon and the capture model of privacy have focus on the collection of data, the datafication model of privacy has its focus on processing and analysis of data, and as such on the production of new personal information. Data collection is ontologically oriented, it focuses on data as representing facts about the state of affairs in the world: people and activities and the interrelation between places, times, other people, activities and intentions. The datafication model changes the focus to the data processing and analyses and as such is epistemological oriented; it focuses on the facts or realities that data can generate once it is processed and analysed.

In the datafication model of privacy the focus is on the anonymous creation of new personal information, the reinterpretation and statistical analysis of data, and the commodified nature of personal information.

Conclusion

The three models of privacy presented here are not competing views or approaches to informational privacy; they present three different views of the same problem sphere. The three models highlight different aspects and different perspectives of the privacy situation, and as such allow us to research and focus on different aspects of the consequences of big data and digital media in the contemporary digital information society.

The purposes of introducing these three models of privacy to this panel on Big Brother and Little Sisters are (i) to allow us to question the presumptions and understandings about privacy and surveillance that are inherent in notions such as Big Brother and Little Sisters, and (ii) to present a conceptual framework of privacy that allows

us to handle privacy challenges created by the production of new knowledge that big data analysis and digital media usages generates. These three models of privacy – and perhaps especially the datafication model of privacy – could form the ethical basis for new digital media research and practice.

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Cultures of Surveillance

Privacy and Compliant Exchange

Miyase Christensen

The range of questions associated with surveillance is broad: it implies a serious security issue of military character. It is a technological function that is used by corporations in order to generate surplus value. It can be seen as a playful aspect of personal relationships. As the level of digital media penetration in everyday life continues to increase, we witness the emergence of new, subtle, forms of monitoring and surveillance. In an era of media abundance and visibility, both private and social-professional domains are ripe with value for data brokers. A survey of 2000 people in the UK indicates that close to 80 per cent of those surveyed feel their friendship connections would be lost if they do not remain linked via social media. Over 70 per cent opine online connectivity strengthened their friendship ties (Gayle 2016). Public surveys and academic research also show that many users are not aware of the extent to which online and mobile platforms share personal data and/or allow for pervasive monitoring (Christensen 2014; Christensen & Jansson 2015). Services that are commonly used for networking and communication do not necessarily give their users much choice about how their information is used. Younger users are particularly vulnerable to privacy violations since terms and conditions of use on mediated platforms are not always readily accessible.

To date, much has been written about privacy, in sociology, legal studies, media studies and political science. The significance of privacy in relation to digital surveillance is apparent: mass, indiscriminate surveillance and collation of personal data constitutes a threat to civil rights and liberties. It is a major concern particularly in relation to new and recently adopted ICTs and applications (cf. Lyon 2003; 2007; 2014). Despite the sizeable volume of research produced on privacy, it remains an elusive concept which is difficult to pin down in our continuously changing techno-ecologies. Privacy has been invoked in overtly individualized rhetoric in studies overemphasizing the role of choice and self-determination in the digital environment. Other studies relying on political economic approaches underscore the corporate and exploitative dynamics in play. Andrejevic (2012, 2014), for one, discusses the relationship between corporate entities and consumers via social media as "exploitative capital labor" and as "gift economy":

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> New media technologies may help level the playing field in some respects by widening access to the means of creating and distributing a range of cultural and informational products, but they also create new asymmetries. Google may know a lot about users' patterns of browsing, emailing and eventually mobility, but users know very little about what information is collected about them and how it is being put to use. (Andrejevic 2012: 76)

As Andrejevic observes, a great deal is expected from consumers without compensation. This asymmetry also largely applies to commercial benefits generated with the use of location-based services, store cards and mobile apps.

How can we conceive of privacy in today's ever-changing digital worlds and vis-à-vis increased surveillance? Is privacy simply a common social good? A key power-node in the tension field between network capitalism that relies on mediatized surveillance to generate profits and consumers and citizenry? A highly valuable social asset which is multiply re-interpreted? Solove (2008) refers to privacy as a "family" of related issues. The complex architecture of digital communications today and its social significance means that sense of identity and the evolving notions of privacy are concerns for a variety of social actors and factions from innovators to industry to policymakers and politicians to educators to parents. The technologies and applications themselves as well as the social contexts and geographies/places in which they are adopted and used have key bearings here. Cumulatively, these factors point to the importance of conducting socially situated, empirical studies to generate up-to-date data in our efforts to arrive at nuanced understandings of privacy and practices of surveillance.

In this essay, I invoke *surveillance* and questions of *privacy* in relation to current modes of everyday communications and the ensuing dynamics of interconnection and flexibility/freedom on the one hand, and encapsulation and control/monitoring on the other. In a mediatized, highly networked environment, everyday uses of technology come with ethical and social concerns and consequences, with privacy clearly scoring high on the list for all stakeholders involved. I suggest there are two primary, interlinked, lines of critical inquiry that we should take on board when thinking about such questions and the social-historical contingencies these might entail.

Market-media-state and a (new) geopolitics of fear

The first line of inquiry concerns the sociopolitical context/s within which to regard the scope and scale of everyday surveillance we encounter and related questions of power. Market forces, the media, and corporate and state powers are to be considered in conjunction with each other. An increased dependence on the media; commodification of communications; and a pervasive *geopolitics of fear*, elevated due to frequent incidents of violence as well as migratory flows, lead to formations of social space where we are no longer positioned vis-à-vis surveillance but are situated *in* it (see Christensen 2011; 2014; Jansson & Christensen 2014).

In trying to grasp the factors that define the current environment, a historical emphasis on the emergence and evolution of surveillance as a social practice remains essential. Surveillance and collation of data are key definers of modernity and part and parcel of the nation-state apparatus. "Old" media such as the telephone, the phonograph and

photography (cf. Lauer 2011) as well as newer forms of evidence-producing technologies each constituted turning points in redrawing the borders of privacy. It goes without saying that digitality has been one such big game changer. From Google maps to Facebook and Twitter, surveillance today cannot be thought of without reference to personal technologies. Yet, technology itself cannot be divorced from the sociopolitical and cultural contexts which shape attitudes toward it and prevalent patterns of use. Popular culture, film in particular, has been rife with examples of various forms and modes of surveillance throughout the decades leading up to the media abundance of the twenty-first century. Reflexive films from the 1980s such as *Brazil* and *1984* portray schizoid bureaucracies. Examples such as *Ed TV*, *Truman Show* and *Sliver* turn a critical eye to the phenomenon of reality TV and entertaining voyeurism of the 1990s. *Eagle Eye*, *Echelon Conspiracy* and *Bourne Identity* underline the increasing pervasiveness and personalization of surveillant technologies and relational dimensions between the institutional and the individual.

The past century has been abundant with historic moments of widespread panic and long decades where a geopolitics of fear reigned supreme: two world wars, the Cold War, conflicts in the Middle East, 9/11 and the war on terror, to name but few. While fear was very much existent and came in many faces and scopes in the decades preceding 9/11, this mediatized, visually haunting, attack on American soil and the following – so-called – "War on Terror" marked the start of a deeper sense of coercion and control through fear. For example, the bulk of the data collected by the US National Security Agency (NSA) is metadata, meaning not only the content of communication, but the address (e.g. phone number dialed), time and location of contact are also recorded. Similar practices are legalized and adopted in other countries. There are also counterhegemonic uses of technologies of surveillance. Information revealed by WikiLeaks in 2011 was groundbreaking in many ways. Documents leaked by Edward Snowden, an ex-CIA employee, about the surveillance practices of the US government made a massive global impact.

In sum, power today, as we know it, exists in global space and across offline and online territories. Surveillance power is used by government departments, by police and military and by private corporations. One main line of inquiry then most obviously concerns surveillance capacities and power across scales with the specificities of space-time remaining as key. People's opportunities, chances in life and personal and professional choices may be improved or constrained through surveillance power in areas ranging from medical care to travel and mobility to personal, banal uses of social media. Surveillance, privacy and power are to be considered in the context of political economies and institutions that utilize personal data and insert control, and geopolitical power hierarchies that shape the directionality and extent of information flows.

Cultures of Compliant Exchange

In the geopolitically shaped and globally linked milieus of fear where media cultures abide, digitized monitoring becomes further integrated in everyday life and habitual realms as a normalized ordinary, often invisible, practice. *Everyday* is the site where affect and emotions and geopolitics and macro power meet each other. In a multitude of ways, digital integration enhances the sense of ontological security (Giddens 1991), making us *compliant subjects* of our own surveillance. Conversely, it adds to fears of

exposure and vulnerable visibility in the porous technological environments we find ourselves in. This brings us to our second inquiry: namely, surveillance, social practice and complicity (Christensen 2014). It involves questions related to the entertainment dimension, everyday practicalities, monitoring through popular media and technologies such as smart television and mobile apps where each piece of data is stored. While globalization, mobility and macro power dynamics constitute vital components in understanding surveillance and privacy, sociological considerations of place and human–technology relationships are equally necessary.

The exponentially increasing scale of surveillance is simply intimidating. There are around 1.5 billion Facebook users, 6 billion emails per hour and over 7 billion mobile phones around the globe (Pfleeger 2014). We create data trails not only by engaging in point-to-point personal communications, but also by way of our use of personalized apps such as Fitbit, SleepCycle and MyFitnessPal. New forms of mediation yield *cultures of compliant exchange* which it is essential to scrutunize in order to grasp social surveillance in its entirety.

To understand today's surveillance cultures at the everyday level, then, one needs to account for the variety of mediatized practices and relationships that are available (both at institutional and collective and individual levels) and how such personal phenomena play into power across scales. Mediatization here refers to a historical meta-process, similar to the meta-processes of globalization and commercialization. Forms, contents, technologies and institutions of media integrate with all aspects of life from intimate relations to politics (cf. Krotz 2001, 2008; Schulz 2004; Christensen & Jansson 2015, 2015a), Through mediatization, society becomes increasingly dependent on individually and collectively-mediated *capabilities* of communication technologies to generate value (see also Schulz 2004; Couldry 2008; Hepp 2010).

Our fieldwork, the results of which have appeared in various publications (cf. Christensen et al. 2011; Christensen 2014; Jansson & Christensen 2014; Christensen & Jansson 2015), consists of an ethnographic approach and qualitative interviews and observations conducted between 2008 and 2011 primarily in Sweden. In order to discern how individuals and communities are positioned socially (i.e., race, ethnicity, gender, class, geography, professional field), we drew upon Bourdieu's (1979/1984; 1980/1990) theories of habitus and social field as well as the phenomenology of technology (Ihde 1990) and social phenomenology (Schutz & Luckman 1973). Bourdieu provides an intermediary analytical tool between the macro realm of political economic considerations and everyday subjective dimensions. Phenomenology allows for a closer, "inside", view of the lifeworlds and human–technology interrelations.

Our qualitative interviews from various locations in Sweden (e.g. rural areas, inner-city areas and suburban migrant neighbourhoods) are illustrative of the significance and persistence of both locational elements and social-familial dynamics in shaping everyday mediations and interpretations of privacy. While some results, such as increasing media dependence, are overarching, others, such as levels of trust or technology preference, can be context, time/place, gender or age specific. One such result worth noting here is how some individuals, younger people in particular, regarded mobile phones as "internal technologies" and were more reluctant to see them as top-down surveillance or invasive devices. In contrast, CCTV cameras were regarded as "external" objects and more problematic in relation to personal privacy.

Digital media and personalized technologies may enable geographically extended experiences and deepened senses of social community, security and fun. They also tie the individual to systems that enable tracking and monitoring of their consumption habits, mobility and private interests. In seeking to establish a framework within which to explore the interlinkages of surveillance and mediatization, Giddens' (1990, 1991) notion of "abstract systems" (such as air travel or banking) has relevance here. Abstract systems entail that ontological security and everyday mediations are increasingly dependent upon trust in technological systems. In other words, just as we get on a vehicle in order to have mobility (and without necessarily knowing much about how that technology functions or its safety features), we tend to adopt ICTs and various apps more easily especially when these become common or normal within our social networks. Privacy may be diminished or, as our studies showed, redefined as "personal data modulation" in such contexts even though we may not immediately grasp the extent or consequences of data visibility. On the whole, current forms of surveillance increasingly depend on the compliant exchange of information and services through personalized media use, giving surveillance a *complicit* character.

Complicit surveillance provides a critical and rounded framework within which to consider social practices and human–technology interactions, economic structures and accompanying power hierarchies that produce particular forms of social relations. Accounting for the dynamics shaping complicity in everyday surveillance should not, however, deceptively mean that we can shift the focus away from corporate and state responsibility and place it in the user/consumer domain. What the complicity in question here entails is that surveillance, in its liquidified forms, seeps into every aspect of life and we are positioned in its midst. And it is not only users who are made complicit in surveillance. Architecture of the technologies themselves, spaces of living, working and travelling, are increasingly designed to allow for monitoring and data collection. Sensor-based technologies that are pinned on clothing or worn on body parts and linked to smartphones to monitor and measure eating habits or social interactions add to this level of complexity.

Final remarks

As discussed in this essay, mediatization, commercialization and globalization are defining characteristics of our late-modern societies and surveillance is integral to life in highly complex ways. It is not only social and professional fields that are saturated with media and communication technologies, but also our most private domains from sleep-time to parenthood and child rearing to food consumption to intimate relations. Narratives that focus on the implications of commodified communications and forces of network capitalism need to be considered in conjunction with sociological accounts detailing how technology is absorbed into everyday contexts. Struggles over both sending and receiving information and cultural and political struggles for self-determination remain enmeshed with dynamics of mediation and surveillance.

In mediatized geographies of visibility, where the fabric of life is rearranged around technology use, the lines between public and private, and use and abuse of data, become easily blurred. While practical considerations and personal needs to remain connected on the part of the users might outweigh ethical concerns, responsibility cannot be

placed on the individual. In rethinking surveillance and privacy, and opportunities and threats that come with technology, several tropes need to be considered in relation to each other: global network capitalism (i.e. the market); penetration and habituation of technology (i.e. the media and users); and, institutional, state dimensions of power (i.e. sociopolitical contexts).

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Panel II

Nordic Media Systems
Worth Defending, Worth Developing, Worth Exporting?

PSB 3.0

TV and the Digital and Global Challenge

Ib Bondebjerg

Public funding for culture, film and media in general has been a strong element in what we understand to be at the core of the Scandinavian welfare state. It became a crucial part of Scandinavian cultural policy in the 1960s, and in the political philosophy of the Social Democrats and their political allies, the cultural arm of policy became important as a means to secure a diverse and inclusive public sphere. The birth of modern, visual media like film, radio and television became instruments in a political, social and cultural dialogue across social and cultural differences and barriers. They became a central part of what constitutes an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) as carriers of those stories, narratives and communicative forms that constitute our everyday lives and feeling of belonging. Social and political issues, conflict and debate are central to modern mediated societies and public spheres, but so are deeper social and cultural stories of our present and past. News and documentaries are vital for our understanding of being national citizens as well as citizens of a global world, but TV drama and other forms of fiction are just as important for our ability to understand the contemporary and historical dimensions of society and culture. Fiction can speak to our deeper emotions and collective social feeling of being connected. In this sense, fiction, documentaries and other factual programmes are all part of a well functioning public sphere. For those many European countries that created the modern forms of public support for culture, PSB media were crucial for the diversity of culture and debate in the public sphere. A balance between market forces and public funding was seen as necessary to create the kind of cultural inclusion and democratic culture needed.

From scarcity and control to abundance and choice

The classical PSB culture from the 1930s onwards was a culture of scarcity and in many ways also control. The control was about securing a certain level of cultural quality, a control not really neutral to questions of elite culture and popular culture. There was also control of everyday life in the sense that in many countries there was little choice, and only a few dominant channels available. As Paddy Scannell has argued in his inspiring phenomenological history of *Radio, Television & Modern Life* (1996), radio and televi-

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sion were so integrated in the routines of everyday life that they almost disappeared as a specific activity. Radio and television defined the national communicative space in a very dominant way and as such they came to define what was talked about in both the private and the public space. For radio in Scandinavia this was gradually changing already in the 1960s. Borders could not stop airwaves, when new, mobile transmitters arrived. For television this came later in Scandinavia and many other European countries, when monopolies started to fall and new PSB competitors or commercial channels gained some ground. But even though competition set in and the number of channels has increased considerably, the traditional and historically very strong main PSB channels have survived and still have a very central position in the present media culture. It seems that Benedetta Brevini is right, when she states in her book, *Public Service Broadcasting Online. A comparative European Policy Study of PSB 2.0* (2013), that the present digital challenge is just one in a long history of challenges, to which PSB media have managed to adapt:

> Throughout its history, the PSB model has showed a remarkable resilience in Europe, PSB institutions have adjusted to ever changing social and technological changes (…) If the new digital scenario could on the one hand constitute a threat to PSB, on the other hand it also offers new opportunities for PSB to realign their democratic role by fostering online participation and new ways of social interaction, as well as exploiting online delivery mechanisms for traditional content. (Brevini 2013: 4-5).

A digital and global agenda

The core function and core values and activities for PSB broadcasters today are in principle not different from their historical tasks. In Denmark the Broadcasting Act of 2002, the first to include the internet as a new online platform to be developed, stills speaks of the basic PSB goals in a way that goes way back, although now in a slightly modernized and updated form:

> The overall public service activities shall, via television, radio and the Internet or similar, provide the Danish population with a wide selection of programmes and services comprising news coverage, general information, education, art and entertainment. Quality, versatility and diversity must be aimed at in the range of programmes provided (Television and Broadcasting Act of 2002, § 10).

The inclusion of the Internet is new and important and in the Media Agreement of 2007 we find for the first time more strong emphasis on digital platforms and online activities as an integrated part of PSB obligations.

Platforms and technologies change, but the task is still pretty much the same, although in a much more competitive environment. In Denmark, the two main television stations, with variations, are now two of the largest web publishers. In the national Danish context, excluding major sites like for instance Google, the two PSB stations DR (dr.dk) and TV2 (tv2.dk) carry a lot of traffic, because they also function as news sites. In many ways they are now also both online TV stations and traditional TV stations, many programmes on radio and TV are both broadcast traditionally and as online products.

If we look at the channel strategies of the two main PSB channels in Denmark (DR and TV2) it is however very clear that PSB in relation to online existence is in a transition period. DR has increased its flow channels to six (DR1, DR 2, DR 3, DR K, DR Ultra and DR Ramasjang), and the channels target different audience groups. DR1 is the main channel for a broad audience, while DR2 targets a more intellectual audience with documentaries, news and more experimental film and fictional programmes. DR3 is trying to get in contact with a young audience, the kind of audience quickly moving towards different forms of digital media platforms. DR K (Culture) is very dominated by historical documentaries, film and fiction, and probably mostly appeals to a slightly older, more educated audience. Finally both DR Ultra and DR Ramasjang have programmes made for young and older children, respectively. TV2 has a different but similar strategy with channels like the main channel TV2 and the 24-hour news channel TV2 News and TV2 Charlie, targeted at an older audience, and TV2 Zulu targeted at a younger audience.

When it comes to the online platforms, DR has dr.dk (a general news and information site) with a 24-hour news alert service and a click service to dr.tv and dr.radio where live and recent programmes can be viewed. These services are free of charge, whereas TV2 has a pay TV service called TV2 Play. With this on-demand service TV2 is in direct competition with other streaming sites nationally (Viasat, YouSee) or with international players like Netflix and HBO Nordic (Lai 2015). DR on the other hand is developing a quite large archive of programmes, some of which, especially the foreign film and TV drama productions, disappear after a rather short time. We seem to be moving towards a new television culture, where you can basically watch many DR programmes when and how you want on your smart TV, your tablet or your mobile – but only for a certain period, and with foreign programmes often a very short period. The online abundance and free access to all sorts of programmes is thus still more a future promise than an actual reality. There are copyright limits even for national programmes and access to international programmes is still very limited, and it is precisely here the big international players like Google, Amazon, Apple, Netflix and HBO are stepping up the global reach for audiences all over the world.

DR and other broadcasters in Europe have a huge back catalogue of programmes that have for a very long time been impossible to access for national viewers, except for occasional re-premieres of especially attractive classical content. In the new, digital online culture such archives of content are just as valuable as classical film archives, however, national or broader European solutions for release of this content are still far away. DR has an online site for older material, Bonanza (http://www.dr.dk/Bonanza/index.htm), a kind of heritage site for mainly older DR TV programmes. But few know about it or use it as part of their daily media consumption. So how and when we will see national PSB sites with a stronger and more varied content easily available for the ordinary viewer, or some European equivalent, is difficult to say. It seems that at least at present the international online services are taking the lead. It should be noted, however, that DR especially has a very active online strategy for background material for programme series, both factual and fictional. For instance, TV drama series have information on the making of the series, but also social, cultural and historical background material. Such sites can stimulate the cultural and social debate around programmes as was last seen with the historical series *1864* which generated thousands of comments from ordinary viewers and blog comments from professional critics and historians (Lai et al. 2016).

PSB TV in Denmark and in other countries is clearly taking on the new digital challenge and moving into the new platforms where it is anticipated that future viewers will be very active. But PSB stations all over Europe are at the same time also clinging to the traditional forms of broadcasting. They are strategically clearly riding two horses, because both the technology and the audiences they are serving still watch a lot of TV the old way at the same time as they are embracing new online services. The argument for this double strategy is that there is still a considerable audience for that kind of television, at least on the main channels, especially in the 55+ age groups. But the move towards a dominant digital media culture is not just raising the question of how to reach the audience and on which platforms, it is part of a wider global challenge where the European dimension plays an important role.

It is often said that in the new, digital media culture, content is more than ever king. Audiences are getting used to accessing content when, how and where they can, and those providers with the biggest back catalogue will take the largest share of the audience. PSB providers like DR in principle have a huge advantage here, because audiences often prefer local content. But the new digital media culture also intensifies a national and global conflict, which can be seen in the attacks in most European countries from newspapers and commercial media on PSB online activities, and which is also visible in the competition between national global online services. On the national level in Denmark DR and TV2 as online content providers are just as big as the largest newspaper corporation, Politiken/JP. Many newspaper corporations in Denmark and the rest of the world are not just moving online with news stories, but also with their own audio-visual productions. Since DR and other PSBs have developed strong news sites with added radio and TV programmes, they are moving into a stronger head-to-head competition than ever before. The private commercial media have therefore declared war against the PSB online activities and they have approached the politicians to take this out of the PSB remit.

Anyone should be able to see that, if such a political reduction of PSB activities became a reality, it would seriously damage the function of PSB channels in society and the public sphere. The argument goes against the logic of our converging media culture, and the role of digital platforms as probably the most important link between media and audiences. The national and commercial pressure on PSB channels is further strengthened by the global reach for local markets. Streaming services like Netflix and HBO Nordic have already established services in most of Europe, and will probably soon be followed by initiatives from big players like Apple, Google and Amazon. The different pay model for such global services could lead to changes in the funding of PSB channels. We could move from a universal service to a pay by use model. Liberal parties would welcome such a model and the potential dwarfing of PSB channels with a much more narrow focus on specific genres that do not compete with commercial interests. We have seen such attacks in the UK on the BBC and similar ideas have been aired in Denmark by certain political parties. In Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia there has until now been a rather broad consensus on cultural policy and the role of PSB, but with the challenges and changes ahead this may change.

The European challenge

In many Scandinavian countries, including Denmark, we find a rather strong scepticism against the EU. The EU is seen as a system furthering liberal attitudes and strategies, including in media and cultural policy. Nevertheless there has always been a tension in the EU policies that is pretty similar to national policies, between those in favour of strong liberalisation of culture and media and those in favour of a balanced public intervention. At the same time it seems that the EU in collaboration with the national partners has gradually developed a much stronger policy position on the importance of media and culture. The new programme, “Creative Europe”, pulls together all strands of cultural support and clearly underlines the importance of culture in a global and digital world. If there has been some scepticism towards the cultural support models in Europe and the PSB channels earlier on, this is no longer very visible in the EU cultural policy. But the EU policies like national policies are balancing on a razor’s edge in the global combat between digital and global players and the always rather intense battles in connection with, for instance, GATT negotiations. However, it is difficult to see how individual nation states could navigate better in a global and digital world than the collected EU does.

Overall the understanding and position of PSBs in the EU have been gradually strengthened since 2000, as Brevini (2013: 8ff) has demonstrated. Ever since the publishing of the Protocol of the System of PSB in the Member States (1997) a number of initiatives and documents have confirmed the democratic and cultural value of PSB as part of the EU. In this annex to the Amsterdam treaty, it is expressed like this: “The System of public broadcasting in the Member States is directly related to the democratic, social and cultural needs of each society and to the need to preserve media pluralism” (quoted from Brevini 2013:4). This general policy statement has been further developed in a series of documents since 2000. This positive evaluation of the role of PSB for the diversity of media culture is also taken up in some of the many documents from both the EU parliament and the Commission looking at the digital and online activities of PSB channels. In a Communication on PSB state aid (European Commission 2001) the Commission stipulates with some caution: “The PSB remit might include certain services that are not ’programmes’ in the traditional sense, such as on-line information”. The EU parliament, on the other hand, in a declaration from 2004 (European Parliament 2004) is much more outspoken on the same issue: “to promote cultural diversity in the digital age, it is important that PSB content reaches the audiences through as many distribution networks as possible; it is therefore crucial for PSB to develop new media services.”

Despite widespread political support in the EU for PSB and PSB online, competition rules and commercial interests from national and global players create dilemmas. There are global competition and trade agreements (GATTS, UNESCO and WSIS) where the EU fights to minimise corporate media power but where it is also under pressure from free trade mechanisms. Both on a national level in the EU and also at the EU Commission level, the support for PSB online is mixed and lobbying from commercial players to reduce PSB online is increasing. As Brevini has pointed out (Brevini 2013: 11f), there is a tension between the European parliament on these issues and the Commission and the Council of Ministers. The European parliament has more directly supported an unlimited online activity of PSB channels (see European Parliament 1996; 2004), whereas the European Commission and the Council of Ministers have expressed more limited

views, which could potentially go against the open interpretation of the PSB remit in the 1997 protocol quoted above. Putting limitations on PSB activities online could however seriously undermine the principle of universality that has from the beginning been central to the function of PSB.

In 2009 the EU Commission seemed to change its former support to unlimited PSB access to launch online activities. According to Brevini (2013: 109), this change may have come as a result of the heated discussion in some member states, especially in the UK on the future role and size of the BBC in the digital media culture. In comments on the BBC case, the EU Commission expressed three EU principles for acceptance of PSB online activities:

- Online activity must be closely linked to core PSB activities offline
- Online activity must be distinctive from and complementary to services provided by the commercial sector
- PSB online activities must be declared in advance to make it possible for commercial competitors to respond and readjust

Following this an EU Commission statement on Broadcasting Communication (European Commission 2009) stated the following:

> In order to ensure that the public funding of significant new audiovisual services do not distort trade and competition (…) member states shall assess (…) the overall impact (...) on the market, relevant aspects include, for example, the existence of similar substitutable offers, editorial competition, market structure, market position (...) and potential impact on private initiatives.

PSB 3.0 – the digital PSB

If this document from 2009 is what Brevini in her book calls the European PSB 2.0, caught between, on the one hand, a recognition of the universal value and importance of PSB channels to the cultural diversity and democratic culture of Europe, and on the other hand a restriction based on commercial principles of the same PSB on digital platforms – then we are in dire need of a national and European PSB 3.0. If PSB as we know it is to survive in the digital and global development racing ahead around us, European PSB channels need a much greater freedom to develop as a ‘digital commons’ for all citizens (Wittell 2013). PSB stations in Europe are already starting to co-produce much more than before, and we see new patterns of distribution (see Bondebjerg 2016; Bondebjerg, Redvall & Higson 2015) starting to create a sort of common space for European TV. We even see a transnational European TV heritage project like EUSCREEN (see http://www.euscreen.eu/). If the national, digital PSB platforms start shrinking this will have serious consequences for European culture as a whole.

The problem with a greater European PSB collaboration – not just the Eurovision Song Contest, not just the kind of collaboration the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) has encouraged from time to time – is that fundamentally PSB stations and cultures act within a national framework. While Netflix, and probably soon other global online players, establish themselves in the whole of Europe, creating one single platform for all Europeans, PSB stations in Europe work on a national and regional basis and on a

case by case logic of co-production. It is very difficult to see how European television should have the will and power to create a European, creative digital common, a platform making 60 years of European television programming available. "From all of us to all of you" is a Disney slogan, one that Americans work under; Europeans do not.

Andreas Wittel may be a little too romantic and optimistic in his defence of digital commons in general, but politically this is a very important fight, a fight for cultural diversity and for universal democratic values:

> The digital commons (…) is a new frontier for struggles over commodification. It is a space that enables counter-commodification – not just on a personal, but on a global level. It demonstrates how creative work can flourish without the chains of intellectual property regulations. (…) The fostering of all parts of the digital commons is a political question. This is about the creation of spaces in which alternative social practices and alternative forms of work can develop in the best possible way. (Wittel 2013: 330)

The concept of digital commons is not just a concept for intellectual work, it also has to do with the free access to film and television, produced in a public service context. However, nothing is for free, so to create a European PSB public commons, an open digital platform, or even just a commons and platform on a national level, will be costly and will demand a common effort in Europe, a Europe which is right now suffering from many problems other than the cultural.

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The Role of Traditional Media in a Converging Media World

Ingela Wadbring

Invited to a panel with the title Nordic Media Systems: Worth Defending, Worth Developing, Worth Exporting? as a researcher with focus on the newspaper market, the answer to the question in the panel headline was not obvious. Are the Nordic newspapers worth defending, developing and exporting? Is there a specific Nordic newspaper market? Is the newspaper market the part of the media system that is most important to defend, develop and export?

The newspaper market in all the Nordic countries – as well as in other countries in the Western world – has undergone a transformation since around the turn of the century, concerning technical development, business models, status in the public sphere and so on. The transformation for the newspaper industry has been harder than for any other media form because of the unsustainable business models. To be specific: Advertisers turn to other media forms, preferably online, and the subscribers leave the printed papers and turn online to find the news, usually free of charge (Ohlsson 2015; Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2016 2016). Simultaneously, the newspaper companies in the Nordic countries are strong providers of news online, especially the tabloids (Syvertsen et al. 2014), and the local morning papers are still the main suppliers of content to the national media companies (Lund et al. 2009). The traditional newspaper companies are also the main news providers in social media (Wadbring & Ödmark 2015). The problem for the newspaper industry is declining revenue and the increasingly tough competition, but the newspaper business as a part of the media system is definitely of importance, worth defending and developing. It is however unclear if it is worth exporting.

Reflecting on the challenges the media market in general meets, I ended up drawing the conclusion that if we have something in the Nordic media systems that is worth defending, developing and exporting, it is not the newspaper industry: it is public service. In a market-oriented, globalised world, where old and new as well as private and public media actors compete online, public service is challenged both from the economical and the political spheres in society. In a time of convergence and increased competition, voices are raised in order to restrict the development of public service online, as well as to reduce public services' mission as broadcasters. A lot of research proves the importance of public service both as institution and idea, and for example the Baltic countries

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already approach the Nordic countries regarding public service (norden.lv 2016). The non-commercial, Nordic public service is therefore the part of the media system that is worth defending, developing and exporting. I will outline my argumentation below.

There is also another question that I find important to raise in the context of Nordic media systems as well as in the context of the NordMedia conference. In society, as well as in the media industry in general, a lot of opinions are floating around about the role of public service (and of course other phenomena). Some of these opinions are well informed, others are purely ideological, and some are only suppositions. If we, as researchers, have research results that are of importance for the media system and the media development, it is necessary to have a dialogue with the rest of society and the media industry about these research results. No one is served by delusions floating around if we have answers on pressing questions. I would therefore like to say a few words also about the relation between the media industry/society and the academy.

Both questions I outline below are at least partly normative. For me, the first question is normative from the point of view that media, and especially news and fact-based content, is of importance in a democratic society. It is of importance that the citizens are informed about current affairs, and that it is possible to find quality journalism without having to be charged for it. Public service here has advantages over other media forms. The second question, about a dialogue between the industry and the academy, is also normative in the sense that there is a responsibility from both sides: to listen, learn, discuss and be generous.

Public service as a significant actor in society

Why then is public service radio and television in all its forms so important, worth defending, developing and maybe exporting? There are several reasons. In this short article I will briefly outline some of the arguments. The arguments are not new, or revolutionary. Everyone interested in media policy has heard them before, but they are nevertheless of relevance. In several areas, public service media (PSM) can do things that commercial media cannot (for overviews, see Newton 2015; Lowe & Martin 2014; Lowe & Yamamoto 2016):

- PSM can be held responsible for media variety
- PSM can be held responsible for impartiality and objectivity
- PSM can be held responsible for developing programmes for cultural minorities, children, etc., and also for developing programmes for small language markets
- PSM, in terms of television, is the most important medium regarding news use – not in terms of depth, but in terms of usage, and especially among people who are not specifically interested in news
- In a crisis, PSM still have a unique position, in its traditional form or online – even among young people
- People generally have high confidence in PSM
- Societies with strong PSM have a high level of general trust among the inhabitants.

The list could be longer, but I do not think it is necessary for my purpose. Few commentators want to close down public service. The most important questions discussed are about the width of PSM content, and the degree of PSM's development online (Allmenkringkastingsrapporten 2015; Nord & Grusell 2012; Public service-kommissionen 2016). Even the strongest critics usually agree that PSM is necessary in society – but in another, usually more limited, way than today. Both questions above (the width and degree of online development) are actually about market disruptions. That implies that the media market is regarded as a commercial market. However, PSM as well as other media are also part of a democratic market. As such, arguments other than market disruptions must be of interest.

PSM broad and online

A broad PSM is probably necessary if one wants to encourage people to find their way to its content. Programmes like the Eurovision song contest might not be important concerning content, but it is still a campfire in families, also for young peoples. If we find public service important, it is necessary to exhibit a rich and diversified menu. The responsibility that PSM have in societies like the Nordic ones is an institutional responsibility.

It is also necessary that PSM – with its specific financing – can be able to develop online and compete with the commercially financed media. Some commentators mean that PSM have such an impact on a free market (read: the newspaper industry), that they hinder the commercially financed media and make it impossible for them to charge for their content. Others identify Google and other global companies as more problematic for the local and national markets (read again: the newspaper industry). This question is under investigation in Denmark in 2016-2017 (Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen 2016), and the results will be of great interest in all Nordic countries.

In my opinion, PSM must be able to develop online. Otherwise it would be a one-way competition, since other media companies invest in video online as well as specific TV-channels, in viral material to obtain clicks, put all the content from the original media form online etc. Online must be a place where PSM and commercial media can meet, and where text, sound and video also can meet. Online cannot equal "commercial only".

If PSM should not be allowed to meet the competition from other types of media, they will probably die a slow, or maybe even rapid, death. Young people will never be attracted to linear television. On-demand television, new formats, specific online formats and other online activities are necessary for PSM to survive the generational digital shift that is going on right now. The development must be from public service broadcasting to public service media, and I therefore consistently use the concept PSM, not PSB, in this argumentation.

To conclude, public service media may be more important than ever before, in the commercialised and globalised societies we live in. It is one of the last bastions not creating content to receive revenues, but to promote content for its own sake. That is worth defending, developing and exporting.

The relation between the academy and industry

The second issue I would like to address is the relation between the media industry and research. I am convinced that media research can be helpful in developing the Nordic media system in general, but I am not sure that we will be invited to a discussion about that. I am also not sure that researchers have an obvious interest in being a party in such a relation.

First, if scholars conduct research that is of no relevance for the industry, we will have a problem as researchers. We need to do both basic and applied research. We also need to report about research in different ways to reach out. If we as researchers only conduct research about very limited questions that fit in international journals, i.e. approximately 7,000 words, we are not able to take a part in a discussion about whole media systems. It is necessary with broader approaches, and thus also broad knowledge among researchers. The progress we face today, towards research specialisation, has its advantages, but also its limitations. Media systems and media policy need generalists alongside specialists.

Second: If the industry does not find research and researchers useful and reliable, the industry will have a problem. Too many decisions in the media industry are taken without facts and reliable data, and sometimes I feel that something like contempt can be found among media industry representatives towards media researchers, and that this has increased in recent years. Let me give you a few examples:

1. I met a former editor-in-chief at one of the big newspapers in Sweden and discussed how they use research in decision-making. She smiled, shook her head, and said: "Research? Texts over two pages no one [wants to] read. We don't know where to find research and don't have time to look for it. We use our gut feeling."

2. I was invited to a rather big meeting with CEOs and editors-in-chiefs to discuss a possible cooperation. The meeting ended in nothing, since we researchers were accused of being formalistic and old fashioned when we wanted to start with a research problem to be solved, instead of building a permanent workshop with possibilities to conduct experiments. Researchers were also accused of always being historians: "All research is old already when it is published."

3. In blogs and editorials written by CEOs and editors-in-chief, it is sometimes obvious that they consider themselves as knowing more than researchers about almost everything concerning research: methodological questions, causal explanations, etc. in a way I find provoking. I see and hear very much anecdotal evidence of this.

This problem must be addressed in different ways. (1) We as researchers must be better at making our findings accessible to the industry: international journals are not the way for this (but the way for spreading research globally, which of course also is important). (2) We must also help the media industry understand how we can be a part of development and decision-making. They will not come and ask us. (3) We – at least some of us – must be interested in doing this.

There are successful co-operations out there: NxtMedia in Norway, Next Media in Finland (ended in 2014) as well as the fledgling Media Arena in Sweden, all started

as industry initiatives. I hope that researchers will be invited and participate in these initiatives, in order to defend, develop and maybe even export applied research. I also hope that researchers will accept the invitations.

Some final words

I am worried about a future media market, characterised by a weak and narrow public service. I am also worried about the situation for the newspaper market. The newspaper companies have to date taken an almost public service responsibility (as idea) on their local market, but since many of them are having serious problems, the future does not look bright. I am worried about a strong(er) commercialisation on the general media market, with more entertainment and less substantial content. It is my conviction that a dual system is good for democratic societies. We all need access to a balanced media diet, and the market itself cannot provide that. The market must be regarded as both a commercial and a democratic arena.

I am also worried about the almost absent relation between the media industry and the academy. Actors outside the traditional media industry are not tied to traditions, do not always behave responsibly and it is still the traditional media – not only PSBs – which are of importance in society, since they are the main (news/fact) content deliverers offline as well as online. I am convinced that media researchers can contribute to a fruitful and sustainable development – if we are allowed to participate, and if we want to participate.

On the other hand, I am also optimistic. It has never been as exciting to be a media researcher as now.

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Division Papers

Division 1. Environment, Science and Risk Communication

Chairs: *Mette Marie Roslyng* (DK) *Kathrine Duarte* (NO)

Andersson, Linus: *Where technology goes to die: Representations of electronic waste in global television news*. Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Duarte, Katherine: *Linking and framing: A quantitative content analysis of Norwegian media coverage of extreme weather events in 2011 and 2013.* University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Engebretsen, Martin: *Data visualization as a tool for digital mediation of numeric information.* University of Agder.

Eskjær, Mikkel Fugl: *Converging development and climate change communication in Bangladesh: the implications of agency and responsibility.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Communication.

Hallén, Malin: *A forgotten genre? Research on media portrayal of mental illness – a meta review*. Halmstad University, School of Health and Welfare.

Hornmoen, Harald; Backholm, Klas; Frey, Elsebeth; Ottosen, Rune; Reimerth, Gudrun; Steensen, Steen: *Key communicators' perceptions on the use of social media in risks and crises.* Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences.

Jönsson, Anna Maria; Karlsson, Mikael: *Framing the Baltic Sea: The media and BSAP cooperation*. Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Mehrabov, Ilkin: *"The earth does not belong to people, it belongs to itself": Exploring the messages of Dirk C. Fleck's GO! – Die Ökodiktatur.* Karlstad University, Department of Geography, Media and Communication Studies, HumanIT.

Mörner, Cecilia; Olausson, Ulrika: *Hunting the beast on YouTube: How nature is framed in social media.* Jönköping University.

Roslyng, Mette Marie: *Media images of mental illness: Critical media and the emergence of a neuro-chemical social imaginary*. Aalborg University.

Verhovnik, Melanie; Hemmelmann, P. *Disaster resilience: Journalists' coping with reporting about crime, violence, accidents, crisis and natural disasters*. Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt.

Division 2. Journalism Studies

Chairs: *Göran Svensson* (SE) *Gitte Gravengaard* (DK)

Almgren, Susanne Marlene: *The art of inviting: User comments on online news sites.* Jönköping University, School of Education and Communication.

Blach-Ørsten, Mark; Hartley, Jannie Møller; Olsen, Maria Bendix: *Fighting the de-mystification of Journalism – can more ethical guidelines save the fading legitimacy of journalism as an institution?* Roskilde University, Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies.

Cheruiyot, David: *Participatory media accountability: Evaluating the relevance of bloggers' criticism on journalism practice*. Karlstad University, Department of Media, Geography and Communication.

Clerwall, Christer: *Robot Journalism in Swedish newsrooms. An exploratory study of the use of, and attitudes towards automated news content in Swedish newsrooms.* Karlstad University, Department of Media, Geography and Communication.

Clerwall, Christer; Karlsson, Michael; Nord, Lars: *What's wrong with transparency? Some reflections on user perceptions of journalistic credibility in Sweden*. Karlstad University, Department of Media, Geography and Communication; Mid Sweden University, Media and Communication Studies.

Dindler, Camilla; Gregersen, Andreas Lindegaard: *Journalistic neutralism and personalization in the credibility interview*. Aalborg University, De-

partment of Communication and Psychology; University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition, and Communication.

Edström, Maria: *Blurring the Lines. Ethical dilemmas for journalists with native advertising and other look–alike editorial content*. University of Gothenburg, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication.

Eide, Martin: *Service journalism revisited. The culture of service journalism*. University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Erdal, Ivar John: *Approaches to location-based journalism: A sketch for an experimental research design concerning mobile journalism*. Volda University College, Department of Media and Communication.

Frey, Elsebeth; Bour, Hamida El; Knudsen, Anders M.; Rahman, Md. Golam; Rhaman, Mofizur; Steien, Solveig; Yacoub, Taoufik: *Far from Each Other: Still Similarities. A comparative study of journalism core values among students in Bangladesh, Norway and Tunisia.* Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Department of Journalism and Media Studies; University of La Manouba, Media and Journalism; University of Dhaka.

Gravengaard, Gitte: *Socializing mechanisms in the routinised practice in the newsroom*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Scandinavian Studies and Linguistics.

Guribye, Frode; Nyre, Lars: *Live in the field - An ecology of tools for video journalism*. University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Jangdal, Lottie Marie; Nord, Lars W.; Olsson, Eva-Karin: *Crisis reporting in the digital age: A study of Swedish news editors' perceptions*. Mid Sweden University, Department of Media and Communication Science; Swedish National Defence College.

Jensen, Jakob Linaa: *The social sharing of news – gatekeeping and opinion leadership on Twitter*. Aarhus University, Department of Aesthetics and Communication.

Karlsson, Michael; Clerwall, Christer; Nord, Lars: *Do not stand corrected. Transparency and users' attitudes on inaccurate news and corrections in online journalism*. Karlstad University, Department of Media, Geography and Communication; Mid Sweden University, Department of Media and Communication Studies.

Kartveit, Kate: *Multimedia journalism and understandings of the practice*. Danish School of Media and Journalism.

Knudsen, Erik; Iversen, Magnus Hoem: *Consequences of native advertising for citizens' trust in political news*. University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Koljonen, Kari; Reunanen, Esa: *The changing professional autonomy in journalism*. University of Tampere, COMET Tampere Research Centre for Journalism, Media and Communication.

Krogh, Torbjörn von; Svensson, Göran: *Media criticism and transparent media response. An analysis of response practices in the weekly Swedish podcast "MattssonHelin"*. Mid Sweden University, Department of Media and Communication Science; Uppsala University, Department of Informatics and Media.

Lindblom, Terje: *Tracing changes in the field of photojournalism and journalism – The Swedish field*. Mid Sweden University, Media and Communication Studies, DEMICOM.

Lindell, Johan: *Classified news consumption: A bourdieusian take on fragmented news publics.* Karlstad University, Media and Communication Studies.

Mathisen, Birgit Røe: *Between autonomy and vulnerability*. University of Nordland.

Mathisen, Birgit Røe; Morlandstø, Lisbeth: *Participation and control*. University of Nordland.

Mortensen, Mette; Kristensen, Nete Nørgaard*: Journalism goes meta: metajournalism, metacoverage, metasources*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Nilsson, Maria: *The visual face of the news: Front-page photographs in the newsroom process*. Mid Sweden University, Department of Media and Communication Studies.

Nord, Lars and Olsson, Eva-Karin: *Digital newsroom decisions: News editors' perceptions of social media as news factor.* Mid Sweden University, Department of Media and Communication Studies; Swedish National Defence College.

Olsen, Karianne Sørgård: *Communicating and coping – tacit local journalism knowledge in a digital upheaval.* University of Nordland.

Ringfjord, Britt-Marie*: The cultural constructions of Innovation Policy – How media frame policy as gendered.* Linnæus University Kalmar Växjö, Media and Communication Science.

Särkkä, Nanna; Pienimäki, Mari: *Inconspicuous entry points? Mugshots, the small facial photos in contemporary journalism*. Aalto University; University of Tampere, Department of Media.

Siivonen, Jonita: *The global media monitoring project 2015 – the Finnish material.* University

of Helsinki, Swedish School of Social Science/ Journalism.

Steensen, Steen: *What's the matter with journalistic practice? A sociomaterial study of the creation of journalistic professional knowledge.* Oslo and Akershus University College, Department of Journalism and Media Studies.

Svensson, Anders: *On the interaction between image and text. The anchoring of meaning in the visual representation of Swedish elections 2014.* Jönköping University, School of Education and Communication.

Uskali, Turo Ilari: *The evolution of data journalism in Finland 2011–2015: Towards mobile data journalism.* University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication.

Väliverronen, Jari: *Calm before the storm? Finnish political journalists' Professional values and attitudes in a time of flux.* University of Tampere, COMET Tampere Research Centre for Journalism, Media and Communication.

Wadbring, Ingela; Ödmark, Sara: *From kittens to racism: News sharing and shared news in social media.* University of Gothenburg, NORDICOM; Mid Sweden University, DEMICOM.

Willig, Ida; Blach-Ørsten, Mark; Flensburg, Sofie: *Qualities of journalism: An explorative study of content quality in Danish news media.* Roskilde University, Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies.

Division 3. Media and Communication History

Chairs: *Henrik G. Bastiansen* (NO) *Minna Lammi* (FI)

Gjesvik, Anders: *Fra ansiktløs skurk til synlig helt: Pressens framstilling av homofile fra 1950-tallet til 1980-tallet.* Oslo and Akershus University College, Department of Journalism and Media Studies.

Grønning, Anette: *E-mail in a historical genre perspective.* University of Southern Denmark, Department for the Study of Culture.

Have, Iben: *From music presenters to social presence: Tracing music-hosts-relations in the morning music program Go' Morgen P3.* Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Jarlbrink, Johan: *Digitized newspapers and digital methods.* Umeå University, Media and Communication Studies.

Lammi, Minna; Timonen, Päivi: *Constructing of Homo Economicus in Finnish current affairs television programs.* University of Helsinki, Consumer Society Reserch Centre.

Laursen, Ditte; Vestergaard Kjeldsen, Mogens; Jackson, Josef; Bangsfelt, Astrid: *The impact of online availability on users' usage of an historical radio and television archive: The case of mediestream.dk.* The Danish State and University Library.

Meckl, Markus: *Freedom of the press: An English and German reading of it.* University of Akureyri, School of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Mortensen, Christian Hviid: *Covered in Heavy Metal: A longitudinal study of visual communication and identity in a music fanzine.* The Media Museum.

Norén, Fredrik: *"6 to 8 Slices of Bread": 1970s Swedish information campaigns & network governance.* Umeå University, Media and Communication Studies.

Saarenmaa, Laura: *Candid conservations: Politics and politicians in Playboy magazine from 1963 to 1983.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Smith-Sivertsen, Henrik: *When the hit parade(s) hit Denmark.* The Royal Library of Copenhagen.

Strandgaard Jensen, Helle: *A successful move? The reception, appropriation and demarcation of Sesame Street in 1970s Europe.* University of Copenhangen.

Division 4. Media, Globalization, and Global Change

Chairs: *Mari Maasilta* (FI) *Ylva Ekström* (SE)

Borchers, Nils S.: *Sharing economy online: Exploring the potential of online social networks to advance collaborative consumption.* University of Mannheim.

Grönvall, John; Nylund, Mats: *Sharing economy under scrutiny: Manifestations online and offline in Helsinki, Finland.* University of Helsinki, Department of Social Research.

Maasilta, Mari: *Civic engagement, digital media technologies and African refugee women.* University of Lapland.

Mehrabov, Ilkin: *Copyleft production of music for social change: exploring the alternatives.* Karlstad University, Department of Geography, Media and Communication Studies.

Polynczuk-Alenius, Kinga; Pantti, Mervi: *Branded solidarity in Fair Trade communication on Facebook.* University of Helsinki, Department of Social Research.

Rønning, Helge: *China's soft power, public policy and media initiatives in Africa*. University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Skare Orgeret, Kristin: *The unexpected body: Women, identity politics and the South African media – From Sara Baartman to Caster Semenya*. Oslo and Akershus University College.

Svensson, Jakob; Larsson, Caroline Wamala: *A double-edged sword: Mobile phones and a situated approach to understanding empowerment among market women in Kampala.* Uppsala University, Department of Informatics and Media; Karlstad University, HumanIT.

Division 5. Media Literacy and Media Education

Chairs: *Reijo Kupiainen* (FI) *Jesper Tække* (DK)

Bergström, Annika; Höglund, Lars: *E-books – in the shadow of print.* University of Gothenburg, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication.

Forsman, Michael: *1:1 Goes to school: Notes on the mediatization of education and media citizenship.* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Mattus, Maria: *Wikipedia's falling stars: Why articles lose their status as Featured Articles*. Jönköping University, School of Education and Communication.

Mäenpää, Jenni: *Examining Finnish journalism students' role perceptions.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Olesen, Mogens: *The ecology of e-learning*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Scandinavian Studies and Linguistcs.

Palsa, Lauri: *Media literacy research: Study on the methodological approaches*. University of Lapland.

Pekkala, Leo; Palsa, Lauri; Pääjärvi, Saara: *Finnish Media Education Projects 2009–2013: Study of the project applications funded in the administrative sector of the Ministry of Education and Culture.* National Audiovisual Institute.

Pienimäki, Mari: *Young people in the limelight: Towards agency through multiliteracy*. University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Pääjärvi, Saara; Mertala, Pekka: *Building competences for media education and the pedagogical use of ICT in early childhood education: A study of Finnish kindergarten teacher training programmes*. National Audiovisual Institute; University of Oulu, Department of Educational Sciences and Teacher Education.

Tessem, Bjørnar; Nyre, Lars: *Inside the acoustic bubble: An empirical study of listening in noise cancelling headphones*. University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Thestrup, Klaus: *The checklist: When open laboratories go online*. Aarhus University, Center for Teaching Development and Digital Media.

Tække, Jesper; Paulsen, Michael: *The three waves of the Internet: From closed to open classrooms: The evolution of educational communities within the digital medium environment.* Aarhus University, Centre for Internet Research; Aalborg University, Department of Learning and Philosophy.

Division 6. Media Management, Economics and Policy

Chairs: *Mart Ots* (SE) *Arne H. Krumsvik* (NO)

Ala-Fossi, Marko and Stephen Lax: *The Short Future of Public Broadcasting: Replacing DTT with IP?* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre; University of Leeds, School of Media and Communiation.

Barland, Jens: *Friends and enemiesAn institutional analysis of the rivalrybetween editors in news media and PR agents*. Gjøvik University College (GUC), Norwegian Media Technology Laboratory.

Baumann, Sabine*: From The Apprentice to Shark Tank: The TV Business Models behind the Business Form.* Jade University.

Berg, Christian Edelvold; Brink, Anker Lund: *Market concentration in Television markets.* Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Department of Business and Politics.

Boers, Börje: *Internationalization of regional newspaper companies: two examples.* University of Skövde, School of Business.

Boers, Börje: *Learning to professionalize: handling tensions in a family owned newspaper business.* University of Skövde, School of Business.

Colbjørnsen, Terje: *A Spotify for... Whatever. A cross-industrial comparison of streaming services in the media industries*. University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Esser, Andrea: *Challenging methodological nationalism: A case study in markets for TV drama series.* University of Roehampton, Department of Media, Culture and Language.

Harvey, Sylvia; Ala-Fossi, Marko: *Eroding the Assets of Citizenship? From Broadcast to Broadband.* University of Leeds, School of Media and Communiation; University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Kammer, Aske: *Media Policy Responses to the Convergence of News Media Sectors in Denmark.* University of Southern Denmark, Department of Political Science and Public Management, Centre for Journalism.

Keynon, Andrew, Svensson, Eva-Maria and Edström, Maria: *Building Systems for Freedom of Expression in a Digital Era: Considering Sweden.* Melbourne Law School, University of Melbourne, Department of Law; University of Gothenburg, Faculty of Law; University of Gothenburg, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication.

Leckner, Sara; Appelgren, Ester: *The audience's willingness to share Internet-traffic data: an emerging ethical challenge for the media industry.* Malmö University, Faculty of Technology and Society, Department of MediaTechnology; Södertörn University, School of Social Sciences, Journalism Department.

Lindén, Carl-Gustav: *A Publisher's Approach to Robot Journalism.* University of Helsinki.

Linna, Juhani; Ainasoja, Mari; Seisto, Anu; Ylen, Jean-Peter*: Role of Media in Omni-Channel Customer Journey: Knowledge Gaps and Research Opportunities.* University of Tampere, School of Information Sciences.

Nylund, Mats; Rohn, Ulrike: *Media and Sharing Economy: What is Changing and Why?* Arcada University of Applied Sciences, Helsiniki.

Ohlsson, Jonas: *Lessons learned from ten years with digital television: The case of Swedish TV4.* University of Gothenburg, Nordicom.

Sjøvaag, Helle: *What is News Diversity? Operationalizing pluralism for a multimedia landscape.* University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media studies.

Sundet, Vilde Schanke: *How to measure "success"? Media innovation, television consumption, and the challenges of defining "the audience" in a digitalized and converged media marked.* Department of Film and Television at Lillehammer University College.

Surakka, Jukka; Piippo, Jukka: *Sharing economy and trust*. Arcada University of Applied Sciences, Helsinki.

Virta, Sari: *Ambidextrous Tensions in Media Content Development.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Division 7. Film Studies

Chairs: *Birger Langkjær* (DK) *Kjetil Rødje* (DK)

Gjelsvik, Anne: *Being a Human Being, from language to vision - The adaptation of Under the Skin*. The Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Art and Media Studies.

Lehtisalo, Anneli: *The Cinema of a Small Nation and Film Export: The Case of Finland 1936−1965.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Mills, Anthony Reed*: "Without Other People You Might as Well be a Zombie": Communion and Inclusion in Contemporary Zombie Movies.* University of Minnesota, Communication Studies.

Mrozewicz, Anna Estera: *Affective remediation* and *transnational shared space*. *Pirjo*. *Honkasalo's documentary film* "The *3 Rooms* of *Melancholia*". Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, Department of Film, Television and New Media.

Riis, Johannes: *Suggestive and Representational Expressiveness in Dialogue Scenes (and the impression of a present speaker).* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication (MCC).

Rødje, Kjetil: *Camera-centric vision in contemporary cinema.* University of Copenhagen. Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Tybjerg, Casper: *Nameless Shadows. Film History and the Presence of Past Purposes.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication (MCC).

Wiese, Yngvild Marie Kaarbø: *"We Should Have Gone to the Beach Like I Told You" The Revival of the Norwegian Monster.* The University of Tromsø, Institute for Culture and Literature, UiT.

Division 8. Organisation, Communication, and Society

Chairs: *Robert Vaagan* (NO) *Salla-Maria Laaksonen* (FI)

Borchers, Nils S.: *Advertising as Communication: Exploring How Advertising Research Can Benefit from the Explanatory Power of Constructivist Communication Theory.* University of Mannheim. Institute of Media and Communication Studies.

Borchers, Nils S.: *Commercialization 2.0: How Digital Advertising Penetrates into our Daily Lives.* University of Mannheim, Institute of Media and Communication Studies.

Carlsson, Eric and Jarlbrink, Johan*: The Politics of Issue Management and External Monitoring: Now and Then,* Umeå Universiy, Department of Culture and Media Studies.

Gulbrandsen, Ib Tunby: *Plans, ploys, patterns, positions and perspectives: Towards a typology for strategic communication*. Roskilde University, Department of Communication and Arts.

Laaksonen, Salla-Maaria; Porttikivi, Merja: *Constituting a partial organization in Facebook through metaconversation.* University of Helsinki, Department of Social Research; Aalto University School of Business, Department of Management Studies.

Pettersen, Lene: *Same Same, but Different - Mobile Technologies' Potential for Connecting or Maintaining Social Relationships*. Westerdals Oslo School of Arts, Communication and Technology.

Vaagan, Robert; Nusta, Nina; Kirklar, Alper; Rinsdorf, Lars: *Presenting the European Media Cloud,* Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Science, Department of Journalism and Media Studies; University of Applied Sciences Amsterdam; Bilgi University; Stuttgart Media University, Fakultät Electronic Media.

Zhang, Boyang; Vos Marita: *Evolving Crisis Bring Multiple Issues in Social Media.* University of Jyväskylä, Department of Communication.

Zhao, Hui: *The Impact of Contextual Factors on Social Mediated Crisis. Revisiting the Concept of "Modifier" in Situational Crisis Communication Theory*. Lund University, Department of Strategic Communication.

Division 9. Political Communication

Chairs: *Anders Olof Larsson* (NO) *Jakob Svensson* (SE)

Doona, Joanna: *Young adult political comedy audiences – a spectrum of Engagement.* Lund University, Media and Communication Studies.

Elvestad, Eiri; Phillips, Angela; Feuerstein Mira: *Can trust in traditional news media explain differences in news exposure of young people online?* University College of Southeast Norway, School of Business and Faculty of Social Sciences; Goldsmiths University of London, Media and Communication; Oranim Academic Collage, Media Studies.

Filimonov, Kirill; Russmann, Uta; Svensson, Jakob: *Picturing the Party - Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections.* Uppsala University and FHWien University of Applied Sciences of WKW.

Gudmundsson, Birgir: *Two Levels of Political Distrust in the Icelandic Media.* University of Akureyri, Faculty of Social Sciences.

Helles, Rasmus; Jensen, Klaus Bruhn*: Forgetting the news: Linking news memory and media preferences across social groups*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition, and Communication.

Herkman, Juha: *Empty rhetoric or something more? The meanings of populism in the Nordic press*. University of Helsinki, Department of Social Research.

Khaldarova, Irina: *Russian TV vs Russian TV: a comparative analysis of how two Russian TV channels visually frame the Ukrainian conflict for internal and external audiences.* Helsinki University, Department of Communication.

Klastrup, Lisbeth: *When Facebook Took It All – a Study of Social Media Use by Danish Politicians from 200 –2015.* IT University of Copenhagen, Innovative Communication.

Knudsen, Erik: *Framing the Third-person Effect: Perceptions of Framing Effects on Self and Others*. University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Kolbeins, Guðbjörg Hildur*: "Horse-race" coverage of the 2013 parliamentary election in Iceland.* Reykjavik University, Faculty of Social Sciences.

Larsen, Leif Ove; Uberg, Torgeir: *Mediating the Welfare state: journalistic representations of institutional dysfunction.* University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Nelimarkka, Matti; Laaksonen, Salla-Maaria; Marttila, Mari; Kekkonen, Arto; Tuokko Mari; Villi, Mikko: *Online agenda building and normalization in Finnish 2015 parliamentary election.* University of Helsinki, Communication Research Centre.

Neumayer, Christina; Rossi, Luca: *The socio-technical production of academic discourse: 15 years of protest and media technologies scholarship*. IT University of Copenhagen.

Raknes, Ketil: *From Babelian confusion to conceptual clarity? A quantitative comparative analysis of election campaign practices.* Oslo School of Management.

Reunanen, Esa; Koljonen, Kari: *Media interventionism in journalists' professional ethos*. University of Tampere, Tampere Research Centre for Journalism, Media and Communication / COMET.

Schou, Jannik; Farkas, Johan D.: *"Take Action Now and Share This": Mapping the Micro-dynam-*

ics of Political Participation through Facebook. IT University of Copenhagen.

Strandberg, Kim; Carlson, Tom: *Expanding the Online Political Audience but Reinforcing the Status Quo? The Longitudinal Development of Finnish Citizens' Use of the Internet and Social Media Prior to Parliamentary Elections Between 2003 and 2015.* Åbo Akademi University, Department of Political Science.

Sükösd, Miklós: *The dynamic relationship of media and politics: audience capital vs. power capital.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Communication, Cognition and Communication.

Division 10. Theory, Philosophy and Ethics of Communication

Chairs: *Marko Ampuja* (FI) *Mats Bergman* (FI) *Stina Bengtsson* (SE)

Ampuja, Marko: *Understanding the efficacy of 'the new spirit of capitalism': neoliberalism, innovation fetishism and new information and communication technologies.* University of Helsinki, Department of Social Research.

Bengtsson, Stina: *A moral of ambiguity in a culture of connectivity?* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Borchers, Nils S.: *ReviewEverything.com: Towards a Theory of Online Reviews.* University of Mannheim, Institute of Media and Communication Studies.

Handler, Reinhard: *Collaborative Media. Are digital networks transforming cultural production?* Karlstad University, Media and Communication Studies.

Hansen, Ejvind: *Aporias of Courage and the Freedom of Expression.* The Danish School of Media and Journalism, Copenhagen.

Hjarvard, Stig: *Mediatization: Reframing the analysis of 'media effects'.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn: *Metatheory and communication research.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition, and Communication.

Kirtiklis, Kęstas: *Manuel Castells' Theory of Information Society as Media Theory.* Vilnius university, Department of Logic and History of Philosophy.

Roosvall, Anna: *Media, Climate Change, Justice and Solidarity: Exploring attitudes in editorials in the context of the IPCC reports.* Stockholm University, Journalism, Media and Communication.

Sjölander, Annika Egan: *Interdisciplinarity and Borders in the Formation of a Discipline: The example of Media and Communication Studies in Sweden.* Umeå University, Department of Culture and Media Studies.

Vainikka, Eliisa; Noppari, Elina; Seppänen, Janne: *Networked visuality.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Verbalytė, Monika: *The Recursive Logic of Media(ted) Emotions in Media Events.* Freie Universität Berlin, Department of Sociology.

Ytreberg, Espen: *Historical perspectives on the media event: acceleration, the non-mediated, the 'pseudo', and periodization.* University of Oslo, Department of Communication.

Division 11. Television Studies

Chairs: *Eva Novrup Redvall* (DK) *Audun Engelstad* (NO)

Solum, Ove; Agger, Gunhild; Hansen, Kim Toft, Waade, Anne Marit: *Nordic Noir; New Approaches to Television Drama Series.* University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Bruhn, Hanne: *'Affective Interfaces': The changing role of the on-air television schedule in the digital era.* Aasrhus University, Department of Media and Journalism studies.

Engelstad, Audun: *What is noir about Norwegian TV drama?* Lillehammer University College, Faculty of Tevision production and Film studies.

Esser, Andrea: *Danish tv drama in the British context. Who are the audiences? How do they watch and how do they see Danish drama? Initial findings.* University of Roehampton.

Farkas, Johan Dam; Schou, Jannick; Hjelholt, Morten*: the historical shaping of public service television and digitalilzation.* IT University of Copenhagen.

Gemzøe, Lynge Stegger: *The Danishness of Danish tv-drama: the case of the remake in a changing.* Aarhus university, Department of Aesthetics and Communication.

Gullö, Jan-Olof: *Leadership in live television broadcasts of sporting events.* Södertörn University, Department of Social Sciences.

Hokka, Jenni: *Making public service under the logic of social media. Media workers' reflections on implementing public service values in multiplatform productions.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Jensen, Pia Majbritt; Jacobsen Ushma Chauhan, *Exploring audiences through the lens of a*

'three-tier' formation, Aarhus University, Department of Aesthetics and Communication.

Keinonen, Heidi: *From serial drama to transmedia storytelling: how to re-articulate television aesthetics in the post-broadcast era*. University of Turku, Turku Institute for Advanced Studies / TIAS.

Lassen, Julie Mejse Münter: *Investigating public service media in the era of broadcasting*. University of Copenhagen, Department of media, cogningtion and Communication.

Rustad, Gry C.: *Mapping Scandinavian 'quality TV'*. University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication. Hedmark University College, Faculty of Business Administration.

Sanders, Willemien; Puijk, Roel: *The professional is personal: a comparison of two television production companies in the Netherlands*. Lillehammer University College, Faculty of Television Production and Film Studies.

Sparre, Kirsten: *Journalists as cultural intermediaries of Danish tv series in Britain*. Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Sundet, Vilde Schanke: *New production and distribution models in television drama: Or how a US mafia boss made "Lilyhammer" the "first original Netflix series"*. Lillehammer University College, Faculty of Television Production and Film Studies.

Søndergaard, Henrik; Helles, Rasmus: *The Emergence of audio-visual streaming services in Denmark : challenges to the media structure and to media policy*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Temporary Working Group 1. Media and Religion

Chairs: *Knut Lundby* (NO) *Line Nybro Petersen* (DK)

Guzek, Damian: *Discovering the digital authority. Twitter as reporting tool for papal activities.* University of Silesia in Katowice. Faculty of Social Sciences.

Petersen, Line Nybro: *Religionens medialisering: Religion til forhandling gennem amerikansk film og tv-fiktion.* University of Southern Denmark, Department for the Study of Culture.

Sbardelotto, Moisés: *"And the word became net": An analysis of the "catholic" in socio-digital networks in Brazil.* Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (Unisinos).

Tsuria, Ruth: *Shifting religious terminology.* Texas A&M University.

Vitullo, Alessandra: *Old roots and new branches. An Italian religious community between tradition and Internet.* University of Rome Tor Vergata.

Temporary Working Group 2. Digital Games and Playful Media

Chairs: *Faltin Karlsen* (NO) *Anders Sundnes Løvlie* (NO)

Gregersen, Andreas; Thorhauge, Anne Mette: *Gaming as individual pastime or focused interaction.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Jørgensen, Kristine: *Playful transgressions: On controversial content in digital games*, University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies.

Salovaara, Inka: *Serious games gamification of digital journalism.* Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Schrank, Brian; Gabor, Brian: *Bust A cup: Reclaiming risk in play.* DePaul University, School of Design.

Schrank, Brian et al: *After the gods: Exemplary design for handheld AR games.* DePaul University, School of Design.

Soler, Alejandro; Prax, Patrick: *Critical online game journalism from the perspective of game journalists*. Uppsala University, Department of Informatics and Media.

Toft Nielsen, Claus: *Performing gaming expertise: Doing gender and maintaining social relationships and in the context of gamers'daily lives.* Aarhus University, Department of Aesthetics and Communication.

Yelmo, Silviano Carrasco; Tosca Susana: *The meta-aesthetics of videogames.* IT University of Copenhagen.

Østby, Kim Johansen: *Mass effect's asari as dual representations of heteronormativity and queerness.* University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Temporary Working Group 3. Nordic Media and the Cold War

Chairs: *Rolf Werenskjold* (NO) *Paul Bjerke* (NO)

Bjerke, Paul: *Mediated spies.* Volda University College, Department of Media and Communication Technology.

Cronqvist, Marie: *Entangled television histories: Sweden and the GDR, 1969–1989.* Lund University, Department of Communication and Media.

Fonn, Birgitte Kjos: *The early Norwegian business press in the cold war.* Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Department of Journalism and Media Studies.

Hovden, Jan Fredrik; Werenskjold Rolf. *The Norwegian foreign news journalists and foreign news correspondents during the cold war.* University of Bergen, Department of Information Science and Media Studies; Volda University College, Department of Media and Communication Technology.

Hjarvard, Stig Lundby, Knut: *Dynamics of mediatized conflictual social interaction.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication; University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Jørndrup, Hanne: *News framing in a time of terror – a study of the danish media's coverage of the attacks in Copenhagen, February 2015.* Roskilde University, Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies.

Kangas, Jarkko; Ojala, Markus; Pantti, Mervi: *Imaging the new cold war? Visual framing of the Ukraine crisis in the Finnish and western european press: A geopolitical perspective.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre (CMT); University of Helsinkki, Department of Social Research.

Lundgren Lars; Evans Christine: *Connected and divided: Satellite networks and the production of liveness.* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education; University of Wisconsin, College of Letters & Science, History.

Temporary Working Group 4. Media and Celebrity Culture

Chairs: *Helle Kannik Haastrup* (DK) *Mona Pedersen* (NO)

Christiansen, Lene Bull: *Why are they all cozying up to Basim? – Celebrity advocacy and elite politics in Denmark's annual aid telethon Danmarks indsamling*. Roskilde University, The Department of Culture and Identity.

Dahlén, Peter: *The celebrification of Bertil Uggla.* University of Bergen, Department of Media Studies and Information Science.

Forsman, Michael Pär: *Duckface/stoneface among children and celebrities: Celbrity-selfies and teens visual production.* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Haastrup, Helle Kannik: *Framing the Oscars live: Analyzing celebrification and culturali intermediaries in the live broadcast of the academy awards on Danish television*. University of Copenhagen, The Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics.

Mortensen, Mette; Jerslev Anne: *What is the self in the celebrity selfie? Celebrification, phatic communication and performativity.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Pedersen, Mona: *From Norway to Hollywood and back again.* Hedmark University College.

Temporary Working Group 5. Researching Cross Media Communication

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Bechman, Anja: *Demographics-on-Facebook-'posters': User-contribution-patterns-overtime.* Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture - Media Studies.

Bolin, Göran: *Media labour and the extended commodification of the life-world.* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Jørgensen, Kristian Møller: *Mediatised intimacy: The digital go-along as research tool.* University of Southern Denmark, Department for the Study of Culture.

Karlsen, Faltin; Syvertsen, Trine: *Self help in the cross media universe: An analysis of strategies to deal with invasive media.* Westerdals Oslo School of Arts; University of Oslo, Department of Media and Communication.

Lomborg, Stine; Helles, Rasmus: *Social media across countries: a cross-national comparison of social media diffusion and use*. University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Schrøder, Kim Christian: *Cross-media news consumption repertoires and democratic engagement - Preliminary report from a cross-national comparative study.* Roskilde University, The Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies.

Svensson, Linn; Egan Sjölander, Annika: *Preschool practices and photo prohibitions: Understanding the workings of social media.* Umeå University, Department of Culture and Media Studies.

Thorhauge, Anne Mette: *Micro-routines, notifications and strategic configuration: An analytical framework for understanding smart phone use patterns.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication.

Uusitalo Niina; Vulli, Elina; Ainasoja, Mari; *Audience involvement in content marketing.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media

and Theatre; University of Tampere, School of Information Sciences.

Valtysson, Bjarki; *Restaging the past: Digitized cultural heritage, cross - media communication and participation.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies.

Temporary Working Group 6. Media Across the Life Course

Chairs: *Anne Leonora Blaakilde* (DK) *Maja Sonne Damkjear* (DK) *Stine Liv Johansen* (DK)

Bolin, Göran: *The rhythm of ages analysing mediatization through the lens of generations.* Södertörn University, School of Culture and Education.

Dalquist, Ulf; Ekman, Mattias: *Socio-economic impact on the digital child: Preliminary findings from the kids, media and socio-demographics 2014/15 report*. Swedish Media Council.

Damkjaer, Maja Sonne: *Becoming a parent in a digitized age: Facebook as an agent of change?- Performative, dialogical, and preservative Facebook strategies in the transition to parenthood.* Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Ekman, Mattias; Dalquist, Ulf: *Media life and everyday negotiations: New (and old) conflicts in digital family life.* Swedish Media Council.

Givskov, Cecilie; Johansen, Stine Liv: *Young or old – discussions on age groups and media use.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication; Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Johansen, Stine Liv: *The glue of everyday life – children's playful media practices*. Aarhus University, School of Communication and Culture.

Kivimäki, Sanna: *Designing a research on elderly women's present and past media use – methodologicalreflections.* University of Tampere, School of Communication, Media and Theatre.

Mosberg Iversen, Sara: *Danish newspaper discourses on older adults and digital games: Extended abstract.* University of Southern Denmark, Department for the Study of Culture.

Naumann, Anne-Sophie: *Familjesidan som en spegling och en del av livet*. Jönköping University, School of Education and Communication.

Nybro Petersen, Line: *Mediatization of ageing? Producing television for an ageing demographic.* University of Copenhagen, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication

Paulsen, Malene: *Media Use and civic engagement at the intersection of age, life course and place: The case of a small and medium sized local community in Norway*. University of Nordland, Faculty of Social Science..

Ratzenböck, Barbara: *Examining the experiences of older Austrian women with information and communication technologies: Interrelations of generation-specific media practices and individual media biographies.* University of Graz, Center for Inter-American Studies.

Sandvik, Kjetil; Refslund Christensen, Dorthe : *Ubiquitous media in everyday practices of grief and commemoration on children's graves and online memorial sites.* University of Copenhagen Department of Media Cognition and Communication; Aarhus University, Department of Aesthetics and Communication.

Swane, Christine: *The phone in the fridge: Media use among nursing home residents.* Copenhagen, EGV Foundation (Social Inclusion of Older People).

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22nd Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research
August 13-15, 2015, Copenhagen, Denmark

Thursday 13 August

10.00-13.00	Registration
13.00-13.30	Opening of the conference *Media Presence – Mobile Modernities*
	Welcome speeches by Christa Lykke Christensen & Anne Jerslev
13.30-15.00	
Keynote	*The Qualified Self: Mobile Media and the Accounting of Every Day Life*
	Lee Humphreys, Cornell University
15.30-18.00	**Parallel Sessions**
18.00-21.00	Opening reception, *University of Copenhagen*

Friday 14 August

9.00-12.00	**Parallel Sessions**
13.00-14.15	**PLENARY I**
Panel discussion	*Big Brothers and Little Sisters: Surveillance, Sousveillance, and Coveillance on the Internet*
	Panel: Liv Hausken, Jens-Erik Mai, Miyase Christensen
Moderator:	Rikke Frank Jørgensen
13.00-14.15	**PLENARY II**
Panel discussion	*Nordic Media Systems: Worth Defending, Worth Developing, Worth Exporting?*
	Panel: Trine Syvertsen, Ingela Wadbring, Hannu Nieminen, Ib Bondebjerg
Moderator:	Stig Hjarvard
14.15-17.15	**Parallel Sessions**
17.15-18.00	National meetings
18.45	Copenhagen canal and sightseeing tour with Netto-bådene

Saturday 15 August

9.00-10.00	**Parallel Sessions**
Keynote	*Been There, Done That: Communication, Metacommunication and Presence*
	Klaus Bruhn Jensen, University of Copenhagen
14.30-16.00	**Parallel Sessions**
16.15-17.30	NordMedia business meeting for division and TWG chairs and vice-chairs and organizing committee
19.00	Gala dinner, Docken, Nordhavnen

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