

Past, future and change: Contemporary analysis of evolving media scapes



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CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS OF EVOLVING
MEDIA SCAPES

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INTRODUCTION



OVERVIEW OF SOUND STUDIES

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS HEINDERYCKX

Introduction

Ilija Tomanić Trivundža and Nico Carpentier

1. ABOUT THE BOOK: CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS OF EVOLVING MEDIA SCAPES

Popular discourses on contemporary media scapes are increasingly dominated by predictions of imminent radical change which bear strong millenaristic overtones. In this, they are highly reminiscent of several recent “end of” debates, of which the end of ideology or the death of a nation state are but two prominent examples. Certainly, this cacophony of ecstatic proclamations by zealots of novelty and the melancholy of the prophets of gloom cannot be dismissed that simply as a clash of generations and technologies, or attributed solely to the narcissism of self-perception of current generations to live in epochal times. If anything, these are times of great intellectual ferment in the search for new business models, communication strategies and consumption practices, but as media scholars are increasingly eager to remind the economic and political communities, the “search for new” in itself is not new. The history of media and communication research is as much a history of “epochal changes” and discourses on “epochal changes” as it is a history of social and institutional uses of media.

This book is itself a product of an ongoing intellectual ferment aimed to conceptualise not only processes of change within media, but also the role of media in processes of social change. It is an outcome of the intellectual work of the 2012 ECREA European media and communication doctoral Summer School and aims to promote the underlying idea of the summer school, which is to promote pluralism of theoretical and methodological approaches to studying contemporary (mediated) communication and to establish bridges and dialogue with these diverse and often still culturally enclosed approaches. The book occupies a liminal position in the field of academic books as it presents both work in progress and completed research. It presents a significant part of the intellectual work of the Summer

School, but at the same time it cannot be reduced to a format of conference proceedings since most chapters significantly differ from the work presented at the Summer School. *Past, future and change: Contemporary analysis of evolving media scapes* is a reviewed book, a result of collective endeavour of its many editors, who paid particular effort in supporting the six chapters provided by emerging scholars – the Summer School students.

The main part of the book has four main thematic focuses – *change, journalism, time and memory, and the political* – however most of the chapters, published in this volume, cut across various disciplines and consequently reveal not only the richness of contemporary perspectives on media and communication, but at the same time also highlight the growing need for thorough theoretical understanding of the analysed phenomena and clear definitions of theoretical frameworks and concepts.

The five chapters of the first section address the centrality of *change*. Aukse Balčytienė's chapter looks at Central and Eastern Europe and the interlacement of social, political and media dimensions in shaping the "culture of agreements and social dependency" characteristic for post-communist transitional societies. The issue of media regulation, which plays crucial role in Balčytienė's argument, is also the central focus of Hannu Nieminen's chapter that investigates EU attempts to balance different regulatory interests and means in relation to challenges of globalisation and digitalisation of media and changed consumer behaviour. The third chapter offers an insight not in the process of globalisation itself but in how it is conceptualised in the leading journals in the field, as Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz explores the use of concepts related to trans-border communication in two international and two German journals. Iris Jennes' chapter addresses the changing role of television audiences in the transition to digital technology through their position in the value chain of television production. The closing chapter by Heiner Stahl offers a much welcomed overview of key concepts used in sound studies.

The second section presents six chapters that centre on practices and dilemmas of contemporary journalism. It opens with a chapter by François Heinderyckx who – through the debate on passivity and interactivity of media – warns us against premature dismissal and proclamations of extinction of traditional media. Bertrand Cabadoche's Cabadoche's chapter also argues against technological determinism and in favour of a more critical perspective in understanding the relation between ICTs and their social impact using the example of "Arab revolutions". Helle Sjøvaag and

Jenni Mäenpää both address the issue of journalistic ideology. Sjøvaag's chapter does this from a theoretical and macro perspective, while Mäenpää's focuses on one key aspect of journalistic professional ideology – objectivity – and applies it to the practice of photojournalism. To a certain extent, the concluding chapters by Ebba Sundin and Nikola Belakova are also connected to the notion of ideology in the broadest sense. Sundin looks at the role of cultural and national identity in structuring international news. Similarly, Belakova also looks at conceptual level, presenting an outline of an analytical framework explaining the operation of legal rules (e.g. defamation legislation) in constraining journalism in the context of democratisation.

In the third section, the chapter thematise the issues of identity and memory on individual and collective level. Sara Mota looks at changes related to personal and family photography that were brought about not so much through digitalising photography but through digitalising exhibition and sharing of this type of photography. In the second chapter, Manuel Pares i Maicas moves the investigation of identity to collective level, linking it with issues of historical memory and the role of ethics. Irena Reifová, Radim Hladík and Richard Kilborn shift the investigation of the past from history to popular culture. Both address contemporary television series and their mnemonic projects of reconstructing past but provide contrasting studies as nostalgia and memory in the case of Czech television series *Vyprávěj* analysed by Reifová and Hladík is politically more contested terrain than the one analysed by Kilborn in the case of British television series *Life on Mars*. The connection between community and past also features prominently in the closing chapter by Ilija Tomanić Trivundža which analyses the ways in which temporal dimension can be lent to current events through the use of press photographs.

The last six chapters of the book explore the boundaries of the political. Nico Carpentier's chapter offers a discourse theoretical approach to the contested concept of "quality" in relation to cultural domain, which not only exposes complexity and inherent instability of the hegemonic quality discourses but contrasts them with a concept of democratic quality and the ways it is articulated by community media. Sander De Ridder's chapter is an attempt to conceptualise a model for understanding the storytelling activities in social network sites from a cultural media studies perspective. The emphasis on participatory practices is also the central focus of Krista Lepik's and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt's chapter that looks at how a traditional institution such as Estonian National Museum negoti-

ates issues concerning expertise and knowledge as it opens up space for non-expert participation. Tobias Olsson and Dino Viscovi look at how another traditional institution – journalism – responds to increasing initiatives and demands for user participation and to what extent this is seen (by professionals) as a way to support and vitalize democracy. In charting the boundaries of the political, Giulia Airaghi's chapter on barter is a valuable reminder not only of the interlacement of the political in everyday life but also of the fact that hegemonic and counter hegemonic practices are not necessarily antagonistic, a question that seems increasingly central in the light of the current economic crisis. The section ends with a chapter by Fausto Colombo whose Foucauldian analysis of Web 2.0 reframes the questions on the relationship between power and social control, the "talking about the self", and the relationship between free speech and truth in democracies.

On a meta level, Colombo's argument in the closing chapter is emblematic for all of the 22 chapters presented in this book in two ways. In connection to the central topic of changing media scapes, the authors are not questioning the changes themselves but rather question whether we are posing the right kind of questions in order to understand the changes. And secondly, all of them refuse to look into the future without first looking back. It is precisely this theoretically articulated and historically grounded perspective, authors claim, that enables us to pose not only pertinent but also persistent questions on the nature of communication and the role of media in social processes at the time when everything that is solid melts into air.

The second part of the book contains the abstracts of the PhD projects of all 45 students that participated in the 2012 Summer School. Throughout the book, a series of pictures selected from the immense Summer School archive are also included. Ilija Tomanić Trivundža produced the cover. Our special thanks goes to François Heinderyckx for the photographic material.

2. THE SUMMER SCHOOL

The Summer School was established in the early 1990s by a consortium of ten (Western) European universities, initiated by the Universities of Stendhal (Grenoble, France) and Westminster (UK). From then on, these participating universities have organised annual summer schools for communication studies PhD students, which lasted for one or two weeks and took place in a wide range of locations, including Grenoble, Lund, Barce-

lona, London Helsinki and Tartu. In 2010, the Summer School moved for the first time to the Department of Media and Communication Studies of the University of Ljubljana.

In 2012, it ran from 12 to 25 August. Together with the University of Ljubljana, 22 universities participated in the consortium: Autonomous University of Barcelona (ES), Charles University (CZ), Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) (HU), Jönköping University (SE), London School of Economics & Political Science (UK), Lund University (SE), University of Ankara (TR), University of Bergen (NO), University of Bremen (DE), University of Erfurt (DE), University of Roskilde (DK), University of Sacred Heart Milano (IT), University of Stirling (UK), University of Tampere (FI), University of Tartu (EE), University of Westminster (UK), University on Helsinki (FI), University Stendhal, Grenoble 3 (FR), Vrije Universiteit Brussel (BE), Vytautas Magnus University (VMU) (LT) and Loughborough University (UK). In 2012, affiliated partners of the programme were the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), the Finnish National Research School, and the COST Action IS0906 Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies.

The central goals of the Summer School are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

In order to realise these principles, the thirteen-day 2012 Summer School was based on a combination of lectures, training workshops, student-workshops and working visits. The core format of the Summer School is based on the so-called student-workshops, which are oriented towards providing the PhD students with the structured, high-quality and multi-voiced feedback that was mentioned above. For this purpose, the following specific procedure was used. After their application is approved, participating PhD students each send in their 10-page papers. On the basis of the papers, the PhD students are then divided into three groups or flows, and each student is attributed a lecturer-respondent and a student-respondent. Moreover, a so-called flow-manager (a member of the academic Summer School staff) is also attributed to each of the flows. These flow-managers coordinate the activities of the student-workshops' flows for the entire duration of the Summer School.

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

In addition, the training workshops are a crucial pedagogical tool for the Summer School. These workshops provided the PhD students with more practical training on issues related to making posters, publishing, abstract-writing, comparative research, literature review, oral presentation skills, communication of scientific topics to non-scientific audiences, interactive teaching to larger groups, interrogating sources, and creative on-line writing. They were combined with a number of lectures, which aimed to deal with specific content, focussing on specific theories or concepts. Finally, the working visits gave the participants more insights in Slovenia's media structures, politics, cultures and histories.

3. THE PEOPLE / THE HALL OF FAME

At the 2012 Summer School, 45 PhD students participated.

The yellow flow group consisted of Giulia Airaghi, Guillaume Blanc, Francesco Buscemi, Sander De Ridder, Kenan Demirci, Edgard Eeckman, Margaux Hardy, Anne Wistrup Holmfred, John Hondros, Salla-Maaria

Laaksonen, Marie Legrand, Pierre Munsch, David Smith, Sarah Talboom, and Gintare Zukaite

Dilek Azime Aydin, Nikola Belakova, Fateh Chemerik, Sarah Anne Ganter, Xiao Han, Joanna Kedra, Ville Kumpu, Rita Luís, Jenni Mäenpää, Marek Miil, Adriana Mutu, Zhao Ruhan, Marketa Stechova, Helle Tiikmaa, and Bingqing Xia were the blue flow group.

Kristina Barancovaite-Skindaraviciene, Ergin Safak Dikmen, Iris Jennes, Merle-Marie Kruse, Lexin Lin, Natalija Majsova, Sara Mota, Tereza Pavlickova, Maarit Pedak, Jingwei Piao, Kim Sandholdt, Michela Stumberger, Minttu Tikka, Mariyan Tomov, and Gertjan Willems formed the gree flow group.

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

The 2012 Summer School also had 23 academic lecturers: Stefanie Averbek-Lietz, Aukse Balčytienė, Michael Bruun Andersen, Bertrand Cabedoche, Bart Cammaerts, Nico Carpentier, Fausto Colombo, David Deacon, François Heinderyckx, Irena Reifová, Anastasia Kavada, Richard Kilborn, Risto Kunelius, Hannu Nieminen, Tobias Olsson, Manuel Parés i Maicas, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, Helle Sjøvaag, Slavko Splichal, Heiner Stahl, Burcu Sümer, Ebba Sundin, and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža.

In addition to the activities of the Summer School lecturers, the programme also included a study visit to student radio station *Radio Študent* (www.radiostudent.si/), visit to autonomous cultural centre *Metelkova mesto* (www.metelkovamesto.org/) and a guided tour of *Slovene Ethnographic Museum* (www.etno-muzej.si/). Additionally, two guest lectures – Aleš Debeljak on European and Balkan cultural identities and Slavko Splichal on Research Paradigms in Media Studies – and a round table Social Media and Traditional Journalism: Promises, Realities and Prospects with Slovene journalists and web communication experts Miha Rejc, Matej Praprotnik and Vuk Ćosić. This supplementary programme was organised by the *Slovene Communication Association*.

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

4. THE EVALUATION

The 2012 Summer School was again characterised by a high level of student (and lecturer) satisfaction. During the evaluation workshop at the end of the Summer School and in the (written) individual evaluations, the participants expressed their enthusiasm about their Summer School experience. The following citations from the individual feedback forms provide us with a good overview of the most common reactions to the general (evaluative) questions:

I really enjoyed the experience of working on an intense level in an open and engaged community.

Comments on my PhD projects were very valuable and in-depth.

Great networking and intercultural experience!

The programme was very well organised and the atmosphere during the lectures and workshops was great. It was valuable in terms of academic achievements.

The Summer School remains a rewarding but very intensive experience because of its duration, which is a reoccurring topic in the evaluations. Improved time management of the lecturers was repeatedly emphasised, as was the preference for lectures tied not with specific research cases but with broader theoretical or methodological aspects.

5. A final word of thanks

The Summer School is supported by a wide range of individuals and institutions. The (old and new) consortium partners, ECREA and the EC all provide invaluable support to this long-standing initiative. Lecturers and flow managers have over the years invested a lot of energy in lecturing and providing PhD support. The PhD students themselves have shown an eagerness which can only be admired and applauded. The organisers wish to thank Zarja Protner as well as Igor Vobič and Irena Brinar from the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana for their support. Additional thanks goes to Maja Kostric from Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Jasna Babič from Peace Institute and Radio Študent team.

Even this book illustrates the intensity of the ongoing collaborations, with its many contributors and editors. Being produced within an almost impossible time frame just after the end of the Summer School, this book

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

WEBSITES

The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School

<http://www.comsummerschool.org/>

The Researching and Teaching Communication Book Series

<http://www.researchingcommunication.eu/>

The European Communication Research and Education Association

<http://www.ecrea.eu/>

The ECREA Young Scholars Network

<http://yecrea.eu/>

The Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

<http://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/>

The Slovene Communication Association

<http://www.kom-drustvo.si/>

PART ONE

RESEARCH



TEAMWORK

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

SECTION ONE

CRISIS



TAKING NOTE(S)

PHOTO: ILUJA T. TOMANIĆ

A Conceptual Guide to the Analysis of Central and East European Transformations¹

Auksė Balčytienė

All the arguments in this chapter revolve around the idea that the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) could be perceived as symbolic social laboratories where all the controversies and contemporary challenges of modern life can be tested.

In this chapter I will provide only a very brief overview of the most distinctive features of political and media life in CEE. In addition, I will identify at least three critical attributes of this life; as I shall show, all three of them seem to contribute to the development and maintenance of a certain 'culture of agreements and social dependency' in those societies. Furthermore, this particular culture is especially prone to serious social consequences and emerging trends, registered in all contemporary societies and cultures and observed not just in the young democracies of CEE. It also seems that new social arrangements arise on the basis of complex social developments and trends, such as liquidity, individualisation, economic competitiveness and the striving for efficiency in all spheres of human activity. As previously argued, many of those have been present for a long time (Bauman, 2008).

CEE countries and their media are traditionally seen as displaying weak professionalism, weak media accountability and a weak public service ethos (Trappel et al., 2011). However, the trend towards fragmentation, social atomisation, polarisation and media de-professionalization appears to be a reality in many countries around the world; these trends have also been registered in countries with longstanding traditions of consensual

¹ Research study reported here was financed by the Research Council of Lithuania (www.lmt.lt) and the project "Lietuvos žurnalistika: kontekstas ir kultūra" (Journalism in Lithuania: Context and Culture), 2011-2012. Project No.: MIP 012/2011. More information about the project is available: www.MediaResearch.lt.

democracy (Nieminen, 2010). Erosion of the idea of the common good and the decline of moral and public interests-focused thinking, the weakening of public connectedness and decreasing support for the ideals of public service, as well as other developments tending towards personified consumption, are among those collectively recognised social features which are identified with liquid (or second) modernity (Bauman, 2008; Beck, 2009).

Western democracies and their professional journalism cultures have traditionally been associated with high ideals and principles guiding the media's democratic performance (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Among those emblematic principles are a professional ethos of objectivity and neutrality, a public service mission and media accountability. The increase in competition which comes with market liberalisation, growing media industry attempts to popularise production to accommodate new requests from the changing audience, and further trends towards media commercialisation and commodification, do not seem to support those normative expectations previously associated with journalistic professionalism. On the contrary, a significant number of contrary tendencies are being identified, namely the rise of strategic communications and news management in political communications and an increase in ideologically shaped reporting and opinionated journalism. These and other developments can be regarded as serious symptoms signalling general media de-professionalization in the West (Hallin, 2009; Gross, 2009; Nygren, 2012).

It could be disputed without any hesitation that the overwhelming nature of contemporary change, and the complex and many-sided social transformations that are leading to a questioning not only of the new identity of Central and Eastern Europe, but also pose serious questions about the future and the political, economic and cultural fate of the European Union, are a fascinating area for intellectual enquiry and social research (Auer, 2012; Žagar, 2012; Bianchini, 2012; Donskis and Dabašinskienė, 2010). Broadly speaking, all post-communist societies already have a historical experience of approaching, dealing with and assigning meaning to a very rapid change. It could, therefore, be imagined that these countries possess a certain expertise, knowledge and understanding which comes from their unique (cultural) dynamism, and which could be applied in further enquiries about the continuing fragmentation and diversification of contemporary life. In the past few decades alone, CEE countries have had to confront dramatic transformations in their political systems and market structures, as well as facing striking social changes that have affec-

ted the formation of new social relations and forms. Among those several exceptional features attributed to changes in CEE is the fact that those countries had to deal with both the factors and causes of transformations, 'internal and external' (Gross, 2002; Jakubowicz and Sukosd, 2009). In addition to the urgent need to solve their internal transformations, they had to face the external pressures of increasing globalisation, internetisation, Europeanisation, cultural diffusion and others. Those countries had to approach and adapt to all these changes in a very short period of time. Moreover, they had to deal with all these changes in a synchronised manner. If assessed from today's perspective, for most of the countries in the CEE region, the last two decades were not only a time for rapid changes and developments, or for different adoptions and adaptations to new demands and emerging cultures. It was also the time for authentic discoveries and learning.

For quite some years now, research studies and academic literature on media and journalism professionalisation in CEE have followed the so-called prescriptive line of thinking. In particular, this was shaped by a standard idea that the political system changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s have indeed reestablished the historical truth and therefore should be treated as a 'natural return of CEE countries to the Western World' (Hoyer et al., 1993; Lauristin and Vihalemm, 1997). Even very sophisticated academic debates tended to rely on the idea that the post-Soviet bloc is a homogeneous entity of post-communist countries, thus proposing the idea that their journalisms should also manifest significant similarities and visible characteristics descriptive of those countries' political transformations and current developments. This would allow for certain theoretical generalisations, and the development of a unique CEE model of political and media culture (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

As is often argued nowadays, CEE studies can be approached as an emblematic example of a region that is in constant flux. It is a region of diversities, and, to quote from a seminal essay by Milan Kundera, this region represents "*a reduced model of Europe made up of nations conceived according to one rule: the greatest variety within the smallest space*" (Kundera, 1984: 3). Two decades on from the disruption of communism, all CEE nations are still struggling to transform their mentalities, to understand what values and assigned meanings underlie the behaviours of their citizens and elites. Due to the different patterns of social and cultural life, the different ways of practising religions, values and traditions, and different historical developments and meanings, the existing political cultures in the region are

a mixture of pre-communist, communist and post-communist combinations (Gross, 2002). Thus among those attributes distinctive to post-communist societies and young democracies is their 'miscellaneity and hybridity, heterogeneity, and even flux' (Balčytienė, 2010, 2012). Such descriptions and sentiments are based on a mix of different social and political structures, forms and relations identified in young democracies – effects that arise from their weak ideological foundations, their weak political and party systems and, especially, their weak civil societies.

In general, many things in CEE countries seem to be in place, and their political and economic structures and systems are competitive and functioning. Yet, at the same time, in most of those societies social commitments and loyalties to democratic values are deemed to be coexisting with generally antidemocratic, clientelist practices and imitative behaviours that have deep roots and long-lasting historical traditions (developed during different occupations). Because of these different and complex reasons, young democracies and transitional societies display different political cultures with different layers and degrees of social arrangements and formal or informal networks functioning with their own enduring traditions, systems, networks and habits.

It is rightly said that all the political and social transformations that took place in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s were 'genuine revolutions' (Sparks, 2010; Lauristin et al., 2011). In all cases, these revolutions have resulted in the breaking of all types of political and economic monopolies; they also instigated the overwhelming 'pluralisation of political and social life' in those countries. They granted freedoms of expression and association, and opened arenas for enquiry and networking. At the same time, although these changes very rapidly transformed the ways in which the countries were governed, these were not whole and widespread social transformations, since they did not pose a fundamental challenge to the existing social and cultural orders. Many social institutions and state structures such as the civil service, educational institutions or certain media outlets have remained intact, since they have not changed their internal structures, for example, through the change of personnel or other means. Their social positions have also remained largely intact, as there was considerable continuity in both institutions and personnel between the old regime and the emerging new².

2 Lithuanian sociologist Zenonas Norkus provides a very focused analysis of the effects of economic reforms carried out in the early 1990s and current characteristics of public life in different CEE countries (see Norkus, 2008). According to Norkus, the most significant difference between different types of thinking applied in the early 1990s in CEE

Thus, before delving into a more detailed discussion of the particularities of contemporary political or media life in CEE, it is crucially important to re-examine once again all the social and cultural visions and imaginaries that shaped people's thinking at the exact moment of historical change. To be more precise, it is important to study not only what those countries represent today (imperfect societies and incomplete democracies); it is also important to assess what they hoped to be and what they dreamed about at times of political transformation, and how exactly they 'escaped from communism' (Norkus, 2008; Lauristin et al., 2011).

Among those dominating visions in CEE countries in times of transformation were the attempts (a) to restore and rebuild the independent state, and to initiate (b) economic and (c) social reforms. These were shaped by the natural and genuine desire of those nations to have a better life, and to break away from the planned economy and communist directives. Although many of the expectations from each of those three fields were successfully met, two decades later, however, it seems that certain social visions and imaginaries still retain the status of ideas.

As accurately argued by Colin Sparks, the main dynamic in most revolutions in CEE was that it permitted the old elite (the *nomenklatura*) to transform itself from one that was based upon the collective ownership of state property, which it guaranteed through its political monopoly, to one that was based on private property acquired, formally or informally, through the exercise of political power but sustained economically in a manner familiar from Western capitalist societies (Sparks, 2010). Even today, the exceptional characteristics which also define contemporary developments in CEE include the 'politicisation (or ideologisation) of transformations'. As Zielonka and Mancini (2011) discuss in their overview of democratisation patterns in CEE, different policies and decisions in those countries are shaped by spontaneous actions and by the 'ad hoc needs' of political actors, rather than by 'a priori policy objectives' that are aimed at providing public service and public goods. The 'mechanism of the political and economic instrumentalisation of the state' functions in the following way: policies and laws are designed and implemented through political interests, whereas implemented policies lead to material gains used for private

revolves around the dominant meanings and treatments assigned to the Soviet past. Based on these assessments, certain CEE region countries (Estonia, East Germany) have followed revolutionary approaches in their economic and political liberalisation reforms: they attempted to 'clean the house' (to take all previous privileges away from the old *nomenklatura*), to follow the most radical approach in reforms (introduce monetary reforms, open the market up to international investments), etc.

ends. Naturally, the logic of instrumentalisation politicises all social relations and forms. In such clientelist arrangements, loyalties are valued as the most important criterion for obtaining resources, and not all actors and partnerships are treated as equal.

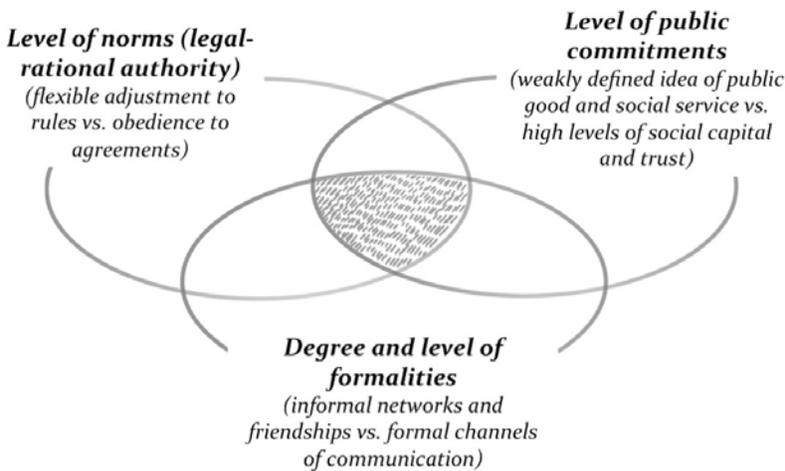
In providing a more general assessment of all the changes and continuities in CEE, it is important to stress that, as a social characteristic, clientelism permeates into existing social relationships and particularly affects the 'meanings assigned to those relationships'. As observed, clientelist relations practically institutionalise a certain tradition and 'culture of agreements' and negotiations among the parties and powers in that relationship. This type of culture seeks compromise, fidelity, support, appreciation and, to some extent, devotion and certain services that will be paid back (Roudakova, 2008; Ornebring, 2012).

Indeed, clientelist society gives rise to a weak state and weak social structures. State structures are volatile and prone to capture by political competitors. In such a context, corruption may not be officially defined as a norm. But it occurs. It is observed. And, in addition, it is silently tolerated. Likewise, another cultural characteristic seems to be applicable in such a context – so-called 'façade-oriented' thinking. Although officially defined and written into certain documents, rules and statements do not have universal application, and there is only selective institutional accountability. Media, too, are accountable only on fragmented terms, i.e. when it is most appropriate for the industry itself, or when it is imposed by certain external requests. In short, in CEE media accountability does not take place as a process that comes naturally, as inspired and coming from within the (media) profession (Balčytienė, 2011).

Similarly to political transformations, the shift and change towards market liberalisation, privatisation and economic reforms in those countries are also highly politicized. In the early 1990s, a range of favourable investment and privatisation opportunities were created for those who were closely connected to political power. As observed, the shift to individualised private capital certainly implies the diversification and pluralisation of power in society. It does not automatically follow that this will be articulated through democratic frameworks (Sparks, 2010). CEE media and journalism were also affected by these changes and arrangements of politicised liberalisation. Many media institutions which emerged from the process of transition, particularly the newly created ideals and visions of public service broadcasters, were strongly influenced by the political elite.

To conclude, political and media lives in CEE countries are shaped through the ‘culture of agreements’ and dependency on different, informally maintained partnerships and networks, with core features such as informal and clientelist relations, but also suspicion and distrust. This type of model of social arrangements and its logic could be further conceptualised and graphically illustrated in Figure 1, where three constitutive dimensions (the level of existing norms and agreements, the idea of common good and public interest, and the character and type of means and channels for meaning-making) become prevailing contextual features that define different degrees and levels and publicity of agreements and negotiations, and give rise to the emergence of a certain type of culture of social dependency.

Figure 1. Three levels distinctive to the development of certain types of social culture



As argued, high levels of clientelism and political and economic instrumentalisation lead to the manifestation of a culture of agreements and dependency in most CEE countries.

There is no doubt that CEE revolutions have inspired important and significant social transformations, and have resulted in a significant rise in democratization processes in this part of Europe. Political system changes have indeed stimulated the pluralisation of CEE societies, notably in establishing rights to free expression and political association. The descrip-

tive outcome of such a process is that there is a broad diversity of media registered in CEE. Independent media, however, are missing. According to some studies, CEE media are very polarised, and each media sector operates according to its own logic: the mainstream media operate under the logic of commercialism, whereas there is also a wealth of alternative and niche online media that aim to fulfil the needs and expectations of underrepresented (niche) audience groups (Balčytienė, 2012). Thus it appears that these political, economic and social revolutions in CEE have only displayed a 'selected version of transformations', since these were partial transformations where social developments did not evolve to the same degree as the changes that took place in other fields of public life, such as politics or the economy.

As historical developments show, independent states were restored and most of the material needs and requests were met. Still, these political or economic liberalisations have mainly followed the political rhetoric and well-known practices and technicalities tested in other (Western) contexts. Indeed, the marketisation of production and capitalisation of economies in those countries have developed to a fascinating degree. But, most importantly, these developments were not automatically supported with social and cultural reforms and the re-establishment of norms built on the ideals of public service, respect for the common good and respect for agreed rules and established laws, and the building of social capital and trust. The absence of a culture with a focus on the idea of the common good and public service is among the most evident drawbacks in contemporary social transformations in the entire CEE region.

Although all the observations above offer only a more conceptually sketched illustration of social and cultural transformations in CEE, one important observation arises from these findings. Specifically, it is not possible to think of CEE democratisation in the broadest sense as if it is a process where a new political system replaces old structures and organisational culture, and a completely new social system is born. The process of CEE transformations actually deals with multiple 'cultural transformations' – with transformations of views and mentalities, and also with the gradual freeing from the consequences of communism.

The initial idea in this discussion was that contemporary CEE societies have distinctive social attributes and characteristics, and that all changes and transformations in CEE have brought serious social consequences such as disappointment, dissatisfaction, political alienation and even anomie.

As shown here, many CEE social characteristics could be grouped under the umbrella of a general culture of dependency, with descriptive attributes such as clientelism and informal networking, the politicisation and marketisation of relations, the deteriorating idea of the common good, and ignorance of the public service mission in various policies. It could be envisioned that such a culture, primarily focused on private gains, is more prone to individualised consumption and social atomisation and polarisation. As an attribute of existing social relations, this sort of culture is also contagious, and could thus be defective to political life and the quality of democracy. Social polarisation leads to the ideologisation of social relations and forms, thus resulting in the development of a range of dependencies. Ideologised media, too, contribute to the provision of a distorted, biased, ideologically shaped view of the world (Gross, 2009).

All these trends, discussed through the prism of Central and East European developments, signal the rise of contemporary consumer-oriented, individualised society. This is a society where personified access to news and information is prioritised and praised. A society that is dispersed along individualised interests and shows very little community-oriented feeling; where the ideas of public interest and common good are only very loosely defined. These developments can also be interpreted as an indicator signalling the rise of a more fragmented, heterogeneous and socially polarised contemporary society – a society that also creates an impression of people living in different diasporic networks, and even in distant, parallel and ideologically shaped universes.

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The Challenges of Convergence for European Media and Communication Regulation: A Model for Analysis

Hannu Nieminen

1. INTRODUCTION

In the debates concerning media and communications policy in the 1990s and early 2000s, one of the most commonly discussed concepts was deregulation. It was used as a synonym for concepts such as liberalisation and privatisation, meaning that the media and communications industries – specifically electronic media and telecommunications – were freed from the yoke of the state and its heavy-handed statutory regulation. Instead of serving politically defined normative ends with strict restrictions about competition and material gains, these industries were now supposedly liberated to follow free market ends and rules.

Or so it was thought then. It was soon discovered, however, that in order to be effective and to provide the expected material benefits, the market still had to be regulated, and that, instead of unbridled free competition, some clear rules and restrictions were necessary. On the other hand, at the same time it was realised that the media and communications differ from other industries in that their markets operate in the area of norms and ideas, and that some normative rules are needed after all. In stepped re-regulation.

Accordingly, media and communication policy over the last ten years or so has wrestled with the problem of how to balance these two different regulatory interests: the private interests of the industry, served by competition law, and the public interest, represented by the normative type of regulation. In this article, I develop tools for studying attempts to strike this balance by the use of different regulatory means.

2. BACKGROUND

In the last 10-15 years, European regulation of media and communications has faced increasing challenges: the processes of globalisation and digitalisation have profoundly changed the media environment; consumer behaviour and media use are rapidly changing, punishing the print media and rewarding the mobile media; and European financial instability has rendered the future insecure.

The regulatory mechanism may be adapted to meet these challenges in a variety of ways. (See e.g. the discussion in Meier, 2011; also Black, 2002.) The traditional way of understanding regulation is government-centred, as a definition from the OECD makes clear:

Regulation is broadly defined as imposition of rules by government, backed by the use of penalties that are intended specifically to modify the economic behaviour of individuals and firms in the private sector. Various regulatory instruments or targets exist. Prices, output, rate of return (in the form of profits, margins or commissions), disclosure of information, standards and ownership ceilings are among those frequently used. (OECD, 2002).

Lately, however, new regulatory needs and new actors have emerged, leaving this economy- and government-centred view wanting. The drive towards softer means of regulation in particular has brought new forms of self- and co-regulation to the fore. Summarising these changes, Julia Black has provided a critical definition of regulation:

[R]egulation is the sustained and focused attempt to alter the behaviour of others according to defined standards or purposes with the intention of producing a broadly identified outcome or outcomes, which may involve mechanisms of standard-setting, information-gathering and behaviour-modification. (Black, 2002: 26).

Black calls this a “decentred” concept of regulation: regulation is not restricted to the activity of government, nor is it based solely on legislation. Other sources may be used to justify it; it can be asserted by different actors; and regulators can apply different means for their own purposes. In what follows, I will discuss this decentred concept.

The division between concepts of regulation is reflected in differing notions concerning the societal goals of regulation. For what purposes is regulation needed? What are its goals and means? (Black, 2002: 9-10.) Many

researchers make a fundamental distinction between two regulatory ideologies, applied with different emphasis in recent decades: regulation for 'economic efficiency' and regulation for 'social and distributive concerns' (Prosser, 2010: 4 and *passim*; see also Christensen, 2010.) According to Prosser, the first coincides with the concept of regulation as an intrusion on private autonomy; the second sees regulation as a collaborative enterprise (Prosser, 2010: 4-5).

Traditionally, regulation of the media (the press, electronic media) has followed the second ideology, serving the public interest as defined in terms such as freedom of speech, public service broadcasting, pluralism of opinions and cultural diversity (Napoli, 2001; Harrison and Woods, 2007; Freedman, 2008; Meier, 2011; Lunt and Livingstone, 2012). In contrast, the regulation of (tele)communications (including the Internet and mobile telephony) has mainly been based on the logic of economic efficiency (following the blueprints of competition policy). (See for example Bourreau et al., 2011; EU, 2004.)

The aim of this paper is to critically explore recent conditions for the democratic regulation of media and communications. It is assumed here that, for both technological and political reasons, the formerly distinct branches of the media and communications industries today intersect to the point where they are converging. It is assumed further that, whereas these branches used to be governed under different regulatory regimes (following the industry-specific approach), it now appears necessary to negotiate a new "converged" regulatory regime, balancing the diverging logics (towards a sectoral or multi-sectoral approach) (see Duijm, 2004).

3. CHANGES IN THE FIELD

As mentioned above, media regulation has traditionally been guided by public interest principles that respect social and cultural aims. However, the regulatory landscape has changed almost beyond recognition in the last 25 years. In the late 1980s, the branches of the media and communications were subject to industry-based regulation.

- Print media: Regulation is traditionally based on the freedom of the press principle (including goals such as pluralism and objectivity). There has been little statutory regulation, except for the ex-post¹ con-

1 Ex-ante means are "before the event" measures, which, in media and communications policy, include state subsidies and operating licences. Ex-post means are "after the event" measures, sanctioned, for example, in criminal and competition law.

trol of content based on criminal law and, in many countries, restrictions on ownership (Iosifidis, 2010).

- **Audiovisual media:** Most broadcasting in Europe used to be based on the principle of public service and state monopoly and couched in terms of specific legislation. In some countries (for example the UK and Finland), the commercial sector was regulated ex-ante by operating licences with content obligations, decreed by law.
- **Telecommunications:** In most European countries, telecommunications used to be a state monopoly operating under a Universal Service Obligation, guaranteeing basic telephony services to all households, supported by specific legislation.
- **Recorded media:** Regulation has been based mostly on copyright law (ex-post means), and implemented primarily by co- and self-regulatory means (through collecting societies).

Since then, the following fundamental changes have taken place (see Michalis, 2007; Harcourt, 2005; Charles, 2009; Hardy, 2008; Palez and Jakubowicz, 2003; Papathanassopoulos, 2002; Iosifidis et al., 2005; Terzis, 2008; Terzis, 2007; Levy, 2001):

- Public monopolies (public service broadcasters, telecoms operators) have all but lost their status. Instead, the media landscape is increasingly characterised by the expansion of private companies and market fragmentation.
- Despite globalisation, there is no unified global regulatory framework for the media and communications market; the regulatory actors own conflicting competences (global, regional, national regulators; government agencies, co- and self-regulatory bodies, civil society watchdogs).
- As a result of technological convergence and digitalisation, content can be easily formatted for different markets. This has greatly challenged the basic legitimacy of traditional copyright regulation (controlling piracy and distribution of illegal content) and emphasising ex-ante regulation.

All these trends – globalisation, market fragmentation and technological convergence – have created a situation where traditional industry-based

regulation has lost much if not all of its validity. The old regulatory framework struggles to balance the different interests represented in the field. This predicament is not, however, unique to media and communications regulation, but is shared within the wider field of regulation (see Prosser, 2010; Black et al., 2005).

4. THE REGULATOR'S VIEWPOINT

In recent years, legislators have exerted great efforts to create an integrated regulatory framework for all media and communications. Some of the recent regulatory applications include:

- An attempt to attain technology neutrality in statutory regulation (Reed, 2007; MinTC, 2011);
- A drive for more concentration on regulatory surveillance and control (the establishment of independent regulatory authorities with a multi-sectoral approach) (EPRA, 2012);
- Soft law and co- and self-regulatory solutions, aiming for 'light touch' regulation;
- Emphasis on economic criteria as the main measure of regulatory efficiency (from ex-ante regulation to ex-post regulation).

This attempt to streamline media and communications regulation seems to distance it irrevocably from its earlier social and cultural commitments, and brings it closer to competition policy aims, measured solely by the criterion of economic efficiency. A major process is under way to renegotiate the concept of public interest the media and communications are assumed to serve. If economic efficiency is seen as the goal, public interest is redefined in terms of unrestricted competition and "fair trade", which allegedly benefit both private firms, by equalising the terms of entry to the market, and the consumer, by lowering prices and offering better choice. As the OECD puts it:

Different rationales for economic regulation have been put forward. One is to curb potential market power and increase efficiency or avoid duplication of facilities in cases of natural monopoly. Another is to protect consumers and maintain quality and other standards including ethical standards in the case of professional services provided by doctors, lawyers, etc. Regulations may also be enacted to prevent excessive competition and protect suppliers from unstab-

le output and low price conditions, to promote employment and more equitable distribution of income. (OECD, 2002).²

In practice, this emphasis on economics is experienced in the way public service broadcasting has been dealt with in the EU. In the Amsterdam protocol (1997), the duality of values concerning the media was clearly expressed: public funding of broadcasting was allowed only on the basis that it did “not affect trading conditions and competition in the Community to an extent which would be contrary to the common interest” (Amsterdam Treaty, 1997). This approach was further operationalised later in the 2000s in the form of Public Value Tests (see Communication 2009/C.), in some cases opening the way for private media companies to intervene directly in the operational conditions of public service broadcasters (Donders and Moe, 2011; Lowe and Steemers, 2012).

5. AN IDEAL-NORMATIVE VIEWPOINT

From a normative viewpoint, several researchers have claimed that the balance in media and communications regulation has tipped too much in favour of (private) economic interests (van Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003; Meier, 2011). What should be done to correct this bias, and on what basis should a new balance be established? The following expresses one way to clarify the normative standpoint, from which a more qualified concept of public interest could be derived:³

In a democratic society, the media and communications system should serve citizens with all relevant information and orientation necessary for independent opinion-forming and decision-making. This includes the stipulation that citizens are guaranteed, by statutory means if necessary, open access to all relevant information channels as well as equal availability of all relevant content. Additionally, in order to promote public culture and to give citizens a voice, the media and communications system should offer citizens equal means for creative self-expression.

Using this definition as our normative guideline, we are left with the questions proposed above.

2 Obviously, the two last aims – “to promote employment and more equitable distribution of income” – seem to sit rather uneasily with other rationales, as they cannot be measured by economic indices only.

3 The following formulation is by the author.

Regulation of what?

The regulation of the media and communications industries has traditionally differed from one sector to another. Can we assume that, because of technological and economic convergence, the increasingly intersecting sectors of media and communications can be governed and regulated as one entity? Or would a sector-based approach serve citizens' democratic needs better – and how can we define these sectors today?

Regulation for what?

In media and communications policy, the concept of public interest has traditionally been based on a balance between democratic societal needs and economic interests. In recent decades, this balance has shifted in favour of economic interests. The question is whether we should still aim to establish a “one-size-fits-all” definition of public interest in the new converged regulatory environment, the result of which might be that public interest is increasingly defined in terms of competition policy. Or would citizens' democratic needs be better served by the recent “hybrid” or multi-dimensional definition?

Regulation by whom?

In global media and communications policy, a five- to six-level regulatory system seems to be developing. This can be seen, for example, in the realm of copyright regulation: the global level (WIPO, 2012; TRIPS, 2012); the EU level (EU Copyright Directive, 2001); national level (Finnish copyright act, 1961); co-regulatory level (Collecting Societies, 2012); industry self-regulatory level (e.g. attempts for DRM standardisation); and neo-corporatist (or joint-regulatory) level (Finnish Copyright Council, 2012). There is a problem of coordination, in that it is difficult or impossible to apply traditional concepts and modes of regulation to the new environment. This inevitably leads to confusion of competences and authority, even on the national level, as can be seen in the realm of Internet regulation.⁴ How democratic is this system? How is it coordinated? From the citizens' viewpoint, does it produce just and fair negotiating positions?

4 There are several agencies in the field of Internet regulation with overlapping competences:

- Finnish Communications Regulatory Authority FICORE (network security),
- Consumer ombudsman (online services subscriptions),
- Competition ombudsman (pricing of services, etc.),
- Data protection ombudsman (privacy protection, etc.),
- Police (protection of minors, etc.),
- Save the Children (safer Internet),
- Federation of the Brewing and Soft Drinks Industry (alcohol advertising),
- The Copyright Information and Anti-Piracy Centre (CIAPC).

Regulation by what means?

Traditionally, the media have been regulated by a mix of ex-ante and ex-post means⁵, applied variably in different sectors of media and communications regulation, from state subsidies and television operating licences (ex-ante) to the control of advertising content and libel litigations (ex-post). Now, with the drive towards competition policy, ex-post means appear to be favoured exclusively. What would constitute the right combination? How should the indicators of economic efficiency be best reconciled with social and cultural aims?

6. AN ATTEMPT TO DEVISE A MODEL FOR MONITORING REGULATORY DEVELOPMENT

How are we to pursue a critical analysis of the present regulatory regime? One way could be to assess how different regulatory means and instruments have affected public interest as defined above, by listing and analysing the different instruments applied in European media and communications regulation. This would offer a tool for long-term monitoring of European regulatory development.

Initially, we can identify several types of regulatory instruments, based on the following distinctions:

1. the distinction between
 - 1.1 ex-ante and
 - 1.2 post-ante regulation
2. the distinction between
 - 2.1 positive
 - 2.2 negative and
 - 2.3 neutral (if applicable) regulation
3. regulation by
 - 3.1 government
 - 3.2 co-regulatory bodies
 - 3.3 self-regulatory bodies
 - 3.4 a watchdog.

Below, I present an outline analytical table. In order to classify measures (positive ex-ante, positive post-ante, etc.), explicit criteria need to be created.

⁵ See the footnote 1.

By way of example, the classification could be conducted as follows:

- Positive ex-ante regulatory instruments include PSB stipulations as well as operating licences for commercial television channels in which conditions for content are stipulated.
- Negative ex-ante instruments include, for instance, public value tests, as they aim to limit the range of public service programming.
- Positive ex-post regulatory instruments include, for example, public rewards and prizes, granted to content providers for high quality.
- Negative ex-post instruments include penalty payments for operators violating licence conditions.

Table 1: Categories of instruments applied in media and communications regulation

	Ex-ante measures	Post-ante measures
Positive means	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PSB stipulations • Broadcasting operating licences • Press subsidies • The MEDIA Programme • Market analysis & universal service obligation (USO) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public rewards
Negative means	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public value tests (public service broadcasting) • Audiovisual Media Services Directive (AVMSD) • Watershed stipulations (self-/co-regulation) • Alcohol advertising (statutory/self-regulation) • Ethical codes (self-regulation) • Ownership restrictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminal law • Competition law • Ombudsman (statutory/self-regulation)
Neutral means	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Radio frequency auctions • Copyright law (statutory/co-/self-regulation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copyright enforcement (statutory/co-regulation)

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The basic assumption in this paper is that a shift has taken place in the regulation of the media and communications industries, favouring regulatory means formerly used mainly in the area of competition policy. By the same token, regulatory means based on democratic societal values have lost out. Simultaneously, however, there is growing awareness that, because of the wider societal and cultural value of the media and communications, regulation can no longer be based exclusively on economic goals. A new balance between democratic societal interest and economic need must be negotiated that does not disproportionately favour either side.

The continuing multilevel process of convergence makes it difficult to determine how best to coordinate the traditionally quite different regulatory systems of the media and communication industries. Not only do the sectors differ from one another, but also a wide array of regulatory instruments has been applied – sometimes for wholly dissimilar purposes. In this paper, an approach based on the distinction between ex-ante and post-ante regulatory means is discussed. It appears, at first sight, that democratic societal values have in the past been mostly served by positive ex-ante regulatory instruments, whereas economic interests have been promoted mainly by negative post-ante means.

Further analysis is needed to establish whether the proposed approach is fruitful in exploring the means for democratic regulation of the media and communications.

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“Globalisation” and Related Key Concepts in Communication Studies: Findings of a Qualitative Content Analysis of Journals in the Field

Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz

1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

This article does not ask whether “globalisation” is the ‘right’ term to describe dynamics and changes in the contemporary world of communication. Instead, it takes “globalisation” as a term which *is* used by scientists and investigates *how* and *why* it is used. What are the alternative and/or related terms? Authors such as Wallerstein, Robertson, Giddens, Beck, Appadurai, Tomlinson and others are standard references in globalisation theory and research. However, sociological or political theories of globalisation often lack a theory of social communication in globalisation – even if they mention the media as vectors of globalisation or “mediascapes” (Appadurai) or as parameters of our life worlds. Seeking to understand how communication studies deal with the notion of the “global”, I faced the same problems Terhi Rantanen (2005: 4-6) described several years ago:

1. Globalisation theories are rarely interwoven with media and communication theories
2. Globalisation is quite a vague term – rarely do globalisation theories differentiate between the process of globalisation and its premises and consequences

As Annabelle Sreberny (2005) and Colin Sparks (2007) show, there is no unified or general theory of globalisation or global communication. However, there seems to be a common and central question, addressing connectivity via media and/or communication in a globalised world. Sparks writes: “*There is agreement that globalization means greater interconnectedness and action at a distance [...]*” (Sparks, 2007: 135). Furthermore, Kai Hafez

offers a view on globalisation theory in the context of communication studies: “*Everything in the world appears to be connected to everything else, for good or for ill. This ‘network consensus’ makes cross-border communication the core phenomenon of globalization*” (Hafez, 2011: 2). Both, Hafez and Sparks are more or less skeptical on the issue of whether interconnectivity is really taking place between people, or whether it is a more or less idealistic scientific concept without empirical evidence in a world where media systems are still highly dominated by national or world regional media markets, structured by language and intercultural differences, both on the side of the producers and on the side of the consumers of (mass) media.

We will not solve this problem here, but I want to show that the terms ‘globalisation’ and ‘connectivity’ are central to communication studies worldwide. The project “Mapping Media and Communication Research” (University of Helsinki 2006-2008, see Herkman, 2008, Koivosto and Thomas, 2010), which is based on data from the mid-2000s onwards, highlights the globalisation of media and communication as a core future problem, with only very little theory-building and empirical findings in the field of communication studies up to now. The globalisation of communication is not yet a mainstream topic and certainly not in the German research community. The Helsinki report on Germany shows this lack very clearly: terms such as “global”, “transnational”, “international” or “intercultural” are not central terms in this report (see Koivisto and Thomas, 2007). In fact, there is only a small corpus of German-language textbooks dealing with transborder communication (see Hepp and Löffelholz, 2002; Hepp, 2006; Hafez, 2011; Wessler and Brüggemann, 2012; Wessler and Averbek, 2012).

When we look at *Publizistik* and *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, the central journals in the field of communication research in Germany, the rise of themes and subjects with an explicit global or transnational focus begins in the mid-2000s. Papers focus on the re-evaluation of ‘traditional subjects’, especially the transformation of the ‘public sphere’ into (or not) the so-called “European Public Sphere” (Janzen et al., 2011; Gessner, 2011 [see appendix]). Themes like migration and the media did not come up in German mainstream communication research until the mid-2000s (Gessner, 2011; Thanscheidt and Reinecke, 2011; Assmann and Meissner, 2012 [see appendix]) – which is late compared to other countries. In the French Journal *Réseaux. Communication. Technologie. Société*, migration and its communicative dimensions were a topic of research for at least a decade before those issues arrived in German communication studies journals

(Jacobs and Volk, 2011[see appendix]). Even though the analytical perspective is similar, communication scholars in France, Germany and other countries actually describe migration as a kind of 'transcultural communicative connectivity via technical media' (see Diminescu, 2008; Hepp, 2003; Hepp et al., 2010, 2011; Diminescu and Pasquier, 2010; Madianou and Miller, 2012).

The challenge for communication studies today is the following: to take a closer look at the relationship between communication, media and globalisation or communication change in the context of globalisation, at the 'micro, meso and macro levels'. That means combining "globalisation" with other theoretical concepts and terms such as "mediatisation" (see Krotz, 2005), or the "communicative figuration in a globalized world", in keeping with the figuration concept of Norbert Elias (see Hepp, 2012b: 31). In order to analyse the question of *which* concepts in the globalisation of communication or in communication *in* globalisation are actually discussed, a look at leading journals in the field may be helpful.

The research I conducted was a qualitative content analysis of the journals *Global Media and Communication* and *Global Media Journal* (Mediterranean Edition). The study was validated and extended in two student research projects at the Universities of Münster (2010/11) and Leipzig (2011/12), as I scrutinised several other journals (see appendix). In what follows, explanations referring to the *Global Media Journal* (Mediterranean Edition) are based on two analyses: one was carried out by myself (see Averbek-Lietz, 2011), while a second was carried out by Ulrike Mentel and Diana Mühelberg, who examined more articles from the journal in 2012 [see appendix 1]). In addition to those journals, which have a clear inter-/transnational/-cultural or global focus, we also analysed *Publizistik* and *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft (M&K)* from the year 2000 onwards in order to elicit some hints about when and with which themes and subjects cross-border communication entered those two leading German communication studies journals (both – *Publizistik* and *M&K* publish in German, but provide English abstracts). It was only late on, in the second half of the 2000s, that the theme of globalisation arose.¹

Our first step in these two seminar projects was the compilation of a relevant literature syllabus. This process was to some extent erratic and limited by language competences. The corpus refers mainly to English-

1 We did not refer to the latest publication of *M&K*, a special number dedicated to the field of transborder communication edited by Hartmut Wessler and the author (Wessler and Averbek-Lietz, 2012).

French-, Spanish- and German-speaking communities of communication researchers. These first readings show:

- that the research problem of communication and globalisation is structured historically and transnationally by dependency and modernisation theory (mainly focusing on media systems, media structures, inequality, division, ideas of centre and periphery and the standardisation of media products, i.e. 'the macro levels of communication processes') (e.g. see Krotz, 2005; Mattelart, 2009).
- a shift in theory emerged from the early 1990s onwards: more and more attention was paid to the 'micro and meso levels' of uses, media adoptions as well as cultural hybridisations, stemming from dynamics that derive not only from so-called media centres, but also from peripheries and between them (e.g. see Chalaby, 2005; Martín-Barbero, 2006; Mattelart, 2009).

This shift also meant a general break with media-effect oriented modernisation paradigms as well as with dependency paradigms (which both contain a strong implicit theory of linear media effects). Instead, communication scholars formulated new lines of thinking in regard to globalisation and communication, which are considered under the paradigm of "interconnectedness" (Chalaby, 2005: 30) or "connectivity" (Hepp, 2003, 2006).

This analytical shift to the micro level of connectivity between people (migrants, extended 'global' families, colleagues in other parts of the world etc.) provoked critics (e.g. Lull, 2000: 73; Man Chan, 2005; Mattelart, 2009; Sparks, 2005; Hafez, 2011) against considerations *only* at micro and meso levels of globalisation, which might promote a lack of understanding power relations, cultural clashes, economic dependencies, disruptions and intercultural misunderstandings.

Resuming the readings of the secondary literature, we found two arguments, neither of which was very well clarified or integrated: 'Hybridisation-by-global/transnational/transcultural-Communication' concepts and 'Heterogenisation-by-global/transnational/transcultural-Communication'. These are exactly the processes we wanted to look at more systematically by carrying out a journal analysis in the field.

2. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF JOURNALS

The main question was: how is inter/-transnational/-transcultural communication sketched thematically, theoretically and methodologically? This applied especially to those journals which deal explicitly with these types of communication.

The general assumption, deriving from my work on the history of communication studies and the comparison of different research communities, (see Averbeck-Lietz, 2008, 2010; see also Malmberg, 2005; Cabedoche, 2009; Koivisto and Thomas 2010) was:

A. The corpus of ideas on (global/transnational/transcultural) communication is not uniform internationally.

B. Differences between national and (world) regional communities of communication researchers might concern research objects, denominations and concepts, references to basic theories, references to middle range theories, normative orientations (explicitly or implicitly), methods and methodologies.

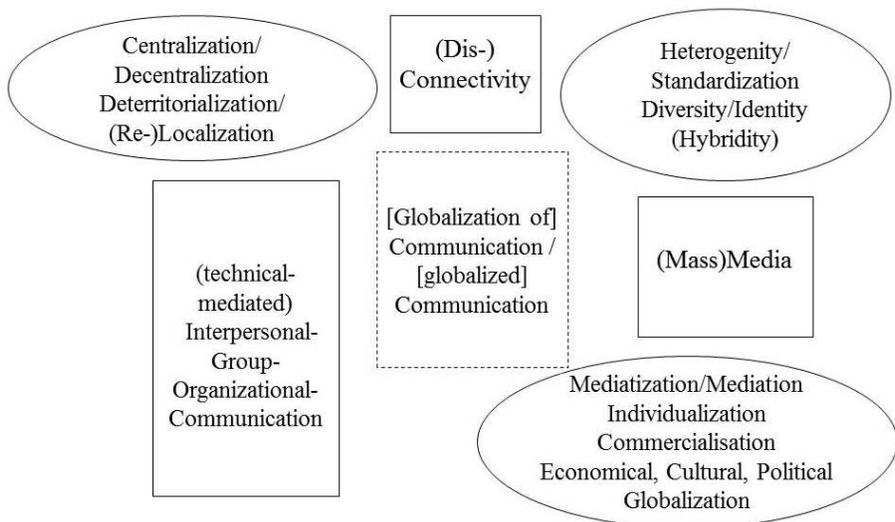
- 1) *Research objects*: Which media are examined? Is the focus on media or communication (or both) and/or on social change?
- 2) *Denominations and concepts* concerned with globalisation and change: Do we find concepts of "space" and/or "connectivity" or others?
- 3) *References to basic theories*: Is the research grounded, for example, in systems theory, social constructivism, semiotics, cultural theories or other similar theories?)
- 4) *References to middle-range theories*: Are there references to theories such as Media Event Theory, Framing, Uses and Gratifications, or similar theories?
- 5) *Explicit or implicit normative orientations*: Is the research grounded in concepts such as participation, democracy, inclusion/ exclusion as a positive or negative consequence, more or less overt reclaimed goals and/or values, going along with transnational, transcultural and/or global communication?

6) *Methodology and methods*: Qualitative and/or quantitative research?
 Long-term or short-term-settings?

For my analysis of *Global Media and Communication* and *Global Media Journal (Mediterranean Edition)*, I selected all articles from every volume of these two journals whose abstract and/or title hinted at the topic of theory-building in global communication. This was the case for 17 articles in *Global Media and Communication* and for 5 articles in the *Global Media Journal. Global Media and Communication* was first published in 2004, the Mediterranean Edition of the *Global Media Journal* in 2006. They are both specialised journals in the field with authors from very different national and/or cultural backgrounds and also from different citation milieus.

The goal of this qualitative content analysis (for the method see Schönhaagen and Nawratil, 2009; Mayring, 2010) was to develop a heuristic scheme and categories which make it possible to characterise the theory-building on global and/or transnational/transcultural communication (also possibly to use them later in a quantitative analysis).

Figure 1: Heuristic scheme: global, transnational, transcultural communication and social change



This scheme is the synthesis from our qualitative content analysis of the journals, contextualised by the knowledge we derived from the corpus of secondary literature. Neither does it explain *how* transborder or 'global' communication functions, nor is it a communication model. It is a mind map which categorises communication researchers' thoughts *about* the so-called globalisation of communication. This categorical scheme should not be seen as complete or 'ready'; it is a tool for meta-analyses of theory-building in the field of communication and globalisation. As a further step it may also serve as a *tertium comparationis* to look at differences in theory-building and core concepts in the field from different research communities or schools – and also at different times. It is certainly not useful for the production of context-free categories. Therefore, in further stages of analysis we have to ask how those terms are thought about in different historical, social and political contexts. The categories in this scheme actually have the status of core concepts in the whole debate on transborder and/or transcultural communication.

The rectangles contain the communication process itself – and – as we find from the diagnosis of our reference literature, not all communication processes are globalised or deal with the consequences of globalisation, but there is globalisation of some communication products and processes and an interdependency with meta-processes such as mediatisation, individualisation, economic, cultural and political globalisation. Here I am referring not only to Friedrich Krotz (2005), but also to Jesús Martín-Barbero (2006) or Roger Silverstone (2005), who conceptualise "mediation" as a meta-process (continually concerning the differences of concepts of "mediation" and/or "mediatization", see Livingstone, 2008; Lundby, 2009; Hepp, 2012a: 35ff.). The whole process of the globalisation of communication is complex and non-linear. Researchers describe this through terminologies of hybridity, and also through dichotomies such as heterogeneity/standardisation or diversity/identity. These concepts are often taken as non-radical poles of the same phenomena – not as excluding categories (as might have been the case ten years ago...). The whole scheme is very fluid. The argumentations I found are – to my surprise – highly dialectical, especially over the last decade.

My analysis raised a number of questions which need more time and space for elaboration: In which manner do those key concepts play together? Are there patterns of key concepts in different research communities? In which theoretical traditions and/or combinations of those traditions are they embedded (systems theory? cultural studies? symbolic interaction-

ism? structuralism? semiotics?)? Are there preferences for certain basic theories (but not for others)? Are these typical of certain research cultures? Which methods are preferred to solve which concrete research problem? Are there preferences for the 'micro' or the 'macro' level of analysis?

3. SELECTED CATEGORIES: CONECTIVITY AND NETWORKS

Kai Hafez (2011), Tristan Mattelart (2009) and Aeron Davis (2010) use "connectivity" (without any regard to each other) or Sparks (2007) uses "interconnectivity" as a term related to media structures and systems. Consequently, media uses are more often modelled in a quantitative, not in a qualitative logic. For example, Hafez's central term is "media connectivity", meaning the connectivity of different journalistic systems via foreign reporting and direct communication (Hafez, 2011: 12f.) Contrary to this concept, Andreas Hepp reflects "connectivity" at the macro-, the meso- and the micro-level, which are interwoven in his understanding. According to him, we have to deal with media uses and social action in relation to "flows" and "networks" of communication, e.g. communicative action and the networking of diasporas via technical-based (online) media (see Hepp, 2003, 2006, 2012).

Networks might be considered as de-central and highly ego-centric (as thought by Hepp) or more or less centralised and isolated, as in the sense of Davis: "*The new cosmopolitan elite networks that emerge from such configurations move between 'global cities' and other 'hubs' (technological, corporate, institutional)*" (Davis, 2010: 123). Connectivity, according to Hepp and other cultural studies thinkers, is always bound to social and personal identity (see Lull, 2000: 11; Hepp et al., 2011; Hepp, 2012b: 34ff.). Its counterpart is social (also economic) disconnectedness at a translocal level (see Hepp, 2003: 196) or "global divides" (Lull, 2000: 13ff.).

4. SELECTED CATEGORIES: MEDIATION / MEDIATIZATION

As a point of reference I use a definition from Terhi Rantanen: "*Globalization is a process in which worldwide economic, political, cultural and social relations have become increasingly mediated across time and space*" (Rantanen, 2005: 8). Rantanen analyses three major works of globalisation theory, those of Giddens, Thompson and Tomlinson. The results seem paradoxical, as they show the potential for optimistic as well as very pessimistic prognoses: they partly describe positive changes in the individual and/

or social life world (i.e. at the micro level), but they predict negative outcomes at the macro level of society:

Their conclusions are surprisingly pessimistic [...]. For Giddens, Thompson, and Tomlinson globalization is intensification caused by interconnectivity. However, the result of interconnectivity is distancing, quasi-interaction and monologic mass-mediated experience. Both Tomlinson and Thompson agree that the crucial difference is between mediated or nonmediated experience (Rantanen, 2005: 11).

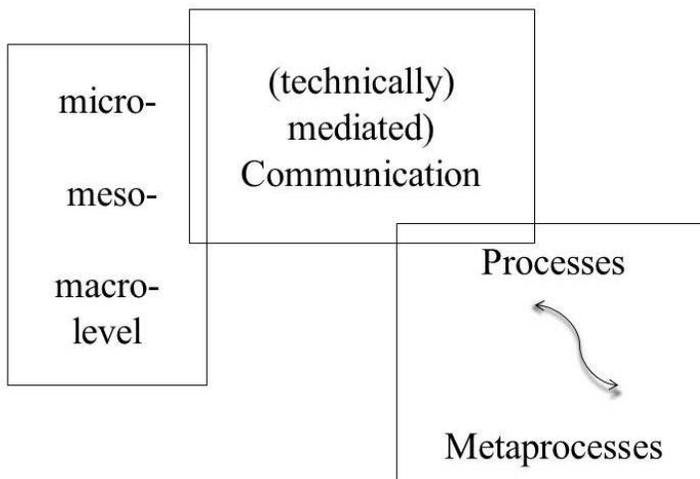
Here we may refer back to Rantanen herself, and also to Hepp, Martín-Barbero, Krotz, Wessler and Brüggemann, whose works are based on empirical data and reflect types of transnational/transcultural communication at different levels. They – and this might be a paradigm shift triggered by communication scholars – break with the “crucial difference between mediated or non-mediated experience” mentioned by Rantanen for classical readings in globalisation theory. What does that mean? The solution, in the works of Rantanen, Hepp, Martín-Barbero, Krotz and others, goes with action theory, symbolic interactionism, social constructivism and also cultural studies: communication and media are not entities in themselves and are not separable from each other – there is action, and life, and experience with and by communication and media. Here we have to mention newer theories on mediatisation and digitalisation as ongoing meta-processes, changing the life world (also changed by symbolic interaction) and going ahead with other meta-processes like globalisation and economisation (see Krotz 2005, 2007; Krotz and Hepp, 2012).

Furthermore, we have to take into account theories on “mediation” as described by Roger Silverstone, Jesús Martín-Barbero or Eliseo Verón, which deal with ‘symbolic representation’ (Martín-Barbero, 1993; Silverstone, 2005; Verón, 1981, 2004; Hartmann, 2009; Averbeck-Lietz, 2010: 414-445; de Cheveigné, 2012) via the public and the so-called “small” or private media, operating online via social networks and/or smartphones.

5. OUTLOOK

Let us reconsider the previous mind map (see Figure 1) and outline it in a more abstract manner:

Figure 2: Meta-categories



With the help of this meta-category scheme, we may ask if a text corpus dealing with global communication (a study, a theoretical framework or an essay) stresses the micro-, meso- and/or macro-levels of communication. How are they connected? Which processes are modelled and which meta-processes are taken into account? This scheme is open to *diverse* directions of thinking, from neo-Marxists to neo-liberals, from functionalism to semiotics. It is a 'lowest common denominator' – derived from our non-representative qualitative study.

There is a need for an epistemology of transnational and transcultural communication, which is open to *different* theoretical backgrounds and to combining empirical research in a qualitative *and* a quantitative way. Epistemology here is meant not in its abstract sense of 'pure' cognition, which produces objective knowledge, but in its historical and social richness. Scientific research and knowledge are rooted in an epoch and its problems, and therefore are not at all stable but in dialogue with the empirical world. In actual fact, from the research sketched out here, we can

deduce good news: in our field of research today we are far from thinking in simple cause-and-effect patterns of globalised communication, and we are also far from a purely Westernised view with universal impact – even if communication studies are still clearly dominated by an American horizon.

Appendix: Research reports of the student projects (qualitative content analysis of journals in the field)

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From Eyeballs to Click-through: The Role of the User/Consumer as Actor in the Television Value Network as TV Makes the Transition to a Digital, Connected Era

Iris Jennes

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to highlight some of the central concepts and theories used to describe the changing role of users/consumers as actors in the television value chain, as TV makes the transition to a digital, connected era. The present study is part of a longer-term PhD project that examines the changing role of the audience in the television value network, as television enters the digital and connected era in Flanders. Particular consideration is given to how the role of the user is changing in relation to the affordances digital/connected television offers.

With digital, connected television, users – at least theoretically - have the opportunity to increase their control. This could lead to changes in the television business model. We are focusing on commercial broadcasters¹ since, although commercial broadcasters can derive income from multiple sources (network providers, subscriptions, copyright payments etc.), the current business model relies strongly on the commodification of audiences, i.e. television broadcasters effectively sell audiences to advertisers in order to be able to invest in the production or acquisition of programmes (Smythe, 1977: 3). Since digitisation, TV is fast becoming a networked digital technology, featuring personalisation² and interconnectivity. This means a shift from traditional television as a one-way mass media model

1 In the case of public broadcasters, ‘reaching’ an audience is also an important consideration, but since public broadcasting is subsidised, it relies less on advertising income.

2 For example: viewers can organise their own personalised TV schedule, using the Personal Video Recorder (PVR) and Video On Demand (VOD).

to a two-way interactive model (Carlson, 2006: 97-98), or to a medium of mass self-communication (Castells, 2009: 70). Traditionally, the television industry has been based on aggregated audiences and programmes. In these circumstances, watching television content has only been possible when the TV set was on. Today's TV audiences are fragmented and have more control over how they consume TV content, with additional access made possible via Digital Video Recordings, online media, downloads, DVD's etc. Even if the audience is not particularly revolutionary in its viewing practices (Van den Broeck, 2011: 429), these technological developments or opportunities pressure the relationships between the players in the television market, as they are constantly confronted with limitations, challenges and opportunities (Seles, 2010: 5-7).

The goal of this research is, therefore, to investigate the changes in the value network underpinning commercial television in Flanders, with a clear focus on the (power) relationships between different new and old players and their roles within the value network in general and advertising and the audience/users in particular. We aim to discover if there could be a more balanced relationship between an empowered audience and a sustainable television industry. The research is focused on the Flemish and not the overall Belgian TV sector, since the broadcasting market in Belgium has been divided into separate, independent markets: a Walloon and a Flemish broadcasting market. It must also be noted that the Flemish television market is a special case within Europe, as 81% of the market share (based on audience measurement) goes to the three biggest broadcasting companies, namely: VRT (public broadcaster), VMMA (commercial broadcaster) and SBS Belgium (commercial broadcaster) (VRM, 2011: 156). This makes Flemish audiences less fragmented than in other EU countries and provides us with a unique situation with respect to the television market.

In the following section, we look into the concepts of convergence and digitisation and discuss digitisation as a change agent for TV as a technology, the TV value network and TV audiences.

2. CONVERGENCE AND DIGITISATION

There is a particular focus on the concepts of digitisation and convergence in this study. Digitisation has enabled the convergence of media, as digital technologies have made it possible to exchange content, employing different media or platforms (the technological level). Convergence, however,

also manifests itself at audience and media industry level. What is important when looking at convergence is that it is a process, not an endpoint (Jenkins, 2006: 2-16). Küng's (2008: 92-103) typology of convergence identifies three levels of, or approaches to, convergence:

(1) First, Küng (2008: 93-101) discusses the convergence of the products and services offered by different media, or the 'product and service focused approach'. This type of convergence implies that the same content can be distributed across different media or platforms. The focus here is on the consumer having access to one service through different media or having access to different services through one device. It refers to the integration and divergence of different media devices but could also be seen from the perspective of the audience. It involves a change in the way media are consumed (Jenkins, 2006: 16).

(2) Second, there is technological convergence, or the 'network-focused approach' to convergence. This approach focuses on the importance of technology in the process of integrating delivery platforms, which has consequences at the level of content and usage (products and services) and at the level of media industries. (Küng, 2008: 92).

(3) Third, there is the 'industry-focused approach', referring to the horizontal and vertical integration of media sectors with telecommunication- and ICT-sectors. The focus is on the economic aspect of convergence (Küng, 2008: 93).

We integrate these different levels of convergence when studying the changing role(s) of users in the transition to a digital, connected television era. First, we examine the economic level, where the aim is to map the television value network and the actors in it. What are their roles and how do they relate to each other? Then, the technological affordances that digital, connected TV offers are discussed in relation to policy changes, changes in viewer/user/consumer behaviour and changes occurring in the advertising industry and in audience measurement. Based on this knowledge of the value network and technological affordances, the aim of the research is to define consequences for, and changes in, the value network, still focusing on advertisers and users. In the final part of this research, the question arises as to whether the role of the users is changing in the value network and what implications these changes may have.

3. THE TV VALUE NETWORK

As early as 1977, the political economist Dallas Smythe underlined the importance of investigating the economic dimension of the commercially oriented media industries. Smythe (1977: 3) focused on the audience as a product being sold between broadcasters and advertisers. This means that the business model behind commercial television is dependent on the commodification of audiences, i.e. television broadcasters selling audiences to advertisers. In the following section, we start by defining value networks and elaborate on horizontal and vertical integration within the media sector.

The players in the television industry are not self-interested players but form a system - or value network - where each interacts with the other (Ballon, 2007: 10). These value networks consist of three basic design concepts: roles, actors and relationships. Actors are entities who are active in the marketplace and have one or more roles, i.e. an activity that adds value to the marketplace. Different actors or roles can then engage in interaction, which allows them to form relationships based on negotiations (Ballon, 2007: 10). Partly due to digitisation, media sectors are evolving and the boundaries between different sectors, platforms and technologies are becoming progressively blurred. As a consequence, relations between actors and business models are changing (Donders and Evens, 2010: 7).

Napoli (2008: 14-17) states that power dynamics might obstruct innovation and that shifts in competitive advantages for certain actors in the value network could cause resistance to innovation. This is related to the level of economic convergence, as the degree of concentration in a sector depends on the ability of actors in the sector to adopt different roles in the value network. Horizontal integration or convergence occurs when one actor manages or owns different roles in parallel industries. An example of horizontal integration is when a magazine publisher also starts up a television channel. Vertical integration occurs when an actor manages or owns different roles within one industrial sector. Vertical integration affects the cooperation between different actors within the sector. The higher the level of vertical integration, the lower the need for different actors to cooperate with each other. For example, vertical integration occurs when a TV distributor (cable operator) starts up a broadcasting channel (Donders and Evens, 2010: 31-32).

Within this theoretical framework, the goal of this study is to map old and

new actors within the television value network and to describe their roles and relationships in a digital, connected era. An initial exploratory, empirical study was conducted with regard to the challenges facing digital television and television advertising. Media professionals in Flanders were asked for their views on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats regarding the future of television as a digital and connected medium in general and television advertising in particular. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with representatives of the Belgian Direct Marketing Association (BDMA)³, the incumbent distributor or cable operator Telenet⁴, and the two main Flemish commercial broadcasters: VMMA⁵ and SBS Belgium⁶.

The results of the research were listed as a SWOT analysis that provides insights into the power relationships between different actors and the possibilities and risks from the point of view of the television advertising industry (Table 1).

Table 1: Challenges for TV advertising in digital, connected era

Strengths	Weaknesses
Reach	Power Struggles
Impact	Lack of knowledge
Branding	Resistance to innovation

Opportunities	Threats
Data gathering & targeting	Audience measurement
New advertising formats	

This part of the research showed that, in Flanders, TV is still seen as a strong medium that enables advertisers to reach a broad audience and convey the right sentiment about the brand. The media professionals who were interviewed also indicated different opportunities for advertisers to expand or enhance TV advertising through new advertising formats, as well as ways of gathering data that would allow more targeted and per-

3 Greet Dekocker (Director) and Viviane Eeckman (Strategic manager)

4 Benny Salaets (Vice president content management)

5 Ben Jansen (Commercial director)

6 Bart Decoster (Commercial director)

sonalised forms of advertising. However, power struggles within the TV value network - with distributors/operators gaining power and challenging broadcasters - are slowing down the decision-making process and contributing to the advertisers' lack of knowledge about the possibilities that digital and connected television offers.

In addition, the advertising industry relies on a type of audience measurement that is primarily based on exposure and might not be accurate compared to the assessment of actual viewing behaviour. This results in a more passive role for the advertising industry when it comes to innovating television advertising formats. Questions can then be raised as to whether the audience will make the transition from being analogue viewers to being more interactive TV users, since the industry does not provide content that makes use of digital opportunities such as interactivity and personalisation. Additionally, we should ask whether, if local actors (broadcasters, distributors, advertisers) are slow in adopting these innovations, it might provide international players such as Google (who are more experienced with targeted advertising) with an advantage when they enter the Flemish market⁷.

4. TECHNOLOGICAL AFFORDANCES

As mentioned earlier, the changes in the value network underpinning television are closely related to the technological affordances of digital television and possible changes in audience behaviour, audience measurement and advertising. In what follows, we attempt, therefore, to provide an overview of the affordances of digital and connected television for the (old and new) actors in the television value network. Important concepts for the research so far have been those of interactivity and targeted advertising. Privacy and user (dis)empowerment are important as well, since digitisation in general gives users the opportunity to increase control over where, how and when they watch television content, but might at the same time also raise questions concerning the protection of privacy (as data can be gathered from users more easily).

Both the Internet and digital TV are networked digital technologies, with an emphasis on personalisation and interconnectivity. In January 2011 CNN came out with the finding, based on a DisplaySearch report, that

⁷ More experts and advertisers will be interviewed, as well as new and international players entering the market, such as Google, Netflix, Apple etc., in order to provide a more in-depth view of the Flemish market.

21% of all TVs sold in 2010 had Internet capacity. Yet the same article also states that the technology is not very user-friendly and has, apparently, not yet enjoyed widespread use. Videonet reported in 2011 that 70% of Samsung televisions being marketed are connected TV sets, meaning they are Internet-enabled. These figures indicate that the television industry is of the belief that TV will become an increasingly digital and connected medium and is investing accordingly. As noted earlier, this means that there is, at least theoretically, a shift from a one-way mass media model to a two-way interactive model (Carlson, 2006: 97-98), or to media of mass-self communication (Castells, 2009: 70). Earlier, we looked at the obstacles that may hamper the efforts of actors within Flemish television to innovate and adopt these technological affordances. It is also important to note, however, that the audience's empowerment is still restricted by the technical and structural limitations of the digital technology and by the industry itself (Pyungho and Harmeet, 2002: 226).

In general, audiences now have more access to different media that all compete for audience attention. This involves media that have become more specialised in order to be more relevant to certain target groups. When looking at television, digitisation has also led to more channel capacity, allowing specialised broadcasters (or narrowcasters) to appeal to specific, differentiated audience interests. Theoretically, this means that more content is available to the same number of viewers, which leads to a fragmentation or differentiation of the audience. This evolution can be very useful for advertisers, as advertising messages can relate to specific audience interests. It also opens up possibilities for more targeted forms of TV advertising (Barnes and Thompson, 1994: 77).

However, fragmentation of audiences, time-shifted viewing, downloading, Video On Demand, combined media usage (e.g. second screen) and other, more interactive applications are threats to the accuracy of audience measurement as it is currently organised. Napoli (2001: 66-68) predicts that these developments will cause deviation between 'predicted audiences' (target group as determined by the broadcaster and media planner), 'measured audiences' and 'actual audiences'. The reason that these would deviate is because audience measurement is challenged by digital opportunities and the affordances that digital technologies offer.

The commodification of the audience (see Smythe, 1977) makes audience measurement a crucial concern to the commercial media. Through audience measurement, the watching-labour of the audience is sold to the ad-

vertisers (Bermejo, 2009: 136-137). Barnes and Thompson (1994: 78) state that audience measurement is essential because it registers audience behaviour and the changes that might occur in this behaviour due to technological or socio-economic alterations. Audience measurement is important for advertisers so that they can plan and buy television airtime for marketing communication. The challenge for actors in the television value network is that, currently, audience measurement is too narrowly defined to represent the different ways in which the digital, contemporary television audience can be valuable (Seles, 2010: 5).

This study also considers the ways in which the technological affordances of digital, connected TV can be integrated, as well as policy issues such as privacy, data-gathering and data-sharing. These can then be linked to changes and opportunities in audience or user behaviour and to the consequences for TV advertising. These data will be gathered through literature and expert interviews with broadcasting and Internet professionals, policy-makers and advertisers, and also with consumer organisations.

5. THE ROLE(S) OF THE USER

This last part of the project focuses on the consequences of convergence and digitisation for the role of the user as an actor in the TV value network. We look at the changes within the value network in relation to the technological affordances, in order to assess whether users are more in control of their TV consumption and, if so, at what cost. This means we will look at the TV value network in relation to user empowerment and privacy but also at the perception of the audience as a passive or engaged audience. Not only has the way audiences consume media changed, the way that media industries approach their respective audiences has also altered. On the one hand, the audience has become more elusive and less predictable, while, on the other hand, the industry now has the opportunity to measure feedback and preferences through digital media (Napoli, 2008: 2).

Much has changed since the television entered people's homes and television viewers were seen as a passive, homogeneous group. The passive audience fits into the traditional media model where, with traditional (analogue and linear) television, what is sold is not the audience itself but the attention or time the audience devotes to TV content. Bermejo (2009: 136) states that audience 'attention' is often replaced by 'exposure' because exposure can be quantified more easily. This means that the

'opportunity' for audiences to see the advertising is sufficient basis for advertisers to calculate their Return On Investment (ROI). In the current digital media environment, the quest for audience measurement and the commodification of the audience leads to a dichotomy: on the one hand, there is a strong need on the industry's part to work with one standard currency (exposure) that enables comparison, while, on the other hand, measurement techniques should be able to evolve with media technology (Bermejo 2009: 137). According to Leavitt (2011: 2-7) media audiences are valued by the TV and advertising industry on the strength of one type of behaviour (watching TV), rather than on the range of practices audiences conduct beyond viewing. Leavitt argues that TV audiences' behaviour has also changed in relation to the shift from online communities (strangers meeting because of an interest in a mutual subject or TV show) to Social Networking Sites or SNS (connecting with people you know and sharing your viewing practices and habits with them).

According to Napoli (2008: 19-24), the concept 'audience' needs to take into account audience autonomy: the increased control users have over the conditions of their media consumption. This involves the availability of content distributed across different and interactive platforms, which enables audience members to access this content via the platform they choose, when they choose to. Applied to television, this means that viewers can access content through their mobile phones, their laptops and tablets. But it also involves the use of non-linear television services, offered through set-top boxes, which give the viewers the option of watching television programmes outside the linear broadcasting schedule. This increased control is undermining the traditional way of audience conceptualisation, as well as offering a different perspective on audiences as active and interacting users.

For Leavitt (2011: 11), watching television is not only a social activity in the home environment, but also online: participating in the event with audience members all over the world is important. In that respect, Nielsen research in America (2011) has shown that TV viewers are increasingly using social media to engage with their television set, with 55% of male social media users and 45% of female users talking about television. Social television viewing should include opening up the media ecosystem and releasing content online (possibly subscription-based or pay-per-view) to connect content to social elements that enable viewing and sharing. When we look at the situation in Flanders, 98,2% of TV owners have a TV in the living room. 26,9% usually watch alone while 53,1% usually watch with

others and 20% watch as often alone as with others. Importantly, 65.5% of Flemish TV owners combine watching television with other activities. One in ten Flemish citizens says they watch TV online⁸ and 1% watch TV on their mobile⁹ (IBBT - iLab.o, 2010: 12-18).

It is important to note here as well that audiences have always engaged with content even before the arrival of digital media. What has ultimately changed is the capacity to monitor and analyse the engagement or interaction. According to Seles (2010: 4-19), the advantage here is that the behaviour of audience members is networked, instantaneous and visible. This enables the industry to recognise and quantify the cultural value of content by evaluating why people watch TV and looking at how audience members express themselves. Seles also underlines the importance of digital interfaces and two-way communication for viewers, and argues that, since viewers leave traces of their tastes and preferences using digital interfaces, the industry should figure out how to create a better viewing experience using these viewer interactions. Leavitt also pleads for the recognition of social behaviour when talking about audiences and the development of: *“iterative and flexible media experiences that are able to cross platforms and cater to various individuals participating to a multitude of services.”* (Leavitt, 2011: 9).

Napoli argues that audience measurement based on exposure fails to grasp “[...] *the distribution of the audience attention across the full range of content options with a sufficient degree of accuracy and reliability to satisfy the needs of media buyers.*” (Napoli, 2008: 22). This fragmentation of the audience requires the television industry to make sense of different audience metrics depending on the medium used. An additional challenge is, thus, to determine the value of audiences on different platforms. This raises the question of whether a standardised ratings system can account for the diversity of viewing options. The assumption that audience measurement systems should be passive and should not necessarily require input from viewers can also be questioned (Seles, 2010: 9-12). In this respect, Napoli revises the notion of the audience at work (see Smythe, 1977) and extends it to include the creative work of the audience, with the Internet enabling many-to-many communication. Napoli (2010: 509-513) argues that creative work is also economically relevant for the media industry and online players such as Facebook or YouTube, because they generate advertising income from content produced by audience members. In their turn, au-

8 PC streaming on a daily to monthly basis.

9 Mobile streaming on a daily to monthly basis.

dience members also contribute to marketing and advertising content, for example by engaging in online word-of-mouth communication and interaction. Napoli thus concludes that audiences work for both advertisers and media organisations.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this chapter we have underlined the need for further research to provide a more in-depth analysis of digital television and its value network, technological affordances and audience. Empirical research is very important here. The next stage will therefore be to identify appropriate methodologies (living lab, proxy/prototypes, interviews) that will enable us to gain relevant information about the situation in Flanders. The results of the research mentioned above and of this empirical user research should provide insight into user behaviour and the ways in which it might affect the value network underlying commercial television. The main goal will be to investigate the possibility of striking a balance between an empowered audience and a sustainable television industry.

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Sound Studies. An Emerging Perspective in Media and Communication Studies

Heiner Stahl

Sound is a decisive element of media routines. The auditory experience shapes the daily consumption of media products and leaves its mark on the practices of navigating through social networks and mediatised environments. The ringtones of mobile phones, the Skype plop-tone or the beep linked to the comment function in the Facebook chatroom announce procedures that are dominated by the presences and possibilities of technological means. In considering the politics of cultural identity, it has to be acknowledged that the competing practices of music, sound and noise are a constructing pillar. When talking about music politics and private and public broadcasting, we speak about figures for viewers and listeners, about artists, songs, TOP 40 shows or the process of community-building through local radio. Only very recently has broadcasting history started to bother with the sound of radio, and become interested in the acoustics of frequencies and the overall auditory adventure of listening (Stahl, 2010; Badenoch et al., 2012).

Incorporating sound into the domain of media and communication studies is an effort that requires disentangling lines of cross-reference bound to acoustic events, auditory exploration and auditive practices. Building an angle between this and the broader 'picture' of mass media production, dissemination and consumption reveals the connectivity of senses in a mediatised world. Listening and hearing are something we do with media, with its products, its applications and its texts.

1. WHAT IS SOUND STUDIES ANYWAY?

Sound Studies is a label that covers a variety of approaches that are linked to a general interest: to examine the social and cultural prominence of listening, of hearing, of eavesdropping. In this respect, Sound Studies deals with auditory experience and acoustic events, with communities negoti-

ating cultural material that can be heard and listened to, with the flow of music, the diverse impacts of acoustic information being constantly emitted into social, cultural and media environments.

In other words, Sound Studies has a stake in understanding the processes of storing auditory memory, as well as a deep commitment to mapping out the diversity of hearing practices. As illustrated in Table 1, hearing and listening are modes of shaping and integrating sound. Both are related to the tactics of fostering social cohesion or containing dissolution. Word diction and voices figure as meaningful and significant aspects in this constellation. Thus, approaches concerning sound explore the connection of media to the means and technology of sound creation. This certainly applies to the soundtracks of films and extends to the capacity of acoustic information to mark and delimit territory in a soundscape.

Table 1: The diversity of hearing practices as mapped out in Sound Studies

SHAPING OF SOUND	PRACTICES IN SOUND
the body politics of music	auditory memory and public spheres
voices and word diction	practices of hearing
technologies of sound creation and reproduction	soundtrack and film studies
sound as a social and cultural frame/territory	sound as a marker of difference
soundscapes, cities and media	sociology of listening

When adopting an auditory perspective on place, space and interaction, we face the challenge that media and communication are 'reading' disciplines, fully aligned to the visuality of letters and numbers. They are dominated by the eye, by the visual. In this visual space, as the Canadian media theorist Marshall McLuhan (Carpenter and McLuhan, 1960; McLuhan in Norden, 1969) has claimed, eyesight is the main sense for detecting information. Reading photography, newspapers, blogs, television programmes, documentaries, films etc. has massively shaped our way of understanding the interaction of media and men, their interrelatedness.

Sound Studies and media and communication studies may become fully connected when radio broadcasting, in its analogue, digital and virtual

forms, returns anew to the centre of academic concern. In contrast to radio plays becoming rather unfashionable, the representational strategies of speaking publicly, of voices at microphones (Goodale, 2011), talking about word and music diction are gaining relevance. In fact, this interest extends to music displayed on web 2.0 sharing platforms as well as the shaping of the sonic ambience of places.

2. OVERVIEW OF SOUND STUDIES: KEY CONCEPTS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

In the first issue of the journal *Culture*, Raymond Murray Schafer, a Canadian composer and music professor based in Toronto, outlined a theoretical framework that is centred around the term soundscape (Schafer, 1973: 15-52). It stands for the acoustic shape of a landscape and the auditory experience it provides. Schafer distinguishes sounds in relation to their occurrence and their modes of production. If sound is rooted in natural sources or is created manually, then this sort of acoustic information is an element of a *hi-fi* soundscape. A sound that needs amplification to gain presence forms the opposite conditions and pertains to a *lo-fi* soundscape. In terms of an industrial site, a generating plant, a car engine, a siren or a horn, this approach is well suited to examining a specific sonosphere of locations.

The second major aspect in Schafer's toolkit is the management of the acoustic and auditory shape of indoor and outdoor public spaces. He suggests examining the most comfortable ambient sound for the areas and districts of cities by applying an interdisciplinary methodological mix, as for example interviews, field observations, discussion groups, questionnaires, recordings, noise measures with a subsequent quantitative reporting. The aim of Schafer's multidisciplinary effort is not to quieten down urban space, but to explore public means to maintain and regulate acoustic comfort zones. We can reconnect Schafer's approach to the performative settings and frames of public debate and discourses that are most intriguing to media and communication studies. In general, Schafer's work is linked to the distinction between *hi-fi* and *lo-fi* soundscapes, as well as his idea to implement strategies of acoustic filtering in order to manage the auditory dimension of public and private spaces. Schafer's keywords are soundscape, landscape, acoustic ecology and the composition of urban space.

Sounds can be taken to mark the interaction of communities. Regarding

'auditory markers', a conceptualisation developed by the French social historian Alain Corbin (1994), it is important to become sensitive towards the social dimension of hearing. The continuity of a specific sound serves as knots of human interaction, they are nodal points for living in a community. The acoustic presence of bells in the everyday life of French farmers structures social time and strengthens communal rituals. The acoustic and auditory experience of the countryside provides the glue to understand the social, cultural, confessional and symbolic functions of sound. On this point, Corbin offers access, via the audio channel, to analysing community-making/preserving on a larger timescale. This adds a sensory dimension to a perspective that is focusing on what qualifies and maintains a community in transitional phases. It is certainly important to note that 'auditory markers' are symbolic units and entities that delimit social space. Markers, social practices and territory are the terms that characterise Corbin's approach.

Within the world of media theory, the interpretations of Marshall McLuhan's claim about media being extensions of men has condensed the notion that devices and technological solutions are more important than the senses themselves. Devices for media production and reception are gaining the function of prostheses and artificial limbs. Generating an arsenal of media theory which spills over into catchy concepts, his distinction between acoustic and visual space (McLuhan in Norden, 1969) appears to be rather simplistic. 'Acoustic space' is the area of face-to-face communication, of story-telling, of maintaining tradition and tribal knowledge in non-literate social formations. Visual space is where modern men are defined and branded. Printing technology and the techniques of projection have edified a media galaxy of reading and seeing in which literature, press, television and cinema are the satellites.

Sound and media are entangled. This is the case when a user has been accessing the acoustic space of the internet with a modem. In addition, it becomes of importance when one reflects on the means of telematic or cloud communication like Skype, RepTel or the many other means of telecommunication. In this sense, in this updated notion, acoustic space is a concept that integrates machine-men interfaces, for example when thinking about mobile phones. When it comes to measuring and mapping mediated spaces, media environments and domestic landscapes of usages, such a perspective is proficient in reconsidering McLuhan's line of partition between acoustic space, language, direct speech and the variety of technological interfaces.

Museums are public places of memory. They offer audio guide features to stroll and navigate through the display. Media and communication studies can contribute to a broader understanding of processes concerning the politics of remembrance when accepting that the auditory layers are burned into the collective memory. Retrospection is a conflict-generating arena of competing discourses within society, but it is worth including the sensory dimension of these modes of self-imagining community, cohesion and dissent. Regarding this aspect, the cultural historian Mark M. Smith (2001) has looked at the practices of remembering the American Civil War. He analysed the performative shape of songs sung by troops, and moved on to the sensory dimension of the construction of identity. Smith processed the ego-documents of soldiers, officers, nurses and journalists, such as diaries, letters and novels, as a set of empirical data. And as a by-product of his cultural history approach, he evolved a sense for the senses. This offers a different access to reading sources. Understanding the practices of fighting and making war along the lines of political decision-making simply points to a linear narrative of what has actually happened. Smiths' interest in 'auditory memory', in sensory history as a whole, provides an alternative spin to history and reveals content and social and cultural knowledge that would otherwise have been dropped.

Media and communications studies in their present shape would hardly appreciate the body as a medium or an apparatus of communication. As our discipline evolved from examining the press, from understanding the dissemination of news and information and from an entitlement to explain the receptive practices of consumers, we left out the body and the senses as means of constructing reality. Jean-Luc Nancy, a French philosopher, supplies us with ideas that link a (meta-) philosophical approach to the tactics of making the 'world' through factual experience. From this perspective, the body is a zone of resonance, a membrane that converts and transfers vibrations of the outside environment to the interface of perception (Nancy, 2010: 40). Roland Barthes, a French literary professor, looks upon a text as an '*echo chamber*' (Barthes, 1977: 145), a view that is just a short step away from Nancy's terminology. The rhythm of a city or the flow of mediatised information are pulsing, hitting the skin, the sensorial surface of a multimodal detecting device called a human being. Membrane, resonance, silence, voice and vibration are central to understanding Nancy's approach towards the interlinkage of the self and the construction of the world mediated through mass media.

Within the discipline of media and communication studies, media history

is, on a larger scale, a silent zone. Scholars reflect on the rotation press only in terms of anchoring and cheapening the production of newspapers. But the immense noise connected to printing is neglected and ignored. The media history of record labels is usually a story of sales benchmarks, of cultural taste and its negotiation, and of artists and musical styles. Jonathan Sterne (2003), an American cultural historian of media technology, brought the sensory experience of recording and the technological innovation provided by studio equipment back into media studies. Sound is shaped by means of recording, by the aesthetic of studios and the capacity of producers. Music can be notated on sheets, and is read out by the eye. Sound is pressed on a wax cylinder or on vinyl, and can be heard. Hearing and listening are techniques of reception. The debate about the cultural norms of „correct listening“ provides a great deal of material that gives us an idea about the handling of new types of media and its products. Sterne's (2003) claim on the diverse logics of sound reproduction technology has become a landmark in media history.

In his book *Le Son*, Michel Chion (1998), a French composer of modern classical music, reassessed sound as an important field of research, particularly within film and cinema studies. The sonic ambience of films is a distinct layer of interpretation. Chion borrows the term 'acousmatic' from the French musique concrete composer Pierre Schaeffer. On the one hand, it illustrates a scenario in which a character or an environment is to be identified with a branded sound. On the other hand, a hidden sound is a dramatic feature that refers to the caving lines within a plot, before the story even evolves towards its peak. Chion's approach is also appropriate for analysing the ambient sound of Digital Games, their main characters, landscapes and playing situations. It is worth keeping the term 'acousmatic' in mind in order to understand the positioning of sound, melody and hook lines in film plots and the designing of ambiances within media products relating to gaming culture. The Super Mario Theme, created in 1985 by the Japanese composer Kōji Kondō at Nintendo's Division of Entertainment Analysis & Development, signals such an angle as very promising.

Working at the *Centre de Recherche sur l'Espace Sonore et l'Environnement Urbain* (CRESSON) in Grenoble, Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue (2005) linked everyday sounds to sonic experience and the social interaction of communities. They focus on the sonic effects of sound on listeners. Their colleague, Jean-Paul Thibaud, is much more concerned with sound walks, the acoustic management of public spaces and the auditory shape

of urban constellations (Thibaud, 2011). In this respect, promenading is a strategy of observation in the field that media and communication studies researchers need once again to reassess.

Mladen Dolar (2007), a Slovenian cultural theorist, explores the aesthetics of voices. This is an aspect of political communication (Goodale, 2011), of making news and of hosting TV and radio broadcasting programmes, that is widely neglected in media and communication studies. Dolar draws lines between voices on airwaves and voices in public speeches. He points out that the acoustic performance of voices generates diverging layers of relevance. These can be framed as elements of dramaturgy, of performances and of claims for political and charismatic authority. As the totalitarian usage of the voice is not linked to the dimension of the sacral and the ritual, it needs to imitate and to pretend to do so (Dolar, 2007: 158). The voice in public and mediated speeches, transmission technology and the aesthetic means of political communication are prominent aspects within Dolar's approach.

In his piece about the five senses, the French ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1976) examined the myths of native tribes. He reconstructs the subject in relation to the sensory dimensions of life. Lévi-Strauss postulates an auditory limen. He differentiates a noise-making subject from a noise-making tool, and a noise-receiving object with particularly trained techniques of hearing. Auditory symbols have the remarkable capacity to instantly evoke two other sensory codifications, the olfactory (smelling) and the tactile (touching) (Lévi-Strauss, 1976: 203). Lévi-Strauss uses constellations of contrast. What is imagined to be heard in a specific shape and what remains silent and for what particular reason these are the questions that lead Lévi-Strauss to take competing meanings of codification into account. He stresses that a myth, a symbol and a set of practices can be understood at least in a positive as well as a negative direction. This provides the opportunity to reshape the processes of transformation and to make sense of a specific way of imagining a social world, in constructing a virtual world of sensory knowledge.

In Table 2 below, the theorists and the key concepts in Sound Studies are summarised:

Table 2: Summary of theorists and key concepts of Sound Studies

Raymond Murray Schafer (1973)	soundscape, landscape, urban space
Alain Corbin (1994)	auditory marker – social space
Marshall McLuhan (1969)	acoustic vs. visual space
Mark M. Smith (2001)	auditory memory – practices of remembrance
Jean-Luc Nancy (2010)	body, resonance, senses
Jonathan Sterne (2003)	sound reproduction, technology and media history
Michel Chion (1998)	sound, tone and auditive composition in films
Jean-François Augoyard (2005)	sonic experience, everyday sounds
Mladen Dolar (2007)	voice, transmission and political communication
Claude Lévi-Strauss (1976)	senses, myths, liminality, codification

3. CONCLUSION

Media and communication studies is a ‘reading’ discipline. This is true, of course, in terms of articles and books to be cited, transcripts of interviews, forming categories to register Web 2.0 profiles. Doing content and sequence analysis of TV programmes is bound to involve reading moving pictures in order to mark the flow of the programme.

If Raymond Williams (1974) or John Fiske and John Hartley (1978) would have had their ‘ears wide open’ and integrated a ‘listening mode’ into their texts, this might have paved the way for media studies to be done in different ways at an early stage. Or taking Roland Barthes’ (1964) myth of everyday life as an example. He was so engaged in understanding the stories behind advertisements or photos on the covers of magazines that his interest shaped our visual sense of ‘semiology’, of the signifier and the signified. This is a story of what has been left out by these groundbreaking studies, what aspects were not considered to be relevant. How would our discipline have evolved, had the listening experience been assigned a place at an earlier stage? This angle, generally speaking, offers sound theoretical and methodological arguments for further research. Such an interest in

what the senses do with any given information can certainly be extended to the capacities of smelling, tasting and touching. Sound Studies offers a perspective on media and communication studies that takes the architecture of the senses seriously. It favours an insight into the interaction with the environment that integrates the individual means of managing sound into the analysis of media and mass communication.

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SECTION TWO

JOURNALISM



**SUMMER SCHOOL
SPIRIT**

PHOTO: ILUJA T. TOMANIĆ

In Praise of the Passive Media

François Heinderyckx

Predictions about future developments in the area of media and communication tend to be radical and to announce revolutionary discontinuities. The hype is, in most cases, part of a strategy to attract attention - no one seems interested in lukewarm analysis of what lies ahead. As a result, the dominant voices are over-emphasising 'the end of' a number of current realities and the 'advent of' something completely different, and either very exciting, or utterly frightening. These prophecies leave very little space, if any, for doubt. They are, for the most part, not laying out possible trends, but announcing the future state of reality. The changes described (often in great detail) are framed as exogenous phenomena that largely escape our control, similar to climate change or the depleting reserves of oil. Moreover, these assertive predictions are deeply imbedded in a techno-deterministic scheme, which obsessively transforms any emerging technology into something that will unavoidably be adopted on a massive scale and will bring radical change in its wake. The initial round of such predictions is usually launched by the industry, in the hope that presenting a particular innovation as a game-changer that will be overwhelmingly adopted will prepare the market for the new products and services to come. It will create favourable conditions for take-up when it becomes available, and even create some anticipation.

Innovation in the area of information and communication technologies is particularly prone to radical prophecies with these types of spectacular trajectories. Looking back at the vast majority of predictions in this area over the past thirty years or so is disconcerting and often amusing. The domain of e-business, e-commerce and e-government is particularly subject to drastic claims that fail to materialise in real life: the end of shops and stores (why bother if you can order online?), the end of offices (so much more efficient to telework from home), even the end of corruption and opaque governance (make everything available online and transparency will empower citizens to exert full democratic control). Prophecies are also remarkably cyclical: changes are announced, later found to be

inaccurate, then a few years later reiterated, either with no reference to the earlier predictions (futurology is focused on the future and as a result tends to suffer from selective amnesia) or with explicit reference to earlier predictions, describing them as simply premature.

Media are a particular case in point. Anyone researching media history will tell you that the invention and take-up of each new medium was invariably seen as causing, soon after, the end of existing media. Who would want to listen to the radio when television adds moving pictures to the experience? However, all these doomsday predictions were proved unfounded. A new medium does impact the media ecosystem, sometimes significantly, but so far the successive 'new media' have combined and recombined more than they have substituted. Of course, the fact that so far new media have not completely killed off existing media does not set any kind of rule. It is just, at this point, a recurrent observation that should at least encourage experts speculating on the future to exert some caution. But many do not.

One of the areas in which contentious predictions recur relates to the alleged antagonism between 'passive' and 'interactive' media. These discussions generally take for granted that passive means outdated, is associated with legacy media inherited from an era when media were confined to a passive mode by relying on the crude technology of the time. In other words, the assumption is that legacy media are passive not by choice, but because they could not, at the time they were conceived, be anything else. Just like pre-antibiotics medicine could only do so much to fight infections.

I wish to argue that these presumptions are unfounded and misleading. If we accept that the industry itself is perpetuating this way of looking at media, then it is actually deceiving itself into making incorrect choices in product development and marketing. The presumption that the masses crave for interactivity and feel nothing but frustration while using passive media leads to a number of fundamental derived conjectures that aggravate our misrepresentation of the situation.

Describing traditional media as 'passive' is confusing and abusive, particularly in a context where this is seen as derogatory. First and foremost, it is not the *media* which are supposedly passive, but their *audience*. Though speaking of 'passive audience media' might seem cumbersome, it would at least match the signified reality. Moreover, none of the existing forms

of traditional media is passively received by its audience. Reading a newspaper, for example, is anything but passive: scanning headlines, flipping pages, deciding what to read and what to skip, going back and forth, and possibly writing to the editor, all constitute active ways of receiving media content.

But advocates of the end of passive media do not so much contrast the passive with the active. Instead, they contrast the legacy 'passive' media with the new 'interactive' media. This choice of terminology is, in all likelihood, a key source of confusion and misunderstanding. Interactivity is a notoriously tricky term. In the context of media, it is usually associated with the shift from the one-way communication of the broadcasting model to a two-way model where the audience is at long last given the opportunity to communicate back. The notion of feedback came as a first attempt to model the capacity given to members of the audience to communicate back to a particular medium and, by doing so, potentially to influence that medium and the content it would broadcast subsequently. Early examples of such modelling include Wilbur Schramm's 'inferential feedback' from the audience to the media (Schramm, 1954), and were part of a larger movement promoting an active role for the audience. These models constituted the backbone of the functionalist approach to media studies, which challenged competing views that portrayed an audience that was passive and thus vulnerable to manipulation by means of mass media exposure.

Audience members always had the capacity to feed back directly (letters to the editor, phone in) or indirectly (buying one particular newspaper less often or watching a different channel). But these means of action by the audience in respect of the media either required some effort (e.g. writing a letter) or were so indirect that they required some complex process of interpretation on the part of the media. Digital technologies brought a range of feedback channels which, technically, are part of the same infrastructure as the means of broadcasting. Digital media offer the ghost of a two-way communication system, but in an utterly unbalanced way.

As a first example, anyone reading a newspaper article on a website can generally post a comment. Not only are the numbers of people making such comments very few as compared to the overall readership, they are generally not interacting with the medium, the author or even the editorial team. Although, in the early days of news websites, readers were encouraged to write to the author (just a click and one could e-mail), most "com-

ments" sections are now more of a bar-room where comments are read and sometimes commented on in turn by other readers. Even if there is usually some level of moderation (essentially to avoid abusive language), the audience is not so much interacting with the medium as it is interacting with itself, and within a very small group too.

As a second example of the so-called interactivity of the digital media, audiences can make themselves heard during television or radio programmes: asking questions, making comments or voting is made very simple and encouraged by means of coloured buttons on the remote control, mobile phone texting, e-mailing, micro-blogging or social networks.

These few examples reveal the wide range of realities that are usually described as 'interactivity'. These forms of interactivity can be grouped in different categories based on the three traditions of interactivity research identified by McMillan (2002): human-to-human interaction, human-to-documents interaction, and human-to-system interaction (derived from Szuprowicz, 1995).

The 'human-to-human' tradition can be transposed into the 'audience-to-audience' interaction, describing situations where members of the audience communicate and interact with one another. Discussion forums, groups on social networks, fan clubs and micro-blogging posts are all examples of such interactions. Though the numbers can be impressive, it is generally the case that only a very small proportion of the audience of any particular medium or content will engage in such activities.

The 'user-to-document' strand of interactions could be subdivided into two groups. First, the 'audience-to-editors' interaction relates to any direct communication or action by a member of the audience aimed at individuals identified as producers or editors or anyone accountable for particular media content. This is the digital expansion of the letter to the editor: e-mails, online surveys, comment boxes, polls of all kinds, micro-blogging. This interaction is still at the level of human-to-human, although it might in many cases be human-to-institution. In addition, in many cases these new channels are made available in order to promote the perception of openness to suggestions, critiques and comments from the audience. Whether anyone is really listening is often questionable. This could be seen not so much as a shift from one-way towards two-way communication, but rather towards two-opposite-direction-one-way communication. It is not a one-way street being enlarged to allow two-way communication, but a

second one-way street generally built in parallel to the first, going in the opposite direction, and much, much narrower. Second, a significant array of 'audience-to-content' interaction has developed whereby the audience is increasingly in a position to contribute or even to offer content that can become part of the flow of content shared by the media. One can vote for contenders or make choices for the next episode of some fiction, one can send pictures or news material to the newsroom. Here again, nothing is completely new, except that it has become much easier, faster and more frequent. The very notion of user-generated content (UGC) did not exist in the pre-digital age, although it was already possible for anyone to send in photos or films or documents. The content created by ordinary members of the audience can either be fed into the output of the media (co-creation) or, in most cases, just into dedicated segments of the online platforms of these media, or possibly be circulated by the user, who can circumvent the media by sharing content on social platforms and other online structures designed to easily share and circulate content.

The 'user-to-system' tradition could be transposed into 'audience-to-media' interaction where 'media' is understood as the physical reality of the media, the objects enabling the audience to access content. Even the earliest media formats offered significant interactive features. The newspaper reader has always enjoyed the capacity to turn pages back and forth, to scan headlines and decide what to read and what to skip, to start reading then skip to another section, all of which can be seen as early examples of audience-to-media interaction. Interestingly, the newspaper is very much unchanged in that respect, even though it is now available in other formats that allow new ways of interaction. Television, though much more recent, has evolved significantly over time. One of the key steps in increased interactivity was the advent of the remote control, which, along with the growing number of channels available, increased the level of interaction, though at the most basic but crucial level of switching channels. Later came videotext/teletext, then video recorders, and with digital television came time-shifted viewing and video-on-demand. These particular instances of interaction are limited to an increased flexibility in terms of 'when', 'how' and 'where' one can access content. In the case of radio and television, it is a decisive step to free these media from their linear nature. This is often seen as an improvement, because linearity is seen as a structural drawback of broadcast media. Therefore, the development and the take-up of these new features, because they could free the audience from the linearity of the media, are said to cause the demise of radio and television as we know them.

Overall, the so-called interactive features associated with media, be it at the level of hardware or of content, are given prominent visibility in the institutional and promotional discourse of media outlets. They are, above all, a sign of modernity. The pace of change and the short life cycle of information and communication technologies have dragged the entire media industry along. Media outlets feel compelled to announce new features and new possibilities, often just hopping on the back of the latest trendy innovation. This is mostly done in a reactive and opportunistic manner. Media seem to consider that they have to have a presence in and make use of just about any popular platform and technology. The drawback of such an approach is the lack of medium- or long-term strategy. The industry is under the influence of technology, while it would be expected to be a driving force in innovations that should serve their long-term goals. Interactivity should not be an end, but a means to an end. In a number of cases, media outlets are even seen as impeding new features, particularly when innovation conflicts with business models. Issues related to rights and intellectual property constitute a major source of such conflicts. News aggregators and specialised search engines have clashed with newspaper publishers in the courts. Web-based catch-up television is increasingly made impossible across national borders.

Interactive features are also helping media reshape their relationship with their audience. They enhance a sense of proximity and accessibility. Not only can audience members feed back, they are strongly encouraged to do so. Media organisations want to show that they are accessible and open and that they take their audience seriously. New buzzwords carefully selected by strategic marketing crews are spreading like viruses among media. Old-fashioned expressions like 'feedback', 'write' or even 'communicate' are eclipsed by sophisticated, yet undefined concepts such as 'participation', 'conversation' or the ubiquitous 'engagement'. Media employees are to 'engage with the audience', which involves discussing, involving and listening. But, of course, this can backfire when the audience follows up on the invitation only to find that no one is (really) listening. When people take the time to communicate, to send a message, a suggestion or even some content, and receive, in return, either a generic acknowledgement of receipt, or nothing at all, they feel neglected, snubbed, ignored, deceived or even humiliated. As a result, the audience will feel not only distance, but some level of hostility towards the medium. As such, many of these vectors of interactivity are designed not so much to interact, but just to drive up traffic on the web-site or on all existing platforms, often in a desperate attempt, at last, to generate significant revenues from

advertising and from premium-rate phone-ins and text messaging.

Because everything interactive is presumably connoted positively, media outlets not only promote the many opportunities they offer in that area, they also boast about how popular these features are. Numbers of members or supporters on social media, numbers of votes received during a contest, numbers of micro-blog postings during a particular programme. Those numbers are very difficult for the audience to interpret. Because they are large numbers, they are presumably impressive and provide implicit evidence of the massive success of the interactive feature, and of the media outlet. But they can also be completely misleading. When considered in relation to the overall size of the audience of a particular medium or content, the statistics of interactive features are much less impressive. They are even less impressive when one considers not the number of postings or messages, but the actual number of individuals involved, which is invariably much lower, given that those who engage do so repeatedly. In any case, it appears that those audience members who choose to take up the interactive features form a very small minority. And even within this vocal minority, one can question just how engaged one should be considered to be after, for example, merely clicking a 'like' button on a social network page.

This does not mean that the phenomenon is not very significant or that these features are a failure, or that there will not be more participation at a later stage (this is all still very new). But it means that we must resist the temptation to exaggerate and generalise. We must rebuff those who claim that the audience is now actively receiving media content, enthusiastically embracing every opportunity to interact, and shifting towards a mode of consumption based on co-construction and all-out online social interaction. This is simply untrue. The issue, then, is whether these announcements are just premature, whether it is just a matter of time before these trends, which affect only a fringe of early adopters, gradually become widespread; or will the hype of interactivity soon plateau near its current level of adoption, while the rest of the audience remains unconcerned? Are we facing a generational shift in practice, or will the enthusiasm remain steadfastly confined to a vocal minority? In public debates, questioning the advent of ever more interactive media has become iconoclastic. It means breaking a taboo and siding with technophobic conservatives. It is denying the obvious and the inevitable. There is no room left for debate in this area.

One way to balance the debate is to identify arguments and realities which support the idea of a healthy future for the not-so-interactive media, to find evidence of the resilience of the passive media. First, we must acknowledge the fact that not everyone is interested in adding interactivity to his or her media experience. Not now, not ever, or perhaps very occasionally, and only for specific aims. In fact, the relative 'passivity' of media reception is most likely what many find appealing. Likewise, a sizable audience is not disturbed by the 'linearity' of legacy media, and is in fact very attached to it. The end of the linear media is generally seen as a major benefit of digital and interactive technologies. At long last, audiences will be freed from the crippling curse of linearity by being granted access to the content of their choosing, at a time of their choosing, using the device of their choosing. What one wants, when and where one wants it. And a little bit more, given that the arsenal of modern media includes a number of ways to reach out to 'users' to anticipate their needs. Media will find you to 'push' content to you or to notify you, wherever you are. This constant solicitation is part of the interactivity ecosystem, and, here again, it is assumed that it is everybody's dream come true.

The virtues of linearity are utterly and unfairly overlooked. Linear media, because they are offered at a particular moment and in a carefully prepared sequence, require some discipline and some concentration on the part of the audience. In turn, they limit distractions and encourage, or at least allow, attention, immersion even, and precious opportunities for contemplation. Linear media are also more likely to foster loyalty in an audience that enters into a pattern of regular, scheduled exposure. Moreover, simultaneous exposure to the same media content by large populations provides the audience with a specific experience. This can be seen when viewers take pleasure in watching their favourite movie on television, even if they have it on DVD and could watch it anytime. This simultaneity is also crucial in the ceremonial occurrences that accompany all 'media events', as described by Dayan and Katz (1992).

The presumption that people are desperate to free themselves from the tyranny of the linear media is reminiscent of the predictions, made in the 1990s, that the rise of thematic television channels would inevitably hasten the demise of general-interest channels. Why would anyone put up with channels juggling with a range of content trying to appeal to the larger population and its diverging tastes and expectations, when one could soon switch to a handful of thematic channels that, combined, could so pleasantly match one's own tastes and interests? Legacy general-interest

television stations would soon be drained of their audiences and would be dissolved in a mosaic of narrowly specialized channels. Twenty years on, the television landscape has evolved considerably along with viewers' patterns of consumption, but the original general-interest channels are still there, and though most have lost significant market shares, they are still major players. They have managed to continue producing content that is consensual enough. Moreover, their alleged weakness, namely to offer a mix of diverse content for diverse tastes, has turned out to be a strength. A large number of viewers enjoy the eclecticism of the programming. They enjoy the comfort of finding different genres in one place. And again, they might very well enjoy receiving it in a linear and passive fashion. They appreciate the full service of a one-stop shop, without the bells and whistles of engagement and interactivity.

The tablet computer is the latest addition to the media outfit. It is spreading through households at just the time when the television industry is announcing the advent of the connected television set, combining the linear flows from the regular channels with video-on-demand, web-based content and even your own content (home videos and photos). One screen fits all. But in the meantime, the tablet is profiling itself as a second screen that, combined with the television set, will provide a whole new enhanced experience, consisting of additional content and, naturally, a range of forms of interaction. Prophecies announcing that one connected screen will replace everything else, while other prophecies simultaneously announce that the future is made up of two screens where there used to be one, show the level of uncertainty and contradictions that characterizes the evolution of the media technologies and their appropriation by the audience.

The passive media should not be pronounced dead just yet. At the very least, they can be seen as senior members of a growing family of technologies and uses. In that context, interactivity should not be seen as an irresistible trend that drains the passive media and leads to their ruin. Once again, the media ecosystem is welcoming new species, causing some imbalance, triggering some adjustments, but not necessarily causing the extinction of all other species.

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On the Societal Impact of ICTs: The gap between Journalists' Analyses and Research Conclusions – the Example of “Arab Revolutions”

Bertrand Cabedoche

1. INTRODUCTION

Timothy Garton Ash, the British historian and journalist, argues that journalists write the first draft of history (Garton Ash, 2001). According to the French newspaper *Libération*, he even notes that “*more and more researchers believe what they read in newspapers*”, to justify his own work to reconcile these two professional communities and put an end to the absurd idea of a cold war between them. Nevertheless, an uncareful quotation of Garton Ash can also be dangerous in a PhD work, if it leads to confusion between the fields' different practices and knowledge levels. This is not said in order to develop what Freud called the “narcissism of minor differences”, but to insist on the need to maintain our vigilance constantly; within social sciences and humanities, particularly in Information Sciences and Media Studies, we must remain suspicious about media content, which we must consider first and foremost as human constructions (Charaudeau, 1997).

2. AN AMBIVALENT ANALYSIS OF “ARAB REVOLUTIONS” IN MAIN-STREAM WESTERN MEDIA

Media commentaries of the “Arab revolutions” in the mainstream Western media are significant examples from this point of view. Relatively quickly, researchers have offered their own analyses of the recent events relating to the Arab world and the descriptions of those events in Western media (Allagui, Kuebler, 2011; Musso, 2011; Asdourian, Badillo, Bourgeois, 2011; Dahmen-Jarrin, 2011; Ferjani, 2011; Mattelart, 2011; Cabedo-

che, 2011). Most analyses so far have reached the same overall conclusion: that the reporting of these events has been ‘technologically deterministic’ in its view of the part played by social media.

2.1. A DOMINANT MEDIA REPRESENTATION IN TERMS OF ‘CYBER-REVOLUTIONS’

The image made the front pages of many newspapers: a veiled Egyptian woman brandishing a computer keyboard during the revolutions in Cairo, as a new standard characteristics of social movements. The social actors themselves were the first proponents of this type of analysis. For example, the Egyptian Wael Ghonim, author of the Facebook page *We are all Khaled Said* (named after a young man beaten to death by police in Alexandria in June 2010), has defined this movement as “a revolution 2.0”. Hundreds of newspaper articles have also repeated this discourse, when talking about an “Internet revolution”, with variations such as “Twitter revolution” (for Egypt), “Facebook revolution” (in Tunisia), “Cyber-revolution” or “Cyber-dissidence”. Many journalists have analysed the Internet as a principal vector in the Tunisian revolution. The blogger Sofiane Belhadj has been credited as a major actor in the *Jasmine Revolution*, especially for translating and rewriting WikiLeaks on Facebook, then proclaimed “a liberated territory”.

A first level of explanation of this media followership – and also conformism – can be arrived at from the theory of co-construction (Charaudeau, 1997). In a newsroom, what is written is based on two types of imaginaries: What does my audience know and need to know in order to be able to understand (*imaginaire de savoir*)¹? What does my audience want and what can attract and maintain this audience? (*imaginaire de désir*)². These two imaginaries also lead journalists to add ‘genuining effects’ (in order to appear true) and ‘attracting effects’ (in order to capture and retain the audience). From this perspective, the impacts related to ICTs were real: because they had neither the time nor the means to leave their desks and prove their claims, Western media developed ‘genuining effects’, for instance when they were merely rewriting Wikileaks revelations about the collusion of Western governments and the Ben Ali regime. At the same time, they developed ‘attracting effects’, with the strong and symbolic image of the self-immolation of the young street merchant, Mohamed Bouazizi, in Sidi Bouzid.

1 ‘Knowledge imaginary’

2 ‘Desire imaginary’

This first level of explanation does not, however, seem complete, mainly because it is too mediacentric. As a complementary perspective, some authors nowadays refer to the concept of 'generalised public relations', which points to the fact that establishing social visibility is more and more a task for non-journalists as well (Miege, 2007: 19-20). In Tunisia, the primary producers of information were the social actors themselves: "We have seen the creation of the Twitter hashtag #sidibouzi, and discovered the key to gaining knowledge about events in Tunisia. Until December 25, 2010, very little information came from the international media" (Dahmen-Jarrin, 2011). And the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi only became a piece of news in Western, traditional media when the entire world of Arab social media was already talking about it.

2.2. A READING REINFORCED BY THE EVOLUTION OF ACTIVISM AND JOURNALISM

To some extent, the Arab revolutions appeared to be the advent of a new participatory culture, based on an informational mobilisation from below (Cardon, Granjon, 2010: 137-138) and the rise of amateur practices (Flichy, 2010). Even better, Tunisia appeared as an ideal case, given the best telecommunication penetration anywhere on the African continent, with 80% of the population mobile phone subscribers and 3.5 million Internet users in 2010. Tunisia was also an ideal as a country, as the disputed authorities had just – in a very symbolic way – arrested a few bloggers and hacked email and Facebook accounts. And indeed, the 'militant expressivism' – as it has been described (Blondeau and Allard, 2007: 19) – was fully exposed with the help of technologies such as MMS, Bluetooth, profiles in Twitter, transfers via USB and memory cards.

Of course, questions were immediately asked about the reliability of this information, pulled from the street, from people without any journalistic training, without any professional experience, without any ethics and, finally, without any trace. Nevertheless, transnational media followed. *Al Jazeera* immediately understood this new media environment, making use of collaborative platforms and other individual contributions, something that Western media also harnessed later: *France 24* was positioned for the Libyan rebels, *BBC World* had recruited a Tunisian activist without any links to journalism. The result of this media excitement was the mobilisation of insurgents using mobile communication devices to outbid and take advantage of mass effects through transnational channels.

Thus, in a way, the Arab Spring suggests that information technologies play a key role in informing and mobilising social actors, especially in countries where press freedom is limited. For instance, a recent report (CIMA, 2011) shows that freedom of expression has expanded somewhat with the help of organisations dedicated to Internet freedoms. A large volume of commentary has also pointed to the Arab revolts, sustained by Twitter, Facebook and the “Internet generation”, as symbols of the era of ‘individual mass communication’, as Castells calls it (Castells, 2010).

This thesis has been widely adopted in North America and Europe. Convinced that access to information releases and builds democracies, *Newsweek* announced the fall of the Iranian regime in 1995, with the heading “*Chats and chadors*”. Almost 15 years later, during the Iranian insurrection in 2009, the *Wall Street Journal* diagnosed that “*this could not have happened without Twitter*”, and the *New York Times* saw insurgents “*shooting tweets*” instead of bullets. Now, with the examples of Tunisia and Egypt, the discourse is strikingly similar: “*The same ingredients – a large number of people connected or contactable with their mobile phone – are, certainly, present in many countries*”, especially in many developing countries³.

Thus, we could be entering into a world of ‘generalised communication’ and ‘full transparency’, the products of a pure and perfect ‘information and e-democracy system’. But many researchers in the humanities and social sciences are now referring to a paradigm: the exclusive attribution of the overthrow of Ben Ali and Mubarak to digital and traditional media constitutes a denial of the complexity of the ongoing transformations. This could be an example of a scientifically questionable and much discussed ‘technological determinism’.

3. A HEALTHY DISTANCING FROM EVERY KIND OF DETERMINISM

Journalists close to academic environments were the first observers to write with a more reserved tone: Internet, or social networks, do not build revolutions. Public self-immolations, banned political parades, Tahrir Square occupations... are primarily physical expressions of popular dismay and protests. And the Arab Spring is not a “Al Jazeera revolution”, just as the Iranian protest movement of 2009 was not limited to Twitter,

3 Cf. “La révolution Facebook : le printemps arabe et le futur politique des réseaux sociaux” [The Facebook revolution: the Arab Spring and the political future of social networks], ParisTech Review, 28 February 2011 <http://www.paristechreview.com/2011/02/28/revolution-facebook-printemps-arabe-futur-politique-reseaux-sociaux/>

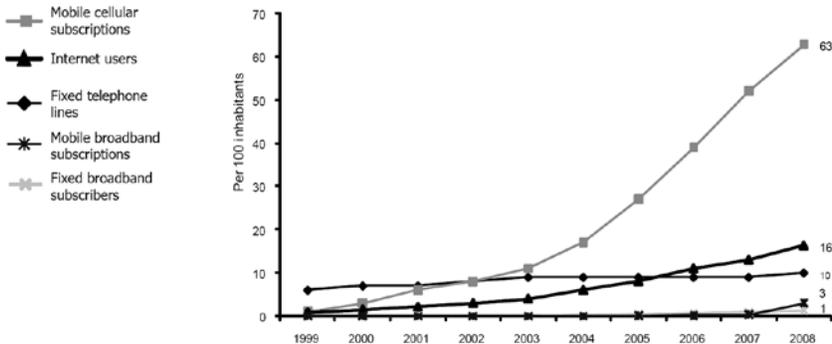
nor was the Tunisian revolt limited to Facebook (Corbucci, 2011). Consequently, a large majority of the academia – especially information and communication sciences researchers – are sceptical about the paradigm of a so-called ‘information society’, so easily quoted in mainstream media. The distance is manifest: “*2.0 revolutions have not occurred*” (Ferjani, 2011)!

3.1. A RESERVE AGAINST THE GLOBALISATION OF THE PROPOSAL

Academic distancing concerns, on the one hand, the forced modelling of the proposal. The Arab world is a mosaic comprising countries that are very different from one another. On the other hand, as elsewhere, public opinions are fragmented, volatile and subjected to a permanent recomposition (El Oifi, 2011). Finally, Internet penetration is a very heterogeneous phenomenon across countries: e.g. Libya possesses a Warfalla tribal system of communication which is more efficient than the Internet (Mathieu Guidere, in Huyghe, 2011). Morocco, where one of the limitations is the illiteracy rate (67% in rural areas), had an Internet subscription rate of just 1.5% in 2009, far behind Tunisia, with a penetration rate of 4.03%.

Research shows that outside the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain, the Internet is still beyond reach for a majority of Arab people, with GDP per capita at below 3000 US dollars. Even in Tunisia, analyses of usage show that insurgent practices by actors on the web mainly originated among one category of the population: an elite of highly educated young people, driven by a demand for dignity and honour, led by a need for participation and a desire to take part in technological and political globalisation (Badie, 2011), with sufficient means to acquire a mobile Internet and the skills to use it. Only mobile phone use is generalised in all Arab countries: in 2009 researchers recorded a subscription rate of more than 95% in Tunisia and 67% in Egypt.

Figure 1: ICT developments in the Arab States 1999-2008 (data: Information Society Statistical Profiles 2009: Arab States, International Telecommunication Union)



A second academic reservation concerns the technological determinism – or a ‘technomessianism’ (Balandier, 2001: 20) – which governs representations of the Arab revolts. Instead of being the result of inherently liberating power networks, the political and social changes are, first and foremost, the result of social mobilisation (Ferjani, 2011). Particularly in Europe and North America, where the technological environment is more familiar than in complex Arab societies, the utopia of the ‘Facebook revolution’ appeared as a collective imaginary, which perceived the media to have unlimited power over human beings. While all the research into reception mechanisms refutes this, the dominant belief persists within popular discourse. In particular, since the late 1990s, the Arab world has witnessed a process of public opinion empowerment. Hypotheses, which give a central role to new media in the Arab revolutions, underestimate, on the one hand, structural sociological transformations (e.g. urbanisation, literacy) and, on the other hand, the specifics of individual motivations and the large variety of tactical options for individuals.

Thus, it becomes necessary to consider the multiple and sometimes conflicting uses of tools: these depend less on the nature and potentials of these technologies than on users’ motivations, strategies and tactics (El Oifi, 2011). Researchers easily demonstrate how unpopular repressive Arab regimes also use the Internet, or block access to the Web, or ban the use of Facebook, e.g. in Syria and Libya. Internet features such as geoloca-

tion tools or IP addresses were used to identify and arrest people hacking into government website and vice versa, to hack the accounts of e-mail or Facebook insurgents (which was the case in Tunisia), or to call for political rallies and then to arrest those who obeyed the false messages. Forty-five experts were paid by the Egyptian Ministry for Internal Security to monitor five million Facebook users. Kareem Amer in Egypt, al-Tal Mallouhi in Syria and Ali Abduleman, accused together with some 230 others in Bahrain of terrorism, for example, were imprisoned and mistreated because of their online writing. Moreover, governments have enlisted transnational media and communication technologies to serve the interests of their diplomacy and try to influence the future of the Arab world (Ferjani, 2011).

3.2. AN ANTI-DETERMINISTIC PARADIGM CONSISTING OF COMMUNICATION SCIENCES AND MEDIA STUDIES

The argument is not new. In fact, it constitutes one of the main paradigms in Information and Communication Sciences. It says that one cannot analyse a contested space out of its structural constraints (Miege, 2010: 109). Still, history repeats itself, over and over again: for instance, in media analyses of the *Popolo Viola* movement in Italy (Musso, 2003), in reports from the Iranian revolt in 2009, and in the media coverage of the revolts in Tunisia (Dahmen-Jarrin, 2011) and Egypt (Castagnac, 2011). Thus, seeking to establish a causal relationship between Internet penetration rates and the Arab revolts is now considered to be a perilous exercise, as Pierre Musso has summarised (Musso, 2003).

To at least some extent, journalists' lack of contact with academic research explains the autistic media runaway. It took the publication of Evgeny Morozov's book debunking the idea of a "Twitter revolution" in Iran, written before the Arab spring and edited in January 2011 (Morozov, 2011), finally to inspire the first media distanciations. But occasionally – the general media landscape was still defending the thesis of a technology based revolution.

4. CONCLUSION

Many researchers in communication and information sciences declaim that to accept the technological determinism thesis is to deny social innovation. Conversely, one cannot ignore the role that ICTs have played in

the Arab Spring, although they are not responsible for everything (Aaker, Smith, Adler, 2010). Digital devices are no miracle tools, but they can provide real opportunities for civic interactions, without promising the quick installation of democracy (Dahlgren, 2005: 151).

When being asked about the Arab revolutions, researchers had to appreciate the role of ICTs: they do not replace opposition political parties, trade unions and other forms of social organisation. But they have encouraged the spread of information among users themselves. In particular, the general explosion of mobile telephony in Arab countries could offset the Internet divide. For example, in Tunisia, Facebook and mobile phones were at some points the one and only channel of transmission, used for sharing information and crucial logistical data (e.g. roads and checkpoints to avoid). Enabled by social networks, “weak links”, nevertheless, could accompany, amplify communication and allow groupings. Social media have created stories about victims and aroused emotion. They have made ‘vox populi’ audible, even if the phenomenon was partial. Interpersonal communication relayed information from satellite TV channels and helped to disseminate information. Therefore, rather than simply accepting representations describing ICTs as natural tools of democratisation, we should consider those ICTs as power issues, used by actors pursuing conflicting objectives (Ferjani, 2011; Mattelart, 2011). Their impact in the Arab world should be understood in terms of new forms of expression, rather than in terms of institutional change. But such nuanced insights were certainly rare in the journalistic coverage of these events, and they will continue to be so as long as journalism does not realise the importance of renouncing absolute, definitive, monocausal – technological, social, geopolitical – explanations, and opens up to micro, meso and macro levels. Simultaneously!

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Photojournalism and the Notion of Objectivity – The Particularity of Photography and its Relationship with Truthfulness

Jenni Mäenpää

1. INTRODUCTION

News journalism is a practice of reconstructing the reality. It needs credible images to support its evidence. This notion is closely tied to the eyewitness role within journalism. Åker (2012) says that the press photo is important to journalism because of its “*level of authenticity*”. So the resemblance between that towards which the camera is pointed and that which we see in the photograph needs to be absolutely convincing (ibid. 327). Furthermore, if the truthful nature of news photographs collapses, the whole credibility of the news collapses as well (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2010: 454).

The idea of credible news photographs is closely linked to the objectivity norm operating within Western (European and North American) journalism. Objectivity is a moral ideal that guides journalists to separate facts from values (Schudson 2001, 150). In the context of this article, I consider objectivity as a principle which underpins the pursuit of truthfulness. Even though the concept of truth has many epistemological difficulties, it is a central norm for journalists worldwide. For example, Hafez (2002) compared journalism codes from Europe and the Islamic world and found a broad intercultural consensus that truth and objectivity should be central journalistic values (cited in Singer, 2007: 83). Similarly, a comparison of European ethical codes found that an emphasis on truthfulness, fairness and fact-checking was listed in the journalism codes of 32 countries in 2007 (Mäntylä and Karilainen, 2008: 26).

In this chapter, I aim to discuss the particularity of the notion of objectivity within photojournalism in contrast to written journalism. This particularity has often been unarticulated, when scholars (e.g. Boudana, 2011; Schudson, 2001; Wien, 2005) write about the journalistic objectivity ideal as one entity which applies to both text and images.

The objectivity ideal is seen here as a discursive practice through agency or action, and so I will explore it using concepts related to work practices. Professionalism, power and rituals are all rooted in the actual work of (photo) journalists, which as a premise creates tension between the ideological concept and practical work. For example, Carpentier and Trioen (2010) have conceptualised objectivity in two dimensions: objectivity-as-value and objectivity-as-practice. They argue that the gap between the concept and practice is unfillable and constitutive for the journalistic identity. This gap also lies at the core of this study.

There has, however, been a lot of debate about the applicability of the objectivity ideal to journalism. Some scholars agree that for a long time it has been an outdated and positivistic paradigm (e.g. Boudana, 2011; Wien, 2005). The origin of the concept lies in the American context during the late 19th century, from where it was later adopted with rather less fervour by European journalism (Schudson 2001). Taking account of these critiques, I argue that the old problem of the trustworthiness of a news image still remains. Relying on empirical material (Mäenpää and Sepänen, 2010, 2007), I suggest that it is even more crucial in the digital era of photography than it was during its analogue period. That is because innovations such as digital photo editing and amateur news images are triggering new discussions about the credibility of a news photograph.

Photographic truth has often been explained using at least two concepts rooted in the study of semiotics: iconicity and indexicality (for more on these concepts see Peirce 1955). The first refers to the resemblance between the photograph and its referent, whereas the latter suggests that there is a physical connection between the two. Photographs have both of these characteristics. Photographs resemble the objects photographed, and, moreover, photographs are caused by the radiated light from the object, which creates the physical connection. Presumably, the term index was associated with photographs by the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce at the end of the 19th century. In his theory of signs, he used photographs as examples of indexical signs that have a physical connection to their referent (Peirce 1955, 106).

This ontological basis for a photograph establishes the fundamental difference between photography and writing within journalism. It links photography to objectivity stronger than any other medium and gives rise to inevitable differences between photography and writing at the level of journalistic work practices.

2. PROFESSIONALISM

The notion of journalistic professionalism is essential in respect of the norms and ideals of the occupation. There is a large body of research concerned with professionalism and journalism, and many scholars have debated whether journalism is a profession or a craft (e.g. Singer, 2007, 2003; Deuze, 2005). The journalistic occupation does not fulfil the criteria that the traditional professions (such as law and medicine) fulfil, but, nevertheless, journalism has many professional characteristics, such as commitment to public service and professional ethics. Many media scholars have, therefore, considered journalism to be a semi-profession, mostly because it is not possible to exclude non-professionals from the field (Nygren, Degtereva, Pavlikova, 2010: 115).

For example, Deuze (2005) has approached the journalistic occupation as an ideology rather than conceptualising it as a profession. This primarily implies understanding journalism in terms of how journalists give meaning to their work. He lists the following key values, often associated with being part of the ideology of journalism: public service, objectivity, autonomy, sense of immediacy and ethics (ibid. 444). Furthermore, journalists share a sense of 'doing it for the public', of working as some kind of representative watchdog of the status quo in the name of the people, who buy their services. This is closely tied to the notion of journalists being neutral, objective, fair and thus credible information providers for their audience (ibid. 447-448).

For photojournalists, the process of professionalisation has been quite challenging, because, since the early days of journalism, images have been considered secondary to words at the level of work practices (see Zelizer, 1995). However, certain characteristics of the ongoing professionalisation of photojournalism are to be found both in the past and today. For example, photojournalists display a strong sense of professional ethics, and professional associations and training for photojournalists were established in the United States and Europe back in the 1940s (and even earlier in some countries).

As for professional ethics, most of the ethical codes of journalism only mention photographs in parentheses (Hafez, 2002; Mäntylä and Karilainen, 2008, 28). The particularity of photographs in comparison to writing is rarely articulated. This particularity has to do, for example, with the pressures that are imposed on photographic authenticity. That is, news photographs are commonly expected to be untouched originals, but written stories are not subject to similar requirements. Furthermore, this has led to a situation where, along with general codes of conduct, there are a number of specific ethical standards which aim to regulate the practices of news image production.

Besides the general codes of conduct usually agreed by national journalist associations, each publication and news organisation sets its own ethical standards. Photo editing in particular is an area where the number of the ethical guidelines drawn up by different media organisations has increased in recent years. The strong emphasis on ethics is illustrated, for example, by the way in which news organisations handle certain violations of photojournalism ethics. Reuters and the Los Angeles Times are examples of well-known news organisations which have dismissed photojournalists because of unethical photo editing. On the other hand, photographers seem to commit themselves to the ethical standards of photo editing more strongly than any other occupational group in the newsroom (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2010: 460).

Furthermore, the paradoxical tension between the subjective photojournalist and the objectivity claim of journalism influences the core of professional news photojournalism. In view of this, the mechanical tool of the photojournalist, the camera, represents incorruptible objectivity, whereas the photojournalist as a human being may want to distort the "facts" with his/her photographs. This notion may provide explanations, for example, for the phenomenon that amateur news images are sometimes preferred to professional images because of their perceived level of authenticity (Pantti and Bakker, 2009: 482-483). In these situations, the amateurs are seen as "innocent" camera-users, who simply capture important moments with their mechanical devices. They are not expected to harbour similar institutional or individual intentions towards the photographs, as professionals may do. The use of amateur images and, for example, the use of surveillance camera images as news photographs, give rise to a situation where professional photojournalists may in some cases be replaced by machines. A similar replacement is much harder to imagine in the context of written journalism, even though it is certainly possible. However, the tools of the

journalists who write stories do not carry the same sort of cultural status that photographs enjoy as “mechanical camera images”.

This puts pressure on professional photojournalists, who need to emphasise their personal ethics in order to fulfil the objectivity claim. In other words, their professionalism is constructed on the idea of how credible they manage to be as individuals who produce trustworthy photographs.

3. POWER

As one of the theoretical approaches, I will discuss Michel Foucault’s writings about knowledge and power. Power is a theme that has been approached in sociology and in cultural studies from several different viewpoints. Thus, Foucault’s conception may be called the ‘structural approach to power’, in which he understands power as a network of relations rather than as a resource (Heiskala, 2001: 241-245).

Foucault’s theories on power have often been considered unclear, because he does not depict the concept explicitly, even though he describes it from many angles (e.g. Foucault 1982, 1986: 109-165). In addition, applying his power analysis to today’s empirical research is somewhat problematic. That is because his theories on power were originally connected to historical research on humanities (e.g. Kendall and Wickham, 1999). Being aware of these limitations, I shall use Foucauldian thematics to discuss the relationship between photojournalism and objectivity.

The structural approach in Foucault’s terms, ‘pastoral power’, consists of the convergence of a very particular set of techniques, rationalities and practices designed to govern or guide people’s conduct as individual members of a population (O’Farrel, 2010). The viewpoint of the pastoral power therefore rests with the subject who is being socialised “voluntarily” in line with the norms of the society or institutions.

For Foucault, one of the central characteristics of power is the intertwining of knowledge and power. Knowledge authorises the interpretations of the different actors and defines their discursive positions. Similarly, knowledge is produced and circulated in many other institutions as well (Foucault, 1986: 131-132). For example, in news photojournalism the objectivity ideal is discursively processed in daily work practices. Professional photojournalists have identified themselves “voluntarily” as “truth-tellers”, producing images that do not lie. They advocate the objective news

image, for example, through discussions about veracity, visual information, documentary, naturalness and the decisive moment (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2007: 9). The truth-telling claim is rooted in the mechanical tool, the camera that the photojournalists use, and in the special cultural status that photographs have in society as evidence. This highlights a fundamental difference in knowledge production between photojournalism and written journalism.

Meanwhile, within these discourses professionals define the strategies of “good” news photojournalism to which photojournalism is able to constitute its objectivity claims. According to the professionals, good photojournalism reports the “facts” as they are and provides credible visual information for the news audience (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2007). Furthermore, the definition of good photojournalism has an influence on what becomes visible and invisible to the public through the media.

From Foucault’s definitions of power, it is easy to see that knowledge that is defined as truth is currency that is produced and used differently in various arenas in society. From Foucault’s viewpoint, the term “truth” does not refer simply to the relationship between representation and reality, but instead to the construction of representation in the “political economy of truth”. Therefore, it would be more practical to talk about the norms and conditions that regulate the production of legitimate and useful knowledge in society. The production of knowledge is specifically human activity that is controlled by norms: power is visible in the kinds of procedures where the real and unreal, or what is or is not worth knowing, are separated from one another (Foucault, 1986: 132.)

It is possible to relate Foucault’s conception of the relationship between power and knowledge to Gaye Tuchman’s (1972) notion about the objectivity of journalism as a strategic ritual. Both Foucault and Tuchman share the constructivist approach to knowledge: for them, the most interesting question was not whether or not knowledge is objective, but rather through what kinds of procedures one is able to legitimate the notion of objectivity.

The rituals of objectivity are conventions to which the subject has to adapt in one way or another. Therefore, the strategies of objective journalism are at the same time strategies that construct the journalist as a subject. Within these strategies, the subjectivity is merged with knowledge production and the rituals that determine the practice. This is one central characteristic of power within journalism (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2007: 7).

4. WORK PRACTICES AS RITUALS

Photojournalistic work contains certain 'ritualistic actions' aimed at resolving and negotiating questions concerning the credibility of the news image. Studies of different kinds of media rituals have recently gained wider attention among scholars (Becker, 1995; Couldry, 2003; Rothenbuhler and Coman, 2005; Sumiala, 2010), although the idea of the media ritual itself goes back to much earlier discussions. Carey (1989, 18-19), for example, has written about the ritual view of communication, where the highest manifestation of communication is not the transmission of information but the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and container for human action. In contrast to these approaches, however, my rationale here is to study the rituals inside media organisations themselves.

From this point of view, Tuchman's (1972) classical notion of "objectivity as strategic ritual" refers to those tacit or explicit practices of news production that enable a journalist to defend his/her position as a neutral and objective transmitter of the facts. Tuchman argues that newspapermen must be able to invoke some concept of objectivity in order to process facts about social reality. According to her, the rituals of news work that help to fulfil the objectivity requirement in work practices include, among others, the use of quotation marks, the verification of "facts" or the presentation of supporting evidence. The same kind of intent to invoke objectivity - even more intensively - is to be seen among photojournalists when, for example, they advocate unaltered images. These rituals are built up from very concrete choices, actual decisions that determine the limits of, for example, digital editing in the context of news production (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2010).

One example of a ritualistic practice in photojournalism is the so-called "darkroom principle". By referring to this unwritten code, professionals define the limits of acceptable photo-editing by saying that the practices that were allowed in traditional darkrooms are also allowed in digital editing (Mäenpää and Seppänen, 2010: 471; Kobre, 2004: 332). By placing the new digital practices into a historical continuum together with the analogue period, one is able to explain, for example, why the old practice of cropping is widely accepted, whereas the use of some digital techniques such as removing elements by erasing is commonly condemned. Neither cropping nor erasing automatically changes the meanings of an image, but one practice is more accepted than the other. I argue that these practic-

es are, therefore, ritualistic in nature. By following practices tacitly agreed in the field, the professionals are able to legitimate the notion of objectivity in their work.

Within photojournalism, it is the claim for authentic news images in particular that leads to ritualistic practices such as the darkroom principle. The darkroom principle is an attempt to control the tension that digitisation has fuelled and to maintain the idea of objective status that news photographs have had over the past 60 or 70 years of the history of photojournalism.

5. CONCLUSION

I have argued here that objectivity is a discursive phenomenon that has a particular status within photojournalism in comparison to written journalism. Photojournalism's particular relationship with objectivity is rooted in the cultural status of photography. However, the grounds of the truth claim of photography are diverse. Nevertheless, representing the outside world through photographs is potentially more detailed and precise than through any other medium. Photographic images have a long history of telling the "truth" and being used as evidence, even though there will always be a drive to counterfeit it.

Photographs are produced by a mechanical apparatus, the camera and the indexical origin forms the ontological basis of a photograph. However, one can question how much emphasis the term index deserves in this discussion, as its main weakness lies in the suggestion that, by relying only on indexicality, one cannot say anything about photographic meaning. Furthermore, in the digital age, the idea of photographic indexicality has become more complicated than it was during the period of analogue photography. The notion of a direct, physical relationship between the photograph and its referent is controversial. Along with digitisation, the materiality of a photograph (film and paper) has been replaced by numerical data. For this reason, some scholars have concluded that indexicality alone might not be a very useful concept in defining photographic expression in the digital era (e.g. Cubby, 2010; Doane, 2008; Lister, 2007).

However, the connection between the ontological basis of a photograph and reality, photography's accurate depiction of objects and its history of being used as evidence make photography an ideal tool for news work. Photographs provide the evidence required to support the objectivity

claim in journalistic work. For these reasons, photography has a special relationship to objectivity in comparison to, for example, journalistic writing, which is often considered more subjective.

I have discussed the question of objectivity here through journalistic work practices and the concepts of professionalism, power and rituals. Objectivity is present in all of them in the way photojournalists control the new tensions of the work and legitimate photojournalistic work as objective.

As for journalistic practices, the particularly objective status of photojournalism means that news photographs are expected to be untouched originals, whereas written journalism is not accompanied by a similar kind of presupposition. Within photojournalism, the presupposition creates an ongoing paradox between the “objective camera” and the subjective photographer. This paradox is constitutive for the news photographers’ professional identity: they need to substantiate their position as truth-tellers who produce credible images. In order to do this, they use certain discursive practices, such as defining good photojournalism as neutral and trustworthy. Meanwhile, that serves as an example of knowledge production and power within photojournalism.

In addition, professionals need certain ritualistic practices in order to protect their professional status and to strengthen the profession’s boundaries. This is done, for example, through the use of new ethical standards and tacit knowledge commonly agreed within the field.

Finally, it seems that discussions about photojournalism and objectivity are not outdated, but in fact are more likely to continue at the present time, when the borders of the profession are blurring and amateur photographers are entering the professional field.

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The Meaning and Function of Journalistic Ideology

Helle Sjøvaag

1. INTRODUCTION

Journalistic ideology is often seen as a question of the distance between ideals and realities. According to the ideal, journalism's social contract entails the critical investigation of political, economic and social systems of power, on behalf of citizens and in the interests of an enlightened public sphere. In reality, journalism is heavily criticised for failing to fulfil this ideal. The news media stand accused of toeing the corporate line, of simplifying important issues and of promoting the status quo. Journalism's ideology can be summarised as the content of the argument that the profession is important in a political, social and cultural sense – that we need journalism. This ideological argumentation can be found everywhere in what journalists do, in the practices of the news institution and in the encounters between media professionals and their surroundings. Ideology, as Slavoj Žižek explains, is all around us – something we cannot escape or step out of – but a system of meaning that we perform with full knowledge of our own performances (Žižek, 1989: 30-31). This chapter argues that journalism's professional ideology does not primarily work to support the dominant ideology or the hegemony of the ruling classes. It primarily works to sustain journalism as an institution within the social and political system.

2. IDEOLOGY IN SOCIAL THEORY

The Critical Marxists, universally recognised as a dominant force in media studies, have always seen ideology as something political. The term was coined in 1796 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to describe 'the science of ideas'. Napoleon's paranoia in respect of the French ideologists resulted in a successful dethroning of the term, ushering in its current

meaning as the ideas themselves, or as “a body of ideas which are alleged to be erroneous and divorced from the practical realities of political life”, as John B. Thompson describes the process (Thompson, 1990: 32). Marx’s historical materialism later frames ideology as having a systematic role in the maintenance of the dominant social order, seeing consciousness itself as something that is conditioned by material circumstances. Marx and Engels write in *The German Ideology* from 1846 that:

The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance (Marx and Engels, 1968: 21).

Marx here lays the foundations for the further perception in social research of ideology being predominantly linked to the economic conditions of production, with resources and with power. Marx’s legacy also ensures that ideology is seen as something that is oppressive, as an inhibitor of social change. Despite the influence of the sociology of knowledge and postmodern attempts to neutralise the concept later, somehow the connection between ideology and domination remains present in social theory through its permeable connection to the political.

The so-called ‘end of ideology’ debate that resulted from Daniel Bell’s attempt to divorce the concept from its political basis in his 1960 book *The End of Ideology* did not bring an end to academic attention to ideology as a system of beliefs, ideas and values with political ramifications. To Bell, this meant an end to the belief that social change could be achieved from the ground – the belief that ideologies could be transformed into revolutions (Bell, 1960: 395–400). Instead, theoretical discussions of the concept grew increasingly disparate towards the end of the 1990s, among which one of the more fruitful perspectives is offered by Louis Althusser and his 1971 essay on Ideological State Apparatuses.

Althusser explains that the superstructural level of society consists of two kinds of state apparatus – where one is the Repressive State Apparatus that controls society through violence or the threat of violence, and the other is the Ideological State Apparatus that expresses the ruling ideology. Althusser designates the media as one of the social institutions that feeds the public daily doses of ideology. He explains that ideology only

exists by constituting subjects as subjects, by 'hailing' individuals into the category of subject. Once we are there, everything we do is ideological to the extent that we can either conform or not conform. Either we follow the rules and are left in peace as our behaviours reproduce the dominant order, or we break the rules and suffer the consequences imposed by the Repressive State Apparatuses – the police and the law – in order to correct our behaviours. No matter what we do, our concrete material behaviours cannot help but recognise the ruling ideology as true (Althusser, 1971: 164-169).

Althusser says that "*ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence*" (ibid: 153). But ideology does not correspond to reality; it creates an illusion. His central thesis, therefore, is that "*there is no ideology except by the subject and for the subject*" (ibid: 160), meaning that it is the category and function of the subject that make ideology possible. Our ideas are embedded into our actions, our actions are inserted into practices, and our ritualised practices are located within what Althusser calls the material existence of ideological apparatuses – or institutions. Hence, institutions contribute to reproducing the relations of production.

Stuart Hall explains how this type of ideological production takes place within the media institution. His classic 1982 text *The Rediscovery of 'ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies* traces how the media came to be seen as a contributor in the structuring of reality and in the construction of meaning. Here, the media are seen as making a social order that is favourable to dominant groups seem natural and unchangeable. Hall says the defining mechanisms of the ideological can be found in how the media make certain things appear as universal and natural, in how the media limit the range of perspectives on the world, and in how the media manage to attain legitimacy for this portrait of reality (Hall, 1982: 133). Ideological power is the power to signify things in a particular way, especially when it comes to controversial or conflicting issues or events. This signification becomes the setting for a struggle, because this is the level where social understanding, and hence consent, is created. The media are seen as the venue for this struggle, and therefore as an instrument of social control. Hall thus breaks ideology free from a necessary class relation and instead links it to dominance through cultural leadership.

This assumption, that the media are an instrument of social control, is criticised by John B. Thompson as a simplified conception of the overall

role of the mass media in relations of power and domination. Thompson himself defines ideology as “*meaning in the service of power*” (Thompson, 1990: 7). He says that symbolic forms, under which we can include media messages, are not ideological in themselves but through how they are understood in the specific social contexts that contribute to reproducing our conceptions of who we are. Thompson goes on to analyse ideology both in the production and in the reception of media messages. Like most academics linking ideology to the role of journalism and the mass media, his treatment focuses on how the media contribute to the dissemination of the ideological content of cultural forms.

A slightly updated version of this view can be found in the works of Teun van Dijk and his discourse perspective on ideology, primarily published in his 1998 book *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Ideologies, in his view, are organised social beliefs or world-views that form the socio-cognitive representations of the self-serving beliefs of groups in the context of social struggle. Ideologies thus characterise the mental dimensions of society. Moreover, says van Dijk, discourses are the crucial components in forming and reproducing these ideologies. The ideological goals of journalism are described as informing the public and acting as a watchdog. Van Dijk says that “*these are ideological goals, because we know that many journalists hardly do this*” (van Dijk 1998: 70). From here, he concludes that the media play a role in the production of dominant elite ideologies. Hence, the routines of the media, the actors in the news, the events reported and the institutional arrangements that form part of news making. The content of programming, all the professional practices of the institution, illustrate the ideological condition of the news business as “*biased towards the reproduction of a limited set of dominant, elite ideologies*” (ibid: 188).

This is certainly true; we can look to the media to find ideologies. It is perfectly appropriate to assert that the media support the dominant ideology, and that we can look to the media’s content and production routines to find it, but this stops short of investigating the ideology behind this ideological maintenance. The attention to the role and function of the media as upholding some sort of stable order – whether it is a political, a material or a symbolic order – is interesting enough, but it fails to account for how journalism and the news media spread their own ideology. Most of this research is focused on analysing ideology *through* the media rather than the ideology *of* the media. This perspective largely reduces journalism and communication institutions to mere technology.

Within the critical tradition, the media are seen as a system where the production of cultural form infuses products with ideological meaning, but where the institution itself is not considered as ideological. Nor is the institution's own communication considered to have an ideological content intent on maintaining its own conditions. This can be explained by the fact that the ideology of journalism largely coincides with what we often think of as the 'dominant ideology'. The function of journalistic ideology is to sustain a system in which journalism remains an important social, cultural and political institution. Althusser (1971) therefore makes a good point when he emphasises that the function of ideology is to reproduce the conditions of its production. This element of self-sustainment is the key to understanding journalistic ideology.

3. THE SOCIAL CONTRACT OF THE PRESS

The issue of journalism's professional ideology can be approached by analysing its core ideal, specifically the notion of 'the social contract of the press'. This ideal could be seen as the backbone of the professional ideology, or at least this could be said to be the case in the Nordic countries, and is probably true for many journalistic cultures in Europe, if not the world. Simplified, 'the social contract of the press' means journalism has an obligation to provide citizens with the information they need. It remains the primary justification for the power and privileges of the journalistic institution and can be found in many professional codes of ethics. Here, the relevant question is the conceptual link between the social contract as journalistic ideology, and the social contract as a political-philosophical concept derived from the contractarian philosophy that began primarily with Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Most analyses that concern the social contract of the press directly tie the concept to journalism's democratic role in providing citizens with the information they need to make informed decisions when electing governments and participating in public debate between elections (Strömbäck, 2005: 332). The democratic aspect is again connected with notions of journalistic responsibility towards the citizenry, and with ethical performance standards. The Norwegian journalism researcher Odd Raaum, for instance, writes about contractual aspects of journalistic professionalism in his discussion of the emancipation of Norwegian journalism from the political party system, and observes that the contract entails a mission that makes journalism a counterweight to the three formal branches of state power (Raaum, 1999: 34-36).

Taking the semantic relationship between the social contract of the press and the original political-philosophical social contract as a starting point, the word 'contract' here implies a contractual agreement based on the reciprocal exchange of rights and obligations between contractual partners. In the original political social contract, man ventured into an agreement in which the total personal freedom that existed in the imagined 'state of nature' was exchanged for the safety provided by state institutions. Hobbes called the state of nature a perpetual state of war – an intolerable situation that man resolved by establishing legal institutions – ordaining them with sanctioning powers (Hobbes, 1968 [1651]). The political social contract therefore means that citizens have a duty to obey the law, while enjoying the right to state protection. Reciprocally, the state is obliged to protect us, and has the right to enforce the common law. But, as Immanuel Kant points out, the legislative authority has no way of making or enforcing the law justly if it receives no feedback on how its laws are working. This is why we need freedom of expression and freedom of publication to ensure that governments receive the relevant information they need to uphold their part of the contract. Kant's description of the social contract therefore clearly contains some notion of publicism, the democratic function that is today maintained by journalism. He says that

Thus the citizen must, with the approval of the ruler, be entitled to make public his opinion on whatever of the ruler's measures seem to him to constitute an injustice against the commonwealth. [...] Thus freedom of the pen is the only safeguard of the rights of the people, [...] To try to deny the citizen this freedom [...] means withholding from the ruler all knowledge of those matters which, if he knew about them, he would himself rectify (Kant, 1990 [1793]: 135; italics in the original).

The original social contract is an agreement between the citizenry and the state that is based on a mixture of the liberal principles of freedom of expression and freedom of ownership (Hobbesian principles), and the republican ideas of the morality of the state embedded in notions such as sovereignty and the common will (Rousseau's legacy). These principles form the basis of the exchange of rights and obligations within the contract. Within this exchange, journalism regards itself as a separate partner. The institution of journalism sees itself as a third contractual partner, contributing to the upholding of the original and political social contract that keeps the fabric of society from unravelling. Journalists see their obligations under this contract as that of providing information to citizens about the affairs of the state, to which citizens react politically in turn, making the social contract a triangle of contractual exchanges in which obliga-

tions between the people, the press and the state remain balanced¹. This is journalism's ideological position. The support for such a position is that the contract between the people and the state is impossible in our large and complex societies without a communicating intermediary – the press.

4. THE SOCIOLOGY OF JOURNALISTIC IDEOLOGY

The American scholar Herbert Altschull adopts a rather welcoming and benign approach to journalistic ideology, in that he sees the ideals of the press as a contributor in providing a service to society. In his historical investigation into the ideals behind American journalism (1990), Altschull proposes that the ideology of the journalistic field is rooted in the ideas that have shaped the formation of our societies on a political-philosophical level. This approach assumes that journalism is part of society, and that social and political institutions interact in symbiotic ways. Hence, ideas, values and beliefs do not appear out of nowhere. Ideals that serve as boundary- maintaining properties for journalism can also serve a *positive* function in society. The reason why journalistic ideology works as effectively as it does, and it is effective when we consider the wide access of journalists to the political, economic and cultural arenas, is that the ideals of the press also have a wider social and democratic use as tenets in the original political social contract. Journalistic ideology is sustainable precisely because of this fact. Not only do we need journalism to sustain democracy, we actually need journalistic ideology. Furthermore, we need journalists to believe in the ideological position of journalism.

James Ettema and Theodore Glasser (1998) explain how this common moral ground works, by analysing what they call the paradox of the disengaged conscience in American investigative journalism. The central question for them is how journalists can seem to make news judgements without also making moral judgements. Ettema and Glasser say that the job of the investigative journalist is to report moral, legal and social transgressions. In order to identify such transgressions correctly, journalists and audiences need to operate on the same moral ground, sharing an appreciation of what is considered right and wrong in society. Transgressions are identified based on this shared morality, and reported through what they call an objectification of moral standards. This is a process that makes value judgements appear as news judgements, where value judgements are presented as empirically verifiable facts (Ettema and Glasser,

1 For a detailed outline of this relationship, see Sjøvaag, H. (2010)

1998). Their analysis explains the extent to which journalism is guided by moral principles, and demonstrates how journalistic ideology is the result of a moral coexistence between journalism as an institution and the larger social and political order.

5. THE JOURNALISTIC FALLACY

There are, however, also some problems with this perspective. Once we understand how journalistic ideology can actually have a benign effect on democracy, and not just a hegemonic repressive effect on the masses, we should not overlook the possibilities offered by this perspective to also remaining critical of the journalistic institution.

The process by which journalism comes to see itself as a separate contractual partner is explained by the Norwegian media scholar Martin Eide as a fallacy – a process that turns journalism from a vocation into an ideology. Eide explains that, as journalism develops as a craft, its position and its power are strengthened both internally within the profession and externally in relation to the outside world. This evolution is referred to as an instrumentalist expansion of the media logic that can be recognised in four particular points. First, in the journalistic self-perception as being powerful in the position of ‘defender of the common man’; second, in an expansion of the service ideology, where audiences are increasingly addressed as clients, consumers and rights-holders, rather than as citizens; third, in what he calls an impresario-instrumentalism, where journalism resorts to performing the technical function of staging conflicts rather than explaining them; and fourth, in how the professional ideology overlooks the negative consequences of its own power (Eide, 2004: 35-52).

This journalistic logic is also expanding to other fields. Not only are the news media a battleground where various sources vie for legitimacy, but thinking journalistically also becomes increasingly important outside the media sphere. Because of this expansion of the media consciousness, journalism is reduced to an instrumental question – a merely technical issue with pragmatic solutions. It is in this context that Eide maintains that we are dealing with a journalistic fallacy. The problem with this instrumentalism, he says, is that journalism itself perceives this situation as a manifestation of the increased autonomy of the profession. The journalistic fallacy is thus a transgression – an elevation of a journalistic logic to the measure of all things, and the promotion of craft to ideology (ibid: 57). This analysis demonstrates the extensiveness of journalism as ideology,

and clarifies the extent to which it serves to enforce the boundaries of the journalistic profession (see also Eide, 2007).

Journalistic ideology can thus be described as a self-sustaining entity. The function of journalistic ideology is to maintain the system in which it can remain a powerful political and cultural force. Therefore, the professional ideology primarily works not to support the dominant ideology or the hegemony of the ruling classes, but to sustain journalism as an institution within the social and political system. The fact that the ideology that sustains the journalistic institution also sustains the ruling classes is therefore arbitrary to the extent that ideology, in Žižek's conceptualisation, is, in any case, inescapable.

Žižek opposes the naïve consciousness thesis that we need to be stripped of our ideologies in order for us to see the world as it really is. This Critical Marxist position, says Žižek, tells us that ideology creates a discrepancy between what people are really doing and what they think they are doing. Žižek says the Marxist project to unmask this discrepancy is outdated (Žižek, 1994: 3-8). Instead he tries to break down the notion that ideology is the same as illusion or false representation by explaining that we cannot step outside ideology. In fact he claims that even if we manage to remove our ideological spectacles to attempt to see the world as it really is, reality "*cannot reproduce itself without the ideological mystification*" (Žižek, 1989: 28).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The professional ideology of the press is rooted in the fact that news is not only a public service but that it is also, and perhaps primarily, a *business*. This makes journalistic ideology highly compatible with the dominant ideology because they both rest on the essential ideals embedded in the original social contract, which is based on a mixture of negative liberties – freedom of speech and freedom of commerce – and on the morality of the democratic order in a broader sense. The news media ideology - which essentially says that journalism is important for the democratic system - therefore not only serves the journalistic classes but also the structure that surrounds the media. Journalistic ideology is thus an expression of the journalistic self-perception as a separate partner in the social contract. The critical analyses that uncover how the news media support the dominant hegemony by framing gays as deviants and women as inferior may be said to expose the dominant ideology, but they cannot be said to expose journalistic ideology. The dominant ideal sustaining the professional

ideology of the news media is not to support the status quo, but to tear it down, to be subversive, to topple governments, to expose corruption, greed, violence and the abuse of power. This is the foundation of the journalistic social contract ideal, and the expression of journalistic ideology.

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Mapping the World: Understanding the Complexity of Cultural Identity and (Local, National) International News

Ebba Sundin

There was such a rush, I hear, the other day at one of the offices to learn the foreign news by the last arrival, that several large squares of plate glass belonging to the establishment were broken by the pressure - news which I seriously think a ready wit might write a twelve-month, or twelve years, beforehand with sufficient accuracy. As for Spain, for instance, if you know how to throw in Don Carlos and the Infanta, and Don Pedro and Seville and Granada, from time to time in the right proportions - they may have changed the names a little since I saw the papers - and serve up a bull-fight when other entertainments fail, it will be true to the letter, and give us an idea of the exact state or ruin of things in Spain as the most succinct and lucid reports under this head in the newspapers: and as for England, almost the last significant scrap of news from that quarter was the revolution of 1649 [...](Henry David Thoreau in Walden, 1854, reprinted 1999: 86-87)

1. INTRODUCTION

The question of what sense people make of news stories they consume has been on the agenda within media and communication studies for a long time. It is a multi-faceted question with many different focuses, depending on which group of people we are talking about (for example, ethnic groups, age groups, professional groups) or what news content the question relies on (for example, local news, special interest news, world news). In this chapter, the question is addressed with respect to the relationship between the sense-making of the world and cultural identity in the form of studies of how news are mapping the world.

Most of the early studies of the image of the world as it is represented in the media were based on newspaper studies. Some of the earliest date back as far as almost a century ago, but greater interest was shown from

the 1950's and 1960's onwards when the question of imbalance between different parts of the world was raised. The question about the information flow and the role of news led to the debate of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) initiated by the UNESCO in the 1970's. The history of this debate is thoroughly described by McPhail (2006).

Some of the studies from the 1950's and 60's focused on the factors that could explain news selection (see White 1950; Gieber 1956; Östgaard 1965; Galtung and Ruge 1965). For example, Östgaard (1965:46) discussed the factor of identification and noted that:

Cultural proximity thus appears to be a major asset for a news story, and the news media in any given country will tend to present the picture of the outside world as seen through the ethnocentric eyes of the receiver of the news.

The debate of the NWICO was based on the assumption that media had a major impact on people's awareness of the world "next door" or much further away. Although, Östgaard (1965) noted the role of cultural proximity in the selection of news, he did not really discuss that the audience might interpret the "world maps" from their own cultural perspective. In later studies, this perspective is more heavily emphasised. For example, Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996:181) states that the later debate in international communications included the recognition "*that diverse audience bring their own interpretive frameworks and sets of meaning to media texts*". During the last two decades, the definition of international communications has also shifted from global news flows to a concern about global communication technology and its impact on an individual's opportunities to communicate across the borders of nations and cultures. These new viewpoints need theoretical frameworks different to the early studies of international news flows which relied on a quite simple media structure where newspapers were printed in a 24-hour cycle.

The existing news paradigm including the five elements of the event, news value factors, the news interview, the inverted pyramid and journalistic objectivity (Høyer and Pöttker, 2005) is still valid. In the context of professional news journalism it is still valid, despite the fact that the traditional news media family (newspapers, radio and TV) have acquired more siblings in the form of the Internet, mobile phones and tablets. In a study of Danish news media conducted in 1998, Holm (2001) showed that most of the news from other countries was still selected according to traditional news criteria but the categories of non-traditional news were

more frequent than earlier. His conclusion was that an expansion of news could be seen with much more international news than there had been hitherto. So following the advent of new media forms, the news audience has more channels to access international news. Also, the audience is no longer dependent on the national context of the selection of foreign news.

During the years of the NWICO debate results many studies of global news flows were conducted. In this chapter, we will focus on three multi-national comparative studies: Gerbner and Marvanyi's study 'The Many Worlds of the World's Press' (1977), Sreberny-Mohammadi's 'The World of the News' Study (1984), both of which were connected to the NWICO debate, and a more recent 'Foreign TV news' project conducted by Wilke, Heimprecht and Cohen (2012).

2. "THE MANY WORLDS OF WORLD NEWS"

In Gerbner and Marvanyi's introduction to their study they conclude: *"Many different versions of the day's 'world news' can be equally true and significant when judged by different standards of relevance (1977:52)*. One of their findings of what the world really looked like from the different perspectives was that Western newspapers showed little interest in the Communist bloc, while Soviet newspapers carried more news from Western countries and Eastern Europe. One of their explanations for the differences could be found in the argument that there were different editorial policies in different newspapers, as well as different types of societies. The study was based on one week's foreign news in 60 daily papers in nine countries.

Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984:132) also found that news from Western countries dominated while Eastern Europe and the developing parts of the world were "invisible". In the study including a week's news articles from newspapers in 29 countries, she found that regional news was the most dominant, meaning *"every national system devoted most attention to events happening within and to actors belonging to its immediate geographical region"* (1984:127). Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984:130) also recognized the media systems' different ideological frames and what that meant for the different coverage of the international news.

Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977: 60) claimed that their study was only to be seen as a starting point for comparative analysis. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984: 132) suggested other approaches to the study of international news

flows and also emphasised the need for qualitative studies. In her study, she found that quantitative and qualitative analyses gave different results in terms of geographical focus (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984:129). One of her conclusions can be detected in the following statement: "*As our interest lay in a general mapping of international news presentation, we could not answer many intriguing questions*" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984:130).

Wilke, Heimprecht and Cohen (2012) use the term 'news geography' in their description of how foreign news coverage is related to other countries and territories. One of the main aims of the study is to detect the 'world view' in TV news and to show similarities and differences. Overall, 17 countries were part of the quantitative study in which the TV news was coded during four weeks in 2008. One of the findings of the study was that:

in no country on the planet are the mass media able to comprehensibly report news from all over the world, nor would that be in their recipients' interest. Moreover, the basic task of journalists is to decide which countries they want to cover, and thus determine the 'world view' which the media conveys. (Wilke, Heimprecht and Cohen 2012: 307)

One of the conclusions was that the study confirmed previous studies, which can be taken to mean that traditional news values are just as strong in the international news flow. Furthermore, the imbalance in coverage has not changed: *The picture of the world is still uneven, particularly with respect to regions of the world that are totally underrepresented. This may be criticized as in earlier decades* (Wilke, Heimprecht and Cohen 2012:319). In the study, the focus is still on Europe and the USA. One interesting notion is that in Poland there was greater news coverage of Russian than of the USA. Geographical proximity might be the explanation, as well as the history of Poland belonging to the Communist bloc, which would mean that it still has a closer relationship with its eastern neighbour.

3. GLOBAL NEWS MAPS AND IDENTITY

The value in the tradition of global news flow studies lies in describing what the world appears to look like from different perspectives and one of its strengths is in showing the power of this flow from certain areas. The three studies of international news flow have similarities in their descriptions and certain images of the world appear. What sense individuals make of these images and how influenced they are of their own cultural

and national identity in their interpretation of the world as seen from the news perspective are questions left for further research.

When globalization became such an important issue especially during the 1990's, including within the field of media and communication studies, Curran and Park (2000:11) took a different view and suggested in their introduction to *De-Westernizing Media Studies* that "*perhaps nations are still centrally important, and that their continuing significance tends to be underplayed by globalization theory*". Their reader was based on case studies from around the world and portrayed different media systems through the lenses of nationalism and globalization. The same approach was adopted by Lee, Chan, Pan and So, as expressed in the following statement:

Despite much talk about the globalization processes, we argue that international news-making is inherently domestic and paradoxically national: the same event may be given distinct media representations by various nations through the prisms of their dominant ideologies as defined by power structures, cultural repertoires, and politico-economic interests. (2005:320)

In numerous theoretical and scientific discussions from the 1980's onwards, the national identities and national consciousness were pushed into the shade when the beams of light were directed to the concepts of globalisation and individualisation. New media technology gave the individuals the tools to cross their national borders and communicate in a completely new way in post-modern society, sometimes called the network society. For researchers in media and communication studies this was a challenging time with new focus on the impact of new communication patterns and many the researchers and theorists have focused on the issues of globalization, identification and identity (c.f. Thompson 1995; Giddens 1991, 2002; Castells 1996, 1997, 1998, 2011; Baumann 2000, 2005; Anderson 2006; Deuze 2007; Watson 2008). At the same time, it must be stressed that the importance of national media systems has not been completely neglected, for example Hallin and Mancini (2005) focus on cultural and political structures in their major comparative analysis of media systems in 18 countries of Europe and North America.

Two kinds of identity definitions can be defined: national identity and individual identity. The definitions could of course be treated as a macro and a micro level of research, but in the beginning of theorising globalization, there was a problem that in most cases the individual identity definition did not recognize the nation but embraced the thoughts of new borderless societies with a free information flow. In an attempt to under-

stand the global news flow this could have left us with explanations based on individual identity theories connected to the borderless networks. The problem is that these explanations would not have provided proper understanding since individuals would always be affected by the national ethno-centrism that they grew up with. This is not to say that individuals are also affected by experience in life in the form of exposure to other cultures, within their "home nation" or while travelling.

The best framework for understanding global news flows might be to connect thoughts of individual and national identity, although the two might seem to be disparate. Thompson (1995:215) calls this problem a "paradox of reflexivity and dependency" and he also refers to Beck's terms of individualization and institutionalisation. From this sociological viewpoint the paradox covers a much larger context than the sense-making of media messages.

Nevertheless, in studies of news flows, international as well as local, both aspects of the paradox, sometimes referred to as the 'glocal', might give a richer theoretical framework in order to explain what sense individuals really make of the information. Not only from the view of contemporary society and societies, but also in historical studies, it is important to recognise cultural and societal conditions that the audience might have had at that time, since the world map changes from time to time, and not only from the perspective of news media. To illustrate the complexity of understanding sense-making among media audiences but also looking at the attempts to reveal the content in media and its worth, we can refer to the words of Dervin :

[...] whatever one group of individuals calls "information" or "knowledge" at any given point in time is applicable only to that time and space and to the self-interests and observing capacities of the "observers". (1989:70)

In her development of the sense-making approach, Dervin makes it clear that the focus is on discontinuity and how individuals make sense of this in their own construction of the received information. Two of the key concepts in this approach are 'gaps' and 'gap-bridging' in order to recognise knowledge-lacks and overcoming them by constructing knowledge.

4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, three different studies of the flow of international news were chosen to illustrate the discussion of what the world looks like from the viewpoint of the news media. The studies represent different historical eras and one of the conclusions from a comparison is that not so much has changed from the early studies (Wilke, Heimprecht and Cohen 2012). From this point of view, these descriptive studies serve their purpose and they can also, for instance, be used in discussions of the imbalance between political and economic power in the world. But in all three studies, the researchers are fully aware of the need for other research approaches if the impact on the audience is to be understood. A theoretical framework that will consider the cultural identity of the nation as well as the individual has been suggested for the purpose of arriving at a better understanding of what sense the audience makes of the world maps produced by international news. The challenge for media researchers is to bridge the gap between the paradox of individual and national (global) identities. Most likely the reward will be a better understanding of the complexity of cultural identities and the flow of local, national and international news.

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Analysing How Law Shapes Journalism in Post-Communist Democracies

Nikola Belakova

1. INTRODUCTION

Journalism¹ is a “*key social institution*” generally considered “*central to democracy, citizenship and everyday life*” (Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2008: xi), and thus pivotal for successful democratisation (Votmer, 2006: 1). Yet, in Central and Eastern European (CEE) democracies, the media are perceived as failing and lagging behind their Western counterparts. A widely accepted explanation attributes this failure to elites’ use of legislation to thwart criticism in the media (Sükösd and Bajomi-Lázár 2002, 13-14).

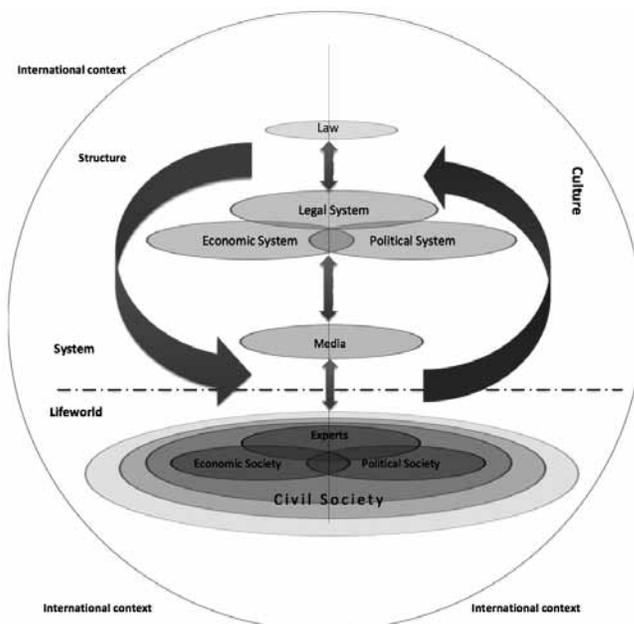
Despite the desirability of research into the operation of law and its interactions with other factors in influencing journalism in CEE democracies, a suitable analytical framework is lacking. This chapter seeks to contribute to efforts to address this lacuna by presenting an analytical framework explaining the operation of legal rules in constraining journalism in the context of democratisation. This framework was primarily developed for the purposes of investigating the case of civil defamation law in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Although the law is apparently identical in both countries, there is a puzzling divergence of perceptions among journalists as to how the law has operated since their separation in 1993. After introducing the framework, the chapter proceeds with a brief demonstration of its application in this case. It concludes with a discussion about its potential value for further research regarding the interplay of law and journalism in Central and Eastern Europe.

1 Throughout this chapter, journalism refers both to the stories produced by journalists who work in or for media organisations and the processes of producing them.

2. THE FRAMEWORK

Employing new institutionalism theory and Cohen and Arato's (1992) model of civil society, later adopted by Habermas (1996), this framework designates a central role for law in modern democracies (Figure 1). Law is conceptualised as a dynamic construct that structures, constrains and enables the behaviour and mutual interactions between actors operating at different levels of society. In other words, law represents "the rules of the game" in a society. The various social actors, consisting of individuals and organisations, are the players. They operate either in the lifeworld or the system, each encompassing conceptually different forms of social activity (Habermas, 1984, 1987). The lifeworld comprises the familial and public spheres. It functions as a forum of communicative rationality in which individuals pursue the collective development of consensual norms. The system encompasses those self-regulating sectors of society in which decisions are guided primarily by instrumental rationality, involving strategic calculations to achieve a given objective. While this dichotomy provides a useful categorisation of actors for analytic purposes, it is not ultimate, as the system remains grounded in the lifeworld context. Systemic actors may thus at times act based on communicative rationality.

Figure 1: Formulation and operation of law in a democracy



Law does not merely provide rules for actors' interactions. By creating a "*structure of categories and definitions for understanding social relations*" and presenting a set of accepted routines for manoeuvring that structure, law also provides "*pre-conscious frameworks for making sense of the social world*" (Edelman and Suchman, 1997: 503). Defamation law, for instance, produces understandings of what is and what is not an unjustified infringement of reputation.

Law is formulated, enacted and interpreted in mutual strategic interactions between social actors. There are five categories of actors – civil society, the media and the political, economic and legal actors². Civil society, composed of voluntary organisations and associations of citizens, strives to identify the most pressing societal issues, structure the public debate around them and communicate them effectively to legislators. The media serve as citizens' sources of information and a channel of communication between the two.

In pursuit of profit maximisation, the economic actors engage with high-level decision-makers primarily through collective organisations. They communicate with the public only as far as is necessary to maintain end-markets, usually through advertising in the media. Economic elites may attempt to promote positive messages about themselves as media owners and/or to prevent negative publicity by invoking defamation law.

To remain in power, political actors have to balance the competing requirements of the economy and civil society by enacting laws. The media are the primary channel through which the government can disseminate its messages and learn of the interests of the other actors. Politicians may attempt to promote favourable messages about their conduct and performance through the media and even adopt news-management tactics to deflect criticism thereof.

In the legal subsystem, judges' goals may include promotion of one's policy preferences or ideology, career advancement, approval of the legal community and/or broader institutional legitimacy. Lawyers' motivation may include profit-making and career advancement, but also ethical and moral considerations. Legal actors themselves may occasionally use the law to protect their reputation against criticism of their pursuits in the media.

2 Legal actors belong to the political subsystem in Habermas's conception.

As enterprises generating profit by targeting audiences attractive to advertisers, the media belong to the system. Yet, media professionals may also view their role as “watchdogs”, best understood as lifeworld modes of operation. Since the media are the main link, or bridge, between all other actors, each of the latter may attempt to instrumentalise them to promote their own messages. Contrary to being passive channels of communication, though, as powerful agenda-setters and framers of political and economic debates (e.g. Dearing and Rogers, 1996), media actors actively influence the interactions among other actors.

In their interactions, actors act strategically. Their choices depend on their expectations about the behaviour of other actors. Since their decisions take place under conditions of uncertainty and limited information, actors are not purely rational in the pursuit of their interests. Their “decision frames” (Black, 1997: 63) are further shaped by the structural and cultural contexts of society (Pfetsch, 2004). The structural context denotes formal legal, economic and political institutions as well as the organisational structure in which actors are embedded. The cultural context encompasses the informal norms, values, beliefs, myths and traditions of society. Actors’ interactions are also influenced by the political and economic developments in the international context. The strategic interactions of actors are thus a function of different experiences with institutions and other actors confronting individuals and societies at different times, and the way the information is interpreted through their belief structure (Howard, 2003: 19; North, 1998: 250-251).

In Habermas’s (1996: 81) ideal-typical conceptualisation, law is the means by which citizens transpose collectively and democratically agreed values to the economic, political and cultural frameworks structuring their lives. Law thus becomes “a kind of ‘transmission belt’ that picks up structures of mutual recognition that are familiar from face-to-face interactions and transfers these, in an abstract but binding form, to the anonymous, systematically mediated interaction among strangers” (1996: 448).

Habermas (1987: 196), however, admits the possibility of “colonisation of the lifeworld” by systemic instrumentalism; and identifies it as the cause of the malaise of modern society. The framework allows for the possibility of law being subverted. As North (1998: 249) argues, formal rules are not usually created to be “socially efficient”; rather they “serve the interests of those with the bargaining power to create new rules”. The framework draws our attention to the interests and alliances of social actors, and to the wider structural, cul-

tural and international contexts in which they take place. These explain the kind of rules created at a particular point in time. The characteristics of the rules will, in turn, partially account for how law operates.

As a social institution, law embodies much more than the “law-on-the-books”. Far from being explicit, authoritative and static, laws are often ambiguous, contested, socially constructed and replete with unintended consequences. Judges, enforcers, lawyers and target populations have to “*negotiate the meaning of law in each application*” (Suchman and Edelman, 1996: 932). Eventually, a provisional working agreement on what the law ‘is’ and what it ‘requires’ and how it will actually operate may emerge. These interactions may reaffirm or alter the dominant understandings of law, and thus contribute to changes in its operation (Marjoribanks and Kenyon, 2004: 8) “publisher”: “The University of Melbourne Faculty of Law Legal Studies Research Paper No. 67”, “abstract”: “Legal and media commentators frequently argue that defamation law ‘chills’ media speech. But critical questions remain about whether a chilling effect exists. In particular, when media professionals produce news, are they restricted by defamation concerns? And if so, how? These questions are addressed in this paper, which provides an analysis of interview based fieldwork into news production practices and defamation law at major print media organisations in the US and Australia. On the basis of this analysis, we make three arguments. First, defamation law is perceived to have a more direct, and potentially chilling effect, in Australia. Second, despite this difference, the organisational processes for managing news production in the context of defamation law are similar. Third, journalists, editors and legal advisors actively negotiate organisational responses to defamation law. Overall, the research indicates that defamation law does not operate as a straightforward constraint, but rather through interactions and negotiations between media professionals and their legal advisors.”, “URL”: “http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=530365”, “shortTitle”: “Negotiating News”, “author”: [{"family": “Marjoribanks”, “given”: “Timothy”}, {"family": “Kenyon”, “given”: “Andrew”}], “issued”: {“year”: 2004}, “accessed”: {“year”: 2012, “month”: 2, “day”: 16}, “locator”: “8”, “label”: “page”}], “schema”: “https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json”}.

Since the emergent local standards of practice and interpretation are an endogenous product of evolving social interactions set in particular structural and cultural contexts, the framework does not assume legal change produces instantaneous effects. Instead, law’s functioning is expected to change only gradually, as cognitive and normative beliefs become increas-

ingly institutionalised (Edelman and Suchman, 1997: 498). By implying that even identically worded legal rules may become different laws, when applied in different contexts, this framework emphasises the salience of legal culture. Defined as a legal system's underlying values, established practices and traditions, and the values, beliefs and implicit preconceptions of lawyers, lawmakers, judges and litigants, legal culture seems essential as "*a kind of lens through which all aspects of law must be perceived*" (Cotterrell, 2006: 710).

Further, the framework highlights the political and contested nature of law. Legal ambiguity often invites political manipulation and self-serving interpretation. Courts, lawyers and target populations themselves all perform as "filtering agents" with the capacity to alter the meaning of law in accordance with partisan interests and ideologies. Since law is "*made as it is enforced*" (Suchman and Edelman, 1996: 933), the framework draws attention to judicial decision-making. Judges do not merely mechanically apply "*a set of complete, self-explanatory, pre-existing legal rules*" (Shapiro, 1981: 155). Politicisation of judges based on their preferences or internal bureaucratic agendas is thus possible.

In short, it is the admixture of formal rules, informal norms or culture and enforcement characteristics that shape the operation of law. Thus, to explain how particular legislation shapes journalism at any given point in time, we must first examine the interests and alliances of the actors on which the operation of law depends. Second, we have to attend to the particular constellation of the institutional constraints, cultural trajectories and international environment of that society.

3. APPLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK TO DEFAMATION

Defamation law seeks to regulate the publication of material harmful to reputation by balancing two public interests – free speech and the protection of reputation. Despite identical basic civil defamation provisions anchored in the Civil Code of 1964, anecdotal evidence suggests that the law in the Czech Republic operates differently from the law in Slovakia. In the Czech Republic, there have been hardly any reports of defamation threats against the media. In the few cases that have occurred, the media have usually succeeded. In contrast, the tendency of Slovak elites to file defamation claims against the media has intensified since 2008. In Slovakia, defamation is thus widely considered to be a deliberate attempt to weaken critical media coverage (Belakova, 2011). The case of defamation law in the Czech Republic and Slovakia requires a systematic examination

of the actual operation of the law. Such an examination may explore the frequency and outcomes of litigation and/or the threat thereof and the identity of claimants, as well as how law shapes journalism; be it in terms of a “chilling effect”,³ or the practices adopted to deal with defamation. Perhaps more intriguingly, it also raises questions about the factors that interplay with the “law-on-the-books” to produce such apparently divergent experiences for journalists in the two jurisdictions.

To answer these questions, the first analytical step suggested by the presented framework is to examine the players of the “defamation game” and their interests. While political and economic elites are anticipated as chief claimants, the media will often play the role of defendants. Civil society actors are expected to figure as claimants only rarely. Although potentially powerful actors who could change the behaviour of the elites through protests against misuses of defamation, they are assumed to remain passive and preoccupied by other issues. Occasionally, legal system actors may appear as claimants. However, since the defamation game revolves around litigation and/or the threat thereof, judges in particular are expected to be crucial to explaining how defamation law operates in cases involving the media. The analysis should thus pay close attention to judicial decision-making.

Next, defamation laws and other closely related procedural rules in each jurisdiction ought to be analysed as they affect the attractiveness of litigation, and hence its frequency and forms. Procedures for determining legal standing for public figures, the level of damages, jurisdictional rules and the like may influence whether elites use defamation to protect their reputation, or in an attempt to constrain journalism. Simultaneously, these factors will enter the cost-benefit calculations of the media when deciding whether or not to publish certain stories. The rate and use of defamation litigation and its effect on journalism may also depend on the existence or non-existence of more effective or more socially acceptable alternative means for achieving claimants’ goals. For instance, the use of a right of reply may trigger fewer protests on the part of civil society and bring about faster remedy in case of defamation in the media. In contrast, if the goal is to manage what is published in the public sphere, and when physical harassment of journalists is socially unacceptable, defamation law may be the most efficient tool.

3 Barendt et al. (1997: 191-192) recognise two types of chilling effect. A direct chilling effect occurs when media outputs are specifically altered in light of legal considerations. A structural chilling effect is subtler, making journalists internalise the restrictive libel regime, and thus renders certain individuals and topics off-limits.

Preliminary investigation seems to suggest that the laws and procedures related to defamation, including alternative legal tools, are almost identical. The social acceptability of using defamation linked to the strength of civil society and societal values thus seems to shed more light on the puzzle. Indeed, when investigating any chilling effect on public speech, the framework suggests that a range of structural and cultural factors other than law should be considered. Kenyon (2010) argues that media ownership, journalism practices, the style and level of civil society activism and political opposition are of particular explanatory power in this regard.⁴ Ownership influences the level of financial resources media organisations have at their disposal to run their day-to-day operations. Thus, while financially strong media may regard defamation as “irksome”, it may not produce excessive chilling effects. For instance, Cheer (2005) suggested that media in New Zealand effectively manage defamation threats, and consider them part of the daily routine. Similarly, the nature of competition in the media market may be a more important consideration for editors when running a story than the threat of defamation. For instance, Barendt et al.’s (1997: 183) study revealed that, owing to the fear that their competitors might get exclusive coverage, British tabloids rarely kill or significantly amend a story, even if it carries a risk of defamation. These factors may explain the cross-border differences in perceptions, as well as among different media outlets within the same country.

Ownership is closely connected to the ideology of media organisations that partially explains what products get published. CEE democracies have recently seen a trend of local tycoons investing in media outlets with the aim of using them to promote their business or political interests rather than to make a profit (Štětka, 2012). They are often part of clientelistic networks that still play a significant role in CEE politics. These informal networks of entrepreneurs, politicians, judges, prosecutors and media owners participate in often non-transparent and corrupt exchanges of favours with the aim of resource extraction from the state (Örnebring, 2012). The instrumentalisation of media by these tycoons ranges from ‘advertisorials’, or positive promotion, to ‘kompromat’, or smearing of rivals, in regular media outputs (506–509). In the case of ‘kompromat’, defamation may serve as a justified remedy for injured reputation.

The nature of professional journalism standards may also explain some aspects of the functioning of defamation law. Several studies (e.g. Mar-

⁴ This is not an exhaustive list. Since the international context is identical, the analysis focuses on interactions among domestic actors.

joribanks and Kenyon, 2004)"publisher":"The University of Melbourne Faculty of Law Legal Studies Research Paper No. 67","abstract":"Legal and media commentators frequently argue that defamation law 'chills' media speech. But critical questions remain about whether a chilling effect exists. In particular, when media professionals produce news, are they restricted by defamation concerns? And if so, how? These questions are addressed in this paper, which provides an analysis of interview based fieldwork into news production practices and defamation law at major print media organisations in the US and Australia. On the basis of this analysis, we make three arguments. First, defamation law is perceived to have a more direct, and potentially chilling effect, in Australia. Second, despite this difference, the organisational processes for managing news production in the context of defamation law are similar. Third, journalists, editors and legal advisors actively negotiate organisational responses to defamation law. Overall, the research indicates that defamation law does not operate as a straightforward constraint, but rather through interactions and negotiations between media professionals and their legal advisors.","URL":"http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=530365","shortTitle":"Negotiating News","author":[{"family":"Marjori banks","given":"Timothy"}, {"family":"Kenyon","given":"Andrew"}],"is sued":{"year":2004,"accessed":{"year":2012,"month":2,"day":16},"prefix":"e.g."},"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} have found that in publication decisions, professional standards and status remained more important than defamation considerations. Journalists would decide whether to publish on the merits of the story, and whether its publication was in the public interest, rather than based on the threat of defamation. Similarly, if professional standards were high, defamatory stories would rarely be published, and there would arguably be little need for litigation.

Journalistic practices, the role orientations of actors and perceptions of what is acceptable, as reflected in the operation of defamation law, are also shaped by the cultural context and historical traditions. Transitions trigger conflicts and confusion about norms and standards of conduct, leaving the actors to renegotiate the power balance between them. The experience with communism and/or democracy, and the presence or absence of nation-building, seem central in explaining the operation of defamation and its effects on journalism. If communism were an interruption of a strong democratic tradition, the actors would be more likely to renegotiate the rules of their relationship to make them conducive to open and critical debate and a strong civil society. This in turn would render using

defamation to silence critical voices in the media unacceptable, and could trigger civil society protests. Similarly, if nation-building is under way during transition, national and social unity may become more important than critical and open debate. The political culture would thus be more likely to accommodate elites justifying the silencing of dissonant views and opposition (Voltmer, 2006: 5).

The Czech and Slovak experiences with the democratic Czechoslovak Republic and communism were markedly different (Rychlík, 1995), as was their experience of the first years of transition (Hilde, 1999). While, for the Czechs, the “normalisation” period of communism meant stagnation and persecution, for the Slovaks it represented socio-economic development. While the Czechs embraced the democratic and liberal values of the First Republic, amid a rapidly deteriorating socio-economic situation, the Slovaks longed for a slower pace of reform. Moreover, in contrast to the Czech Republic, Slovakia contained deep ethnic cleavages and, after Czechoslovakia’s dissolution, underwent a process of nation-building needing strong, unchallenged leadership. As a result, the two countries experienced different modes of democratisation, which have potentially produced differing informal institutions, levels of civil society activism, professional journalistic values and relationships between politics and the media.

The framework assigns a great significance to judicial decision-making. Preliminary evidence suggests that it may be key to explaining the apparently divergent experiences of Czech and Slovak journalists. Czech media representatives do not generally think that the judiciary would single out the media for disproportionate punishment, or that it lacks an “understanding of media issues” (IPI, 2009). In contrast, Slovak journalists have argued that, due to the disproportionately large damages awarded to elite claimants, they are unwilling to run stories of public interest (Belakova, 2011).⁵

In their decision-making and interactions with other actors in the defamation game, judges are undeniably influenced by the prevailing societal values and traditions. In addition, the structural context of the judiciary and courts – how cases are allocated, the judicial system structure and the rules regulating judicial promotion – are expected to shape the operation

5 Prominent Slovak figures have been awarded one-off compensation ranging from 8,000 to 49,500 Euro (Bureau of Democracy, 2009). Before the watershed 2011 ruling awarding just over 40,000 Euro to a celebrity, the highest defamation award in Czech courts amounted to 12,000 Euro (iDnes.cz, 2009).

of defamation law. Several authors have drawn attention to “*the politicization of judging*” (Goldstein, 2004: 614) – a tendency of political elites to turn to prosecution in court as a way of eliminating political opponents, including the media (Maravall, 2003). Judges may be prone to such politicisation, particularly if the political regime actively controls their career opportunities and if they are subjected to a great deal of discipline by their supervisors (Shapiro, 1981: 151).

The judiciary is a hierarchically organised civil service, with judges as the ministry of justice employees. Thus, even if free from direct political control, judges may be “*closely allied with the career civil service executives*” who run the country (Ibid.: 156). Common ties and sympathy with other government executives may systematically bias judicial decision-making, since the judges are likely to be closely attuned to the viewpoints of government officials. Arguably present in all civil law countries, these connections may be reinforced in post-communist democracies due to the high level of elite continuity throughout societies (Sparks, 2008). The present political, economic and legal elites have their roots in the former regime and are often closely connected.

The situation in the judiciary and the connections between judges and clientelistic networks seem to account for the difference in judicial decision-making in defamation cases in the two jurisdictions. For instance, one of the most successful Slovak litigants is the President of the Supreme Court and former Justice Minister, who in 2009 alone was awarded over 64,000 Euro in damages (Báraba, 2009). While many of his supporters among judges have been promoted, his critics have been subject to disciplinary proceedings, salary reductions or suspension (Bureau of Democracy, 2009). As a result, journalists have voiced concerns about the judiciary’s independence in defamation cases instigated by political and business elites. One commentator even referred to a “*cartel*” between the justice system and the government that threatens media freedom in Slovakia (Šimečka, 2009).

4. CONCLUSION

Systematic examinations of how and under which conditions law influences journalism are critical to understanding what gets published in the public spheres of post-communist democracies. As Youm (2008, 290) argued, the role of the law “*in shaping or being shaped by journalism is undeniable*”. This chapter has introduced the initial scaffolding of an analytical framework that could guide examinations of the relationship between le-

gal rules and journalism, exemplified by the case of defamation law in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. There are several reasons why the framework may be beneficial to such research projects. Emphasizing the subtle interplays between normative values, material interests and cognitive assumptions, and their structural, cultural and international contexts, the framework prevents simplistic explanations. By considering the effects of history and path dependence, the presented framework helps account for the evolution of the various interplays between law and journalism. Finally, by focusing on the cognitive aspects of the strategic interactions between social actors in explaining the effects of law on journalism, this framework also puts forward the desirability of qualitative research. For, ultimately, the best way to fully understand actors' perceptions is to ask them.

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SECTION THREE

TIME AND MEMORY



**GUEST LECTURE BY
ALEŠ DEBELJAK**

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Memory, Selfhood and Sociality in the Age of Networked Photography

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1. INTRODUCTION

Just a brief look at the proliferation of personal images and photographic albums on social networking platforms reveals that photographic practices, and their circuits of production, circulation and consumption, have changed considerably as a result of new media and digital technologies. New technologies, applications and multiple digital visual platforms are increasingly mediating the ways individuals present themselves, and also shape their relations with the outer world. Personal networked photographs are produced, shared, consumed and archived through new digital imaging devices, platforms and networks. They have essentially flooded the world of Web 2.0, and play an increasingly important role in media practices, as a central aspect of Internet communication. If personal or domestic photography can stand as an example of the transformations that happen when photography begins to take part in a network environment, we can still reaffirm photography as *“both a leisure pursuit and an increasingly flexible medium for the construction of ordinary people’s accounts of their lives and fantasies”* (Holland, 1997: 196).

Considering the centrality of the visual in everyday life experiences, the present chapter provides an overview of personal photography in our new media ecology, and it is driven by the question: how are the practices and social meanings of photography in everyday life changing in interaction with digital devices and networks? I will then explore networked snapshot photography as an everyday practice of remembrance, sociality and identity formation, and how it consequently blurs boundaries between private and public spheres. With a reflective understanding not just of the disjunctures, but also of the continuities and extensions between old and new technologies and associated practices, I will stress the importance of looking into networked photographic practices in order to reflect

upon the process of appropriation of technologies. Finally, I will conclude by pointing out emerging approaches and contributions to understanding media and photography, not as representations, but by addressing the practices through which they gain meaning.

2. PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE DIGITAL AGE

By the late 1980s, large corporations started working on a “post-desktop” technological paradigm for human-computer interaction known as ubiquitous or pervasive computing. This vision was based on the possibility of combining a series of networked and mobile technologies, in order to incorporate computational capabilities in the objects and environments that surround us, making the ubiquitous computing resources integrated into the day-to-day, able to insinuate themselves into all the openings that everyday life offers (Galloway, 2004).

Currently, at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, this vision of the rising ubiquity of networked technology is no longer just a fantasy. Computers are fragmenting into mobile phones, netbooks, tablets, smartphones or MP3 players - technological artefacts that connect the physical world and the Internet in new ways, often using the interaction made possible by Web 2.0. This post-desktop era is also synonymous with an exponential multiplication of screens, which has been strongly affirmed by Lipovetsky and Serroy (2010: 10):

The screen everywhere and at all times: [...] the screen of all dimensions, the flat screen, the big screen and the small mobile screen; the screen on you, the screen with you; the screen where all can be done and all can be seen. The video screen, the thumbnail screen, the graphic screen, the portable screen, the touch screen: the coming century is the century of the omnipresent and multiform screen, of the planetary and multimedia screen.

A multiplicity of screens that bursts and makes itself felt in daily life. As part of this kaleidoscope of screens on new technological devices, personal photography continues to be one of the most successful consumer technologies in the contemporary landscape. The transformations to which it has been subject, along with the developments in information and communication technologies, have changed the ways people create, distribute, share, consume and archive photographic images.

Never before have people taken as many photographs as they take now,

at a time when digital imaging devices - digital photography cameras or mobile phones with built-in cameras - are one of the fastest growing consumer markets worldwide. Digital cameras allow endless snapshots, with no additional costs besides free space on memory cards. The camera's convergence with the mobile phone has introduced new forms of photographic communication, like the capacity for permanent visual contact with distant others, which led Mizuko Ito (2005) to talk of an era of "*visual co-presence*", of permanent connection between each other and with the outer world through images.

The ubiquity of the digital imagery apparatus enables a growing readiness to create visual relations with the surrounding reality and to record every action and every commonplace scene and detail, from cups of coffee and cupcakes, cute pets, flowers growing on the balcony to an outfit about to be worn or the new culinary experiment that is just being served. A changing scenery of practices and objects that: "[...] invites a new kind of personal awareness, a persistent alertness to the visually newsworthy. As the mundane has been elevated to a photographic object, the everyday is now the site of potential news and visual archiving" (Okabe and Ito, 2003).

These new imaging devices provide opportunities to capture and store all the visual information about the places we pass by, or the people, things and experiences that are significant to us. Moreover, personal computers, although becoming smaller and thinner, carry and hold even more data about our lives, as more and more people throw themselves into the task of self-archiving, ordering, filing and sorting personal photographs.

3. PHOTOGRAPHY AND WEB 2.0

In fact, not only do contemporary digital media enable the relatively cheap creation, management and storage of records of events and experiences, easily accessible and retrievable; these records are also quickly reproduced worldwide. We are experiencing new mobilities and "*not only people and things are on the move in ways that they have never been before, but also data and records of events*" (Reading, 2009: 32). Personal and domestic photography in circulation through the telematic networks has become an important characteristic of the present media and visually saturated landscape.

The development of new technologies and the emergence of Web 2.0 have given rise to interactive platforms and what was designated as "*participa-*

tory culture", defined by Jenkins (2006: 290) as "a culture in which fans and other consumers are invited to actively participate in the creation and circulation of new content". Strongly anchored in collaboration and user content, the Web 2.0 has also contributed to a mass popularisation of digital photography.

Millions of people create and share visual content online on a regular basis. New technologies, applications and multiple digital visual platforms – social networks like Facebook, Flickr, or the more recent Pinterest and Instagram, YouTube, blogs or photoblogs – show a new ubiquity of digital photography, where it is possible not just to register and visually materialise the most mundane moments of daily life, but also to share them almost instantaneously. This sharing of photos is now part of daily life "for a generation schooled in virtual self-actualization" (Palmer, 2010: 155). Every day, around 300 million photos are uploaded to Facebook.

The expeditious process between the act of capturing a digital image and the act of exposing it immediately afterwards on the Internet, the growing accessibility not only of computers and multiple mobile digital devices, but also of digital storage and access to broadband connection, as well as the growing computer literacy among people of all ages, have begun to provide new opportunities for capturing and transmitting images. It has also allowed for the emergence of the "citizen-reporter". Being in the right place, at the right time, and with a mobile phone, can be enough to make any person a photojournalist. In essence, Web 2.0 technologies have made it possible for the average user to access the means of production and distribution, previously restricted to professionals. Never before have so many individuals, with a growing digital and visual literacy, been able to distribute content to so many others, participate and interact visually with the surrounding reality, and share their views and understandings of the world in which they live. And, as Rubinstein and Sluis emphasise, while describing the current developments of what they called "the networked image", referring to "a life more photographic", "the mass-amateurization of photography, and its renewed visibility online signals a shift in the valorization of photographic culture" (Rubinstein and Sluis, 2008: 11).

4. FROM FAMILY ALBUMS TO SOCIAL NETWORKS: NETWORKED PHOTOGRAPHY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Digital technologies, ubiquitous computing and Web 2.0 have thus made it possible for users to create, share, consume and archive photos and

images in their everyday online activities, and through the lens of this contemporary reality we can see the potential changing nature of photographic practices, contexts, objects and dynamics.

When Kodak cameras were introduced, made public and integrated into everyday family life, domestic snapshots, the most familiar of photographic genres, tended to be represented as “*predictable, conservative and repetitive in both form and content*” (Batchen, 2008: 121), and intimately bounded up with memory, domestic settings and the private world.

In the “analogue age”, photographs were predominately seen as keepers of cherished family memories, emotional objects of autobiographic remembrance. Sontag (1979: 15) writes:

[P]hotographs actively promote nostalgia. [...] Most subjects photographed are, just by virtue of being photographed, touched with pathos. [...] All photographs are memento mori. To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt.

In *Camera Lucida*, Barthes (1981) affirmed the role of photography as a silent witness of “*what has been*”, more close to loss and death than to presence. Bazin (1980: 242) related the photographic album with the ritual function of the Egyptian mummies of preserving life and embalming time, “*rescuing it simply from its proper corruption*”. In these phenomenological approaches, the function of photography as a tool for identity construction and as communication medium was acknowledged, but was always understood as something secondary in relation to its primordial function: memory (Van Dijck, 2008).

From a sociological approach, the practice of amateur and domestic photography was analysed within the broader context of the social practices of collective identity construction. Bourdieu et al. (1990) described the production of family albums as a conventional and ritualised practice with a “*normalizing function*” of constructing middle-class narratives, consolidating bourgeois values, desires and ways of life. Family photography functioned as a “*ritual of integration*”, reinforcing and perpetuating family ideologies, like stability, closeness or happiness. Chalfen (1987) also analysed the conventionality of snapshot photography within what he called “*Kodak culture*”, stressing, however, the “*personal expression and interpersonal communication*” that inevitably underlie these kinds of personal

and vernacular images. In line with Bourdieu, Chalfen also shows how this practice is connected with rites of passage, such as weddings, birthdays or Christmas family gatherings, and how snapshots were produced, consumed, viewed and shared within the close social circle of family and friends.

As a networked practice in the lives of so many people, this private imagery is increasingly transcending the domestic circle when shared with larger audiences. Digital traces of zeros and ones, they seem rather different from the photos of sparse moments materialised in the architectural spaces of memory in analogue photographic albums. In the present, as stated by Appadurai (2003: 19), *“the archive of possible lives is now richer and more available to ordinary people than ever before”*. New technological platforms and devices are increasingly mediating private memories, and the immersion into this digitised context means a new public visibility, and a widening of the public reach of mediated memories. This reality also raises questions about how technologies give birth to new practices of inscription and incorporation of memory and affect how we remember and how we forget (Mayer-Schonberger, 2009).

The traditional family albums and “shoe boxes” are becoming galleries of images and narratives open to broader social circles, contributing to the blurring of established boundaries between public and private space. This current reality updates Barthes’ (1981: 98) insight that:

[T]he age of Photography corresponds precisely to the explosion of the private into the public, or rather into the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private: the private is consumed as such, publicly.

Considering the changing nature of this dichotomy, Lásen and Gómez-Cruz (2009), departing from an ethnographic study on self-portraits, claimed that public and private realms are being reconfigured by digital and networked photographic practices, practices that entail changes in the relations between privacy and intimacy.

As a contemporary practice performed on social networking sites, photography has attracted the attention of many scholars from different academic backgrounds. In the context of Flickr, Murray (2008: 147) argues that *“photography is no longer just the embalmer of time [...] but rather a more alive, immediate and often transitory practice/form”*. Harrison (2002) notices how self-presentation is now the primary function of photography, as opposed to the family representation, remembrance or commemoration

underlined in previous studies. In this shift of the social uses of photography, the individual has become the focus of pictorial life and experience, and photography is used as a tool for identity formation and the affirmation of individuality and personal ties. And seen as performative practices connected to presence and “common banality”, rather than a nostalgic trace of memory, online digital photographic practices can lead to a re-configuration and re-negotiation of concepts such as presence and present (Petersen, 2008).

Photography in online networking is increasingly addressed as a performative everyday social practice, and as a communicative tool, a currency for social interaction, where identity construction is produced in individual social networking profiles. Nevertheless, if personal and domestic analogue photography was traditionally conceptualised as a chronological narrative and technology of memory, it has always been a site for human interaction and communication, as well as for identity formation (Van Dijck, 2008). Sandbye argues that, despite the different definitions to which family photography has been subject and related, maybe it will be through its practices within Web 2.0. that *“we can fully realize the content, depth, and the potential of family photography”*. In this process *“we can actually highlight aspects of the medium that were already there: the conception of photography as a primarily social, participatory, performative and culture phenomenon”* (2012: 107).

5. ANALYTIC APPROACHES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

If the transformations within digital technologies (and consequently in visual culture) in the past were interpreted in terms of a revolution or novelty, it is important to stress here, in agreement with Van Dijck (2008) and Sandbye (2012), that digital media do not represent a complete rupture or a technological revolution, but are a continuity and an extension of traditional analogue media. In the case of snapshot photography they can reinforce and amplify already existing practices, as briefly illustrated in this chapter. The practice of domestic photography can therefore stand as an example of the ways in which practices associated with analogue photography have continued into the digital realm, an example of Bolter’s and Grusin’s (2000) concept of “remediation”, meaning that the conceptualisation of a new medium is often based on its precursors, not necessarily producing a radically new and changed aesthetic or cultural frame, but remediating older forms.

The role of photography in mediating social relations, communicating experiences and producing social life has always been present. We are, nonetheless, faced with a variety of practices and objects in relation to photography, and with a new protagonism of the visual experience in an increasingly mediatised society, that urge scholars to look into domestic snapshots in the intersection of various social and cultural processes and technologies. Accounting for changes and continuities in domestic photographic practices, as well as for how individuals perceive and interpret their social doings, the processes through which they assign meaning to the new dynamics of snapshot photography direct us to the model “circuit of culture”, proposed by du Gay et al. (1997), and to the concept of domestication (Silverstone, 1992, 2006). These lines of research are useful analytical lenses, as they look both into the practices and processes of meaning-making related to technologies in everyday life.

Through the study of the Sony Walkman, DuGay et al. analysed cultural artifacts within a dynamic model they called the “circuit of culture”. This states that the processes of meaning-making assigned to certain cultural artifacts encompass at least five major overlapping and intertwined cultural processes: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. These processes entail and embody distinctive meanings and social practices. Lister and Wells (2001), Rantavou (2008) and Gómez-Cruz (2012) are examples of scholars who have been inspired by this model in their approach to photographic images and practices, within their cycle of social production, circulation and consumption, since photographs:

can be thought of as passing through a number of “moments” and its passage through each moment contributes to the meanings – plural, not singular – which it has and may have.[...] Within this cycle there are processes of transformation taking place and also of struggle and contest over what they mean and how they are used (Lister and Wells, 2001: 64).

The wider scope of the circuit of culture approach is therefore useful, since it highlights the complex and multi-sited processes of meaning-making, in a broad perspective, that positions technological products and social practices within wider cultural phenomena.

When taking a micro-level perspective of media uses and contexts of use in everyday life, domestication approach can also be a beneficial tool. Emphasising the creative relationship between individuals and technological instruments, and the active nature of their consumption, Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) approached the social processes of adoption, use and ap-

appropriation of media and communication technologies in domestic space. The concept of domestication stands as a metaphor for the dialectical processes of incorporation of information and communication technologies in daily life. Silverstone reformulated later (2006) that these processes take place within both private and public spaces, two juxtaposed and hybrid realms in times of mobility. Adopting and consuming technological goods has the potential to redefine the invested meanings and initial purposes for which they were designed. It is a process that involves negotiation and change within a context of pre-existing social relations, where meanings are produced and operate. By integrating and domesticating technologies into their lives, individuals and households endow them with their own particular meanings.

Both of these approaches are positioned within the common ground of the social shaping of technology, addressing the social construction of the material technological objects as well their role of mediation in the constitution of the social. Both capture these dialectic processes. New media and digital technologies are woven into and intimately connected to familiar spaces and activities of the quotidian, to our mundane physical experiences. As Miller and Slater stated, "*continuous with and embedded in other social spaces, [...] that happen within mundane social structures and relations that they may transform but that they cannot escape*" (Miller and Slater, 2000: 5).

To a certain extent, addressing the continuities and changes between old and new technologies, photographic practices and how new media and technologies are domesticated in everyday life can be crystallised within the approach of looking into "*media as practice rather than representation, as taking part of the world rather than reflecting it*" (Crang, 1997 in Pink, 2011: 93). In accordance with Gómez-Cruz (2012), I would like to emphasise that the social meanings assigned to photography in everyday life are the result of its practices.

In my view, instead of describing domestic photography as a window or a mirror to culture, it should be explored outside the screens, in the context of ordinary practices and the variety of ways people are adopting, incorporating and perceiving photographic uses and technologies. In order to understand personal and domestic photography in its contemporaneity and in the everydayness of culture, the "newness" of pictorial practices in social media platforms should not only be addressed in an isolated and discontinuous form. Another approach can be to research how identity, memory and communication are – in various ways – inscribed and per-

formed, both in traditional family albums and in public or semi-public social media spaces. As I have argued in this chapter, a descriptive understanding of the uses of personal and domestic photography in analogue albums and of its practices and potentialities within Web 2.0 can shed light on the complex intertwining between “old” and “new” technologies and social practices, and on the complex imbrications of the technological, social and cultural processes within contemporary society.

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Historical Memory, Ethics and Communication

Manuel Parés i Maicas

1. ETHICS AND MEMORY

Any study of a historical memory of a political community has to be founded upon the prevailing ethical requirements. Given that there are many definitions of ethics, I would like to outline a global one that can be found in my book, *Ètica, deontologia i comunicació*:

"[Ethics] is the study, evaluation and promotion of behaviour considered right according to parameters judged to be morally appropriate. Thus, consideration needs to be given to how people interpret, apply, balance and modify their principles in the light of new facts, the impact of technology, new social attitudes and the changing economic and social situations. It presupposes that the role of social change is paradigmatic, because ethics is never a static phenomenon. It is linked to permanent and dynamic trends in the principles and values of a society." (2011: 27)

According to Mel Thompson (2005: 1-2), we have to distinguish between *descriptive* and *normative* ethics. Descriptive ethics deals with moral options and the value they receive in a specific society. It expresses what people do and contributes to the arguments citizens use to justify their behaviour. It contains sociological and psychological references and does not judge what is good and what is not. Normative ethics, on the other hand, analyses the norms used by people to formulate their moral options. Normative ethics judges the duties of people, what they should accomplish and the role of deontology, as well as studying those values as expressed through moral actions.

The underlying ethical dimension in the study of collective and historical memory is particularly apparent in cases where countries – such as Spain – have gone through a period of modern history under a dictatorship. The

historical memory and practices of remembering of these periods are, as will be shown below with reference to Spain, particularly sensitive and contested. But before engaging with the concepts of collective and historical memory, I would first like to briefly address the concept of personal memory. Simply said, it is the individual's capacity to register, conserve, remember and evoke experiences through images, events, feelings, etc. The *Diccionario de la lengua Española* (2007) defines memory as "power of the soul, through which the past is kept and remembered". It has also been defined as the "aptitude to keep all the impressions, especially those related with the mind, and to reproduce them, consciously or not, in a form of conduct, images or ideas".

The Catalan philosopher José Ferrater Mora, in his well-known *Diccionario de filosofía* (1944/2004), devotes a large entry to memory, and states:

"The memory would be the faculty of what you remember that is sensitive, to retain the impressions and the perceptions, whereas the keepsake would be a spiritual act, namely the fact through which the soul sees in what is sensitive in the possibility of interpretation following the models or archetypes envisaged when he/she was taking away of the chains of the body."

Regardless of the allegoric tone employed, I believe that this is a pertinent position, and, in my opinion, the keepsake, which is normally an individual act, belongs to the memory as a whole. In this chapter, I limit my investigation to the phenomena of collective and historical memory, but I wished to start this investigation with the general (individual) concept of memory, since I believe it explains the development of both of these specific (collective) forms.

2. COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In his book *On Collective Memory* (1950/1992), the great French researcher of Jewish origin, Maurice Halbwachs, takes as a point of departure the idea that the individual memory only exists as a function of the social frames that offer the possibility to reconstruct the past. We rediscover our memories as a consequence of the requirements of the present. And what is essential for this is that we obtain it from the frames and the notions that we receive from the collective. He remarks on the role of social groups. And he observes that we only remember what makes sense for our community.

I want to add that, for him, collective memory is shared, transmitted and built up by our social groups. He states that the groups have collective, familiar, religious, class and mnemonic senses. It is what permits them to preserve their institutions. Halbwachs also points out the role played by external influences, and I believe that it is particularly relevant to observe the role that ideologies and culture play in these processes, something that can only be achieved through a transdisciplinary approach and conceptualisation of the identity of citizens.

German Egyptologist Jan Assman (1992/2011) distinguishes between cultural memory (whose function is to store the different elements) and communicative memory (daily memory connected to actuality). In his opinion, the functions of cultural memory are to situate the individual psychology in the social models that organise and to define the temporal function of the ideology. In short, Assman's work indicates how the past is put to the service of the present.

Any comprehensive study of collective memory also has to incorporate the dimensions of space and human body, as outlined by French historian Pierre Nora (1996), who emphasises the importance of the place and of the spaces of shared memory, and by sociologist Paul Connerton (1989), who sees the human body as a place for the collective processes of memory retention and propagation.

At this point, I believe I must stress that governments and the media attempt to influence the collective memory of a community by rewriting history, by praising or criticising prominent public figures such as political leaders or intellectuals. If these efforts are consistent and are made over a longer period of time, they may change the political memory of a generation, building up its historical memory. If we compare the concept of historic memory to that of public opinion, we see that the former is characterised by stability and durability, while the latter is a more fluid and unstable phenomenon. The role of (mass) media in relation to the collective memory of a nation was importantly theorised by Irish political scientist Benedict Anderson (1983/1991) through his concept of *imagined communities*, which implies a shared sense of belonging and heritage for a large number of individuals who will never meet in person. Moreover, James E. Young (1994) has brought to the fore the notion of "legacy of memory" in opposition to the collective memory, through its fragmentation, recompilation and singular character.

3. HISTORICAL MEMORY

As I have said before, the role of historical memory is linked to the concept of social or historical change. According to Francesc-Marc Álvaro (2012), historical memory is a consequence of a trauma, and we cannot separate it either from the emotion or from its own emotional signification. It does not have a relation to the truth in the cognitive sense. It is not synonymous with remembrance, as its construction depends on social tensions and on selective forgetting, which connects it effectively with cultural practices of narration, such as cinema, comics or literature.

The relationship between ideology and political behaviour is highly interconnected, especially in authoritarian or totalitarian regimes where governments repress basic human rights. Often, political parties, media and public opinion are strictly controlled by the political or the economic power and serve their interests. Under such circumstances, construction of historical memory is subjected to the malicious or biased interpretation of history. An example of this would be the interpretation of the Spanish Civil War provided by *Diccionario de la Historia de España*, particularly the texts elaborated by Luis Suárez Fernández, a well-known Francoist scholar. From a democratic end ethical point of view, it is necessary to avoid any historical narrative that is false or does not respect the truth. It is vital for every society that there should exist a balanced formulation of historical events, such as those of the Catalan Josep Fontana or the British Paul Preston in respect of recent Spanish history. Herodotus asserted that history is a work of the memory, a battle against forgetfulness. However, the study of historical memory opens up the question of objectivity and subjectivity in relation to memory, history and truth. Memory is subjective, but we cannot assert that history is always objective, because both are subject to the risk of manipulation, in particular when it comes to traumatic social events. In Spain, the debate on the issues of truth and history has brought about polarising views on the relationship between those issues and historical memory.

For example, Stanley Payne claims that:

A historical memory is neither memory nor history. What is mentioned as such or 'collective memory', is not that, but a version or versions, created by advertising experts, political activists, journalists or even certain biased historians. Essentially they are myths or legends created in connection to the past. It may have a certain part of empirical truth or nothing. The memory is individual and subjective. Never is 'historical' or 'collective' as such. The history, on the

contrary, it is not based upon individual or subjective memories, but on the intellectual research of the empirical data that survive on the past. In fact, there are some researchers who are hollowing out graves and carrying out serious studies. This is always relevant and as far research is concerned, should be praised. But it is totally unacceptable to impose an unbalanced and partisan version which refuses to accept the results of a serious research. The truth is that it is a 'revision', what it is the majority of the serious research. If we do not want to discover new data which may enrich and revise our understanding, why to investigate? But a version simply politicised of the promotion of the historical memory does not intend to revise, but just to repeat and impose a version. This political movement does not have interest in the history. It means that it is not a revision, but its politicisation" (in an interview on ABC, December 17, 2006)

Similarly, historian Santos Julià asks: "What is a historical memory in a country divided to the death by a war between brothers?" The question suggests the answer that, where there are such deep divisions, shared memory can only be built on the basis of forgetting the past. This is the sense of a general amnesty, as understood by Indalecio Prieto and José María Gil Robles.

I should like to formulate some comments on these views. In connection with Payne's opinion, it is evident that he does not agree with the objectives and the content of the *Law of the Historical Memory*.¹ His perspective on history and historical memory excludes the possibility that they might have an ideological origin, and is based on a feeling founded more on the democratic sense of life than on the reason *stricto sensu*. Those who, like my generation, have suffered from repression of their own historical memory are very well aware of the weight of affective and sentimental factors. As far as the position adopted by Santos Julià is concerned, I should like to note that historical memory is never shared in a general way in a particular country, especially in cases of class or armed conflicts. It can only make sense in terms of a specific ideology and how that ideology judges these confrontations. This is especially evident in citizens negotiating over the meaning of symbolic and ritualised manifestations of history that are adopted by the state and its institutions, such as places of memory and remembrance, symbols and commemorative acts and celebrations.

1 The *Law of the Historic Memory* was passed in Spain in 2007 and grants rights to victims (and their descendants) of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco. It also formally condemns the Franco regime.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In authoritarian regimes such as Franco's Spain, historical memory is usually related to violent and conflictive acts of repression committed by the authorities against citizens. Moreover, the sense of disempowerment over the (re)construction of one's historical memory often continues after the end of repression.

The physician Francisco Etxeberria, who has exhumed 500 executed victims of the Civil War, has voiced an opinion with which I fully agree: *"It should not be the case that there are still people who show fear when they refer to the Civil War and the Repression. We have to tell them that it was totally unfair and terrible, that we understand them, and that we will do our best to help them. It is very sad that there still exists a feeling of fear."* (cited by Nuria Tesón in an interview in *El País-San Sebastián*, 18 December 2006).

In the light of this, full access to information and archive material should be granted to experts and citizens, something which in many instances is still not the case. One example of this often quoted is the alleged partiality of the *Fundación Francisco Franco*, presided over by Franco's daughter Carmen Franco Polo, which keeps Franco's personal archive.

As I have shown above, in authoritarian regimes, historical memory is subjected to powerful ideological pressures which are linked to a regime's political and economic power. However, I also hope that I have managed to indicate that such pressures can also be strong in non-authoritarian regimes, since they are in essence linked to the degree of citizens' freedom and respect of their rights by political and economic elites. As the Spanish case clearly indicates, the use of propaganda and disinformation techniques has been extremely damaging for victims of the repression.

The protection of historical memory is an essential task for any democratic and by extension ethical society. I have tried to approach this subject from a non-engaged perspective, focusing not only on the concepts of memory, collectivity and history, but also on the underlying ethical dimension of these processes. Even if this subject has not yet drawn the degree of scholarly attention it deserves, I maintain that, from the Spanish viewpoint, and even from the democratic one, this is a question that should very much evolve in parallel with historical and social change.

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Uncertain Guilt: How the Czech Television Serial *Vyprávěj* Stirred Up Viewers' Memories of Socialism

Irena Reifová, Radim Hladík

Popular television has some distinct privileges in representing the past. As Irwin-Zarecka asserts, it frames collective memory in at least two important ways: exposure, since *“for many people, television offers the main, if not the only information they have about a great number of historical events”*; and claims to historical accuracy, as *“television presents us with reality-based drama, docudrama and document where the strength of writing, visuals, and faithfulness to detail all combine”* (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994: 155-156). These mnemonic properties make television a worthwhile object of study in countries like the Czech Republic, which arguably are still trying to come to terms with their state socialist legacy.

We intend to look at how television programming intervenes in the formation of post-socialist memory. Our main goal is to examine how memory (interrupted by the *“politics of a thick line”* after 1989) is secured by the *“semiotic power of people”* (Fiske, 1987: 236) and how the practices of reading popular culture are involved in this process. We are interested in the ways in which ordinary people attempt to regain a sense of continuity by fostering different genres of memory, and in how the mnemonic function of popular television can stimulate this process.

1. POST-SOCIALISM AND MEMORY STUDIES

As the prefix ‘post’ suggests, state socialism still survives in Central and Eastern Europe, at least to the extent that we continue to designate it as a post-socialist space. It remains alive in personal and collective, private and public, dominant and marginalised narratives of the past. The continuing relevance of the past in the present constitutes the essence of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992) that transforms landscapes and mediascapes

into countless places of memory (Nora, 1989). Cultural and collective memory ensure, for better or worse, that the new identities emerging from the turmoil of fundamental socio-political transformations not only adhere to novel practices and institutions but also draw on the imagery of the past.

The burgeoning discipline of memory studies has, to a considerable extent, managed to empower narratives of the state socialist past that lack the sanction of scholarly historiography and yet remain formative of both social bonds and animosities among social groups and nations. So far, however, memory studies have not arrived at a consensus account of the principles of commemoration, remembering and forgetting that help post-socialist Europe make sense of the state-socialist experience. As the coiner of the term 'collective memory', Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs, 1992), predicted, the very multiplicity of groups in which individual members of society participate seems to preclude a unitary formation of memory.

Some post-socialist discourses mediating between the past and the present, of which popular culture genres constitute a considerable part, were demarcated and explicated by cultural scholars as post-socialist nostalgia (Enns, 2007; Boyer, 2006; Volčič, 2007; Reifová, 2009). These nostalgic discourses usually refer to the socialist past either directly (better to say indexically), by recycling individual tokens of an authentic socialist culture, or indirectly (symbolically), by producing new representations of the past.¹ To put it simply, nostalgic discourses either *present* the preserved parts of the past (e.g. pop singers or actors who became popular in socialist times as symbols of the era) or *represent* 'them' (e.g. contemporary feature films which look back at the socialist period) (Dominková 2008).

1 By tokens of an authentic socialist culture we mean material objects or immaterial images that were produced or used in the past and have been preserved through to the present day, not only in official archives and museums, but also through informal ways of storage in people's households etc. This can be clothing, furniture, do-it-yourself objects or television shows produced before 1989. Indexical signs of the past rarely stand in isolation; they are usually parts of bigger wholes which are symbolic in nature. It could be a particular authentic object preserved from the past and used as a prop in the film. Typical examples include the sort of original labels of cans, bottles and other groceries used in the film *Goodbye, Lenin!* (Germany 2003). 'The appeal of the index' in creating an effect of historicity in visual representation is emphasised by Philip Rosen (2001, 127). He draws a distinction between 'preservationist' and 'restorationist' positions, where the first one encompasses attempts to show the past through authentic, unmodified objects (in spite of their natural wear and imperfections), while the second one strives to aestheticise them by renovation (Rosen 2001, 52).

Nostalgia, “a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed, [...] a sentiment of loss and displacement” (Boym 2001, xiii), has over the course of modernity acquired a temporal as well as a spatial sense. It is now considered to be one of the threatening emotions of post-modern Western life and has often been theorized as such. Fredric Jameson, for instance, sees ‘nostalgia films’ as emblematic of the period of late capitalism, which erodes a sense of history: “The nostalgia film was never a matter of some old-fashioned ‘representation’ of historical content, but instead approached the ‘past’ through stylistic connotation, conveying ‘pastness’ by the glossy qualities of the image.” (Jameson, 1991: 19) Linda Hutcheon (1998), however, suggests post-modern irony as an antidote to the arresting effects of nostalgia.

Post-socialist nostalgia cannot be fully subsumed into postmodern nostalgia as it is experienced in the West. Although post-socialist nostalgia started to grow in an environment influenced by the convergence of post-socialism and postmodernism, it also resonates with a modernist vision of history, of which state socialism was probably the last big project (Ray, 1997). The specificity of post-socialist nostalgia stems from the fact that it strives for an integration of memory divided by the social rupture in 1989 (more precisely, futile but compulsive attempts to attain integration), in the sense of including the ‘forbidden’ past in a larger historical continuity. Post-socialist nostalgia is a memory-compensating nostalgia; it helps to restore the memory that disintegrated during the break between the socialist and neoliberal capitalist systems. The official, dominant discourses of economics and politics in the 1990s, initiated by the state authorities, political representatives or the judiciary, were firmly grounded in the logics of disjunction, a divorce with the socialist past. Most social subsystems were built anew to be totally different from the past, such as privatisation in the economic sphere or lustration within the cadres of the elite. The past was defined as something that should be replaced with a better present – and, if not fully erased, then only because the capacity to remember old faults increases the odds that they will not be repeated in the future. The past was simply defined by the dominant discourses as a loose end, which should have stayed loose, not as an object to which society should reconnect. The logics of disjunction became hegemonic in the early transformational years of the 1990s. Michael D. Kennedy argues that the idea of a profound historical rupture lies at the core of ‘transition culture.’ With regards to its treatment of the past, he remarks: “*Transition’s tradition tends to draw more on capitalist experience from across the world than it does on any nation’s socialist past. Socialism is something to be escaped, repressed, and destroyed*” (Kennedy, 2002: 13). The societal turnover from state socialism to

capitalism settled the conditions for a new anti-hegemonic struggle—one that is about gaining less restricted access to the past; about nurturing a collective memory which would embrace a broader repertoire than just an uncompromising denouncement of the past. That is why we think that the first attempts to compensate for displaced memory took place in the demimonde of popular culture, below the radar of transition's proponents, and not in more highly valued elite cultural areas. Popular culture remains one of the principal sites where people can experience (nostalgic) links to the socialist past without having to face public reproach.

2. POST-SOCIALIST MEMORY AND CULTURAL TRAUMA

Apart from nostalgia, the concept that many other scholars find fruitful in explaining how post-socialist societies relate to their own pasts is that of cultural trauma—in spite of its bad reputation as a culturalist buzzword. According to Jeffrey Alexander,

cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways (Alexander, 2004: 1).

Many sceptical queries have appeared in connection with this definition. Is trauma an event or rather the way it is remembered? (Eyerman, 2004: 62; Caruth, 1995: 4). Can trauma be cultural at all? Can it be collective in the sense of having a new quality that goes beyond a summary of individual traumas? (Joas, 2005: 372). Should non-violent events also be included in this category? (Kansteiner, 2004: 206). And then there is a group of thinkers who feel that taking the concept of trauma not only beyond the borders of medicine and psychoanalysis, where it originated, but also largely beyond the discourse on the Holocaust, is in itself sacrilegious and results in inflation of the concept's value.

While working with the concept of cultural trauma, it is important to stay away from simplifications, such as confusing cultural trauma with "an aggregate of individual traumata" (Carpentier, 2007: 251, see also Kansteiner, 2004: 209). It is clear that cultural trauma is not a summary of disconnected, personal reminiscences about approximately the same period. It must have an added quality of collectivity—shared clusters of meanings associated with the particular traumatising event. But it should also be said that symptoms of cultural trauma are only accessible via individual

stories and personal voices. The memories of individual survivors are an inevitable source of data, which of course must be further selected and processed. General demonisation of all uses of the personal in cultural trauma research thus makes little sense.

3. TELEVISION AS A MNEMONIC MEDIUM

In order to explore the adequacy of concepts of nostalgia and cultural trauma in the context of representations of the state-socialist past in post-socialist popular culture, we carried out a study of a successful retrospective television programme. The guiding principle of the analysis was not to search for one-way media effects, but instead to focus on the viewers' use of media content in order to make meaning of the past. For this purpose, we examined how the retrospective television serial *Vyprávěj* (*Tell Me How It Was*; Czech Television, 2009–10) facilitates recollection and thinking about the socialist past. The research took the form of focus groups in which the viewers talked about their use of *Vyprávěj* as a mnemonic device that helped them to deal with the gulf between the socialist past and the capitalist present.

Vyprávěj is a hybrid comedy-docudrama serial. It presents the story of an ordinary family whose fictive everyday life is intertwined with real political events and their consequences. The show was produced by the public broadcaster Česká televize (Czech Television) as a programme commemorating the 20th anniversary of the fall of the state socialist regime in 1989. The narrative is packaged into four seasons. The first two seasons (covering the periods 1964–75 and 1975–85) have already aired, while the seasons covering the periods 1985–95 and 1995–2005 are forthcoming.² Among the serial's defining characteristics are the shifts between the enacted plot and the documentary parts and the heavy dependence of its visual aspect on pedantic faithfulness to the period's lifestyle. The average ratings of the serial per episode in 2009 were 1.3 million viewers. This is an above-average result even in primetime, and qualifies *Vyprávěj* as a great favourite with viewers.³ It was extremely popular with female viewers (women accounted for up to two-thirds of the audience) and also

2 The first season aired from to August 31, 2009 to February 22, 2010 and had 26 episodes. The second season aired from September 9, 2010 to December 17, 2010 and had 16 episodes.

3 The average share of the serial *Vyprávěj* was 32.38% of viewers. In 2010 CT1 (the channel which aired the show) had 18.74% of viewers as the total average share in primetime (Source: <http://www.ato.cz/vysledky/rocni-data/share/15>).

achieved good results with younger audiences in the age segment 25–34.

The audience research took place in May 2010 in Prague, the Czech Republic. We organised eight focus groups formed from viewers who had independently written to Czech Television about the serial. The population of the study thus consists of respondents who cared to voice their appreciation of the serial, complaints regarding supposed inaccuracies, questions, etc, to The Audience Centre of Czech Television. At our request, the centre sent an email to addresses in its database describing the subject of our research and proposing participation in the qualitative audience survey.

The final sample thus represented active viewers, fans who apparently like to share their opinion with the producers as well as with scholars. There were 42 respondents in total, of whom 23 were female and 19 male. The groups were controlled for age and organised into two clusters: the first one consisted of young people who do not have any personal adult experience of socialism; the second included participants who have direct personal experience of socialist everyday life; and two of the groups were mixed with regards to the age of the respondents.

4. INDICES OF TRAUMATISED MEMORY

4.1. REGAINING CONTINUITY

A considerable proportion of the respondents' comments reflected an experience of cultural trauma. This category encompasses comments which relate to new social insecurities brought about by capitalist society, but mainly to disruption of biographical/institutional continuity (dislocation) and feelings of embarrassment/stress about life in totalitarian socialism. The most relevant comments were those which disentangled the coping strategies people use to reconcile themselves with the embarrassing or unsettling flashbacks and incorporated these recollections back into memory.

The respondents hinted at three separate reasons for keeping the collective memory active in the context of overcoming the rupture between present-day reality and the socialist past. They can be summarised as: 1) preventive continuity, 2) historiographic continuity, 3) everyday continuity. Preventive continuity is the least controversial form of the memory-compensating approach and, as such, has been part of the post-socialist mentality since the beginning of the 1990s. It recognises the relevance of uninterrupted memory to preventing the return of totalitarian socialism.

MFG1: *"To me, it is really important that these days should not come back, I mean the communists who ruled here..."*

Preventive continuity is close to historiographic continuity, although the latter refrains from making moral judgments and objectifies the period of socialism as an inseparable stage of history.

MFG4: *"It is important for the young generation because it is becoming part of history. So they should know, because it is a piece of our history."*

The most refined and nuanced meanings were to be found in the respondents' comments about the continuity of everyday life. They felt that the socio-political rupture between the past and the present had been overly generalised, so much so that it also affected the integrity of everyday life. The respondents indicated a two-way nexus between seemingly detached periods in the past and the present in the sphere of the everyday: in some respects, the past was not so different from the present, and in others the present is even permeated with the past. Very often, respondents voiced the opinion that everyday actors in totalitarian socialism took their living conditions for granted as a given social environment, very much as people today understand their present-day social realities.

MFG4: *"The last 20 years have brought enough information about all the bad things that happened. To be fair, it should also be said that people were living their normal lives in those days too. Brutality, prosecution, penalisation, these things impacted on one part of the population. The majority of the people tried to lead normal lives even in those days. Under communism, we did not live in the trees; marching under the red flags wasn't our daily bread. Normal human affairs were also on the agenda, such as television shows."*

MFG5: *"I was happy to be a pioneer.⁴ I took it for granted."*

Moderator about S2: *"How would you feel if it were you participating in the International Women's Day celebration?"*

MFG3: *"Hmm, I'm not sure, maybe we wouldn't think it was anything special or even be able to see that it was totally [...] crazy."*

Another connection between the past and the present is seen in the transference of some habits (assumed to be socialist deformations) into the capitalist system.

4 The Pioneer Organisation of the Socialist Youth Union (PO SSM) was a communist youth organisation which operated between 1970 and 1989.

MFG4 [about S1]: *“Comrade Karpíšek is exactly the sort of young, career-oriented person who was told: “Stick with us and you will be well off.” They taught him what to say, what words one should use. It is absolutely normal today in any sales company. If you go for a salesperson position, they teach you the ways in which you should move and speak. Absolutely normal today...”*

4.2. UNCERTAIN GUILT

A rich source of data indicating cultural trauma consisted of comments in which respondents rehearsed their feelings of embarrassment or anxiety during totalitarian socialism. Alternatively, they internalised the feelings of the serial protagonists.

Moderator: *“Did you consider the scene picturing the bus trip to Austria to be funny?”*

MFG2: *“Not at all, I really sympathised with the characters, hoping that the customs officers would not find anything illegal.”*

MFG2: *“I feel strange about crossing borders to this day. Today, one doesn’t even have to present a passport and yet I still feel fear and get goose pimples.”*

A concept that is often referenced in scholarly reflection on the aftermath of state socialism is the *guilt* felt at collaborating with or silently acquiescing to the CP’s rule. The entire 1990s discourse on decommunisation, to a great extent, dealt with a redistribution of the guilt for *“the widespread injustice of the communist regime, the imprisoning of people for publicly stating political views at odds with the policies of the Communist Party and the regime in general”* (Marada 2007, 91). Feelings of guilt (as well as shame, self-flagellation, metaphoric schizophrenia and embarrassment) were indeed present in our respondents’ comments, although not in a straightforward form. A feeling of guilt presupposes the existence of a perpetrator – partial or full acceptance of such a role and a stigma left on the cultural memory. In Czech post-socialist culture the position of perpetrator – the symbolic figure guilty of and responsible for the crimes of totalitarian socialism – was never fully determined. Who is to be blamed? The Communist Party’s top officials? All members of the Communist Party? The entire silent majority? Insofar as the position of a perpetrator is a no man’s land and everybody’s land, it is open to being assumed (or imposed upon) by a wide range of actors. The process of consenting to the role of perpetrator may, indeed, include or induce cultural trauma – Bernhard Giesen coined the concept of the ‘trauma of perpetrators’ to refer to a similar development in

post-Nazi Germany (Giesen, 2004: 115). However, our data reveal a more complex structure that feelings of guilt within the traumatic memories of socialism have a more complex structure than is usually assumed. We found symptoms of feelings of guilt merging with a role of perpetrator in an unusually delicate way. Experiencing trauma is not an effect of obvious collaboration with the totalitarian regime. It is brought about by an essential uncertainty over whether everyday life under socialism was collaboration or not. This “uncertain guilt” combines two frustrations in one (guilt and uncertainty) and puts the synergy effect into motion.

Uncertainty permeating the identity on the move between roles of a victim and a perpetrator can be demonstrated by comparing the two following quotes:

MFG7 [about S1]: *“My father was forced to join the Communist Party. They came to talk to him about his daughter (it was me) having good school results and whether or not it would suit her to go to high school? So after this type of blackmail and persuasion, he had to agree to become a party member.”*

MFG3 [on watching an episode about the Labour Day parade with her nine-year-old daughter]: *“[...] and I tell her, go sit and watch, look at Husák,⁵ look at the way we applauded him.”*

In the first statement the discussant clearly sees her father as a victim. In contrast, the logic of the second statement is based on a deeply embedded duality. The respondent seems insecure about who exactly should be under the microscope: the communist president Husák or those who applauded him? Who should be tightly observed: the communist apparatchik or ‘us,’ the obedient, anonymous mass? Where is the borderline between perpetrators and mere victims in the scene from the film? The comment reflects people’s potential collaboration and shows that the position of a perpetrator is not necessarily confined to the top communist officials. Consequently, the identity of the respondent as an ordinary person, who applauded when told to do so, shifts on the victim–perpetrator scale and hardly ever rests in one place. In this case the respondent compulsively invites her daughter to pay attention to the conformist behaviour of the older generation. It can be interpreted as an act of masochism and self-flagellation, as if it could undo the shame. In the comparison sketched above, the cultural trauma of an ordinary man is visible as permanent ambivalence and oscillation. It points to the discontent that results from

5 Gustáv Husák was the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from 1975 until 1989.

the absence of a single overarching narrative that would, once and for all, redeem the ordinary people as mere victims.

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Back From the Future: Shifting Time-Planes in *Life on Mars*

Richard Kilborn

The British TV drama series *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006/7¹) has generally been seen as a groundbreaking and innovative piece of work that deserves to be ranked alongside other highly regarded series such as *The Sopranos*, *Mad Men* and *The Wire*. Some observers have even credited it with having a revitalising impact on the wider crime drama tradition (Downey, 2007; Cook and Irwin, 2012). Like many series that later acquire cult-viewing status, however, *Life on Mars* did not initially find favour with TV drama commissioning editors. In fact, it took more than eight years for the show's creators (Kudos Films) to get the series on air in the UK. This in itself may give some indication of how, in an increasingly risk-averse broadcasting climate, there is considerable resistance to funding a drama that does not fall in line with what are considered to be the traditional parameters for mainstream TV drama.

Any fears that commissioning editors and broadcasters may have had about how *Life on Mars* would be received were dispelled, however, when the series made its debut on BBC One in January 2006. The series was not only an unqualified ratings success; it was also generally very well received by television reviewers and by other cultural commentators. Although some observers expressed doubt as to whether the central narrative conceit, that of a time-travelling detective, could be sustained over one or more series, most critics were full of praise. One reviewer wrote, for instance: "*Life on Mars* is a genuinely innovative and imaginative take on an old genre" (Graham, 2006), whilst others lauded the quality of the writing, the manner in which the central characters are drawn and the way in which the unfolding narrative successfully combined comic and more serious narrative elements. (Wollaston, 2006; O'Brien, 2006)

1 DVD and Blu-Ray recordings of *Life on Mars* (Series 1: BBC, 2006 and Series 2: BBC, 2007) are available for purchase from the usual distribution and retail outlets.

Life on Mars is built on the following dramatic premise. Sam Tyler is a modern-day detective with the rank of Detective Chief Inspector working in the Greater Manchester police department. The event that provides the narrative point-of-departure for the whole series occurs when Sam is attempting to track down a dangerous serial killer. At this point in the story, additional dramatic suspense is injected, when Sam learns that his girlfriend Maya has been snatched by the selfsame killer. Desperately attempting to rescue his girlfriend from the clutches of the evildoer, Sam gets hit by a car. When Sam wakes up after his accident, he finds that he has been catapulted backwards in time to the early 1970s. He is still a serving police officer, though no longer holding the rank of DCI. It is a rude awakening to say the least, since the police force to which he finds he has been temporarily transferred is in many ways the antithesis of the world to which he had become accustomed to living in before his accident.

Being pitched from a present-day environment into an altogether different temporal or spatial world is, of course, a narrative device that has been used to good effect by many writers and dramatists over the years. Sam's temporal and locational transposition has certain echoes of Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, where Gregor Samsa wakes up one morning to find that he has been transformed into a monstrous bug. A similar kind of transformation occurs at the beginning of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* story, when the eponymous heroine accidentally falls down a rabbit hole and finds herself transported into a world that, to put it mildly, is more than passing strange.

As far as the basic plot set-up is concerned, *Life on Mars* is also similar to those narratives in classic Westerns where a mysterious stranger rides into town and proceeds to disrupt the status quo in ways that many of the townsfolk find distinctly threatening. Such scenarios provide plentiful opportunities for dramatic conflict but also for the forging of some unlikely alliances. It could be claimed that *Life on Mars* carries a number of echoes of classic Western plots, not least in the way that one of the main characters, DCI Gene Hunt, bears more than just a passing resemblance to the type of gun-toting lawman who thinks nothing of using the most unscrupulous means to ensure that justice is done.

Seen within the wider context of contemporary British and American TV drama, *Life on Mars* belongs to a fast-expanding corpus of work where a central concern is that of time-travel, or where one or more of the central characters are involved in inter-planetary or inter-galactic space-travel.

One of the best known of these is the British *Doctor Who* series, in which the eponymous Doctor, a highly eccentric but still rather lovable Time Lord, embarks on a series of adventures travelling through time and space in his personal time machine. More recently, however, there has been a spate of similar dramas that have involved characters being projected backwards or forwards in time or moved through different modes or states of consciousness. *Flashforward* (Channel 5, 2009), for instance, is about an unexplained phenomenon that causes everyone in the world to black out for 137 seconds and be granted visions of their future lives. Likewise, the recent BBC series *Paradox* (BBC One, 2009) centres on a similar unexplained phenomenon that causes an astrophysicist's computer to receive images from space of events 18 hours in the future. Time-shifting, visitations from the past and the future as well as characters being shuttled between different time domains are fast becoming a standard feature of certain types of TV drama.

In terms of the narrative strategies that it employs, *Life on Mars* still fulfils many of the requirements of a conventional detective series. Each episode focuses on a single crime case which Gene and his team are required to solve. Considerable humour is generated from the fact that the team of detectives that Sam has joined are, almost without exception, such a hapless group of individuals that it is sometimes difficult to believe they will be capable of solving any crime. Their faltering attempts frequently resemble the antics of a group of Keystone Kops. Sam, as the archetypal outsider, is almost always at variance with his colleagues when it comes to deciding on how a new crime case should be tackled. He is forever pleading with them, for instance, that it is essential that a crime scene be preserved and that correct procedures be followed.

Sam's superior knowledge of forensics and his familiarity with other scientific methods of investigation are clearly related to the fact that he is a temporal interloper from the future, the selfsame future (the year 2006) in which the first *Life on Mars* series was broadcast. Further reminders of Sam's locational origins are provided by references to Sam being on temporary transfer from Hyde. In the course of the two series of *Life on Mars*, Hyde provides the scriptwriters with a convenient shorthand way of referring to the place that Sam has had to abandon following his accident, without them having to be any more precise about the location. At the same time, 'Hyde' attains quasi-symbolic status in pointing to a world where more civilised values prevail, but where there still may be much that is hidden from view. Finally, through the particular connotations of

'Jekyll and Hyde', there is a suggestion that the nature of torment that Sam is experiencing may be rooted in some deep psychological trauma brought about by his accident.

Much of the appeal of *Life on Mars* is arguably bound up with the drama's basic fish-out-of-water premise. Catapulted back into the 1970s, Sam is confronted by a world that is seemingly light years removed from the one from which he has become temporarily (and temporally) detached. Once or twice Sam even makes reference to the fact that it feels as if he is living on a different planet. This is a world where rough-and-ready methods of policing prevail and where sexism, chauvinism and homophobia are rampant. But even as Sam sets about the challenging task of coming to terms with his new-found environment, viewers of a certain age will quickly recognise that this is all-too-familiar territory. It is a world they remember primarily through the fast-paced police dramas of the 1970s such as *The Sweeney*, the series that in many ways acts as a constant historical reference point for *Life on Mars*.

Just as in many other time-travelling tales, so too in *Life on Mars*, considerable narrative interest is focused on whether, and, if yes, how, Sam will be able to negotiate a return to the place from whence he has come. As the opening episode makes clear, Sam's projection into an altered state of consciousness, his enforced shift to an earlier time-zone or possibly his descent into madness has been triggered by a near-fatal, real-world car accident. Following the accident, Sam had been placed on a life-support machine to which – or so the *Life on Mars* scriptwriting team would have us believe – Sam remains attached for the duration of the 16 episodes of the drama. In order to provide viewers (especially those who tune in halfway through the series) with the basic information about Sam's temporal dislocation, each hour-long episode includes a brief segment – usually in the first two or three minutes of the episode – in which Sam helpfully reminds viewers of how he came to be where he is. The images of the accident are accompanied by Sam's voiceover comments: "*I had an accident and I woke up in 1973. Am I mad, in a coma, or back in time?*"

The basic narrative proposition of *Life on Mars* is that the protagonist's life is literally hanging by a thread, and that one of the series' overall objectives will be to devise some way of repatriating him by allowing him to escape from the limbo-world to which he has been consigned. Throughout the series the narrative is consistently punctuated by reminders of Sam's displaced person status. Each episode includes sequences that have

a certain formal affinity with flashbacks or flash-forwards in other types of dramatic fiction. It is via these sequences that the viewer's attention is drawn to Sam's allegedly comatose state and to the various attempts on the part of the world to which he rightfully belongs to keep in touch with him. These incursions from the present-day (2006) world frequently take the form of communications from his nearest and dearest or from the surgeons who are fighting to save his life. Various narrative devices are used to trigger or cue these moments where Sam receives often-troubling messages from those who are trying to reconnect with him. Once, for instance, innocently answering a police-station phone, Sam finds that the voice on the line is that of his mother. Likewise, as he tunes in to a 1970s TV programme in his tiny new bedsit, he is amazed to discover that the Open University lecturer presenting the programme has suddenly metamorphosed into a key member of his surgical team.

Though this interpenetration of past and present [time-planes] becomes a regular feature of the *Life on Mars* text, it never achieves the centrality it might have done in a more experimental piece of drama. Nevertheless, the porosity between past and present time-planes still acquires sufficient narrative prominence to enable it to become part of the *Life on Mars* viewer's 'horizon of expectations'. It is almost as if the audience is being encouraged to indulge in some second-guessing as to the point in each episode at which there will be some incursion from beyond the domain of the immediately foregrounded events.

It is in this way that viewers become routinely accustomed to looking out for telltale clues as to when Sam is going to be privy to such communications. As a result, one of the pleasures of watching *Life on Mars* is being able to share with Sam those moments when he seems, both literally and metaphorically, to have a foot in both camps. Take, for instance, episode 6 of the first series, in which Sam and Hunt are taken hostage along with a number of others who are already being held by the hostage-taker. The scriptwriters have structured the narrative in such a way as to make the deadline of 2 pm set by the hostage-taker coincide exactly with the time at which doctors in another time and place (the world of 2006) will switch off his life support machine. Considerable dramatic tension is generated by playing off these two suspenseful situations, one against the other. A special poignancy is added to the mounting tension in the narrative by 'arranging' for the news of the family's decision to switch off his life support machine to be communicated to Sam by his mother.

Part of the general appeal of the *Life on Mars* is that viewers are always being encouraged to speculate as to how exactly the world of the future will impinge on events being played out in the 1973 storyline. For instance, given that Sam has been catapulted backwards in time, the audience is well aware that he is in possession of the kind of knowledge that he can profitably exploit in his new surroundings. There are several occasions in both series of *Life on Mars* where Sam is placed in situations where he has to decide whether he is justified in making use of the superior knowledge he has acquired. Often this is turned to comic effect, such in the episode from series 1 where Sam participates in a Grand National sweepstake organised by his colleagues, knowing full well the name of the winning horse. On other occasions Sam's knowledge of the future allows the scriptwriters to pose quasi-philosophical questions, such as what expectations we should have of someone who has been backward-projected in time. Should that person be expected to act in such a way as to attempt to forestall a potentially catastrophic event? Or are we, as viewers, simply being asked to consider the general proposition that one can always gain new historical insights by carefully reconsidering how a particular chain of events was set in train?

What arguably accounts for the major success of *Life on Mars* is that the scriptwriters have made such clever use of the displacement conceit that lies at the heart of this drama. The cleverness also extends to the way in which early 21st-century viewers are encouraged to identify or align themselves with the central character. Sam is presented to us as a representative of the modern, allegedly more civilised (2006) age who, by an unfortunate turn of events, is forced to confront a world which in many ways seems diametrically opposed to the one from which the plot demands of *Life on Mars* have required him to be jettisoned. Nowhere is this culture clash more clearly manifested than in the 'chalk and cheese' contrast between the two major protagonists of *Life on Mars*, Sam and Gene. Although the scriptwriters allegedly did not originally plan that Gene would have such the pivotal role in the drama, they quickly came to recognise that the juxtaposition of these two characters could be productively exploited in narrative terms. Much hinges on the fact that Sam and Gene have such startlingly different attitudes to how police officers should comport themselves. Whereas Sam has a desire to "do everything by the book", the swashbuckling Gene apparently has little time either for formal procedures or for the principle that a suspect is innocent till proved guilty. Chauvinistic and domineering, Hunt thinks nothing of extracting information or confessions by bullyboy tactics and violent means.

Another reason for the success of *Life on Mars* is in the way in which it combines elements of social satire with a gentler, more nostalgic view of the past. Thus, though the drama takes regular critical sideswipes at the institutional racism, the incidents of police corruption and the widespread homophobia that were prevalent in the early 1970s, the text stops short of a more thoroughgoing satirical demolition. Any social critique is more than offset by a strong wave of nostalgia, as *Life on Mars* takes its viewers back on an extended trip down memory lane. The defining sights and sounds of those times are consistently re-invoked, and the whole *Life on Mars* text teems with cultural references to the 1970s, whether these be iconic makes of car or the predominant fashions and hairstyles of the day. Keying in to viewers' memories in this way involves the use of both visual and aural imagery, but, as is so often the case with nostalgia, it is through the music of the time – especially such epoch-making songs as David Bowie's *Life on Mars* – that viewers are most powerfully and poignantly reminded of the hold that the past still has over us. There can be no doubt that, for many viewers, one of the particular pleasures of watching *Life on Mars* is that of being constantly reconnected with the special vibrancy of that period, though the very act of being reminded also brings a recognition of just how radically the world has changed in three short decades.

Whilst *Life on Mars* contains its fair share of nostalgic elements, it avoids any cloying sentimentalism. By revealing some of the widespread racism and corruption of the time, it might be claimed rather that *Life on Mars* provides a perspective on the past that encourages the audience to take a more socially critical view of those times. If the series might be regarded as providing such an even-handed and critical view, it could also be argued that the text encourages the reader to take an equally critical stance vis-à-vis certain features of the contemporary (2006) world. What Sam Tyler learns from his back-from-the-future experience, for instance, is that, whilst technological and scientific advances have transformed the manner in which modern police investigations are conducted, an over-dependence on forensically-based modes of detection may not in itself be enough to guarantee that villains are brought to book. As Sam learns in the course of the time he spends with Gene and his team, sometimes the methods and techniques that have stood detectives in good stead over the generations can still be surprisingly effective. Shrewdness, a good nose for what motivates the criminally inclined and a readiness to follow up a hunch are qualities that can also prove useful when attempting to solve 21st-century crimes.²

Whilst *Life on Mars* is acknowledged to have put a new spin on the police TV drama tradition, it is still heavily reliant on some of the more traditional features of this time-honoured genre. Most *Life on Mars* episodes follow the standard narrative trajectory of a conventional crime story, and there is also a degree of character stereotyping. Most striking of all in terms of genre conformity, perhaps, is the relationship between Sam and Gene. Though both men find themselves working together as a result of a chain of events that frankly beggars belief, they quickly begin to develop a buddy-like partnership where each becomes aware of the other's strengths. Their partnership is, nevertheless, still marked by some of the same features that characterise other detective duos. Although initially disinclined to put any trust in what he regards as dubious, new-fangled approaches to policing, Gene becomes increasingly reliant on his new colleague. By the same token, Sam, though still manifestly appalled by Gene's overt sexism and his general uncouthness, also sometimes has to reluctantly admit that Gene has a curious knack of getting results. In other words, as the drama unfolds, each man begins to treat the other with a certain grudging respect.

The special nature of their relationship comes particularly to the fore when one of them gets embroiled in a situation of mortal danger. Almost invariably, it is the timely interventions of the other that prevent the situation from taking a fatal turn. Perhaps the most memorable example of this comes in the penultimate episode of the second series of *Life on Mars*, in which Gene is arrested on a murder charge. Prospects look extremely bleak for him, since all the evidence points to him having been the perpetrator. Desperate to prove his innocence and to collect evidence that will help track down the actual killer, it is to his friend Sam that Gene turns in his hour of dire need. It is only through their combined efforts that the two men are able, ultimately, to prove Gene's innocence.

All in all, *Life on Mars* displays considerable ingenuity in the way that it sustains the initial time-travelling conceit and in the way that it manages its relationship with members of the TV audience. The individual crime stories that form the basis of each episode are competently told and fall in line with standard expectations of an hour-long crime story. On each occasion, an appropriate sense of narrative closure is achieved, with villains being arrested and crimes being solved. With respect to the series' overall narrative design, however, especially concerning how or whether

in such a way in *Life on Mars* that the text produces a discourse of progress that legitimises 21st-century approaches to policing.

the hero, Sam, will ever succeed in getting back to where he came from, the creators of *Life on Mars* have deliberately opted for greater openness. There is a suggestion in the final episode that time-émigré Sam, in a final daring and desperate act, has indeed contrived to negotiate his return to the contemporary (2006/7) world. The ending is handled in such a way, however, as to leave viewers with the feeling that certain mysteries about Sam's condition remain. Were the experiences that Sam went through after his accident simply the fevered hallucinations of a man in a coma? Or, as Sam suggests in the final episode, were these experiences in some way connected with traumatic events in his childhood, which he is now having to come to terms with. Or even more tantalisingly: was all this part of a near-death experience which, as we are reliably informed, can result in a person who is about to depart from this life enjoying almost total recall of all that has befallen them to date?

For a series broadcast on a mainstream channel targeting a prime-time audience, *Life on Mars* shows considerable narrative sophistication and occasional postmodernist playfulness. The time-travelling aspect may not attain quite the same significance as it does in series such as *Doctor Who* (BBC One, 1963-89, 2005-present) or *Terra Nova* (Fox TV, 2011). Nevertheless, the series as a whole is still sufficiently multi-faceted to ensure that it can claim to have a qualitative edge over more run-of-the-mill police dramas. In the final analysis, then, the cult success of the drama may be attributable to the ways in which *Life on Mars* cleverly grafts thematic material connected with issues such as time-travelling, coma-induced hallucinations and false-memory syndrome onto a more conventional piece of drama that bears many of the traditional hallmarks of a police procedural series.

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National Identity, Press Photography and the Temporal Depth of News

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1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at how national identity influences the visual depiction of news; more precisely, it will demarcate the ways in which press photographs can be utilised to frame news reporting according to the structural framework of national identity. It is based on the premise that – in spite of the globalisation of culture, politics and information flows, accompanied by the fragmentation of news consumption, individualisation of society and increasing political apathy or discontent with the dominant socio-political order – news production and consumption are still primarily couched in the context of the nation-state and collective identification with the “imagined community” of a nation. Moreover, photographs – with their interpretative ambivalence, their suggestive power of affective meanings and their ability to communicate symbolic or implied relations between subjects and express “things” that cannot be fully expressed in words – are seen as particularly valuable “framing devices” for the communication of abstract principles and ideas of national belonging.

2. NATIONAL IDENTITY

National identity (or national identification)¹ is not a given, inborn, unitary and static form of social identity, but emerges in the form of a narrative of the self through conscious and unconscious processes of meaning-making over time and in relation to a particular social context and its limitations. Although identities may be experienced as unitary or “whole” by individuals or parts of societies, they are temporary fixations of intersecting discourses that produce multiple, even contradictory identities,

¹ On the differences between the terms “national identity” and “national identification”, see Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Hall 1996/2000; Bhabha 1990/2000.

which individuals internalise and re-negotiate over the passage of time. The construction of identities is, therefore, a process of active construction, of “imagining” self and others, which develops through the processes of socialisation, and which is constructed and maintained in the “embodied habits of social life” (Jenkins, 1996; Billig 1995/2001). Social identifications such as collective identities of groups or nations are basically ongoing processes of the symbolic construction of relations of similarity and difference that provide the scheme or patterns for a more general model of meaning-making, of constituting the world as meaningful. They are constructed in social processes (educational, cultural and political) primarily through the means of language, emotions and symbols, promoted and reified through the communication networks of social groups and institutions of state and civil society. Individual identities can in fact be seen as amalgams of an array of collective or social identifications, as their personalised and evolving narrativisations. These are (at least for the most part) subconscious cognitive and emotive processes that, to a large extent, depend on culturally and institutionally supplied and reified frameworks of meaning in the process of producing identity as a fantasy of the “whole” self.

Thus national identity can be conceptualised as one of the forms of social identity – as a particular “socio-historical allotrope of ethnic identification” (Jenkins, 1996), whose function is the social organisation of cultural difference through culture and interaction. National identity consists of internalised, shared patterns of social differentiation (Barth, 1969/1998) that promote and elicit feelings of belonging to an “imagined community” (Andersen, 1983/1991).

National identity essentially provides people with a sense of place in the world; it situates individuals geographically or physically, as well as linguistically, socially, legally, economically, politically and emotionally, within a distinctive homeland, a nation-state. At the same time, it also contextualises the homeland nation-state within a world system of nation-states. National identity is, however, not something that exists „objectively“, outside the individual, something that people could “have”, “possess” or “belong to”. It is, as Anderson (1983/1991) points out, a product of shared collective narrativisation, an act of “imagining” a community that cannot be performed by individuals alone, but only through the mediation of some form of mass communication that produces awareness of commonality and shared (mass) culture. Moreover, as Billig notes, national identity is not simply an inner psychological state of mind but a “form of life, which is daily lived in the world of nation-states” (1995/2001: 68) and

can be found in the “embodied habits of social life” (Ibid.: 8). Although national identity emerges as an interaction and transaction between the individual and the collective (social), it is first and foremost an explicit and institutionalised project of the (nation) state, and its institutionalisation is necessary to achieving a sufficient level of social homogeneity. Moreover, a nation is “imagined” as a social group with a “temporal dimension”, as a “community of destiny” (Bauer, 1907/1996) which includes both notions of a communal shared past as well as an anticipated future. National identification produces the notion of nation as an enduring, unitary being and binds individuals with past and future generations, providing them with a feeling of solidarity and a sense of place in the world (as space) and time (as history). As Renan put it, nation is constituted through a sentiment of solidarity which “*implies past, but is summed up in the present [...] by a clearly expressed desire to live a common life*” (1882/2001: 19).²

3. NATIONAL IDENTITY AS A DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Due to the centrality of (mass) communication to the processes of collective identity formation, national identity is best understood as a discursive process of articulation and (re)negotiation of centrality of a certain array of symbols and ideas – which I will term “privileged discursive elements”. Privileged discursive elements are the articulation points of national identity provided by an array of nation-state institutions that form the basis of and delineate a framework within which national belonging is enacted by individuals. They range from canonised interpretations of history and culture (that enter public knowledge through education, publishing, museums, popular culture, selection of state holidays etc.) to myths and symbols that saturate the discourse of political parties or state representatives. Institutions produce the structural limits within which national identity can be articulated and negotiated: they offer primary articulation points for the processes of national identification, and thus outline the symbolic sphere which is essential to maintaining a certain level of community stability. As such they mark the social level of identity formation processes, which is complemented by the individual level – that of “performed symbols”. Performed symbols are personal, informal, unplanned, symbolic articulations of national identity.³ Although, in practice, the two levels are

² But Renan did not fail to point out that such a feeling of shared history rests not so much on collective recollection of the past as on selective amnesia (cf. Hobsbawm, 1992). Extending Renan’s argument, Gellner (1994: 192) claims that nations are constructed either through induced oblivion or created memory.

³ To give an example, the founding myth of Slovene statehood is the myth of Karantania as the first Slovene state, which is a privileged discursive element, institutionalised

closely related and intertwined, they should be theorised as separate since the relationship between the two is by no means equal. 'Privileged discursive elements' belong to a higher order, they form the basis for and delineate a framework within which 'performed symbols' can be reproduced, enacted and performed as meaningful acts of national identity signification in the everyday lives of citizens.⁴

For the purpose of this chapter, I will limit my investigation of Slovene national identity to what I have termed 'privileged discursive elements', to institutionally supplied identification cues. The construction of Slovene national identity has been a very turbulent venture, passing through four major reinventions in little more than a century, and can be seen as a typical example of a hegemonic struggle over the discursive definition and interpretation of social reality. From the first national programmes of the 19th century to the national independence movement in the second half of the 1980s, Slovene national identity can be seen as an ongoing struggle for the (re)definition and (re)interpretation of a fairly stable pool of privileged discursive elements. They include: (1) Slovene language and literary culture as foundations of the nation; (2) the myth of Karantanija as the origin of the Slovene state; (3) the myth of the nation's thousand-year dream of independence; (4) the imagined geo-cultural space of (Central) Europe; (5) the notion of 'limes' and frontier; (6) the bond between religion, Sloveneness and ruralness; (7) the bond between rural land(scape) and nation.⁵ These seven privileged discursive elements address different aspects of Slovene national identity: the existence of a separate language justifies the claim to nationhood, just as the two myths ground and justify Slovenia's claim to statehood. The imagined geocultural space and the notion of 'limes' work to establish a wider cultural (civilisational) frame of belonging, while the particular emphasis on religion (Catholicism) and ruralness seeks to secure a particular characterisation of the nation (positive auto-stereotype of Slovenes as a kind, hard-working, peace-loving and non-violent nation). These seven privileged discursive elements can

through the educational system, history and state symbols such as money. On the other hand, the heraldic print of the Black Panther in logos used by small businesses (or on the T-shirts of right-wing nationalist groups) is a performed symbol, an expression of an individual's negotiation of national identity.

4 Regardless of how multiple and changing our identities are, they are "derived from a multiplicity but ultimately limited repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives" (Sommers and Gibson, 1994: 39). Although full normative consensus is not a prerequisite of national identity, the institutional "agenda" is never neutral but at least implicitly normatively evaluated – it prescribes not only "how things are done" but also how "they should be done".

5 This chapter is based on my doctoral thesis *Photography and the Construction of Collective Identities: Representation of the "Other" in Slovene Photojournalism* (Tomanič Trivundža 2010).

be understood as a pool of socially shared, commonly available (meta) frames that can significantly structure news reporting of domestic and international events.

Communication research has for a long time paid attention to the influence of “contextual factors” on the selection and nature of news reporting, particularly on their power to override professional ideologies or specific organisational practices and economic constraints. The influence of “national filters” was, for example, a part of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in the late 1970s and early 1980s (e.g. Chang and Lee, 1992; Fenby, 1986; Okigbo, 1985; Rosengren, 1974; Sreberny and Stevenson, 1999; Stevenson and Cole, 1984; Wu, 2003) and has – in framing research – recently re-emerged under the concept of “national interest” (e.g. Nossek, 2004; Yang, 2003; cf. Lee and Yang, 1995; Entman, 2004). This, however, is an often loosely defined and ambiguous concept, so this chapter builds on a more tangibly defined concept of privileged discursive elements of national identity which – like frames – offer “*preferred rationalities and schemes of cognition within the collective culture of society*” (Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad, 2000: 49).

4. PRIVILEGED DISCURSIVE ELEMENTS OF (SLOVENE) NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE VISUAL COVERAGE OF NEWS

It should be noted that, both within framing research and studies of the influence of “national filters” on news reporting, visual coverage of news has been largely neglected. The overview presented below of the possible strategies for the visual framing of news through privileged discursive elements of national identity is based on an analysis of visual news reporting on two events that significantly contested the dominant discursive formation of Slovene national identity in relation to both external and internal Others – the 2003 referendum on joining the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and the 2006 eviction of a Roma family, the Strojans. The qualitative framing analysis of two Slovene daily newspapers (Delo and Dnevnik) and two political weekly magazines (Mladina and Mag) traced the presence or absence of privileged discursive elements of Slovene national identity in visual (and textual) news over a period of three months leading up to the EU/NATO referendum in March 2003, focusing on the coverage of the pre-referendum debates, and nearly three months’ worth of coverage of the “Strojan affair”, from its beginnings in October 2006 to its partial resolution in January 2007.

4.1 NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY: DIRECT VISUAL FRAMING

The results of the study point to certain limitations for the direct “national” visual framing of news accounts. On the one hand, photographic framing is limited by the capacity to visualise – certain privileged discursive elements of (Slovene) national identity are essentially “non-photographable” or at least hard to visualise, (such as emphasis on the language and literary culture, which can only be referenced indirectly e.g. through portraits of writers and poets). On the other hand, the capacity to situate the reported events in the easily recognisable narrative of national belonging appears to be constrained by the type of news – it is far more frequent with non-news genres, such as commentary or analysis, where the selection of photographs is not constrained to visual coverage of the (exact) event and its particular *mise-en-scène*. Photographs in the two political magazines and in the Saturday supplements of the two dailies, where images are used more independently as illustrations or visual statements, rather than providers of news and information, frequently referenced the symbolic imaginary of Slovene national identity through depictions of rural landscape (particularly that of alpine Slovenia), references to Catholicism (churches), and elements of cultural heritage (hayrack, folk costumes, Lipica horses). These images of the Alpine landscape, churches on hilltops and rural vistas with hayracks belong to a standardised pool of imagery for the visualisation of Slovenia and Sloveneness in various non-journalistic discourses, most notably in tourism (cf. Kučan, 1998), but also in advertising and political propaganda.

In the case of daily news on the EU/NATO pre-referendum debates and events, direct visual framing was almost non-existent, as most events – visits by international politicians, press conferences, parliament meetings and public debates and demonstrations – offered little material with which to selectively frame the images. The potential for visual news framing was more explicit in the visual coverage of the Strojna affair, where, in a number of articles, photographs were used to highlight easily recognisable elements of cultural heritage, such as the portrayal of protestors next to a hayrack (typical of the Slovene rural landscape), focusing on trucks of local volunteer fire brigades blocking the roads to prevent the relocation of the Roma family, or on the flying of (Slovene and EU) flags on barricades. In all of the cases described, the identity of anti-Roma protestors was clearly framed within a standard symbolic imaginary of Sloveneness and captions would often serve to further anchor the sense of national belonging.

Table 1: Direct and indirect mechanism of visual framing according to the privileged discursive elements of national identity

DIRECT VISUAL FRAMING	INDIRECT VISUAL FRAMING
1. Visualising symbols of national identity (in news and press photographs)	1. Underrepresentation of culturally different (Other) nations, states, and representatives
2. Use of archive images for coverage of current affairs	2. Coverage of different types of events (negative as opposed to routine news)
3. Photo-collages, photo-montages and photo-illustrations	3. Different mode of depiction of same topics/actors
4. Interpretative captioning	4. Visual (stereo)typisation and use of unrelated images for coverage of current affairs

This analysis, however, also revealed three alternative strategies for the visualisation of privileged discursive elements of national identity: (1) the use of archive photographs relating to the nation's canonical historical events; (2) photo-illustration and photo-montage; and (3) the use of interpretative captions. The most prominent use of press photographs to provide a national frame of reference and to provide temporal depth to current events was the use of archive photographs. A number of iconic images connected with the pro-democracy movement of the late 1980s, the first democratically elected government and the 10-day war for independence were used in the two magazines as potent interpretative devices. Bearing no new information value, their function was to place reported events within the historical narrative of the nation (through the use of single or multiple archive images) or to provide a moral evaluation of the actions undertaken by individuals or groups according to the highest moral imperative – the nation's independence. In a nationalist paraphrasing of the moral imperative, all deeds that do not/did not conform to the nation's teleological goal of forming an independent, sovereign nation-state were deemed morally corrupt and potentially dangerous to the community. This would typically be achieved through juxtaposition of two images, e.g. juxtaposing the iconic image of the flag being raised on the evening Slovenia declared independence with an image of anti-NATO demonstrators, which serves to characterise the latter as ultimately unpatriotic. Alternatively, publications would resort to the use of photo-illustration, photo-collages and editorial illustrations to bestow a national frame of reference, such as the nation's thousand-year dream of independence, democratic affinities and the inherently pro-western character of Slovenes. A good example of this came in the form of photo-collages in *Mag* that linked NATO

with democracy and NATO opponents with “undemocratic forces”, either in the guise of former Yugoslavia, communism or despotism. The third strategy involved the use of interpretative captioning that served to “nationalise” and “historicise” images that bore no explicit visual connection to the markers of national identity. Text, either in the form of image captions or headlines, served to anchor the “proper” reading of the image and the depicted persons and/or events in reference to the nation or its history, especially to the nation’s struggle for independence.

Figure 1: Direct visual framing: Use of archive images to interpret current events (Visual framing of anti-NATO protesters as unpatriotic by juxtaposing current photograph (right) with an iconic archive image (left) of flag raising during Slovenia’s declaration of independence).



4.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY AND PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY: INDIRECT VISUAL FRAMING

However, the analysis also revealed that images can be used effectively as potent indirect articulators of national identity and delineators of national boundary. International news, for example, can contribute to the project

of the Barthian articulation of a nation's boundary by outlining what Said (1979/1994) has termed "imagined geographies" – discursively constructed perceptions of space which function both as building blocks of identity and as means of and justifications for symbolic, economic or political control and the subordination of certain territories and areas. The analysis has shown that there are at least four aspects in which press photographs can be understood to be functioning as boundary articulation mechanisms of imagined geographies. These are: (1) the underrepresentation of culturally different (Other) nations, states and their representatives; (2) coverage of different types of events (negative as opposed to routine news); (3) a different mode of depiction of the same topics/actors (e.g. representations of politicians); (4) coverage according to preconceived, "typical" images of certain regions or people.

The first two strategies are equally valid for both textual and visual sides of news production, have been well documented within studies of journalism and international communication (e.g. NWICO debate, see MacBride et al., 1980/1984), and, due to a lack of space, will need to be left out of this discussion. But the differentiated portrayal of topics and political actors and the use of unrelated and symbolic imagery need further clarification. What the analysis revealed is that Slovene media routinely use different modes of depiction for the same types of social actors or the same type of events. The former was most evident in the images of politicians, where politicians from the other side of the imagined boundary were routinely depicted as passive, less approachable or less individualised than their Western counterparts.⁶ Moreover, they are often not even depicted in person at all, but through election posters, statues, images on TV screens etc. or through images of anonymous citizens and street scenes (cf. Tomanić Trivundža, 2006). The fourth way in which news and press photographs serve as indirect markers of national identity is the patterned use of unrelated, symbolic and (stereo) typical images. Thus, in Slovene media, news from the developing world is frequently visualised through archive photographs, photographs from other regions and countries, unrelated photographs and depictions that resonate with image repertoires that come from the non-news register – those of stock and travel photography. Photographs of smoke-filled Middle Eastern coffeehouses frequently accompanied news and political analysis reports from the region at the time of the EU/NATO pre-referendum debates, and articles on Fidel Castro's illness and recovery at the same time as the Stro-

6 The differentiated pattern of visual depiction was discernible on the level of basic content analysis as well as on the level of qualitative image analysis – e.g. photographs of "non-Western" politicians were more frequently framed to include other social actors, such as fellow politicians, citizens or military personnel.

jan affair were illustrated with photographs closely resonating with tourist images, motifs and clichés. Images drawing directly on established social clichés and religious or ethnic stereotypes which provided no information specifically linked to the events being reported, such as hooded Muslim militants and veiled female combatants, were also used by the press and were, as a rule, very prominently displayed. Such images work by evoking an associative chain of preconceived notions, interpretations and attitudes.

It should be noted that these photographs, with little or no news value, or photographs that are not directly related to the events being depicted (everyday scenes from developing countries), are not merely illustrations, attention-grabbers and visual attributers of focus and importance. By obscuring the specific aspects of individual events, they serve as potent purveyors of pre-established ideas, stereotypes, visualising differentiation and social distance that establishes a hierarchy of regions or nations within the nationalised imagined geographies, legitimising the assessor's superior position towards less developed countries or countries that are at least perceived as such.

Figure 2: Indirect visual framing: Different mode of depiction of the same type of political actors (Non-Western politicians not depicted in person but as representations of themselves.).



5. CONCLUSION

The analysis has confirmed that press and news photographs can serve as potent framing mechanisms, nesting the reported events or commentary within a shared interpretational schemata. In so doing, photographs lend a temporal dimension to textual news that might not be explicated by the text itself, and, in the process, frequently depart from professional norms for the accurate and timely reporting of events. At least in the case of Slovene media, the temporal depth that press photographs lend to ongoing events not only evokes the notion of a “community of destiny”, but is also structured by the identification patterns of that community. What was evident in the visual coverage of the two events was that direct visual framing through the use of easily recognisable national symbols, iconic historical images, interpretative captions or photo-montages and photo-illustrations served to “historicise” the current events, to give them temporal depth in an ongoing narrativisation of nation. On the other hand, indirect strategies of visual framing discernible in the visual coverage of international news seem to have the opposite function – to abstract the temporal dimension. Several authors (e.g. Pickering, 2001) claim that recurring patterns of typification and stereotypification are essentially a denial of history, which would, by extension, mean that symbolic or non-related photographs would serve to situate a specific event in a historically unspecific flow of events. In some cases, the denial of history is in fact not singular but double. What such visualisations of news essentially do is to abstract an event from its current, ongoing history, only to contextualise it in a non-politicised version of history, in which the crisis in Sudan, for example, becomes framed as an issue of hunger and humanitarianism, rather than the direct and indirect consequence of colonialist and neo-colonialist economic and military policies. The national frame of reference is of paramount importance for this project, as it defines the regions which are applicable to various types and degrees of dehistoricisation. Visuals are an inherent part of these endeavours and, as shown above, operate not only through the depicted content but also through the type of seeing they invite (Berger, 1972). News photographs are particularly persuasive producers of specific visions of social difference (such as hierarchies of class, ethnicity, race or sexuality), since they appear to be transparent and can – on the level of message – only function affirmatively.⁷

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SECTION FOUR

THE POLITICAL



**STUDY VISIT TO
RADIO STUDENT**

PHOTO: ILUJA T. TOMANIĆ

Quality Discourses: Community Media Articulations of Democratic and Negotiated Quality

Nico Carpentier

1. INTRODUCTION

Quality is a pervasive notion that can be found in a wide variety of societal domains. Within the cultural domain, its intrinsic articulation with aesthetics, beauty, civilisation and culture as such has produced a Gordian knot that is virtually impossible to untie. But at the same time the quality concept, however complex and multi-layered it might be, unavoidably incorporates and invigorates processes of distinction, hierarchisation and judgement. Without stepping into the trap of the nihilist forms of cultural relativism, this text seeks to investigate the possibilities that exist to open up the quality concept to more political-democratic perspectives, which on the one hand show its potential for an articulation of quality within a democratic framework, but which also allow for the deconstruction of the quality concept's rigidity.

In this text, quality will be defined as a discourse, in line with Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory. Their theoretical model provides a toolbox that can be used to analyse the articulation of the quality discourses within the dynamics of fixity and fluidity, emphasising the contingent while allowing sufficient space for its (temporary) fixation. Especially relevant here is the theoretical starting point of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (DT), namely the idea that all social phenomena and objects obtain their meaning(s) through discourse, which is defined as "*a structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed*" (Laclau 1988: 254). The concept of discourse is also described as a structured entity, which is the result of articulation (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 105), which in turn is viewed as "*any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice.*"

If we want to understand quality as a discourse, it is important to emphasise that discourses are not defined as stable and fixed. A discourse is never safe from elements alien to that discourse, and rearticulations are always possible. At the same time, discourses have to be partially fixed, since the abundance of meaning would otherwise make any meaning impossible: “*a discourse incapable of generating any fixity of meaning is the discourse of the psychotic*” (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 112). Moreover, hegemonic processes, as part of discursive struggles, will also intervene in attempts to fix meanings.

The first part of this text will focus on two quality discourses that can be considered hegemonic and universalised: the aesthetic and the professional quality discourse. The second part of this text uses a small group of interviews with community media producers in Austria and Switzerland to argue that, through the participatory cultures of these radio stations, other (alternative) quality discourses can be observed and theorised. The producers first of all deploy a democratic quality discourse and a rearticulated (deprofessionalised) professional quality discourse, but they also use a discourse on quality which can be termed negotiated quality. The interviews with the radio producers show that the universalised quality discourses can be deconstructed without destroying the notion of quality, opening up the way for rethinking it.

2. TWO HEGEMONIC QUALITY DISCOURSES

The rigidities of quality discourses can best be exemplified by returning to the 19th century (and older) discourses on culture, where quality was equated with culture. If, for instance, we regard Matthew Arnold’s famous description of culture, in his 1875 preface of *Culture and Anarchy*, we can see the process of fixation, combined with the hope of salvation, at work:

The whole scope of the essay is to recommend culture as the great help out of our present difficulties; culture being a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know on all matters which concern us most, the best which has been thought and said in the world; and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits, which we now follow staunchly but mechanically ... (Arnold, 2004: 2).

Arnold’s emphasis on the “*total perfection*” and “*the best which has been thought and said in the world*” are examples of this 19th-century chain of equivalence, where aesthetics, excellence, civilisation and culture became

articulated as an inseparable whole. As has been extensively argued, this chain of equivalence played a key role in supporting the hegemonisation of a bourgeois taste culture, through which class (and gender) politics was waged. High culture and aesthetics – supported by the establishment of a cultural canon and the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion – manifested themselves as distinguishing features to legitimise social difference. To use Bourdieu's (1984: 491, original emphasis) words: *"What is at stake in aesthetic discourse, and in the attempted imposition of a definition of the genuinely human, is nothing less than the monopoly of humanity."* Part of this hegemonisation process was the normalisation of quality as an internal-inherent characteristic, covering up the workings of the canon and the external-institutional attribution of quality as a labelling practice.

Although the great divide (Huyssen 1986) between high and low culture, articulated with (the absence of) quality, has disintegrated, the aesthetic quality discourse has not disappeared. On the contrary, as, for instance, the debate on quality TV shows, the aesthetic quality discourse has broadened its scope and now spans many different cultural artefacts. One example is Sarah Cardwell's definition of quality TV (2007: 26), referring to *"certain textual characteristics of content, structure, theme and tone."* Especially focusing on American quality TV, these programmes tend to *"exhibit high production values, naturalistic performance styles, recognised and esteemed actors, a sense of visual style created through careful, even innovative, camera-work and editing, and a sense of aural style created through the judicious use of appropriate, even original music"* (Cardwell, 2007: 26).

Both the discussion on aesthetic quality and the quality TV debate lead us to another – evenly hegemonic – quality discourse, which focuses more on craftsmanship and the skills of the producer of the cultural artefacts. Within this discourse, the quality of the artefact is derived from the qualities of its producer. This discourse overlaps with the aesthetic quality discourse, given the link between the artist-producer and the cultural artefact through access to cultural codes, but at the same time this overlap is only partial. This brings us to the difficult relationship between arts and craft, as thematised, for instance, by Robin George Collingwood. Collingwood (1968: 18) accepts that an artist (like a poet) is *"a kind of skilled producer; he produces for consumers; and the effect of his skill is to bring about in them certain states of mind."* At the same time he resists what he considers the reduction of the artist to the craftsman, through the *"technical theory of art"*, which he considers a *"vulgar error, as anybody can see who looks at it with a critical eye"* (1968: 19). Despite these differences, the craftsman, often embedded in a

profession, is still able to generate quality. As McQuail (2008: 53) argues, the notion of the profession combines the possession of a core skill, which requires a high level of education and training in a number of sub-skills (including technical skills), with a set of other characteristics, including the ethic of service towards clients and society, autonomy, detachment and (potentially) the idea of vocation or calling. These characteristics (at least partially) distinguish the profession from the occupation, protect the profession from being (totally) colonised by the economical system, emphasise its (additional) societal relevance and status, and provide guarantees for the production of quality outcomes. But these outcomes are (as Collingwood (1968) has argued) general and skill-based. This distinguishes aesthetic quality from what I will call here professional quality. The mastery of the means aimed at the generation of professional quality has no individualised ends (like producing aesthetic ecstasy), but is based on the general qualities of the producer, which, in turn, become embedded in the cultural artefacts.

3. QUALITY DISCOURSES IN COMMUNITY MEDIA

Despite the hegemonic position of aesthetic and professional quality discourses, alternative quality discourses do exist. One example that is relevant in the context of this chapter is the more political-democratic articulation of quality. This quality discourse, termed democratic quality, emphasises the importance of participatory-democratic processes (and outcomes) as a criterion for quality, focusing more on the (participatory nature of the) production process. Here, a cultural artefact and its production process have democratic quality when they are supportive of democratic and participatory values, not limiting the control of production and distribution to particular societal elites. In earlier work (Carpentier 2007, 2011), I have argued that the democratic quality discourse, within a communicational context, has four key components. First, at the informational level, democratic quality refers to the comprehensibility and accessibility of information, and its empowering and mobilising capacities. At the level of the representation of the social, democratic quality is located at the orientation towards a pluriform social, avoiding the privileging of specific elites, while at the level of the representation of the political, democratic quality is based on the orientation towards decentralised decision-making, dialogue, debate and deliberation. Finally, at the level of the participatory, democratic quality can be found in more maximalist participatory processes, where a multitude of societal groups can be involved in production processes and can take equalised power positions.

Although the concept of democratic quality already includes a less stable articulation of quality, through its focus on representational and participatory processes as part of the definition of quality, we can take this discussion one step further and place more emphasis on the unstable and negotiated character of quality. Negotiated quality refers to the establishment of quality as a dialogical-participatory process, where all actors involved, including audience members, get to contribute to defining quality. This rearticulation is grounded in research on quality definition negotiations at Swiss and Austrian community radio stations, more specifically through an analysis of interviews with community radio producers and administrators at Radio LoRa, Radio Orange, Radio Fro and RadioFabrik¹. Obviously, this is a small selection of people, working in community radio stations in only two European countries. As the focus of this text is not on discovering the complexity of quality discourses in community media in general, but on showing and (then) theoretising the presence concept of 'negotiated quality', this does not pose structural methodological problems.

This analysis will attempt to show the rearticulation of the quality discourse, where participatory culture and openness - which are characteristic of community media organisations (Berrigan, 1979, Girard, 1992; Jankowski et al. 1992; Rodríguez, 2001; Carpentier et al., 2003; Howley, 2005; Bailey et al. 2007) - result in an unfixed and contestable discourse of (media) quality. This focus on community media does not, of course, imply that the quality concept is completely fixed in mainstream media configurations (or elsewhere), but I would like to argue that the participatory nature of community media creates a specific context in which more rigid (often professional-based) quality discourses are transformed into a negotiated quality discourse.

In the interviews, the radio producers all emphasise the participatory nature and alternative character of their radio stations (albeit in varying degrees), which positions them as the third sector. As Anu Poeyskoe (Radio Orange) briefly formulates it: *"you have the jukebox on the one side, and you have this upper-class radio on the other side."* The mixture of participation and alternativity also feeds the rejection of traditional quality discourses. To quote Anu Poeyskoe (Radio Orange) again: *"Nobody wants to have a defini-*

1 Interviews with: Nicole Niedermüller (13/08/2008, Radio LoRa, Zurich); Adriane Borger (14/08/2008, Radio LoRa, Zurich); Simon Schaufelberger (14/08/2008, Radio LoRa, Zurich); Thomas Kreiseder (7/09/2008, Radio Fro, Linz); Alf Altendorf (5/12/2008, RadioFabrik, Salzburg); joint interview with Gerhard Kettler and Pawel Kaminski (3/04/2009, Radio Orange, Wien); Anu Poeyskoe (3/04/2009, Radio Orange, Wien).

tion of good programming that has some sort of universal meaning, because that is a really subjective definition." A similar position can be found with Nicole Niedermüller (Radio LoRa), when talking about quality management:

This is the kind of discussion I can get really angry about. Because I think that the question is: "Who is defining quality?" And I often see male, white heterosexual people with university degrees, telling a migrant woman about quality.

The rejection of power imbalances that are seen as an intrinsic part of the traditional quality discourses, together with the participatory and alternative nature of these community media, leads to the deployment of three major alternative discourses on quality, all to be discussed below.

3.1. DISCOURSES ON DEMOCRATIC QUALITY

Nicole Niedermüller's reference to migrant women quoted above immediately foregrounds the importance of the (self-)representational dimension of democratic quality. The quality that community media have to offer builds on providing access to and facilitating participation for a wide range of societal subgroups, including misrecognised and sometimes even stigmatised groups in society. Through these logics of self-representation and participation, ordinary people are offered the opportunity to have their voices heard, to talk about their daily lives, to express their knowledge and narrate their everyday experiences, a process which is articulated as a quality component. One illustration is Anu Poeyskoe's (Radio Orange) description of one of the main questions Radio Orange tried to answer in its start-up phase: *"How to bring people, daily things and their opinions, how to bring them into a radio programme? What is good material for radio?"*

This notion of self-representation as (democratic) quality is not merely limited to the process of providing access and participation, but also includes the outcome of the process. The community radio producers define their non-mainstream and alternative content – produced through the logics of self-representation and participation – as part of their quality. These articulations of quality are grounded in the importance of producing alternative representations, which complement and sometimes contradict the representations generated by the mainstream media. The circulation of alternative discourses, formats and genres is seen as an important contribution to a more pluralist-democratic society.

The articulation of non-mainstream content as quality is also supported by a rules-bound approach, which distinguishes community radio from access radio (like the German *Offener Kanal* concept). Anu Poeyskoe's (Radio Orange) summarises the community radio content rules system as "*the famous anti-anti-anti,*" which implies that community media are anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-fascist and anti-violence (although some variation is again possible). The producers interviewed all confirm the importance of this rule-bound protection of their non-mainstream identity, and (when asked) often tell of incidents when these rules were violated, in some cases leading to the cancellation of specific radio programmes, which is very rare within the field of community radio.

One final articulation of democratic quality is grounded in the structural participation and horizontal decision-making of the community radio organisation, which are deemed crucial to the democratic functioning of these media organisations, although their implementation gives rise to a wide range of challenges. These difficulties can also be found at the level of the relationships between producers (who are often volunteers) and staff members (who are sometimes paid). Here, one of the major difficulties relates to involving the radio producers in the democratic functioning of the community radio organisation. This again affects the definition of democratic quality, which is illustrated by the Radio Fro interview. In this interview, a lack of quality is defined as "*narrow-mindedness.*" Thomas Kreiseder (Radio Fro) continues by describing this (fictitious) radio producer's detached position: "*I'm coming in and I'm doing my stuff and I'm not interested in what others are doing.*" In contrast, quality in community media is also seen as contributing to the "*generation of more open systems, more open groups or communities of shared interests.*"

3.2. RE-ARTICULATING THE PROFESSIONAL QUALITY DISCOURSE

Apart from the discourse of democratic quality, the community radio producers that were interviewed also refer to the professional quality discourse. But at the same time, they also rearticulate it, as the entire ideology of community media is built on the concept of providing access and participation to non-professionals.

Some reference is made to the skills related to using the radio format (with the appreciation for "*voices electrifying you*" (Pawel Kaminiski – Radio Orange)) and radio's dialogical nature. But particularly the journalistic skills and the skills needed to use the technology itself are emphasised. Anu

Poeyskoe (Radio Orange) summarises the problem of the lack of technical skills as follows: *“High-quality content is of no use if I can’t understand it.”* But at the same time this quote illustrates how careful the interviewees are to avoid using the quality discourse as a *condition sine qua non* to judge a programme. On the contrary, technical quality is deemed important, but acquiring these skills is articulated as a learning process, which might take years. In some cases, when radio producers might actually never learn some of these skills, this should still not be problematised: *“Like using the telephone [during a live broadcast] is really difficult for a lot of people because they sometimes do, well they receive one telephone call every two weeks, so they slightly forget how to do this”* (Simon Schaufelberger - Radio LoRa). All interviewees strongly emphasise that these technical (and journalistic) skills should not be imposed or enforced, but that radio producers should receive informal or formal training.

Again, the participatory-emancipatory community media ideology can be seen as the main explanatory component for this approach. This also explains why the lack of technical and journalistic skills is not seen as problematic, in contrast to more mainstream environments where the lack of technological mastery would be defined as a *“sacrilege”* (Anu Poeyskoe - Radio Orange) and the professionalised environments would require the utmost respect for journalistic procedures. These nuanced approaches towards technical and journalistic quality are also grounded in the rearticulation of professional quality. One recurring argumentation is the importance of the non-professional nature of the radio producers, which refers not only to their position as volunteers, but also to their embeddedness in alternative production cultures.

The rearticulation of professional quality is based on a combination of authenticity, commitment, empathy and subjectivity. As Simon Schaufelberger (Radio LoRa) puts it: *“There is quality in this radio station in lots of different respects. And especially in the personal commitment of people doing shows. I think this is the highest quality for a radio station like [LoRa].”* These producers’ characteristics are contrasted against media professionals, who become articulated as objective but inauthentic, and who have little to communicate. It is in this debate that technological quality is also mentioned, but again in a model which is antagonistic towards mainstream media.

3.3. A PARTICIPATORY DEFINITION OF QUALITY: NEGOTIATED QUALITY

A third major discourse on quality within community media can be termed negotiated quality. The participatory nature of community media makes it possible to destabilise the traditional (universalised and professionalised) discourses of quality. Through their resistance to the power imbalances which are embedded in the quality discourse (where professional media are seen to produce quality content and amateur media are discursively excluded from the quality signifier), community media not only foreground alternative models of quality (see above), but also submit the definition of quality to their participatory processes. By opening up the definition of quality to their participatory cultures, they unfix and destabilise quality, showing its constructed nature.

One major discursive strategy is the rejection of the one-quality concept. In contrast, a more relativist definition is used, emphasising the diversity of quality. An illustration here is Adriane Borger's (Radio LoRa) position:

I think we need the whole variety of approaches and ways of doing a programme. And of course you can, every individual programme, you can look at it and see if it's good or not, but first you have to see what good means in this case. This can mean very different things.

Quality, then, becomes an agonistic (Mouffe, 2005) confrontation between these different positions on quality. Within the participatory tradition of community media, this almost unavoidably implies the organisation of dialogical processes to determine quality. Apart from discussions amongst (paid) staff members and in formal decision-making structures, the radio producers are also involved in this dialogical process, mainly through what the interviewees call the feedback mechanism. Here, staff members or more experienced producers provide feedback to other producers, if time and resources allow. Apart from the more informal feedback system, most of the community radio stations have included more workshop-based forms of learning, where the quality dialogues can take place in a more organised way. Finally, in some cases even listeners participate in the quality dialogues, albeit in less organised ways.

4. CONCLUSION

It seems that, despite its long and problematic history, the quality discourse has remained active within the cultural field. Even its discursive

oppressive role as protector of the bourgeois cultural project has not discredited it sufficiently to make it disappear. At the same time, rearticulating the quality discourse so that it leaves its problematic past behind has also turned out to be surprisingly difficult. In this chapter, I have first tried to describe the existing hegemonic quality discourses, not without showing the complexity and inherent instability of these discourses. Even this initial discussion of quality discourses shows that stopping the sliding of the signifier is virtually impossible.

What has been termed democratic quality allows for a relatively novel approach towards quality, articulating specific types of information and representation, combined with more deepened forms of participation, as quality aspects of (improving) the functioning of (mainstream) media. Not surprisingly, in the community media interviews as well, these democratic quality concepts feature prominently. But the small set of community media interviews also shows how, within these media organisations, the sacral quality discourse becomes deconstructed, by showing its problematic past and universalist claims, while at the same time deploying it by embedding it in the participatory tradition of community media. Negotiated quality thus becomes a transversal concept, which potentially affects all of the quality discourses previously discussed, positioning quality itself in a participatory-democratic debate. Of course, at the same time, one should be prudent. Both democratic and negotiated quality remain, just like any other discourse which is embedded in a democratic-participatory logic, vulnerable to shifts in the (informal) power balances, requiring permanent attention and care to protect the power equilibriums that feed them.

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Understanding Mediated Storytelling in Social Networking Sites through Articulation: Actors, Processes and Practices

Sander De Ridder

1. INTRODUCTION

Social networking sites (SNSs) confront communication and media studies scholars with significant challenges. Not only are they an increasingly popular medium in the West, the web 2.0, and broader digital media culture, are characterised by continuous 'audience activity', producing "user-generated-content" (Carpentier, 2011b). Consequently, the analytical distinction between text, producer and audience is no longer tenable, but thoroughly disrupted (Livingstone, 2012). This does not, however, mean that SNSs are a completely new arena of study, as a considerable number of scholars have been producing theoretical and empirical insights for almost a decade. Boyd, as one of the scholars who pioneered research into SNSs, connected it primarily to youth culture (boyd, 2007), understanding it as a 'genre' of networked publics. Recently, she defined SNSs as "(1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice" (boyd, 2011: 39). This description brings together what 'shapes the medium' of the SNS. What this contribution will do, however, is focus on what 'people do', offering insights into the social and cultural complexities behind the actual media practices (Couldry, 2012). 'Self-representational digital stories' (Lundby, 2008; Thumim, 2012) will be the focal point of this contribution, as this is what 'audiences do' in SNSs.

The central aim of this contribution is to offer an understanding of the activity of storytelling in SNSs from a cultural media studies perspective. Although it is impossible to introduce the multi-disciplinary, multi-the-

oretical field of cultural media studies exhaustively in the limited space of this book chapter. people's everyday experiences are a key interest in this broad field. As Hammer and Kellner (2009: ix) describe, cultural media studies are significant for "*interrogating and transforming the many ways in which people 'see' the world and relate to media, consumer, and digital culture*". Therefore, insights from media, communication and cultural studies work together to expose disciplinary regimes and power structures in relation to media. Debates in cultural studies on the formation of cultural identities, power, hegemony and difference are central (see Barker, 2008). Cultural media studies are aiming "*at making connections between texts and contexts, media industries and technologies, politics and economics, and specific texts, practices and audiences*" (Kellner, 2009: 6). I will therefore understand mediated storytelling in SNSs as embedded within the everyday-life hegemonic and counterhegemonic struggles of cultural identity formation. Such an approach aims to expose the discursive practices of disciplinary regimes within this mediated storytelling, but without assuming a one-sided structural domination. A cultural studies approach brings in a 'reflexive' understanding of power, and therefore an 'agentic' subject.

In what follows, I will define four 'processes' and introduce two 'actors' that will help create an understanding of audience activity in SNSs. Subsequently, by connecting these disparate elements to a temporary unity, which is understood as an 'articulation model' in cultural studies (see Barker, 2008; du Gay et al., 2003), four practices of what people do when telling stories on SNSs will be defined. Although the actual practices are rather straightforward, the value of the model is that it shows the complexities behind these practices, offering a better understanding of cultural identity struggles, power and agency in SNSs.

As mentioned earlier, theoretical and empirical work on SNSs is not new in media and communication studies. Therefore, the proposed articulation model partly builds further upon insights already developed, while at the same time differing from earlier work in three important ways. First, as the model defines the practices of what people do when telling self-representational stories on SNSs, it 'decentralises' the medium and brings the social and cultural dynamics of this activity to the fore. This understanding of media as practice (see Couldry, 2012, 2004) differs from understanding the 'implications' for selves and identities when using SNSs (boyd, 2007; Ito et al., 2010; Livingstone and Brake, 2010). Taking a decentralisation of media as point of departure means acknowledging that SNSs as media (see also Rettberg, 2009; Light, 2011) are only mean-

ingful in relation to the specific appropriations of people using the SNSs software. Second, as a cultural media studies approach takes a reflexive and anti-structuralist approach to power, it differs from research into SNSs that understands these media within the opportunities/risks and agency/structure binaries (Livingstone, 2008; Livingstone and Haddon, 2012; Walrave and Heirman, 2012). These more structuralist approaches often explore how children and youth are empowered by these new media, but also need to cope with significant risks. Although it needs to be recognised that this research brings important insights with direct policy implications, the articulation model provided here places the medium of SNSs in long-term social, cultural and material complexities. Therefore, the model aims at exploring the broader 'zeitgeist' of modernity, taking SNSs as a central point of departure. Third, research into SNSs mainly approaches the self as shaped 'pre'-discursively in interaction. Here, technology is understood as mediating the process of a self-identity in making (Papacharissi, 2011). Rather than focusing on the self, the model will show how self-representation is also a matter of 'identification' with subject positions (Hall, 2000), understanding storytelling as a "*site for an intelligible identity performance*" (Cover, 2012: 181).

2. ACTORS OF MEDIATION

Self-representational storytelling in SNSs is what Lundby (2008) describes as "small-scale storytelling", where the narrator concentrates on his or her personal life to tell the story. Therefore, people use text, pictures, music and videos, organised as blogs, albums, interests, etc. Moreover, on SNSs, these stories become potentially public (Couldry, 2008). Thumim (2012) understands this self-representation as the activity of participating audiences. Further, she emphasises that self-representation is 'always' the mediation of a textual object. Mediation can be understood as a key to understanding storytelling in digital culture, as mediation is an inherently non-linear process (Couldry, 2008). An understanding of mediation shows how mediated storytelling is a double articulation of media as a material object of technology and symbolic object of representation and discourse (Silverstone, 1994). Mediation is a "*transformative process in which the meaningfulness and value of things are constructed*" (Silverstone, 2002). Consequently, an understanding of this transformative process is essential. Therefore, central to the articulation model are 'media institutions' and 'audiences', as two 'actors' that make mediated storytelling possible on SNSs. I will represent these actors as 'axes' around which processes are brought together (cf. figure 1), leading to practices that conceptualise self-representational storytelling as a doing.

Media institutions play a significant role in self-representation on SNSs, albeit they are often overlooked, or their role is minimised in a problematic way. This is often due to the overly optimistic discourses on web 2.0, as these applications are often inextricably linked to empowerment and power shifts. Digital media such as SNSs are thereby often understood as free and autonomous spaces for participation, something that has been heavily refuted and discussed by scholars such as Carpentier (2011a), Fuchs (2011), and Schäfer (2011). Schäfer (ibid.: 11) argues that this optimistic discourse is primarily an outcome of how new technologies are socially and politically understood. Media companies who use the technologies and operate SNSs have shifted from producing content to producing platforms for user-driven social interaction. Thereby they “*gain control over cultural production and intellectual property in a manner very similar to the monopolistic media corporations of the 20th century*”. As storytelling on SNSs happens within the mediated spaces of corporate-operated interaction platforms, it is undeniably important that they be seen as important actors in self-representational activity.

Next to the media institutions, ‘audiences’ are the second important actor. Although the analytical value in web 2.0 has been debated (see Sandvoss, 2011; Rosen, 2008), ‘an audience’ today is still more than an individual or social subject, but could be seen as a “*media-related practice outside production within specialist institutions*” (Couldry, 2011: 125). Moreover, the importance of audiences as an analytical tool in understanding self-representational storytelling is evident; it recognises the rich history of insights developed in media audiences studies (Thumim, 2012; Carpentier, 2011b). Audiences in SNSs are complex collectives, as they are interpreting and creating stories at the same time. Also, the specific ‘networked dynamic’ of audiences in SNSs (cf. boyd’s notion of networked publics), brings in specific power structures and dynamics of surveillance (Barabási, 2011). As I approach mediated storytelling as an audience activity, self-representational storytelling has to be understood not solely as an individual or social activity, but embedded within a collective of people, engaging with media institutions and technology.

Both actors that are defined are important, as they make mediated storytelling possible. The next part will introduce processes that are strongly connected to both actors and their theoretical complexities.

3. PROCESSES

As the central aim of this paper is to understand the activity of mediated storytelling on SNSs from a cultural media studies perspective, I will explain four key processes involved. Bringing these processes together through articulation will be beneficial to understanding the complexities behind the practices of storytelling (cf. figure 1). Here, I will shortly introduce ‘subject’, ‘representation’, ‘technology’ and ‘participation’. These four processes create in their combination the discursive space through which storytelling becomes possible in SNSs. It must be clear, however, that these notions could be used for understanding a wide range of other social and cultural processes as well. Nevertheless, in terms of the goal I put forward, they will be defined and connect in specific and thus also limited ways.

‘Subject’ is in its most fundamental definition “the condition of being a person”, but, in cultural studies, the process of how we “become a person” and are “constituted as subjects” is primordial (Barker, 2008: 213). Persons are understood as “subjects-of-language”, meaning that they live with dominant systems of discourse and social organisation, creating “subject positions” by which we identify ourselves (Hall, 2000)¹. Subsequently, these identifications lead to identities, constructed through “difference”; what one is not. This process of cultural identity formation is how one becomes a man, woman, European or the other.

The process of subjectivity is strongly linked to ‘representation’. Hall (1997: 15), defines representation as “*to use meaning to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people*”. Associative with the notion of subject, cultural studies applies the discursive approach to representation and argues that the representational process produces regimes of truths. Moreover, representation has a double achievement, as it not only produces and reproduces discourses, but also constitutes by these same subject positions. Media are normalising these representations by continuously distributing them in different ways, through different channels. It is important, however, that although subjects and representation are constructed within these dominant regimes of power and knowledge, people can work with subject positions to resist, alter or erode discourses.

¹ In describing the complexities of cultural identities, Hall is influenced by different visions on ‘the subject’, all developed before cultural studies was established as a field. The discursive approach is mainly the merit of Foucault, who framed Hall’s thinking, and thus also that of cultural studies approaches considerably.

Further, representation does not have a straightforward relationship with interpretation, but is continuously under negotiation (see Fiske, 2010).

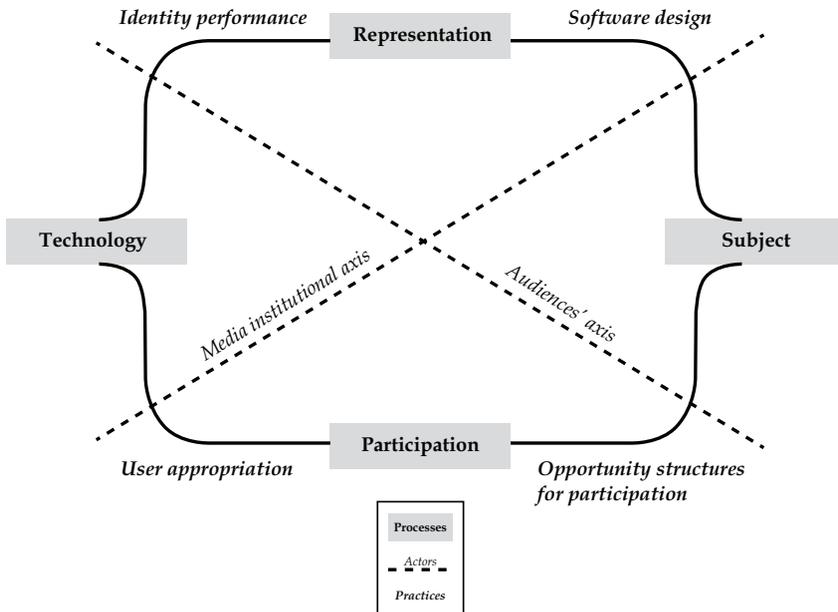
'Technologies', as the third important concept, order the world and are therefore the basic of the mediation process; technologies provide structures and command specific actions (Van Loon, 2008). In relation to new media and web 2.0, the computer, Internet and software are the key technologies that make "social" software applications such as SNSs possible (Schäfer, 2011). Here, we will understand technology as both material and discursive (Carpentier, 2011a). Consequently, on the one hand, technology is socially shaped and needs to be contextualised culturally (Morley, 2007), while, on the other hand, technology is also shaping the social and is therefore thus 'material' in its consequences (Hutchby, 2001).

'Participatory media practices' are related to technology. Technology enables participation in media, but also represses it due to its specific material conditions or design choices. The processes of subjectivity, representation and technology, but also participation, are complex multidimensional "*sites of ideological and democratic struggle*" (Carpentier, 2011a). Although structurally the level of participation increased with the emergence of web 2.0, this does not automatically produce more intense and democratic participation per se (Carpentier, 2011b). Participation has to be 'contextually' understood, as it continuously oscillates between minimal/maximal and implicit/explicit participation (Schäfer, 2011).

4. PRACTICES

Figure 1 (below) brings together the actors discussed that take part in storytelling; which are the media institutions and the audiences (cf. supra); they are represented as axes in the diagram. Figure 1 combines the actors with the processes of representation, subjectivity, participation and technology. In this part, rather than explain these processes separately, I will articulate processes and actors to capture how storytelling must be understood as a meaningful practice and continuous site of hegemonic and counterhegemonic struggle. I identify four media practices that help to explain how people use the computer, Internet and software as 'opportunity structures for participation' with which to tell stories in public and networked environments. In digital spaces, they 'perform identities', which are identifications with subject positions. Therefore, they interact with media institutions that create specific platforms for user-driven social interaction, these 'software designs' are 'appropriated' by their users in specific ways.

Figure 1: Mediated storytelling on social networking sites: an articulation model



4.1. AUDIENCES' AXIS

4.1.1. OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES FOR PARTICIPATION

When telling self-representational stories on SNSs, people make use of technologies that increase the opportunities for participation in media. As mentioned before, the computer, Internet and software are key developments that have made more democratic participation possible. 'Opportunity structures for participation' is a concept developed in social movement literature, explaining how "*structural aspects of the external world outside the control of activists affect the development and success of social movements*" (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004 in Cammaerts, 2012). Cammaerts (Ibid.), develops the 'mediation opportunity structure model', to explain how media and communication are relevant to activists and resistance practices. However, I will use this term not to explain collective action, but rather to explain how people use a combination of technologies to tell stories in web 2.0, 'independently' from stories produced by content-providing mass media. In particular, this opportunity structure for participation could be interesting for cultural identities that are excluded from

the mainstream. In this way, the relevance of self-representational stories is therapeutic, but also profoundly political; what Thumim (2012) understands as a “democratic voicing of difference”.

What technologies such as the computer, Internet and software bring to self-representational storytelling is the specific ‘networked’ nature that allows these stories to be told in ‘public’, to be negotiable, to be shared and connected. Further, these opportunity structures could help certain minorities and excluded social groups avoid symbolic annihilation, supporting assimilation. Stories then become resistance practices, making conscious statements that endorse voice through identity politics. Moreover, in self-representational storytelling on SNSs, multiple identity aspects are dealt with (gender, sexual, religion, music I like, brands I like, ...). In this way, identities become ‘hybrid’ constructs, rather than representations that focus on one particular identity aspect, as content-providing mass media often do.

Aside from being obvious identity statements, self-representational stories can also, produce resistances to cultural inequalities that are more subtle and, often, but not always, produced unconsciously. Moreover, they are highly dependent on interpretation. These subtle resistances can expose how identities are performed by continuous reiterations. In this way, they implicitly question identities as “natural”, or “original” performances, outside of regimes of power (Butler, 1990). However, these resistances are not evident, as audiences on SNSs often have a tendency to produce coherent identities, rather than approaching SNSs as places for free identity experiments.

4.1.2. IDENTITY PERFORMANCE

The process of self-representational storytelling on SNSs demands a subject that represents itself through ‘performing an identity’. Therefore, self-representational stories are shaped within social and cultural regimes, creating positions with which subjects identify. Norms and values restrict free-floating representations of identities. Often, subjects produce and reproduce intelligible and normative identities in unconscious ways, therefore relying on dominant scripts. Cover (2012: 181) understands Facebook or Myspace as places for “*a never-ending process towards coherence and intelligibility.*” Consequently, this is in sharp contrast with arguments that understand self-representation as the creation of self-conscious, reflexive biographies (Papacharissi, 2011; Livingstone, 2008). Accepting the critical

remarks of a cultural media studies perspective is equal to recognising that SNSs are mediating everyday inequalities and power regimes. Sveningsson Elm (2007) concludes an inquiry into Swedish youth's self-representations by showing how classical gender stereotypes are repeatedly produced and reproduced in online meeting places. Further, she shows how non-heteronormative identities are not highly valued in online intimate negotiations. Thus the utopian dreams that connect increased opportunity structures for participation with 'free' floating identity experiments need to be nuanced.

Nevertheless, these constraints, the political, therapeutic and democratic voicing possibilities in self-representational storytelling, need to be acknowledged. As mentioned before, subject positions can be used to question dominance and overcome difference. However, specifically for minorities telling self-representational stories on highly popular SNSs, specific attention is needed. Networked opportunity structures are environments that can be easily surveyed, making the audience a possible policing and interpellating collective, pushing stories continuously into ideology. In this way, self-representation of identities outside the dominant does not come at any cost. Rather, self-representational storytelling then becomes a form of "emotional labour". This includes coping with possible negative reactions (Sender, 2012).

4.2. MEDIA INSTITUTIONAL AXIS

In 'doing' mediated storytelling, people make use of media institutions that operate SNSs. Today, these institutions, such as Facebook and MySpace, have become large private companies. As they not only continuously promote, but also facilitate self-representations on platforms designed for social interaction, they are active actors in shaping stories. Thumim (2012) argues this has specific consequences for storytelling. In these environments, self-representation becomes a 'condition' for participation. Therefore, it must be recognised that not all self-representational storytelling is profoundly meaningful, political and therapeutic. Therefore, Thumim (bid.) describes self-representation on SNSs as "banal" and "inadvertent". Indeed, as some critics suggest, it could be argued that SNSs are exploiting the free labour of the content people delivered (Terranova, 2000; Andrejevic, 2011). In general, web 2.0 applications not only represent and archive content delivered by 'ordinary' people, but are also reproducing this content. In this way, media institutions are accumulating the content's value.

However, to understand the media institutional axis in relation to mediated storytelling, I argue for an understanding of the technology/media in relation to the appropriation. Users can apply the platform in their own interests. Consequently, a better understanding of the relationship between the design of SNSs and its appropriation exposes a more complex relationship than a one-sided domination.

4.2.2. SOFTWARE DESIGNS

In combining the processes of technology and representation (see figure 1), questions concerning how people use software designs become central. This articulation understands how designers use particular programming software to produce SNS platforms that are, first and foremost, easy to use. Therefore, they create different applications to upload text, pictures, videos inter alia. SNSs platforms also have inventories from which the user can choose pre-programmed options (e.g. male/female). These designs could be understood as “cultural templates”, that co-create self-representations in particular ways, connecting them with social and cultural norms and practices (Rettberg, 2009). Software designers create easy-to-use inventories, meaning they are limiting and structuring ways of storytelling. Further, users are not always conscious of this technological process. I want to argue that this process needs to be connected to the subject positions of the designers who shape these interaction platforms. Design choices are primarily human choices (Taylor, 2003), and, even more, choices of marketing, branding and corporate strategy (De Ridder, forthcoming). However, the designs, designers and connected institutions do not completely determine how people represent themselves, but the pre-defined inventories are limiting subject positions users can identify with, or certain applications structure storytelling (Van House, 2011: 428). In sum, the design enables, but also – and maybe more important – closes, some options. To critically evaluate and understand the relationship between the material aspects of technologies and design choices, the notion of affordance is useful here, as it signifies “*the fundamental properties that determine how objects can be used*” (Schäfer, 2011: 19). Moreover, the affordances of SNSs software platforms are the relationships between this artifact and human practice. When subjects participate in SNSs platforms, they use them in specific ways, rearticulating the affordances. Therefore, software designs and its limitations and opportunities only become meaningful in relation to the ‘user appropriation’.

4.2.3. USER APPROPRIATION

The interaction between media institutions and users participating in web 2.0 applications, understands how people are telling stories in SNSs, have the opportunity to appropriate pre-defined software designs. Therefore, they could use them for unintended purposes, neglecting certain inventories or options to fill in, mocking or parodying them. More radical, but also demanding of technical skills, is the process of adapting media technologies in different ways by hacking their operational structures. In my own research (De Ridder, forthcoming), I have shown how young people neglect inventories on a popular SNS. The software designs asked users to complete the question "I'm falling for", leaving the audience with the option of ignoring the question or choosing; "boys", "girls" or "boys and girls". The majority (86%, N200), ignored this specific question. However, sexual identities were very often made clear or mentioned in the free spaces for textual self-introduction. Youngsters used more "original", creative and sophisticated ways to make their sexual preferences clear, instead of the limited labelling proposed by the software inventory. The example here shows how the dialectical struggle between the software design created by media institutions always need to be understood in relation to its appropriation. Individual acts continuously open up the intended purposes of software, redefining its significance.

5. CONCLUSION

In this limited space, I have offered an understanding of how the audience activity of self-representational storytelling in SNSs can be understood from a cultural media studies perspective (Kellner, 2009). It has centralised processes of cultural identity formation, accepting dimensions of power as an everyday, reflexive struggle (Hall, 2000). Approaching media as practice, what people do with media is placed at the very centre of analysis, rather than taking evolutions in media/communication technologies and artifacts as the central point of departure (Couldry, 2012). The argument here proposed an articulation model (du Gay et al., 2003), connecting different processes and actors, which eventually contributed to understanding the complexities behind the actual media practices.

After accepting that self-representational storytelling is an audience activity, always 'within' mediation (Thumim, 2012), the double articulation of media as material objects of technology and symbolic objects of representation and discourse (Silverstone, 2002) defined two actors that are closely

associated with the stories told in SNSs; media institutions and audiences. SNSs are complex structures that are built around material, social and cultural processes such as technology, representation, participation and subjectivity. By articulating these processes, I offered an understanding of how people telling self-representational stories are continuously fluctuating between increased opportunity structures for democratic participation and restrictive identity performances, limiting software designs and possibilities for creative appropriations.

The real challenge, to explore the broader 'zeitgeist' of modern transformations and struggles in cultural identity formation in relation to lives that have become unthinkable outside of mediation (Livingstone, 2009), has only started with the articulation model. As the model departed from self-representation as a mediated process, it uncovered the non-linearity of what happens when stories are mediated on SNSs (Couldry, 2008). Therefore, it is highly dependent on explorations of small-scale storytelling, particular web 2.0 applications, particular cultures; in one word, 'contexts'. However, I am convinced that, by accumulating empirical insights from different cases and contexts, 'macro' understandings of social and cultural transformation processes in relation to what people are doing in and with 'social' media become possible.

Further, the articulation model also poses questions for critical media literacies. As self-representational storytelling is not only a condition for participation in SNSs, inadvertent and banal, but politically and therapeutically meaningful for some individuals, social groups, communities, institutions, identities, etc.; SNSs stories are linked to everyday 'civic' life. Therefore, it is important to maximise opportunity structures for participation, making people aware of the dynamics of social software design and understanding SNSs as a particular 'genre' of self-representation (Thumim, 2012).

I want to emphasise that the model here does not have any aspiration towards becoming a closed template in itself for inquiries aimed at producing an understanding of storytelling in SNSs. Rather, the articulation model and attached argument should be approached in a way that is close to its very basic form; as a multidimensional look at media practices.

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Handicraft Hobbyists in an Ethnographic Museum – Negotiating Expertise and Participation

Krista Lepik and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt

1. INTRODUCTION

Relatively recently, Desvallées and Mairesse stated that “*the chronic lack of interactivity in museum communication has led us to ask ourselves how we can make the visitor more active, while seeking his participation*” (2010: 30). This article, which looks at visitor participation, focuses on a very specific group of visitors, handicraft hobbyists, and more specifically their relationship to an ethnographic museum, the Estonian National Museum, by asking members of this specific group what museums do and should be doing in order to make use of visitor input.

This chapter makes its contribution by focusing on museum-goers’ perception of participatory practice. It departs from the constructivist, grounded theory developed by Charmaz (2006), and pays attention to concepts that are important to the visitors, and to their view of the role of the museum in their lives. Against the backdrop of earlier works (Simon, 2010, Goodnow 2010, Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel 2011), this paper attempts to provide a direct answer to the question: What do the visitors themselves think about cultural participation in museums?

The works mentioned in the previous paragraph have contributed extensively to our understanding of various forms of participation in museums, and how these forms might be compared to one another. For example, Goodnow (2010) takes a somewhat hierarchical approach, relying on Carpentier (2007), and delineates participation at the levels of access, reflection, provision and structural involvement, on the basis of the extent of power handed over to participants in museums. Instead of treating various forms of participation “*as progressive steps*” (Simon, 2010: 188), Simon

(2010) suggests considering different variables that help to distinguish “*contribution, collaboration, co-creation, hosted*” (Simon, 2010: 188) models of the participatory museum. Different variables (e.g. power handed to potential participants, the institutional commitment, the motivation of participants, resources, skills and eventually the perception of non-participating visitors (Simon, 2010)) all come together to form a matrix that helps to explain the nature of participatory projects. It is, however, crucial to keep in mind that not all the characteristics of these variables match perfectly with any particular form of real participation. On closer analysis, it emerges that different projects borrow elements from various forms of participation. The third approach mentioned above (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel 2011) draws on various fields (economic, political, and cultural) in order to provide an analysis of the possibilities of participation frames within “*the classical communication model of Who? Says What? To Whom?*” (Lasswell, 1948; McQuail and Windahl, 1993 cited in Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel, 2011: 16). With a measure of caution, this latter work also introduces hierarchical models of participation assembled from different disciplines, but its main contribution is that Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel (2011) outline a great range of participatory practices in museums. These fields (economic, political, and cultural) are interwoven in practice, and therefore analysing participatory activities may in some cases be more understandable, to both practitioners and potential participants, in terms of categories that are more closely related to everyday practice. As this chapter focuses on the relationship between museums and potential participants, it is also important to theoretically outline the notion of expertise and its relationship with participation.

2. THE ROLE OF EXPERTS IN CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

This section looks at expertise in general, then at the area of cultural participation, and finally considers the role of expertise in museums. On a very general level, we can draw on the work of Anthony Giddens (1991). Giddens has emphasised the role of expert systems in contemporary, reflexive society. According to him, “*expert systems bracket time and space through deploying modes of technical knowledge which have validity independent of the practitioners and clients who make use of them*” (Giddens, 1991: 18). Expert systems (and we see museums as expert systems, too) in this approach are not so much about the power they involve, but rather their scope and knowledge. Indeed, as Giddens himself mentioned earlier, the involvement of communication, power and sanctions is fundamental to all social practice (Giddens, 1979: 82). It allows us to treat the existence

of power as a default characteristic, and thus also to leave it in the background, so that we can instead pay attention to other immanent traits that define expertise. For the purposes of this work, it is important to mention that *“even the most cherished beliefs underlining expert systems are open to revision”* (Giddens, 1991: 141), thus even being *“routinely available to laypeople as part of the reflexivity of modernity”* (Giddens, 1991: 141). These democratising tendencies, after spreading from *“the orthodox political arena”* (Giddens, 1994: 192) to other domains, have to some extent also influenced the cultural sphere.

In some cases (such as when examining the phenomenon for statistical purposes (Morrone, 2006)), cultural participation is seen as cultural consumption, rather than as something that revises *“beliefs underlining expert systems”* (Giddens, 1991: 141), or refers to amateur production – *“professional practices are excluded here”* (Morrone, 2006: 7). In these cases, *“cultural participants”* are clearly distinguished from *“experts”*, both semantically and practically. These denominations, while designed for statistics and mainly for closed circles of decision-makers, are also made public through the news media and various reports. Thus, they also carry the potential to shape public awareness about cultural participation and shape the opinions of potential participants.

In specific cultural institutions, including museums, a somewhat different picture develops, as the expertise is provided by these institutions but also opened up, to a certain extent, for revisions. Such cultural transformations, however, take time, as both museums and their visitors are deemed to be seeking forms of participation that satisfy mutual expectations (and those of spectators, as Simon (2010) has proposed). The identity struggles of museum professionals as experts were highlighted very recently (Tatsi, 2013) in the instance of an Open Curatorship project staged at the Estonian National Museum, which showed once again the importance of acknowledging participatory practice at both the rhetorical and the practical level. In this case, establishing a participatory intervention triggered debates among museum professionals, as it ran counter to their *“traditional”* understanding of curatorship (in which the expert alone decides upon the content of exhibitions), fuelled anxiety, resistance and othering, resulted in them focusing on how clearly the visitors’ *“amateurishness” becomes evident through the exhibition”* (Tatsi, 2013). The borderline between museum and visitors is thus clear and strong even in the case of a participatory project that supports the clearly distinguished identities of museum professionals and visitors. This has the potential to foster a *“relatively isolated*

culture of hosted exhibitions" (Tatsi, 2013) in the future. Although it is for each museum to decide what participatory activities are appropriate for it, the question of striving for mutual exchange of expertise still remains.

3. CONTEXT AND METHOD

Although this study considers the Estonian context, the issue of lack of interactivity, and the recent signs of will to solve it through participatory initiatives, have been much debated in the European and North American museum communities. Thus, the purpose of this context section is to refer to common traits and issues that the Estonian National Museum (and also other Estonian museums) shares with its international counterparts.

The data for this study consist of interviews and analysis of online materials collected during an intervention study conducted in the winter of 2011. The aim of the study was to involve handicraft hobbyists in reproducing cultural heritage materials found at the museum, either as an authentic copy or as an inspired item. Altogether 47 people indicated their interest by registering, and 37 completed works were submitted for the competition. The entries were evaluated in two categories – copies of originals and inspired items. The evaluation was carried out by a jury, consisting of museum staff and experts invited from the local community. For the data collection, nine interviews were conducted during and after the event. The respective quotes are marked with a number (I 1-9) to indicate the interview. Additionally, as the hobbyists were invited through their online community forums, material from those forums (a total of 23 forum topics with 370 posts) and related blog posts (nine posts in total) were collected during and after the competition¹. Those posts were not used for detailed analysis, but as contextual information accessed through close reading.

1 The authors are grateful to Master's student Marke Teppor, who was responsible for the running of the intervention, related data collection and initial analysis (Teppor, 2011) in the framework of her thesis project.

Table 1: Interview participants and their related competition works

Interview Code	Gender	Age	Competition entry
I1	F	44	Karja quilt (Image 1)
I2	F	63	Gloves "Luigi"
I3	F	45	Mittens
I4	F	34	Ceramic dessert bowls
I5	F	38	Chamber of pins
I6	M	32	Hammer-wrought tools
I7	F	42	Ram skin pouches
I8	F	33	Bag in Tunis technique
I9	M	54	Wrought rack for herring baking

For the purposes of analysing the interview data, the constructivist grounded theory developed by Charmaz (2006) was applied. This implies that stress was placed on a "participant's definitions of terms, situations, and events" (Charmaz, 2006: 32), while focusing on "his or her assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules" (Charmaz, 2006: 32). The handicraft hobbyists' understandings of relationships and collaboration with the ethnographic museum, in terms of trust, access, degree of control etc., are mostly embedded in these assumptions and meanings. In order to gain a better insight into the perceptions of the museum held by the handicraft hobbyists, line-by-line coding (Charmaz, 2006) was applied – this made it easier to understand that the identity of handicraft hobbyists as museum-goers can very much be analysed through meanings they attribute to the museum itself. The ways in which the museum is identified in the interviews give "points of departure" (Charmaz, 2006: 17), and evoke certain differences and similarities that help to position the identity of hobbyist crafters as museum-goers. Various differences and similarities, then, are used in the process of axial coding as "conditions, the circumstances or situations that form the structure of the studied phenomena" (Charmaz, 2006: 61). These conditions influence potential ways of participation in the museum that, in terms of Charmaz, can be seen as the "actions/interactions, participants' routine or strategic responses to issues, events, or problems" (Charmaz, 2006: 61), and that eventually can lead to certain "consequences, outcomes of actions/interactions" (Charmaz, 2006: 61) – either material (such as the tangible results of some common project, for example) or mental (the experiences from the participatory process, "feeding" in new conditions supporting or hindering participatory processes in the future).

Figure 1: Competition entry in the inspired item category (original in the right-hand corner), author I1 (Teppor, 2011).



4. ESTONIAN HOBBYIST CRAFTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM'S EXPERTISE

Various roles played by the Estonian National Museum, as perceived by participants of *My Favourite*, have been analysed. It appears that, besides the articulation of the traditional tasks of museums (namely acquiring, preserving, researching, communicating and exhibiting (ICOM, 2006)), a dimension reflecting the expertise of a museum is also present. The expertise seems to be grounded in four distinguishable characteristics displayed by the museum: its large scale, its possession of cultural treasures, its knowledge and its management of risks or conflicts.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Estonian National Museum according to handicraft hobbyists

	The large scale	Cultural treasures	Knowledge	Conflict or risk management
Acquiring	Temporal dimension: reaches back to the past; spatial dimension: Estonian and Finno-Ugric culture	The ENM is best aware of what is to be collected, has the right set of values	Knowing what is the “proper” item to be collected	What is to be acquired today? What is authentic and what is fake?
Preserving	Temporal reach to the future, for generations to come	“Depositing” heritage	Knowing how to take good care of old, delicate objects	Conflict between preserving and exhibiting, finding solutions
Research	Large collections nourishing research	Research of treasures	Knowledge taken for granted: “museum knows best...”	Are researchers the only people to be allowed to work with original artefacts?
Communication	Large collections provide plenty of information for exhibitions, educational events and for studying collections individually	Introducing delicate works, popularising old toys (to counter-balance the impact of mass production) and archaic craft techniques	Knowing how to organise an exhibition, distinguishing “good” ideas (about what is to be exhibited) from less good ones	What artefacts should be digitised first (in order to improve public access to information)? Quality vs quantity of digitising

It is, therefore, relatively easy to depict the Estonian National Museum’s identity (as perceived by handicraft hobbyists) in a brief table. Since, in some cases, the boundary between communicating and exhibiting can be quite thin, and it is possible to view exhibiting as a part of communication (as in the “PRC model” (Reinwardt Academie cited in Desvallées and Mairesse, 2010: 68)), here exhibiting is also present in the category of communication.

The large scale of the museum is evident both in temporal and spatial dimensions. The temporal reach is considered important, as the ENM is related to objects from “old times”, from the past, introducing them to current visitors and future generations. At the same time, the ENM also

displays large scale spatially, as handicraft hobbyists refer to the folk traditions inherent to the resources of an entire ethnos, and of all walks of life. The large scale of the museum is beyond the grasp of an individual. Therefore, handicraft hobbyists highly value the information that is made accessible to museum users who need to study the collections individually in the museum's study rooms: *"It is very pleasant that these are on display for interested people and craftsmen. So that laypeople who do not conduct scientific research there are allowed to come up close and have a look. This is very, very positive"* (I4).

The large scale also poses a problem for handicraft hobbyists, as the collections of the ENM are *"immeasurable, but there's not much information about the contents of the collections, of what could be found there"* (I5). This means that more communication about the scale and richness of the collections is expected, and, despite the scale, a degree of availability is also expected.

Possession of *heritage as a cultural treasure* is the second important aspect of the ENM as an expert. On the one hand, the value of this treasure is hidden in relative all-inclusiveness (as the ENM is interested in Estonian and Finno-Ugric culture), in the quantity of the museum. On the other hand, handicraft hobbyists also emphasise the quality and exquisite essence of cultural treasure. Here, the critique of contemporary mass production or crafts performed slovenly or in a hurry is notable, as is the wish to learn from high-quality items created by previous generations. So we meet the same centuries-old paradox that Gauntlett (2011: 48) has described: *"the Arts and Crafts alternative led to beautiful handmade products that the typical worker could not afford"*, and that can only be eliminated by *"doing it yourself"*. When talking about *"cultural treasures"*, the interviewees usually remain quite generic about particular methods of communicating, yet they emphasise the purpose of introducing *"cultural treasures"*: *"popularising old toys for children, to counterbalance"* the impact of mass-produced toys (I3), *"introducing archaic techniques of work and maintaining a distance from 'plastic and chemistry'"* (I9), or *"popularising more sophisticated handicraft techniques"* (I3).

Besides valuing cultural heritage as a treasure, the museum is also considered *knowledgeable* (and that is not only because of the knowledge the museum preserves). The interviewees acknowledge the knowledge and skills of museum professionals, while quite often their understanding of the knowledge needed by museum professionals to perform remains blurry. This perception is, therefore, compensated for by the hobbyists

taking the expertise for granted, referring to museum work “as it usually is in museums” (I5). An honest “confession of a layman”, talking about the roles of the museum, is also relevant:

[I]n the case of textiles preservation, there can be huge differences, since, when you touch a bowl made of clay, with white gloves, nothing happens. But for this fragile textile, this is so museum-specific, I don't know what conditions it requires for preservation (I4).

However, when considering an exhibition or some other communicative activity, knowledge is needed to distinguish good ideas from less good ones; as one of the interviewees states: “not all ideas are worthy of being developed” (I6).

The issue of evaluating, distinguishing or choosing may lead to *conflicts* that only the museum is capable of managing or resolving. In Table 1, several conflict situations are introduced, but probably the most topical issues for handicraft hobbyists are linked to access to collections. They are generally aware of the dilemma that exists between preserving and exhibiting fragile objects, and actively propose solutions to solve it, suggesting “making copies of objects, showing these and letting people touch them, but preserving authentic objects properly” (I8), or “digitising objects so that it wouldn't be necessary to bring things out from the repositories all the time” (I5). Yet digitising means more problems, as the lack of resources (required to deal with the vast collections) means it is necessary to prioritise, and choose between quantity (many objects digitised) and quality (lots of information attached to fewer digitised items). There is also an issue that is particularly topical for handicraft hobbyists: as they are interested in discovering new techniques, they also value information about reverse sides of pieces of furniture, garments, etc.:

[W]hat I am missing are the wrong sides. By default, the books or photos as presented in the information system do not display wrong sides in close view. But if you want to learn some kind of technique, then the wrong side is very informative... You may want to turn a chair upside down or open the doors of a closet and have a look at what is inside (R3).

5. ESTONIAN HOBBYIST CRAFTERS IN RELATION TO THE ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

These four characteristics (the large scale, cultural values, proper knowledge and managing conflicts) are forming the identity of the ENM as an

expert in the eyes of the handicraft hobbyists. In return, these traits also help to identify hobbyist crafters as museum-goers. Those traits can be first seen as in opposition to the perceived identity of the ENM.

First, compared to the vast national museum, and its collections and knowledge, hobbyist crafters perceive themselves as being rather *small and temporary*. This has an impact on their values, and, as a result, it is possible to see that handicraft hobbyists position themselves as help-seekers or users (in relation to the Estonian National Museum). Second, they express their concerns about the need to *value and popularise cultural heritage* even more, yet they feel that their own concern is not sufficient. "Proper" knowledge is the third aspect that distinguishes an individual hobbyist crafter from the museum: given their relative *lack of this knowledge*, they sometimes excuse themselves for not being au fait with matters of museology. The lack or absence of knowledge is probably one of these factors that relate the role of the ENM with the interest to actively participate in museum activities, as besides referring to little knowledge about museum work it also hints to the lack of perception of how a handicraft hobbyist could contribute to the museum. This is very vividly expressed by one of the interviewees: "*I don't know how it works, therefore I cannot demand or want it... or I cannot see that it would be a problem*" (14). The end of this quote also shows that the ENM is trusted to notice and solve possible conflicts (in case there are any), since, because of their lack of knowledge, individual museum-goers (including handicraft hobbyists) *tend to distance themselves from these conflicts*.

However, there are also shared characteristics which help to contribute to commonalities and possible forms of collaboration. First, the vast collections of the museum are at least to some extent *accessed* by all participants of this intervention project (at least because the *My Favourite* contest required them to do so). In some cases they also mention visiting the collections either alone or with a group with whom they have shared interests (institutions where they work, NGOs where they are members). The interest in their native culture is shared with the ENM, as is their *interest in the wellbeing of objects* relating to their hobby or handicraft. So, despite the large scale of the museum, handicraft hobbyists also have their own "spot" related to at least a small part of collections. Being handicraft hobbyists, the interviewees *value Estonian handicraft*, and presumably their hobby is one of the main factors that helps them articulate cultural heritage as a cultural treasure. Even though their knowledge of museum work is limited, their dedication to their hobby has in some cases formed in childhood,

with the benefit of useful hints and tips from parents and grandparents. A handicraft hobbyist is, therefore, a *potentially knowledgeable person*, at least in her/his area of interest. This means that there is some acknowledgment and encouragement needed to support the specific group in their valuable interactions with the ENM. Eventually, although the general museological issues are supposed to be addressed by the museum, hobbyist crafters, as users of museum collections, publications, databases, exhibitions etc., have several ideas about how to resolve some conflicts (as was also introduced above) or about *finding new ways to collaborate*. The final part of this paper is dedicated to their suggestions about collaboration with the museum.

6. HOBBYIST CRAFTERS AS CULTURAL PARTICIPANTS IN AN ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Hobbyist crafters have proposed several ways to improve the collections, in some cases involving collaboration both on acquisition and preservation. As practical people, crafters have sometimes looked upon collections by considering both the tangible heritage preserved in repositories, and the electronic information about the collections preserved in databases, as an integral entity. Although they cherish the authenticity of objects, they also value the informative aspect of objects preserved in collections (a defect in a piece of furniture or a garment, for example, or its reverse side). Therefore, given the conflict between the need to preserve or exhibit and use fragile items, recommendations suggesting ways to add new and useful information are quite common.

They see an opportunity to contribute to the *information provision* together with the digital cataloguing of objects, "*paying attention to defects, and adding instructions*" (I5) on how to create a similar object. In this collaboration, handicraft hobbyists see potential for themselves in compiling the instructions (containing notes on "*measurements, materials used, details and views*" (I5)), with the museum professional reviewing and confirming, so that "*the museum worker shouldn't have so much of a workload*" (I5) (when helping crafters in research rooms).

Other ways to collaborate, through *working with the tangible heritage*, would include "*restoring museum objects or crafting copies when something is very broken*" (I9), or making copies to assist museum researchers (when they want to publish a textbook on some handicraft technique). "*Selling handicraft to the museum*" (I1) has also been considered.

A distinctive way to contribute to a museum is to send in one's *stories or interpretations*: like "*the story of making my national costume*" (I3), or by adding some thoughts or suggestions about collections when competing in another contest the museum might organise.

A rather specific way to collaborate, proposed by one of the interviewees, is to involve handicraft hobbyists with the required skills and knowledge in *conducting research* in fields that have been explored less thoroughly: "*the work that I could definitely do would be studying items made of bones, bladders or horns. These seem to be rather unexplored*" (I7).

Another area in museum work, triggering lots of ideas about collaboration between handicraft hobbyists and the museum, was related to *communication*. According to the interviewees, this area can be divided into four discrete domains: informing communities, organising exhibitions, providing courses and publishing.

7. CONCLUSIONS

While the museum, with its accumulated expertise, can be perceived as awe-inspiring and has a clear view of its relationship with the particular group of handicraft hobbyists, this scale, expertise and knowledge can in many cases also be seen as a self-construction tool. In addition to the identity-building that takes place through the relationship, these people see their role, through their self-acquired expertise as having the potential to support the museum in its endeavours.

As explored in this paper, handicraft hobbyists have proposed a rather diverse range of ways of collaborating with an ethnographic museum. Depending on the particular context, some of these suggestions may find a positive reception among museum professionals, yet some might need more time to be reconsidered or developed further. Still, it should be emphasised that the nature of these recommendations, linked to the current knowledge and museum-related identity of these handicraft hobbyists, is rather cautious, adhering very closely to previous experience. In this way, by confirming the ENM's expertise, they also re-affirm their own relationship and knowledge base through this expertise.

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Impediments to Participation: UGC and Professional Culture

Tobias Olsson & Dino Viscovi

1. A PARTICIPATORY MEDIA WORLD?

Over the past five years, two specific notions have been re-occurring in researchers' efforts to capture the essence of the contemporary, digitalized media world. In 2005 the notion of "*web 2.0*" (O'Reilly, 2005) entered the academic vocabulary, and since then it has managed to retain a firm foothold within research discourses. The concept points towards the basic idea that internet development in the early 21st century has improved technology to the point at which it is becoming increasingly interactive and more user-friendly. A few years later, notably by the time Mark Zuckerberg's Facebook started to grow into a worldwide platform for everyday use, the wry concept of 'social media' became part of both research and popular debates (Russo et al., 2009; Fuchs et al., 2011). This conceptualization points, above all, to the improved web's growing ability to enable various forms of social networking between users.

The two conceptualizations – 'web 2.0' and 'social media' – are obviously related to one another, as both of them try to encapsulate recent web transformations. The former is more concerned with its technological developments (from web 1.0 to 2.0), whereas the latter pays greater interest to the social and cultural outcomes of users' appropriation of the new, improved web (as it becomes more 'social'). What the two conceptualizations share, however, is an overarching interest in the fact that the updated web is also interactive and – in connection with this – offers more opportunities for various forms of user 'participation'.

What appear to be new, participatory opportunities for users – offered by web 2.0 or social media – have attracted a great deal of research attention. It is, for instance, famously a fundamental part of Henry Jenkins' notion of "*convergence culture*" (2006), in which he identifies a new, mutual rela-

tionship between producers and users as a consequence of these technologically driven, participatory opportunities. In this context, Jenkins also draws on and develops a complementary concept, "*participatory culture*", which stresses the need to understand that cultures emerging around digital technologies are cultures in which all users – at various times and to varying degrees – become both users and producers (see also Bruns, 2008).

Jenkins' view of the cultural changes that follow from the increasingly interactive web has inspired a great deal of research (cf. Dena, 2008; Burgess and Green, 2009; Beer, 2009; Langlois, 2012). But this has by no means been the only frame of reference for analyses focusing on the participatory potential of 'web 2.0', or 'social media'. Another path into such analyses has instead followed the trajectory established by research on media and citizenship (cf. Dahlgren, 2009), and above all the specific sub-field concerned with civic participation (Olsson and Dahlgren, 2010; Kaun, 2012; Banaji and Buckingham, 2012). In this context, the internet per se, as well as its later developments, has been interpreted as an offer of new opportunities for users to engage with and participate in both politics (however it may be defined) and civil society. These analyses have typically been preoccupied with ascertaining how and to what extent various versions of the web (1.0 or 2.0) function as resources for engagement and participation. The objects of study have varied, from studies of the internet as a resource for people who are already engaged (Olsson, 2008; Askanius, 2012) to analyses of how the internet might inspire participation among disengaged users. A particularly interesting strand in these analyses has also been concerned with analysing how the very application of interactive media might contribute to redefine the very notions of engagement and participation (Bakardjieva, 2010; Carpentier, 2011).

2. PARTICIPATORY MEDIA AND THE ESTABLISHED MEDIA BUSINESS

Drawing on one of these research paths – or sometimes various variations between the two – a growing volume of analytical effort has been targeted at ascertaining what these participatory opportunities might mean to the world of established media (newspapers, television, radio). To start with, within the media business the evolution of the internet into its web 2.0 version, or a platform for social media, has very often been worrying. What will the development of the participatory web do to our incomes? Will advertisers keep paying us for visibility, and are users still interested in paying for the content we have on offer? For instance, within the Swedish newspaper business, and wider Swedish journalism, the question of

“Who wants to pay for quality journalism?” has recently been a recurring theme. This debate has also been accompanied by journalists being made redundant by major media companies as those companies run into economic problems. The economic problems are related to the fact that the business model of established media companies has not been very well adapted to the emerging media environment.

Economic challenges aside, the participatory media environment also offers new opportunities to established media institutions. In many ways, of course, it is a challenge, but also an opportunity, for established media companies nowadays to have access to a bundle of different publishing channels. For instance, established TV companies can work with drama productions that combine traditional broadcasting with participatory features on the web and mobile phone platforms (Rydin and Sjöberg, 2013), and, via internet publishing, newspapers today are better able than they used to be to keep up with broadcast media in terms of publishing speed.

A particularly salient strand of analyses regarding new participatory opportunities within established media institutions has been concerned with the opportunities for users to become involved in content production. Such opportunities have most often been discussed under the umbrella term ‘user-generated content’ (UGC): more specifically, mobile phone photographs, video clips, blogs – and comment on news articles.

For nearly a decade now, media users have had the opportunity to comment on news articles on the Internet. This has also – naturally – become a practice that has attracted researchers’ interest. Annika Bergström (2008), for instance, has looked into attitudes to these comments, and she has also analysed how many people (and who) are actually willing to contribute in these contexts, and Henrik Örnebring (2008), among others, has examined the content of comments. But what has especially caught the attention of researchers is how media organisations and journalists relate to UGC and readers’ comments (Domingo, 2008; Hermida and Thurman, 2007, 2008; Nygren, 2008a; Paulussen and Ugille, 2008; Witschge, 2012).

3. PROFESSIONAL APPROPRIATION OF PARTICIPATING USERS

The extent to which media companies, in this case newspapers, can actually make use of and manage to include UGC in their everyday production is not only a matter of stimulating users to make an actual contribution. One additional challenge is an internal one, namely to make the media or-

ganisation learn how to deal with content-producing users, and research suggests this task is anything but straightforward.

In the context of a cultural view of the journalistic profession, the ways in which journalists – as professionals – make sense of and deal with UGC is becoming a matter of active ‘appropriation’ (cf. Silverstone, 1994; Berker et al., 2008). From this analytical point of departure, content offered to media organisations by participating users becomes subject to ‘negotiations’ involving values, norms and practices of professional culture. Among other things, this means that the way that UGC is dealt with, as well as the role it is allowed to play within newspapers, relies heavily on what role journalists (with their norms, standards and established practices) allow it to play.

Studies of journalists’ professional culture, or ideology, usually identify values like independence, impartiality, factuality and accuracy as essential (Deuze, 2005). Despite major changes in news organisations and journalism, journalists still hold on to them. The audience is mainly perceived as a group of ‘citizens’, and the primary mission of journalism is to provide the audience with correct and unbiased information – so that the citizens can take a stand on issues of common concern (Nygren, 2008b).

In this light, readers’ comments should be a desirable contribution to journalism, and, as a matter of fact, journalists see possibilities in UGC, both democratic and commercial, but, in practice, however, users’ contributions are scarcely appreciated by news journalists (cf Nygren, 2008b; Gustafsson and Viscovi, 2013; Witschge, 2012). The comments are considered to have low news values; fact-checking and ethics are poor. Journalists also think that the language within them is bad, in terms of spelling and style. They also claim that xenophobic and racist attitudes are very common (Domingo 2008; Hermida and Thurman 2007, 2008; Gustafsson and Viscovi, 2013; Nygren, 2008a; Paulussen and Ugille, 2008; Thurman, 2008; Witschge, 2012).

These latter studies are mainly oriented towards qualitative methods, but in this chapter this knowledge will be complemented by some data from a recent survey among Swedish professional journalists. Drawing on insights offered by a cultural view of the journalistic profession, these data look into the core dimensions of journalistic values and opinions in order to make sense of the ways in which journalists appropriate UGC. These dimensions centrally include: attitudes to various tasks, prefer-

ences regarding working tasks and their view of UGC.

The data presented are derived from a digital survey conducted in the spring of 2012 (the J-Survey 2012). The survey was answered by 601 Swedish news journalists, working in online publishing for newspapers, radio and television. The response rate was 41 percent, which is not entirely satisfactory, but the data are consistent with previous Swedish journalist surveys (Asp, 2007) when compared with variables such as age, gender, education and media organisation, which means that we believe that the sample can be considered to be representative.

4. JOURNALISTIC VALUES AND OPINIONS: DATA AND ANALYSIS

In order to grasp and comprehend the view of UGC within the journalistic profession, it is of vital importance to look into the ways in which the professional culture values various work tasks. In a recent, qualitative study of a Swedish local newspaper, Gustafsson and Viscovi (2013) show that journalists – like most professionals – are seeking labour- and knowledge-intensive tasks, where large parts of the professional toolbox can be used. In other words, this means that journalists generally prefer longer rather than shorter jobs, extensive rather than limited texts. They also prefer free and creative tasks to controlled and routine tasks. It may be important to stress that journalists rarely have idealised beliefs about their profession. They are well aware of the industrial nature of journalism, but, within its frames, they strive for labour- and knowledge-intensive tasks. Thus, the survey initially asked questions about freedom and creativity at work (Table 1).

Table 1: Attitudes to work. Proportion of respondents that “agree” or “strongly agree”

<i>In my work it is important to be able to ...</i>	% of respondents	N of people who responded to the question
... be creative	98	600
... implement my own ideas	96	589
... vary my subjects	87	592
... do longer jobs	70	593
... work outside the newsroom	63	590

Practically everyone finds it important to be able to be creative at work and to have opportunities to put ideas into practice. Being able to vary the topics is also considered to be of importance. A substantial majority, but not all, 70 percent, prefer to work with temporally extended projects. And finally, nearly two-thirds appreciate the opportunity to work outside the newsroom itself. Overall, the results can be interpreted as an indication of the fact that journalists strive for a work situation that allows some individual freedom and initiative; time and space factors are also important, but not as important in comparison.

Questions about the type of tasks that are considered to be more or less stimulating produce a similar pattern (Table 2). It is evident that, in professional terms, more demanding and creative tasks, like news stories and investigative jobs, are highly valued and desirable, while routine work is considered less stimulating – this includes even web editing, although editing can be regarded as both qualified and important work.

As expected, making phone calls, editing readers' comments, rewriting and editing press releases end up at the very bottom of the table. The results are hardly surprising, but must not be viewed only as a matter of routine or non-routine work. The results can also be interpreted with reference to status. Gustafsson and Viscovi (2013), drawing on Abbott's analyses of intra-professional status (Abbott, 1981), suggest that, like other professions, journalism is characterised by the quest for status and professional purity.

Table 2: Hierarchy of work tasks. Proportion of respondents that find the work task "stimulating" or "very stimulating"

<i>Rate the work tasks below according to your personal preferences</i>	%	N of people who responded to the question
News stories	94	588
News articles/reports	86	589
Investigative jobs	77	586
Portraits	77	591
Web editing	24	582
Telephone beat (e.g. the police)	15	590
Editing readers' comments	10	585
Rewriting published news	6	590
Editing press releases	3	584

Abbott (1981) offers examples from the field of justice. Engaging in corporate law usually has higher intra-professional status than dealing with divorces, not only because the former tends to pay better, but also because, in Mary Douglas's sense of the concept (Douglas, 1966), it is considered a "purer" law. Corporate law is not mixed up or contaminated with quarrels and emotional outbursts, in other words, real people of flesh and blood. In a similar way, say Gustafsson and Viscovi (2013), in journalism, working with original ideas and detailed investigations is considered to be cleaner than editing press releases. Press releases are initiatives from the sources, and in that respect biased *per se* and therefore impure. Press releases are not homologous to values like independence and impartiality. Even though the editing process can be regarded as a way of 'washing' the texts, it is never as pure as muck-raking.

It is in this context that we must also place readers' comments and understand the conditions for audience participation. For journalists, readers' comments simply mean more routine work, a work which, furthermore, is ascribed low status (Table 3). However, the opinions about readers' comments are not entirely negative. Some 44 percent believe that they often or quite often enrich public debate. Nearly a third think that comments can correct errors, and thus contribute to a more authoritative journalism. A fifth report that comments could help with new facts, and 15 percent say that readers' comments give rise to new ideas.

Table 3: Opinions about readers' comments. Proportion of respondents who believe the feature occurs "often" or "quite often"

<i>The opportunity for the audience to comment on news articles is now available in most online journals. What are your experiences of these comments?</i>	%	N of people who responded to the question
Characterised by linguistic errors	96	589
Questionable ethics	76	588
Express extreme views	76	588
Are part of political campaigns	70	585
Enrich public debate	44	587
Correct errors (in journalism)	29	587
Have an objective tone	23	588
Add new facts	21	588
Provide new ideas	15	585

Comments are at least partly perceived as something positive, but that does not overshadow the fact that they are generally attributed negative characteristics. The comments are considered to contain linguistic errors, have questionable ethical standards, often express extreme views, are part of political campaigns and are partial. In other words, the qualities of readers' comments are more or less the opposite of journalists' ideas about their own profession and its core values – independence, impartiality, factuality and accuracy. Readers' comments become, in essence, a symbolic inversion of journalists' view of their own professional work.

5. DISCUSSION

Thought of in strictly technological terms, it is obvious that the participatory potential of the Swedish web is very high. Sweden has a well-developed infrastructure for high-speed internet connections, almost nationwide. Further, the level of access to high-speed internet connections is among the highest in the world. As a consequence, Sweden is quite often ranked very high – sometimes as high as number one – in various worldwide internet comparisons, most recently in the World Wide Web Foundations' Webindex (2012).

The pre-requisites are also at least fairly good when it comes to people's overall interest in participation. Of course, as in the rest of the world, in their everyday lives most Swedes only to a very limited extent pay attention to and ponder online news participation (Bergström, 2008). Still, at least among young, educated people, there is a certain interest in various forms of participatory online news practices, such as commenting on articles. Even though it would be false to suggest that extant research reports a huge interest in such participatory practices – it does not – the interest appears to be at least large enough to be taken seriously by established news organisations.

Thus, the prerequisites are good and promising. The news organisations have made it technologically possible to participate. The audience has the technology as well as the skills to use it. And a significant proportion use the opportunity not only to partake of the public sphere, but also to play an active part. In principle, this development is welcomed by journalists; it fits well with the profession's ambitions to support and vitalize democracy.

Nevertheless, there are impediments to participation. In Sweden there

has been an extensive debate about readers' comments, in which the expression "web hatred" has figured prominently; news organisations have been very unhappy with the "raw tone" and "extreme opinions", many have limited or completely removed the opportunity to write comments.

There are various explanations for this: structural, organisational and cultural. We have emphasised the latter. News organisations – or more specifically the journalistic professionals populating these organisations – are not particularly open to contributions from lay users. Nor do they attach very much value to such contributions to their journalistic products. The way in which journalists make sense of and interpret their own profession, including their views of the citizens they serve (and the citizens' potential content contributions – in this case comments on news articles) is not really helpful as they 'appropriate' a more participatory media world. The data presented in this chapter, as well as in similar studies, make this very obvious. From the point of view of the journalistic profession, traditional divisions of labour also very much remain within the era of web 2.0 and social media; we create, and you all read-listen-watch.

Thus, if user participation is to be considered to be a real, important value to contemporary news media – which at least rhetorically it tends to be – then the professional journalistic culture must change. Drawing on the data presented in this chapter, such a change must include a re-evaluation of journalistic practices – what are the valuable tasks on which journalists should be spending their time? It must also, necessarily, involve a 're-negotiation' of the professional view of journalists' relationships with users. At this point in time, however, the journalistic culture still does not seem to be doing too much to help fertilise the soil of participatory media offered by web 2.0 and so-called social media.

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The Political Dimension of Everyday Life: The Practice of Barter

Giulia Airaghi

1. THE PRACTICE OF BARTER

Consuming is an activity in which we are all involved: whether or not we have access to consumption, whether or not we are consuming in an alternative way or whether or not we are involved in various forms of mass consumption, we must all confront it. In order to engage in this practice of acquiring objects or services that we need or like, we must use money. Nevertheless, monetary exchange is not the only possible exchange system people have at their disposal in order to acquire objects. A very ancient system that has never completely disappeared from our societies is the practice of barter. Barter is the exchange of goods for goods, without the use of a standardised instrument with an economic value. To quote Appadurai (1988: 9), it is the *“exchange of objects for one another without reference to money and with maximum feasible reduction of social, cultural, political or personal transaction costs”*.

Barter is, of course, a primordial practice dating back to the very beginning of mankind. Exchanging is considered to be one of the oldest ways for human beings to establish relationships among one another, and, for this reason, as will be explained further in this chapter, it is considered to be one of the activity-shaping social structures in society. Even though I will argue that all exchange practices are political practices, scholars have tended to divide them into two different categories: those that are mainly commercial and those that are mainly social. It sometimes seems that barter is the exchange system which is the most separate from social, political and cultural norms. This perspective derived from the idea that barter was born as an exchange system *between* different communities, allowing them to obtain what one group of individuals could not produce by themselves. As a result, it entails the idea that there is no barter *within* the same community. Those who support this thesis state that primitive communi-

ties were just as big as a large family, had no division of labour and no understanding of the concept of private property, so that the distribution of what was picked or hunted passed through a gift-redistributing system. The chief of a community was responsible for the life of the community itself, and one of the tasks in this role was to ensure that everybody had the right amount of food and protection. In this way people inside the same community did not even have any need to exchange anything, because they actually owned nothing. For these scholars, mainly economists (e.g., Smith, 1976; Jevons, 1910), barter thus arose when family bonds weakened and the tribe enlarged to the point that a division of labour was necessary: at this stage people had to provide for their needs and thus began to seek an exchange for those products they were not able to produce. Consequently, barter has been conceived as a mere economic practice, answering to a basic private interest and not a social one. Not surprisingly, in the economic field, barter has always been considered the beginning of trade and specifically of international trade (Dalton, 1982). This perspective led logically to the formulation of another hypothesis about how humankind passed from bartering to using money as a means of exchange, describing the origin of money as being as natural as was the use of barter. In their view, barter disappeared when its mechanism turned out to be too complicated to deal with an increased volume of exchanged goods, a consequence of the development of markets and labour, and they maintained that this happened at almost the same moment in every part of the world (Einzig, 1966).

Nonetheless, there is a considerable body of empirical and theoretical evidence that allows us to consider that individuals from the same community also bartered between each other, determining the very social structure of a society. This idea was strongly rejected by anthropologists (e.g., Ingham, 1996; Davis, 1994) because exchange inside a community was intended to be of a different nature, namely a gift exchange, different from barter since it did not entail any interest but was effected purely for the sake of reciprocity, gratuity and altruism. For those scholars, the interest implied in gift exchange is simply less evident than in other forms of exchange, but it is still a key dimension of the gift. As Mauss's studies (2002) of primitive communities revealed, the gift mechanism was establishing social contracts and social hierarchies, as the value of a chief's community was ascertained by the amount of gifts he would have received back after a first donation. More generally, in the act of giving a gift, the giver expects that the receiver will, within a certain period of time, give the gift back. As Bourdieu (2003) puts it brilliantly, in the gift mechanism there is simply an

expansion of the time elapsing between the two phases of a normal barter, and the interest lies in the increase in social prestige, which carries with it a powerful social position. Whatever the differences implied, our interest is focused on the fact that bartering, or the gift mechanism, was a practice establishing social norms: for example, one of the main consequences of the practice was to eliminate the use of physical violence, substituting it with a kind of symbolic violence, albeit still based on subordination. The principle embedded in the practice of barter is one human being's respect for the physical integrity of another, and the idea that both of the subjects involved in the practice share this principle. If just one of the participants were to stop recognising this principle, and decide to resort to physical violence, this would no longer be exchange but exploitation. At any rate, the relationship did not become one between equals, because the two sides still exercise different degrees of power over one another: one of the two will own something more "desirable", thus forcing the other to sacrifice more. This is what Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) call "symbolic violence", a violence produced by an indirect mechanism instead of a form of social coercive control which has the objective of pushing classes with little social power to accept as natural the power upper classes wield over them.

Transforming violence into commerce was one of the main reasons why communities decided to barter between each other instead of engaging in disastrous wars: beyond the need for a different range of available goods, their first priority was to create a sort of equilibrium which could guarantee the survival of the group, which meant they had to prevent a hostile relationship forming with their neighbours. Bartering was the perfect occasion to have a cultural exchange as well as an economic exchange.

So, barter was conceived as the main practice for exchanging goods, and it seems very difficult, to say the least, to assert that people simply ceased to observe this practice because of the supposed complexity of the double coincidence of need: in fact, to make an exchange viable, not only must one person find an object he likes which is owned by another person, but the latter must like an object belonging to the first one. Many economists (e.g., Jones, 1976; Walsh, 2003) argue that it was exactly for this reason that large and differentiated communities decided to move to the use of money to regulate their commercial trade, without acknowledging that there was a considerable period when some goods were bartered more than others: animal teeth, stones, feathers, shells, beads, rice, woods and pigs, are all examples of what people used to assign a value to their exchange practices, referring to something which had the characteristics needed to

standardise the practice. Paul Einzig (1966) called these goods “primitive money”, and among them we can find one of the most in-demand goods in history: metal. The reason why metals, ranging from bronze and copper to silver and gold, were in such great demand, is connected to their use in primitive societies, first for “*their utility and peculiar beauty as in themselves ornamental, subsequently as the choicest materials for plastic and architectural decoration, and especially for ornaments and vessels of every kind*” (Menger, 1892: 252-253). The demand for metals grew due to these practices as well as their other characteristics: they are well distributed geographically but the overall supply available is inferior to the demand, they are easy to extrapolate and elaborate, and so they can be divided into small quantities which can then circulate easily and without major transportation problems. Since the demand “*emerges as a function of a variety of social practices and classifications, rather than a mysterious emanation of human needs, a mechanical response to social manipulation*” (Appadurai, 1988: 29), it became clear to anthropologists that metals emerged as the best goods to be exchanged, which led to prominence of monetary exchange practice. But how, and why, did it turn out to be the *only* practice involved in commercial activity?

As we said before, barter was an activity which allowed different people, coming from different cultures and traditions, to establish contact with each other. Merchants, more than anybody else in society, have contacts, and thus experience different norms and social practices. They are also the ones who, because of their activity, were, in practical terms, handling those metals which were considered to be very precious. They actually gained power over other individuals in hierarchical, pre-modern societies, and were not constrained by the social regulatory processes imposed by political élites through the means of the gift mechanism, which had the consequence of limiting human activity within precise practices (Ortino, 2010). Thus, a conflict emerged between the regulatory practice of the political élites and the practice observed by merchants of exchanging these precious goods as a type of primitive money. Exchanging metal coins became the practice that was most used, and political authorities had every interest in regulating this practice: the mintage of a legal coin was an activity which political élites used to exert control over economic activity in their realms. By imposing money as the only acceptable, legal way to perform exchanges, this practice became a hegemonic one.

Even so, barter did not completely disappear from society, as the historical crisis cycle (e.g., Marin and Schnitzer, 2002; Humphrey, 1985) shows

us: every time we see a state going through a period of political, economic and social crisis, we can be almost sure that other forms of exchanging objects, building relationships and performing social practices emerge, and, more widely, social norms are questioned. As consumption is a field where social practices are performed, it is also a sphere shaped by the political struggles in which all social actors are involved. This means that when a crisis hits the field of consumption, social norms are also questioned.

In order to better understand and explain why contemporary societies still use a type of exchange system considered to be pre-modern and anachronistic, but, above all, in order to understand how much the struggle for power is an intrinsic dimension of every sphere in human societies, I would like to put forward the idea that, beyond those theories of consumption which define only certain types of consumer behaviour as political, the consumption field *is* a political field where forms of conflict take place not only between the goods exchanged but also between the very ways of exchanging goods themselves. These “ways” of exchanging goods are generating structures of value which eventually determine an individual’s position in a society. To explore this further, I will make use of a specific approach by a Belgian political theorist, Chantal Mouffe.

2. ANTAGONISTIC AND AGONISTIC CONFLICT: CHANTAL MOUFFE’S APPROACH

Chantal Mouffe’s approach to the political, which we find expressed in her work *On the political* (2005), can be used to understand how consumption is political, in keeping with her definition of what political is. According to her, the political, as distinguished from politics, is an antagonistic dimension of all spheres of human life, the place where different discourses, practices or tactics struggle to gain the power to impose themselves on society. When a practice eventually manages to impose itself, it becomes hegemonic. That is where the social order is achieved and the political is taken apart: in this sense the political is about the rise of the social. The social is thus identified by Mouffe as the realm of sedimentary practices which are trying to veil the political act that constituted them, in an effort to conceal the fact that their hegemonic nature depends upon the contingency of their structure. A hegemonic practice is, in fact, the result of a choice between different alternatives, but the practices which have not been chosen, or, to be more precise, which did not emerge, are always there, with the possibility of being reactivated. Thus the social meaning

which is fixed in a precise moment can always be questioned in the next one by some counter-hegemonic practices (Mouffe, 2005).

Politics, then, comes to be seen as a realm where the political can be managed and an order achieved through the transformation of the conflicting nature of human society into a democratic coexistence. Unfortunately, Mouffe maintains, politics nowadays is struggling to accomplish this task, due to the tendency which is threatening the very mechanism of democracy.

The political is about the confrontation between different alternatives, which in society are often related to collective identities. The relationships between different identities are antagonistic, since *"every identity is relational and [that] the condition of existence of every identity is the affirmation of a difference, the determination of an 'other' that is going to play the role of a 'constitutive outside'"* (Mouffe, 1993: 2). Collective identities thus emerge from a "we/them" relationship which might turn out to be a friend/enemy relationship if the 'other' is perceived as threatening the existence of the 'we'. This is when the antagonistic dimension of the relation between different identities emerges. It happens when there is the precise will to deny the very existence of one of the parts.

The main aim of a democracy should thus be the control of this antagonistic force through institutions and practices which create the conditions for an agonistic relationship, where confrontation is entered into not by enemies but by adversaries. It is precisely the role of political parties to represent collective identities in a realm where this antagonistic conflict could have been turned into an agonistic one, but where that result is now hard to achieve because the boundaries between different political identities have been blurred in an attempt to eliminate differences. This happened because of the emergence of a political discourse which stated that the only way to solve the perpetual conflict between different factions in society and the global organisation was to overcome the conflict itself. Nonetheless, according to Mouffe, the neo-liberal discourse, a discourse which has the precise intention of overcoming the antagonistic conflict, does not solve the problem of antagonism but actually reinforces it by negating the conflict to arise. Denying the conflict means denying the existence of the very relationship, thus avoiding the formation of collective identities. But since the political dimension constitutes part of the ontology of any human relationship, once it is negated in the realm of institutionalised politics, conflict emerges more vigorously in other forms: that is a possible

explanation for the rise of so many nationalist or religious movements. The starting assumption of neo-liberalism is that the individual is a rational subject, able, with other individuals, to achieve a consensus through a deliberative debate, thus adopting the best option among many different ones. In this kind of democracy, the various instances concerning the public sphere should be discussed by individuals whose objective it is to create a broad collaboration based on reciprocal trust, trying to solve conflicts in a peaceful and harmonious way. Those who maintain that antagonistic conflict is not a sustainable political model anymore enforce this opinion by emphasising that the great push towards an individualistic society has erased the possibility of collective identities.

The whole democratic process threatens to be reduced to a dialogue between parts, searching for a consensus which logically needs the elimination of differences: agreeing upon issues means establishing a universal perspective. But instead of creating a peaceful and harmonious democracy, this process weakened the very legitimisation of political institutions that, as I said before, were conceived to be able to represent citizens. This provided space for an explosion of new antagonisms and, even worse, for the rise of populist parties which, rather than simply being right or left wing, are the collection of concrete necessities which are expressed in the most extreme and dangerous way for democracy. At any rate, when a conflict is suppressed in one sphere, it will emerge in another, because, according to Mouffe, this is the very ontological condition of human behaviour. The political dimension is there every time an identity is formed, Mouffe argues, as does Beck (1992), and the political *"cannot be restricted to a certain type of institution, or envisaged as constituting a specific sphere or level of society. It must be conceived as a dimension that is inherent to every human society and that determines our very ontological condition."* (Mouffe, 1993: 3). One of the aims of this chapter is thus, through the barter case study, to argue for the relevance of this theoretical perspective, approaching the consumption sphere on a macro level of analysis. The assumption is that consumption is *"eminently social, relational and active rather than private, atomic or passive"* (Appadurai, 1988: 31); that is, consumption is a social field and, as all social fields are the result of a political struggle, consumption, too, is a space shaped by conflicts.

3. BARTER AS A COUNTER-HEGEMONIC PRACTICE.

As Beck (1992) emphasised with his description of "subpolitical" spheres, no matter how personal the choices and practices of a single consumer, s/

he will always be mobilised inside the public sphere as part of a collective identity: *“Contrary to those who believe that politics can be reduced to individual motivations, [...] politics always consists of the creation of a ‘we’ versus a ‘they’ and [that] it requires the creation of collective identities”* (Mouffe, 2005: 70). We have always witnessed various forms of collective identification in consumption, and scholars from different generations described it as a way for people to declare their affiliation to some groups and consequently in contrast with others. From Simmel’s description of the fashion mechanism to Bourdieu’s studies on distinction and on to the cultural studies analysis of subcultures, we know consumption is a place where different identities emerge.

In this sense, consumption is a political field where competing practices, performed and represented by collective identities, struggle to be legitimised as hegemonic practice. Different ways of exchanging goods struggle to become the only way to exchange: as in pre-modern communities, people who owned goods that were much in demand exercised a kind of power over other people. In our contemporary societies, the larger our economic capital, the more powerful the position we can reach in the field of consumption. This is because the monetary exchange system turns out to be the hegemonic exchange system, although others forms of exchange did not simply die out but turned out to be counter-hegemonic practices.

Once imposed, a hegemony works in contrast to counter-hegemonic practices, all together building the structure of a society, which is a structure based on the inevitable tension generated by this “pull and push” mechanism. Any change, any development or evolution occurring in this structure, will necessarily entail a shift in the distribution of power, and therefore it will generate some kind of conflict. The history of the evolution of the media of exchange has shown us that, in the struggle for power within the world of trade, money, as we know it today, emerged and imposed itself over other media. And the domain it imposes is a good representation of that symbolic violence Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) described, a violence perpetrated in an attempt to legitimize an order hiding the balances of power that are implied in it.

But, as Mouffe suggested, when a hegemony is imposed, a choice is made between different alternatives that do not disappear completely but continue to represent those alternative instances which were neglected, like barter has been. Not surprisingly, we know that barter practices have been used throughout the entire history of humankind, long after money

became the main tool accepted in goods exchanges. On the level of international trades, for example, barter has always been preferred to monetary exchange, both in the commercial relations between the great colonial empires and their colonies, and later in the relationship between major economic powers, imposing itself as a "*response to the growing number of barriers to international trade and finance*" (Appadurai, 1988: 10). In every period of economic crisis, it is the citizenry itself which spontaneously organises itself, recreating alternative forms of commerce which allow goods to flow and people to access them: that is, they find ways of exchanging goods which are not determined by the hegemonic practice. Not by chance are those periods characterised by sharp changes in the structures of all spheres of social life.

The structure of the domain of consumption is, as with any other domain, characterised by a tension between the hegemonic practice, money and the alternative practices, in this case, barter. Barter represents an alternative way not only to exchange goods, but also to give value to them. The reason I argue that barter represents a counter-hegemonic practice is precisely because it is the representation of the fact that, in the domain of consumption, there are different interests and instances carried by groups forming collective identities. These interests generate practices, tactics and discourse which might subvert the main system, becoming themselves hegemonic.

In contemporary societies, alternative ways of understanding consumption struggle to find space for expression: the idea of an unlimited consumption capacity brought about by decades of mass consumption no longer seems to be prevailing as an hegemonic discourse creating a social imaginary of freedom related to choice. Some consumers do not find this kind of ideology appealing, above all in terms of the environmental consequences, some other consumers are simply forced to find an alternative way of obtaining goods, because of a shortage of money, while others are experiencing a different approach to consumption mediated by technology. No matter the reason, or the meanings involved in consumers' actions, the very fact that people engage in the practice of barter testifies to the presence of an alternative, the tension between this and the hegemony results in a conflict capable of generating change. It may be high time for the monetary exchange system to be substituted by another practice, and barter might become the next hegemonic practice, but in terms of what concerns my analysis in this chapter, this struggle shows how much the political dimension constitutes part of the ontology of the domain of consumption.

4. CONCLUSION

The monetary exchange system is a hegemonic system, but to what extent is it preventing the very existence of other practices? In other words, are we facing an antagonistic or an agonistic conflict? Not recognising an identity will force that identity to defend its own existence, thus engaging in an antagonistic conflict as a counter-hegemonic practice. When dealing with money, we cannot actually say that this system is preventing the barter practice from being performed: either I can shop for the goods I need, or I can barter the ones I no longer use in order to obtain others I need at that moment. One practice does not exclude the other: in other words, there is no law preventing me from using barter as an exchange system. At any rate, the sphere of economic exchanges, whether of goods or of services, is regulated by a range of laws. The regulation is intended to allow citizens to pay for what they consume and what they earn through the means of their economic activities: this payment to the state is made by the imposition of the consumption tax, VAT. So, when we buy something, or when we perform a professional activity, we are paying this tax automatically, since all of our transactions are recorded, or at least they should be: when it is not, we classify that as a black market. But when it comes to barter, we obviously do not pay taxes, because the application of the tax exists within a system that barter does not recognise. Consequently, in the barter practice we witness consumption without taxation. From this perspective, should barter be considered illegal? Perhaps it could, but the position occupied by this phenomenon in society is still too irrelevant to threaten the monetary system exchange or to deprive the state of considerable income. At any rate, this does not mean there is no conflict between the two practices, as the type of means involved are completely different but the aims are common. The monetary system is still a hegemonic practice and barter its alternative. In fact, even if there is no law preventing me from bartering, the hegemonic monetary system has created the types of social norms that actually prevent me from obtaining the majority of goods and services in the market through giving the objects I own or by performing an activity.

In conclusion, what I argue is that consumption is a political field, constituted by forces which are struggling for power. It is also the field where the conflict between different practices might be performed through the means of an agonistic plurality instead of an antagonistic one. Consumers share a common symbolic space in which to play out their conflicts, the consumption field, where they relate to each other in a we/them re-

lationship, without ever considering themselves enemies. The reason the conflict does not turn antagonistic is because they are bonded together in a production of meaning in which each of them is directly involved. They can give rise to practices which eventually control the antagonistic forces that are always present.

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Control, Identity, Self-Governmentality. A Foucauldian Approach to Web 2.0

Fausto Colombo

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to show the applicability of some of the theoretical assumptions made by Michel Foucault to the analysis of web 2.0. Foucault's complex thought has been heavily debated in the academic world, and this debate continues today, nearly thirty years after his death. I will not, therefore, look at this debate in depth, but will instead take only some Foucauldian topics into account, in order to examine a number of issues in relation to the web. It seems to me that a work of this kind could be particularly useful today, at a time when there is a general rethinking of the historical, technological, economic and political development of web 2.0, and when new theoretical approaches seem to be emerging. Many of the key figures in this new wave can hardly be suspected of conservatism or moral panic (Formenti, 2011): some of these people are the founding fathers of web studies (such as Tim Berners-Lee), of virtual reality (e.g. Larnier, 2010), or of the effects of the computer or the internet (Turkle, 2011). Their concern seems to me to be a strong indication of the need to question the web in new ways.

From this perspective, Foucault's thought can be an important contribution, either in terms of the issues raised by the French scholar, or in terms of the method (or methods) applied in its investigation.

In this paper I will try to highlight three issues in Foucault's thought that could be relevant in illuminating analysis of web 2.0. These issues are: the relationship between power and social control, the "talking about the self", and the relationship between free speech and truth in democracies.

2. SURVEILLANCE, INTERVEILLANCE

The relationship between media and power has always been one of the major issues in critical sociology of media (Colombo, 2003; Castells, 2009). It concerns the branches of study which look at the effects produced by the media (short- or long-term, direct or indirect, specific or general, media are regarded as being powerful, as being able to exercise significant influence), at critiques of ideology in the media (hegemony as a form of mainstream), and at organisational processes in the cultural industry (e.g. in research into news-making). There is no doubt that - in the transition from old to new media (or from one to many media to digital and narrowcasting media) - the key issue of the relationship between media and power has been turned upside down. Broadcasting and, more generally, mass media, are excellent examples of social control based upon content, bottleneck distribution and the ideological distortion of news, but without control over the audience and in particular over the single receiver (Stuart Hall's model is the best-known example). Conversely, in narrowcasting media, particularly web 2.0, it is very difficult to control content (although the progressive enclosures of applications and the various closed systems seem to suggest new types of bottleneck distribution), while it is very easy to control the user (web tracking, online behaviours, economic transactions or consumption practices).

It is important to note that the technologies of surveillance over users in Western societies are not always related to political control over citizens (e.g. anti-terrorism purposes, since September 11, especially in the U.S., see Lyon 2007), or to bureaucratic control, either in terms of efficiency or of deterrence (e.g. tax evasion). However, the relationship between technological and social control is strong. From this point of view, the Foucauldian theoretical contribution is crucial.

From the mid-seventies, Foucault (1975, 2003) started explaining how the modern age had caused a shift from the power of sovereignty, characteristic of the monarchies of the *ancien régime*, to the power of discipline that characterises an age of enlightenment. In the former, the relationship between the sovereign and the people is such that only the first is socially and permanently visible, while in an age of enlightenment the people challenge the sovereign's power. Conversely, the discipline itself consists of the preventive control of every single person's act which becomes fully visible, while power becomes much more obscure, anonymous, and remote, a bureaucratic apparatus which can be found in prison, in the army, in schools and in medical and psychiatric clinics.

Web 2.0 is not exempt from the power of discipline (Andrejevic, 2005, 2007). It is precisely the new possibilities given to users to act, to talk and to communicate, and therefore to leave traces of information about themselves, that make the web a new place of disciplinary power.

The Panopticon, a prison designed by Jeremy Bentham to which Foucault dedicates an extraordinary analysis, seems to have been destined to be a metaphor for the web, and this connection is often made (Ragnedda, 2011). Here, however, I would like to suggest an approach that I believe could optimise the application of Foucauldian paradigms to analysis of the web. This approach is very simple: it consists of retracing the questions that Foucault addresses to the disciplinary apparatus, and in re-addressing these questions to the new digital apparatus.

In *Discipline and Punish*, the first issue regards the 'subjects of control' (not those who plan control but those who actually exercise control). Foucault's answer, in the case of the modern 'apparatus', is that these subjects are both institutions (school, army, hospital, church), and ordinary citizens (in the Panopticon guards can be replaced by passers-by: it is the potential presence of someone in the central tower that allows control over the prisoners. Prisoners know that they can potentially be seen, but they do not know when they are seen).

The second issue concerns the 'techniques of control'. Foucault shows the role of writing, in making it possible to exercise surveillance through education, transcription and archive. Without writing, Foucault observes, modern power would be unthinkable. Unlike pre-modern sovereignty, discipline does not occur in punishment, in torture and in the execution of bodies, and does not exhibit the subjects of power.

According to Foucault – as I have already mentioned – visibility, in pre-modern power, applies to kings and courts, in a continuous exhibition; visibility of the subject is an episodic fact, occurring only in the case of execution. In contrast, surveillance is exercised over the habits, behaviours and ideas of citizens (in the soul – Foucault sarcastically evokes a sort of reversed Orphism, in which "*the soul is the prison of the body*", Foucault, 1975: 30), who are always visible, unlike the subjects of power, who are nothing more than anonymous and invisible officials. From this perspective, the writing, the establishment and the application of rules are essential, because these form a power that occurs preferentially in prevention rather than repression.

And finally, there is the third issue addressed by Foucault: the 'objects of power', which, as mentioned, consist of the physicality of bodies but also of the abstractness of habits and beliefs. Two reports at the beginning of *Discipline and Punish* make this issue especially evident: the first refers to a bloody and spectacular torture, and the second to the "rule" of behaviour. It makes clear what is crucial in the management of modern power: not its form of spectacular and violent punishment, but rather a continuous and hidden power permeating all institutions, from family to school, from army to the state bureaucratic system. The object of this power is the individual, as a mechanism in a system held together by a solid consistency of subjects, objects, actions and words (Foucault talks about "dispositive"). It can be said that the individual is both actively and passively part of this mechanism. His/her place in the mechanism of power is that of an interchangeable role, in which the same individual may be either controller or controlled (e.g. members of a bureaucracy).

2.1. WEB 2.0 AND DISCIPLINE

What happens if we apply the Foucauldian model to analysis of the web and particularly web 2.0? Somewhat surprisingly - in this space of individual choices, free creativity and grass-roots democracy as described by net enthusiasts - we find quite a few connections with Foucault's thought.

2.1.1. SUBJECTS

Who are those active in surveillance in the web? We may recognise three types:

- a) the traditional political institutions, whose repressive force is obviously particularly evident in non-democratic countries. In fact, even democracies enforce control over the internet, but they are bound by laws that protect (or should protect) the privacy of citizens and guarantee freedom of expression. However, these mechanisms of preventive control remain active, and what, if anything, is at stake is their legal value, in front of the counter legal protection of citizens' rights (Lyon, 2007).
- b) non-institutional agencies, such as large companies operating on the internet (e.g. Google, Facebook), which manage user data and use these data, on their own or by selling them to other companies,

for commercial purposes. They are obviously subject to laws, but there is no doubt that their potential use of information goes beyond what can be controlled by political power (Andrejevic, 2007). The relationship between these agencies and institutional actors is often complicated, ranging from peaceful coexistence to connivance (in totalitarian countries) to violent conflict. What is certain is that these agencies exercise a control which, for the first time in the history of humankind, does not belong exclusively to political institutions (and therefore is not restricted by laws, at least in democratic contexts).

- c) users. One thing that Foucault has taught us is that the specific forms of power are not only about a vertical relationship between institutions and citizens, but are actually more deeply embedded in the horizontal relationships existing within families, in the agencies of socialisation and in the everyday situations of relationships between gender, generations, roles, and so on. So surveillance becomes something more than a top-down control condition, and includes implicit forms of the relationships between social subjects (Andrejevic, 2005). For example, let us think about the forms of geolocation used by several SNSs (e.g. Foursquare) that allow you to map where your 'friends' are. Or the amount of information concerning ourselves that we make available to others, in an absolutely voluntary way. The fact is that human beings as never before are now subjected to a communicative pressure that never leaves them alone, at least virtually. This form of horizontal 'surveillance' (or 'interveillance'), to which many people expose themselves, can be regarded as a peculiar adaptation to this pressure.

Here we reach an essential issue in Foucault's theory about surveillance: the social motivation which makes citizens submit voluntarily to power. According to Foucault, in the modern and disciplinary society, the essential reason for this acceptance of control has been the search for security, which leads people to resign portions of their freedom in exchange for assurances about a good life.

We should try to update this issue, questioning why today, on the internet, exposing ourselves, information about us, pictures, stories, thoughts and opinions regarding ourselves, is perceived as a reasonable price to pay in order to have access to other people's information, images and thoughts. At the same time the risk that the personal data we give to an e-commerce website could be improperly and unexpectedly used is com-

pensated for by the speed of the transaction, and maybe by the discount received. In the latter case, however, we receive an immediate economic benefit, which simply underlines the classical economic principles of time, money, purchasing power and satisfaction of need.

In the first case, conversely, the answer is more complex and needs to be analysed from two different perspectives.

First, the control of others over us is balanced by the control we exercise over others. This deals with how much 'interveillance' can become the specific form of communicative and relational behaviors Habermas (1981) would not hesitate to define strategic actions, which are focused in the relation in itself, but instead are aimed to reach subjective benefits through the relation, which reduced to its instrumental purpose.

Do we have to believe that a society which spreads via the web is by nature a society of 'interveillance'? I think that a positive answer would be excessive. However, Foucault's question needs to be taken into account: if the control of others over us is a natural and relational form of (horizontal and vertical) power distribution underpinning a disciplinary society, should we not think that one of the conditions for a free and informed citizenship could be a deep knowledge not only of the technical opportunities of technology, but also of their social effects, including the forms of power to which we are subjected, but which we also exercise?

2.2.2. TECHNIQUES

Now let us talk about techniques or technologies of control in web 2.0 (the equivalent of writing in modern disciplinary society as described by Foucault). We could say that the web, and indeed any kind of software-hardware forming part of the web, is a technology which is capable of identifying¹. Any single action in the web conducted out of the so-called "dark web" (i.e. the protected and encrypted area in the web) leaves traces. And so our Google searches allow a progressive customisation that is influenced by previous searches; our past reappears regularly in the web through simple search engines: it is difficult, in many cases, to delete our own account from a platform (e.g. from Skype). Geolocation, as I have said, is a technological universe based on continuous control of

1 Chothia et al. 2012 is an interesting study about tracking in p2p, a place regarded as anarchist and free although undermined by copyright legislation, which reflects what I am trying to say.

the user's location, and the development of apps configures the so-called digital enclosures (note the similarity with the ownership of public lands by English landowners) in which the direct and confidential relationship between those who provide the services and the user authorises the first to know many aspects of the tastes, possibilities and behaviours of the second. Moreover, the writing Foucault talks about is, in all respects, only a technology of control. It can be used for personal diaries, literary texts, gardening manuals, school textbooks. In Foucault, disciplinary control would be inconceivable without writing. Exactly, we should add here, as 'surveillance' and 'interveillance' today are not conceivable without our digital platforms.

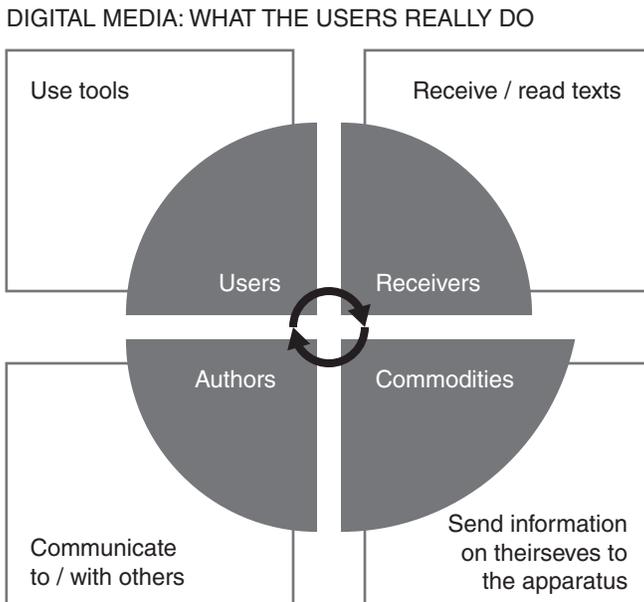
2.2.3. OBJECTS OF CONTROL

Finally here follows the third issue in Foucauldian thought that can be applied to the web: what is the object that is being controlled by the discipline? We have seen that, according to Foucault, the modern "soul" (i.e. habits, beliefs and behaviours) is shaped by disciplinary institutions such as the school, the army and the hospital.

The purpose is clear: a society that is going to be a mass, more or less democratic, changed by the egalitarian and individualistic principles of the Enlightenment, but also marked by radical changes such as urbanisation, industrialisation and increasing social organisation, needs organised institutions, just as citizens need rules that allow them a structured and civilised life. What Foucault describes in *Discipline and Punish* is the birth of the modern individual as a disciplinary construction, as a product of social pressure rather than (as intended in Enlightenment rhetoric) as the result of a process of liberation from the fetters of pre-modern societies. The network society partially resembles that analysed by Foucault, first because some of the key institutions of the second seem to be strained by innovation and change. Let us think about school, and how the pedagogical process of a typical linear "disciplinary", whose objective was the construction of good citizenship, has been challenged by the discontinuity of technological literacy, which for the first time enables young people to be "naturally" literate, and leads to the elderly losing their role as leaders for future generations. And let us think of how the pressure of a society being progressively economised has challenged the more traditional cultures, replacing the complexity of knowledge to the single thought of liberalism (Couldry, 2010), thus making "market" the only possible metaphor for knowledge and cultural practices. From this perspective, web control is

exercised by tracking user activities, which are not interpreted for their cultural value but rather for their economic value, and are therefore treated as such. At the same time, however, any user activity on the internet is a communicative act. For instance, let us consider someone posting a video on YouTube. In this activity it is possible to ascertain an intention, an ideation, a productive effort. From the user’s point of view, posting a video is essentially a communicative act. A posted video, however, is also a traffic generator, which can be monetised, especially when it is interesting enough to be seen, reposted and commented on by millions of people, so as to become a popular phenomenon of interest to the mainstream media as well. This aspect is an additional element in the act of communication, as illustrated in the following diagram (Gili and Colombo, 2012: 325), which summarises the various types of assets brought into play in a case such as the one just described:

Figure 1: Digital media: What the users really do (Source: Gili and Colombo, 2012: 325)



Thus, we can say that the web user is under surveillance in the Foucauldian sense, as the user is generating flows of information about himself/

herself that are transformed into a commodity, and consequently into informational capital. This is the other side of freedom of expression on the web, which also makes it possible to avoid the traditional bottlenecks of the cultural industry as a result of the disintermediation which is often cited as the main asset of the web. This approach reminds us that there is, in fact, a form of control whose object is what we might call the user's "information aura", hence its potential as a commodity for those economic entities which govern and use the web.

3. TALKING ABOUT THE SELF IN WEB 2.0

The second Foucauldian issue I want to address concerns "talking about the self". The relevance of this topic in web 2.0 studies becomes very clear when considering the breadth of literature about freedom of expression on the web (for example in the blogosphere) or - less positively - critical essays about "online narcissism".

It is worth saying that never, in the history of mankind, have human beings been so exposed to communicative relations. We can argue that the pressure of these relationships is the most certain anthropological fact, while its consequences are still largely unexplored. Of course, the plurality of relations (and of situations) to which we are exposed stresses certain characteristics in our messages, which cannot always be of a functional nature, but often relate to the size of what Simmel (1910) defines as sociability, i.e. a type of relationship aimed at experiencing the pleasure - more than the usefulness - of communication.

It is not surprising that, during the continuous chatting - which is one of the most common activities in the web and which is a feature of sociability - the self of the participants is often at stake in statements about personal thoughts (e.g. "What are you thinking?" in Facebook), or in life chronicles (micro-statements in Twitter rather than self-produced videos on YouTube), or in those narratives presented in pictures (photos on Instagram), or in the more or less autobiographical thoughts which fill posts and comments in blogs, where the main feature of some of those thoughts is that they are autobiographical. How should we evaluate this "autobiographical explosion" in the context of "social pressure"?

The Foucauldian perspective can be fruitful because it addresses the simple opposition between freedom of expression and mass narcissism, and takes into account the limits within which autobiography takes place in

the web. From the mid-seventies, Foucault (1976, 1983, 1994) started dealing with issues of sexuality on the one hand, and the “acts of talking about themselves” on the other (for more on this issue see Besley and Peters, 2007). Applying Foucauldian thought about sexuality to the practices of online exhibitionism would be misleading here, even though not entirely irrelevant. What I would like to emphasise, especially with regard to speech and truth, is that Foucault closely links sexuality over the last few centuries to a “discursive explosion”: what Roland Barthes, in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1977 (Barthes 1979), called the “fascism of language” (because, according to Barthes, “it forces you to say”). Barthes was referring to the constriction of sign systems, Foucault to “talking about the self”. But there are very close points of contact. According to Foucault, the discursive production of sexuality is crucial in modern societies:

But more important was the multiplication of discourses concerning sex in the field of exercise of power itself: an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause it to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail (Foucault 1978: 18).

The well-known example to which the author is referring is the practice of penitence following the Council of Trent. And Foucault, talking about confession, returns to a general topic: talking about the self even beyond sexuality.

However, if the statement about the issue of sexuality has its foundation in confession, the same cannot be said of “talking about the self”. In this case the discussion is broader, and owes its origins to the classical age in Greece and in Rome, as Foucault shows in the courses he gave at the Collège from 1979/80 until 1984, the year of his death. The relationship between mentor and disciple in Greek and Roman philosophy is the first indication of this practice of hermeneutics of the self:

It is well known that the main objective of the Greek schools of philosophy did not consist of the elaboration, the teaching, of theory. The goal of the Greek schools of philosophy was the transformation of the individual. The goal of Greek philosophy was to give the individual the quality which would permit him to live differently, better, more happily, than other people (Foucault, 1993: 205).

Foucault notes that, in Greek philosophy, techniques of talking about the

self are not particularly explicit: it is the mentor who speaks to the disciple more than the other way around. There are notable exceptions, however: first, self-examination, an example of which can be found in *De Ira* of Seneca, and second, the confession to another, such as quoted by Plutarch: *"There are many sick people who accept medicine and others who refuse it; the man who hides the shame of soul, his desire, his unpleasantness, his avarice, his concupiscence, has little chance of making progress"* (Foucault, 1993: 208).

From here onwards - according to Foucault - techniques of the self become crucial in the construction of Western subjects. But things have changed with Christian penitence, medical science, psychiatry, and so on.

It seems to me that, in order to grasp the meaning of Foucault's analysis rather than attaining a literal understanding of his writings, the heart of the problem is the communicative frame which is established in certain circumstances (in which the techniques of the self are at work): a space (materialized in one place: confessional, doctor's office, hospital), a time (divided into periods: holidays or preparation for them, appointments with the doctor, the routine of 'asylums'), a role (either leader of subordinate), knowledge (accepted by the faithful or the patient, possessed and exercised by the confessor or the doctor) and actions (to be performed by those being instructed; to be recommended or imposed by those giving instructions).

This frame is necessary in its entirety: not only do none of the elements have the same meaning outside of it (advice given by a doctor at lunch does not have the same value as advice given at the hospital), but it is impossible that the frame itself is active if it is contested or challenged in any of these elements (for example, the competence of a doctor or the effectiveness of medical treatments recommended). In short, what Foucault sees in the "talking about themselves" is a social modelling that can only build binding conditions in two ways: (1) pushing people into talking about the self as a way of improving their lives, and (2) suggesting speaking in a certain way by adopting already given forms, already recognised in a specific frame. But what makes each technology of the self different from the others? For Foucault, the difference lies in the specific purpose. In confessions, in medical practice as in psychiatric practice, the purpose is primarily the maintenance or return of the subject to normal (i.e. to norms) society.

The penitence in confession, being absolved, comes back in the great com-

munity defined by Grace; the sick, using therapies, returns to health and is welcomed back into healthy society. However, the confession and medical or psychiatric practice confirm the knowledge and power of the corporation of priests and doctors, or the bureaucracy of the soul that for Foucault is the essence of Western knowledge (Foucault, 2003). Conversely, in the ancient philosophical dialogue between mentor and disciple, what is at stake is the personal change experienced by the latter, to whom specific instructions on how to change, to learn and to improve are given. Technologies of the self can therefore become either forms of normalising control or liberating 'self-government'. Obviously I cannot discuss here the many ideas presented in Foucault's discourse. I would rather ask the following question: to what extent is this intuition applicable to web 2.0 and to its forms of "talking about the self"?

Let us start by assuming that the communicative relationship is not in this case an interpersonal relationship, but rather a typical form of mediated relationship. What is the frame, in this case? First, we observe that the platforms used (the blogosphere and also social networking sites) play a dual role here: they are a specific place (albeit within a different articulation of real / virtual space which depends upon the "everywhere" of the web and the other "everywhere" created by mobile devices), in the same manner as the confessional site and the doctor's office, but they also act as interfaces, with specific knowledge and skills, which provide tools which suggest to users how (with which graphical form, in which characters, with or without images, with or without words) and what to say ("I am here", "I'm thinking about this", "I like / I do not like this thing", ...).

This is basically a rhetoric that the user adopts and assimilates (e.g. violations on Facebook, which can be considered denials of the frame, and which are punished with exclusion from the SNS). On the other hand, we can say that, in the space offered by social networking sites and blogs, users get in touch not only with specialists (priests, doctors, teachers), but also with other, more general users. It is in this point that the peculiarity of the new techniques of the self lies. I think, however, that this argument applies only to a certain extent, because if it is true that there is a continuous exchange of roles between people who speak and users who listen, between questioners and respondents, it is true that the only subject which never changes roles is precisely the technological platform in its anonymity, in its apparent neutrality as a tool.

And it is true that our use of a technological platform provides knowledge

about us, framed within the boundaries of what is interesting both to others and to the platform itself. The latter - as we have seen - then uses information about ourselves for purposes that have nothing to do with our well-being (although it is possible that it will in some way respond to our needs).

In any case, the Foucauldian perspective remains crucial here: the exponential increase in "talking about the self" is likely to be restrictive if no attention is paid to how and why we are talking about the self, neither from the point of view of subjective motivations, nor in terms of the device. When we talk about ourselves - beyond the reasons why we do it (Giaccardi, 2010; Boccia Artieri, 2012), with whom and with what results - the rhetoric that we use is not indifferent, especially if it is made available as a kind of ready-made, waiting to be put in motion by the content that we are required to provide. Millions of "likes" on Facebook about the most diverse subjects have for a long time meant an opportunity for elementary expression, limited to a yes / no, while the reduced number of characters in Twitter enables a discourse which is concise, brutal, direct and perfectly attuned to a capitalist machine which produces meanings, in which discourse is divided into discrete units, duly measurable and therefore - if you wish - commodified.

4. TRUTH-TELLING AND THE PARADOX OF DEMOCRACY

Now for the third issue in Foucault's thought that I want to highlight as an open question for discussion about the web 2.0, in particular with regard to its democratic potential. We know that a key issue is the importance of specific forms of internet communication in strengthening democracy. The adversaries in this debate are: on one side, those who believe that there is space, in the internet, for new forms of direct democracy; on the other side, those who are severe critics of the populist and demagogic excesses resulting from the online "public sphere".

In particular, since the birth of BBS (in the seventies, in the eighties in Italy), a utopian practice of online idea-sharing has developed and has ushered in the utopia of a new active citizenship (including a political one). From the historical point of view, the Italian crackdown of the mid-nineties (with the closure of Fidonet, on charges of facilitating piracy and child pornography) clearly highlights one of the key points in this issue: "to open" the web also means making it available to those who practise any unlawful purpose; "to close" means suppressing forms of democratic participation and individual freedom.

The new era of web 2.0 has also seen an increase in the conditions of participation, of access to the web, of potential activities for users and of access to both mainstream (online news sources, broadcasting content, cultural content provided by traditional agencies) and grassroots (citizen journalism, self-produced videos, wikis) information. Those who support the democratic potential of web 2.0, in the end, highlight two aspects: on the one hand, an extension in the number and range of people who may be decision-makers in real time, and, on the other hand an increase in the availability of information that empowers citizens, increasing their opportunity to participate in the public sphere.

All these factors, however, raise some relevant questions: an increasingly complex control over information quality; an increase in the number of irrelevant news items or of disinformation; and a sort of "bastardisation" of public debate, in which participation can produce bad use of communication codes.

The most useful topic Foucault develops, which enables me to address this issue, is probably that of 'parrhesia', namely, the act of telling the truth in formal social contexts, as acted out by individuals who are in some ways advocates. There are three main chapters which encapsulate Foucault's thoughts on this point, which can be dated from the early eighties through to his death, from the course taught at the University of Berkeley (1983) and the last two courses at the Collège de France (1982/83 and 1983/84). The topic is apparently linked exclusively to classical ancient times, especially to Athens, and to its democratic experience, and later on to the Roman Empire. Foucault writes:

To summarise what has been said before, parrhesia is a kind of verbal activity where the speaker has a specific relationship to truth through frankness, a certain relationship to his own life through danger, a certain type of relation to himself or other people through criticism (self-criticism or criticism of other people), and a specific relation to moral law through freedom and duty.(...) In parrhesia, the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security, criticism instead of flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy" (Foucault, 1983: 9-10).

The topic is very broad (and extremely interesting), but can only be addressed very briefly here. It seems to be essential to me to focus on Foucault's criticism of the Athenian democracy. Foucault observes that *parrhesia* is, from a certain point of view, the focus of society: that someone, even

at the risk of his/her own life, tells the truth in public, responding to his/her own duties with his freedom (only the Athenian may, in fact, exercise *parrhesia*), enriches society as a whole. The dangers, however, are equally obvious. In Plato's *The Republic* (Book VIII, 557B) at one point a city is mentioned where everyone lives in freedom and speaks frankly, makes his own decisions and governs as he wishes; Isocrates, in *Peace*, evoking the orators heard with pleasure by the Athenians, speaks about people out of mind, sharing public fortune and state money (cf. Foucault, 2009: 47). This freedom for all to speak (no longer exercised only by those who are able to tell the truth), is a deadly threat to democracy: there is a risk that those being heard are acting in their own interests.

Moreover, the real *parrhesiastes* will be endangered by those (who may even be in the majority) who do not like the *parrhesiastes'* criticism and frankness. So there is a good *parrhesia* (i.e. for those who are suited to it) and a bad *parrhesia* (exercised in civil right by those who do not have moral right). In a paradoxical oligarchic text, the *Constitution of the Athenians* - a false exaltation of Attic democracy which is actually a radical critique - the anonymous author describes Athens as a city in which decisions are taken not by the best, but by the most numerous (Borges, many centuries later, will declare himself to be wary of democracy as a "curious misuse of statistics"), with serious consequences for the city: the best thing for the city cannot be done if the right of expression and participation is extended to all. Foucault analyses in depth the mechanisms of this paradoxical argument that - in the text just quoted - destroys the root of the very possibility of the survival of democracy. The basis of everything is the overlapping opposition between few/many, the best/the worst, where the first of the former are identified with the first of the second. It is, of course, an unfounded assumption. Foucault's suggestions regarding *parrhesia*, however, give us important tools with which to study the relationship between web 2.0 and democracy.

Often in the debate between enthusiasts and critics of the web, it seems that the contrast lies in the fact that the latter emphasise the large number of superfluous comments or even manifestly unfounded statements which can be found in political-cultural debates in the web, while the former emphasise how the large volume of these comments is crucial to the regeneration of democracy, something that the web can enhance. It seems to me that, in light of Foucault's reflection, we can address this issue differently, addressing what is the link between truth and democracy, i.e. not only in freedom of speech, but also in the responsibility of speaking.

Responsibility means commitment to tell the truth, risking unpopularity, but also to direct opinion through research and investigation.

The question of whether web 2.0 is in itself good or bad for democracy does not make a lot of sense. The question to ask instead is even more radical: does web 2.0 enable a higher or lower quality of public debate? After all, democracy is (morally) founded upon this subtle principle, rather than upon the tools used. And then we can see one of the paradoxes of web 2.0, hence the separation between the spread of it as a means of access to the public debate and the awareness with which it is used by users.

Here, the following seems to me to be crucial: it is well known that the number of people with internet access is much higher than the number of people who actively participate with posts, comments, messages, etc., in short, with all those activities that constitute the most celebrated potential of the web (Barabasi, 2002; Lovink, 2007; Miconi, 2011; Shirky, 2003). Here we have a reproduction of the few-many mechanism, namely the establishment of a small number of people who attract public attention to their opinions, information and content in the face of a large number of people who simply follow, or who are perhaps not interested. But does this mechanism really ensure "in itself" that the elite "with a voice" coincides with the elite of the best, most qualified to speak, of the followers of the common good, in short, of the potential *parresiastes*? I find this difficult to prove. Foucault is right to observe that the identification of the few with the best is very difficult to attest.

So should we conclude that universal access to debate (still far from being achieved, see Bentivegna 2009), a mass activism involving all citizens in democratic decisions (in a sort of democracy which is not only direct, but also permanent), would better guarantee the presence of *parrhesia* in public debate? Again, the argument seems difficult to sustain, because violations, abuses of freedom of speech and lies are there before our eyes on the web, along with true statements, braveness in supporting an awkward position and good journalism. In short, if you consider democracy a matter not only of the quantitative but also of the qualitative (for which a lie of many can bring even more damage than a lie of few, as well as the truth of many being more socially productive than the truth of few, then web 2.0 is in itself neither more democratic nor less democratic than any other public arena. There will be rather more or less democratic areas, places of discussion, but they must be viewed in the overall context of a society, in their general political efficacy. And then how we deal with the issue of silent participants in online de-

bates? To disqualify their silence as an absence of political participation is certainly dangerous: to do so, we should argue that only the presence in the online debate describes the web as a democratic tool, while in fact a silent participant in an online debate could offline be an active citizen capable of political action. In short, web 2.0 can be an effective tool for democracy, but it is not more democratic than other places.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have tried to explore the applicability of three Foucauldian concepts (the relationship between power and social control, talking about the self and the relationship between free speech and truth in democratic contexts) to the debate regarding web 2.0. I think I have shown that, rather than providing answers, Foucault's questions have a strong applicability, especially if the method of the French scholar's analysis is adopted at root and in its specific form, which consists of questioning phenomena in relation to the overall social devices rather than to specific places, techniques or events.

If I am right, to adopt Foucault's method and questions means to redefine some of the issues: the debate between freedom and power of the web can become an investigation into specific forms of inevitable power in the network society. The approach of analysing the autobiographical explosion leads to a questioning of the terms and conditions of talking about the self, and especially the pressures to exercise it. The controversy over the democratic nature of the web can be reformulated by questioning the conditions of truth and forms of knowledge that circulate on the web. These are three new approaches, based upon Foucault's thought, which was developed long before the birth of the web, but which remains deeply embedded in the development of late modern society.

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PART TWO

THE SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENT ABSTRACTS



ABSTRACT WRITING WORKSHOP

PHOTO: ILIJA T. TOMANIĆ

PARTICIPATION AND RESPONSIBLE CONSUMPTION IN CONTEMPORARY BARTER

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The aim of my PhD project is to analyse participation and responsible consumption in contemporary barter practice. Starting from an exploration of two modalities of barter, I seek to understand which competencies are involved in this practice: the project will thus concentrate, on the one hand, on a netnography of the web environment, searching for interesting examples of barter websites and, on the other, on a traditional ethnography of the Milan metropolitan area, detecting places where people engage in barter practice. The idea that gave birth to this project is that barter may be considered to be a practice of responsible consumption, and that this practice carries with it a high level of participation, defined as the ability of people to take part in joint decision-making processes which determine the surrounding environment. As media scholar Nico Carpentier has noticed, there is a real difference between accessing a field, interacting with other subjects and participating with them in decision-making processes that might influence anyone else in that field. In my opinion, consumption is a proper field where many political decisions are taken every day, both by producers and by consumers. While I agree with political consumerism scholars, I also take the matter further and consider the consumer field as a political field, where people, more or less consciously, are constantly taking political decisions. These decisions affect some precise practices which require specific competencies for them to continue. Some of these practices imply a certain level of participation, while others need mere access, and my hypothesis is that all responsible consumption practices require a certain level of participation, and barter is one of the practices which requires the highest level of participation. This is due to the fact that what characterises barter is the absence of a universal equivalent which determines the value of objects. The value of exchanged objects must thus come from a negotiation between barterers based on the unique characteristics of the object and a solid trust-based relationship between the two barterers. In conclusion, the aim of the research is to determine whether or not barter is a form of responsible consumption, assuming that people who have decided to be involved in this practice were consciously aware of the political decision they were making in avoiding the normal money market, and to understand which competencies this practice requires and develops.

MAPPING THE EUROPEAN CITIZENS' INITIATIVE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEAN CITIZENS' INITIATIVE ON THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE

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The launch of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) in April 2012 was greeted with enthusiasm in the conference rooms of Brussels, and portrayed as a new era for participatory democracy in the European Union (EU). It has been claimed that the ECI establishes a new space for direct citizen participation in the EU's decision- and policy-making processes, as one of the most concrete steps aimed at shifting the state of civic engagement in EU affairs, and incorporating the tools of participatory democracy into existing mechanisms of representative democracy. It is expected that the ECI will contribute to the democratisation of EU politics by bridging the gap between EU politics and citizens, and to the formation/enhancement of the European Public Sphere (EPS). A preliminary analysis based on the regulatory and operational setup of the ECI reveals, however, that its participatory potential may in fact be limited, especially in terms of its influence on policy-making processes. Nonetheless, the ECI process itself, may indeed catalyse cross-border citizen debate on the issues prioritised by its organisers. However, the communicative interactions of citizens cannot be directly translated into conclusions about the state of the EPS. An additional aspect is the emphasis placed on online technologies for ECI processes with a transnational scope. The definition of the ECI as a predominantly digital tool confirms the central role that has been assigned to online technologies. The main aim of this research project is to map the communicative spaces created by the ECI to explore the relevance of this new participatory tool in terms of the formation/enhancement of the EPS, with a special focus on online platforms. The first step is to connect the concept of the EPS in the ECI context with the academic debate grounded in EPS theories, as the dominant use of the concept in EU discourse seems to be detached from the definitions and reconsiderations reflected in theoretical frameworks. Furthermore, the limitations of online technologies in forming a transnational public sphere that has a democratising effect needs to be taken into consideration in order to analyse the potential role of online technologies in ECI processes and to assess whether the online ECI debates have a transformative impact on the EPS. In this regard, we are interested in three key aspects of ECI-related communication on online platforms; (1) the visibility and connectivity of the communicative spaces

initiated by the ECIs; (2) participants of the conversation; and (3) the plurality of perspectives reflected in citizen-generated conversations. Using the methods of network analysis and qualitative content analysis, we seek to understand the actual influence of the ECI processes on the EPS. The experiences of the first official ECIs signal a decisive role for the future transformation of this participatory space and its potential contribution to European politics and the European public sphere in the long term.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE IDENTITY IN LITHUANIAN AND JAPANESE SOCIETY

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Despite the geographical distance separating them and their different historical and cultural backgrounds, in both Lithuanian and Japanese society, the roots of patriarchy have remained strong right through to the present day. In both societies, the institution of the family is highly valued, and traditional, hegemonic images of masculinity are dominant. However, contemporary Lithuanian and Japanese society faces a decline in the traditional patriarchal definition of masculinity, which creates space for confusion in the construction of new patterns of modern masculine identity. Different cultural traditions and expectations about body aesthetics, lifestyle and the fulfilment of social roles highlight different ways of coping with the problem of searching for new social norms regarding masculinity. This present research aims to compare Lithuanian and Japanese men's perceptions of masculinity in the contemporary changing societies of Lithuania and Japan. The construction of masculine identity in both societies is compared by analysing the change in perceptions of masculinity and the assumption of new social roles (employment, marriage, fatherhood) in the light of different cultural backgrounds. Images about the physical characteristics of a 'real man' and their interrelationship with perceptions of masculinity in terms of the fulfilment of different social roles are also considered to be an important subject for analysis. The research methodology relies on a qualitative approach. By using semi-structured interviews with single and married men aged between 30 and 35 in Lithuania and Japan, as well as an analysis of Japanese and Lithuanian polling data regarding male and female views about the socially expected attributes of masculinity and the male role in a family, this present research aims to

answer such questions as: how important are bodily characteristics for the construction of masculine identity alongside with changing social experiences (employment status, marital status, fatherhood etc.)? Do men face problems in meeting the new social expectations of them as men in the family sphere? How does culture affect the construction and functioning of gender identity? Unlike research which focuses either on masculine image creation in media/society without searching for the shifts and transformations of these images triggered by changes in men's social status, or focuses solely on the 'familial' characteristics of masculinity (gender roles in a family, male-father role, etc.), the present research provides new academic insights by exploring the construction of modern masculine identity in Lithuanian and Japanese societies from multiple angles: the relationship between perceptions of masculinity and changes in social roles, the cultural impact of coping with problems of masculine identity construction, and the relationship between the physical and social requirements of masculinity in different societies.

CIVIL DEFAMATION AND THE MEDIA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA

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This interdisciplinary research strives to explore and explain the operation of civil defamation law in cases involving the media in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The research is driven by an empirical puzzle. Although the two countries share identical basic defamation provisions, anecdotal evidence suggests that the law operates rather differently. While in the Czech Republic, there have been very few reports of using defamation against the media, Slovak journalists view it as a means to chill criticism of the government. The project thus explores and compares how defamation is used and how it influences journalistic practices. It does not simply examine whether defamation produces a "chilling effect", but rather whether this is unacceptable and detrimental to public debate and democracy. The research seeks to understand the operation of defamation from the perspective of both the plaintiffs and the media. The more challenging task is to explain the puzzling divergent experience of Czech and Slovak journalists. Hence, the various factors that interplay with defamation law in shaping journalistic practices will also be examined. This research will

contribute to our understanding of how legislation can influence the media's ability to perform their normative roles. This is particularly important in post-communist states where the media are perceived as critical for successful democratisation, but failing. A popular explanation attributes this failure to politicians' use of legislation to thwart criticism in the media. Besides academia, the findings of this project could thus be of interest to the media, legal practitioners and policymakers. The research is guided by an analytical framework drawing on Cohen and Arato's concept of civil society, later adopted by Habermas. It conceptualises law as being formulated, interpreted and implemented in the interactions between actors operating at different levels of society. These interactions are, at the same time, informed and constrained by law, as well as the structural and cultural contexts, and the broader environment of that society. How defamation law functions in cases involving the media may thus be explained by the particular institutional constellation and cultural trajectories of any given country. The project adopts a comparative, exploratory research strategy, implementing small-N and case study methods. It employs the most-similar systems research design, taking Slovakia and the Czech Republic as its cases. I will gather various documents, including judgements, and conduct interviews with actors involved with defamation. The data will be coded and analysed through descriptive statistics and thematic analysis.

MUTATIONS OF THE TELEVISION SECTOR AND CULTURAL DOMESTIC DISPOSITIF: WHICH PRACTICES OF RECEPTION FOR WHICH (TV) VIEWERS?

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Our doctoral project proposes to study the evolutions of reception practices for audiovisual content. We wish, moreover, to link these evolutions to the mutations in progress in the sector in which such content is broadcast, especially in the television industry. From this perspective, we want to pay special attention to one kind of content: the television series. By articulating three main theories, we would like to show that there is a process of industrialisation affecting domestic cultural practices and rituals. We wish in particular to show how the process of industrialisation and innovation generates a *dispositif*, as Michel Foucault defined it, which we

call “cultural domestic”. Based on the numerous studies on the appropriation of television by its users, we want to show that this medium is today inserted, in the household, in a techno-info-communicational environment and in a way that is appropriate to study the practices of users, and, rather than focusing on a particular socio-technical device (in this case, television), by analysing the interrelationships and interdependencies between all devices interconnected and mobilised (computer, connected TV, smartphones etc.) through a specific practice. We thus base our theoretical framework on cultural and media studies (Morley, 1986, 1992, 2006; Grisprud, 2010) and on the ICT (Information and Communication Technology) social anchorage (Jouët, 2000; Perriault, 2008). The series reception practices seem quite relevant here because this kind of programme, on the one hand, is experiencing burgeoning success with audiences, and, on the other hand, is watched in multi-support reception frames. Moreover, we also want to focus on the evolutions of the strategies adopted by the actors in the cultural and communications industries to deal with the evolution of these reception practices and the broadcast of content via multiple platforms (cross-media, transmedia, etc.). For this reason, we will also focus on the theory of cultural industries and the economy and political communication (Flichy, 1991; Miege, 2001, 2007; Bouquillion, 2008). From a methodological standpoint, we would like to observe and interrogate the practices of users in households with different characteristics (family structure, socio-professional situation, type of housing, etc.) in order to identify the possible reception frames according to the domestic context and how the different techno-info-communicational environments are built. At the same time, we will conduct interviews with actors involved in the creation and distribution of television content (television channel, Internet operators, studios) to identify and understand the different industry strategies implemented as part of changing practices and technical innovations.

WHEN TELEVISION COOKS NATIONS

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Within a cultural studies paradigm, my research focuses on how the Italian cooking show “*Ti Ci Porto Io*” and the British food programme “*Jamie’s Great Britain*”, through food, construct versions of the nation. I

draw on Anderson's and Bhabha's theories on nation-building. They assume that 'the nation' is a social construction and that this construction is carried out through processes of inclusion/exclusion, ruled by dominant hegemonies. The theories of Stuart Hall, David Morley and Tim Edensor on how media frame these processes are central to my research. The two shows are analysed through semiotics to identify signs and codes linked to concepts such as "national culture" and "nation"; the focal points of my research are national symbols, food and people coming in from outside, and gender issues. Interviews with producers will help me to understand how the programmes have been constructed to signify 'the nation'. Focus groups with audience members, finally, would establish how the construction of versions of the national cultures and of the nations has been decoded by the audience. The analysis confirms that nations today are concepts that are flexible and constantly in flux. The Italian programme constructs highly centralised versions of the nation-state, treating food and people coming in from outside as a danger to national unity. Moreover, the show gives the national food culture an anthropomorphic form, considering it to be a female subject. The British show deals with a more problematic concept of nation, assuming that the nation is sometimes the UK and sometimes either England, Scotland or Wales. Food and people from outside the UK's borders are welcome, but the show underlines other forms of exclusion (gypsies, travellers and so on). Finally, cooking is presented as a technique rather than an act of love, and it lends British national culture a mild male quality. Among the many analyses of cooking shows, this research highlights an unusual perspective, linking the televisual representation of nation with food culture and cooking.

ALGERIAN FRENCH-LANGUAGE PRESS PUBLISHERS: STRATEGIES AND JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES TO EXPAND THE PUBLIC

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Algeria's French-language press generally targets a readership belonging to the bilingual classes, westernised in both its references and lifestyle. It has been regarded for a long time as an „elitist media“, compared to a „popular“ Arabic press. However, what we have found in a small corpus of everyday speech among journalists covering a football match between Algeria and Egypt is the use of „slang“ as a new journalistic practice. Our

initial hypothesis was to show that the French press is using this strategy in order to reach more readers, because we assume that in Algeria the French language fosters lower reading habits. The corpus consists of two selected newspapers specialising in sport, „Le Buteur“ and „Competition“, in addition to two other general newspapers, „Le Soir“ and „El Watan“, during the month of November 2009. We explore how these four newspapers tried to boost their readership through their coverage of a sporting event (Algeria’s qualification for the World Cup). Then we focus on how these newspapers treated the events of the „Arab Spring“. This will allow us, for the first time, to verify whether the use of „slang“ was dictated by the choice of the event or whether it is a common practice. Then we analyse the discursive strategies of the same press in relation to the protest movements in the Arab world (the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt during the period 18 December 2010 to 25 February 2011). Our goal is to detect dynamic discursives and highlight the strategies used by the press to cover these events in a way that would broaden its readership. To specify a transversal approach, we note that our research is part of an axis of „The Industrialization of Culture, Information and Communication“ and also addresses issues of „the publicizing and mediatization of social structures“. We will look at the operation of the Algerian French-language press and its relationship with advertising and printing companies owned by central government, as well as at the visibility of societal space, and its attempts to rehabilitate certain forms of expression used in conversational media such as Facebook. Main theoretical references: Balandier. Bonnafous. Bouquillon. Brahim. Cabedoche. Charaudeau. Esquenazi. Habermas. Negt. Miege. Le Bohec. Lounici. Marchetti. Neveu. Olivesi. Ruellan.

‘THE ONLINE STAGE’ - GENDER PRACTICES AND SEXUAL SUBJECTIVITIES IN NETWORKED PUBLICS: A MULTI-METHOD LOOK AT FLEMISH YOUNGSTERS ON SOCIAL NETWORK SITES

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Contemporary youth cultures in Western societies are lived in offline as well as online media spaces, allowing communication, representation and participation. Popular media platforms in Flanders such as Facebook and Netlog organize young people in (semi-)public spaces and connected networks. Redundant digital stories are told in these publics, using nu-

merous semiotic practices such as photos, text, applications and videos. Earlier research into social network sites (SNSs) and young people describes how it is primarily stories about relationships that are represented. Although a large share deal with friendships, intimate stories, by which I mean all erotically significant aspects of social life, are also present. Most studies, however, neglect these representations and negotiations of sexuality, particularly from a critical perspective, by which I mean questioning power and difference. Therefore, the 'Online Stage' project questions how gender practices and sexualities thrive on SNSs, using social theory and combined critical theories on gender/sexuality, technology and participation. In particular I will ask (1) how gender practices and sexualities are regulated by heteronormativity in communications, representations and participations, and (2) how this particular mediated practice contributes to a social change and further transforms intimacy in late modernity. The project situates itself at the intersection of media cultural studies, queer theory and youth studies. It thus focuses mostly on social, cultural and political struggles over identities, practices and institutions in everyday life and its mediated representations. 'The Online Stage' project wishes not merely to describe, but also to contribute to a wider democratic project of social change as generally envisioned in the field of media cultural studies. Building on social theories of changes in late modern times, the self is understood as a reflective acting subject that creates its own biographies within the defined limits of heteronormativity. The popular mediated practice of communication, representation and participation is seen as an emerging public sphere, creating possibilities for alternative and resistant experiments to radiate. This project looks for significant re-significations within widely used networked publics in youth cultures. Practically, this research inquires into how Flemish youngsters aged between 13 and 18 years old represent intimacy, gender and sexuality, how the subject is networked and negotiates in public environments, and how new media platforms are themselves shaping these representations, communications and participations. The popular SNS Netlog is the case used for qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the textual and visual. Further, publics themselves are consulted in different focus groups to gain insights into how these young people negotiate the boundaries of heteronormativity when interacting on SNSs.

DISCOURSE ON DEMOCRACY IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN TURKEY AFTER 1990

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In 1967, Guy Debord described modern life as a “society of the spectacle” that began in the 1920s. In more recent times, according to Jonathan Crary (2004), certain events have affected the progress of that spectacle. The first is the technological perfection of television. As Crary argued, “the spectacle was to become inseparable from this new kind of image and its speed, ubiquity, and simultaneity” (Crary, 2004:100-101). The second was the screening of the first sound film, *The Jazz Singer*, in 1927. This new tool meant that spectacle was now part of perceptual consumption. Finally, Goebbels used modern spectacle techniques in the 1930 election campaign in Germany (104). These developments later had an impact on the formation of liberal democracies and their political campaign techniques. After the 1950s, new political campaign techniques came to be used in American presidential elections. From 1970 onwards, these techniques were used in Western European countries, and it was only in the 1990s that they became part of political life in Turkey, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. As David L. Swanson (1992: 399) suggested, “these and other developments have created a circumstance in which politics, government, and news media are linked in a complicated relationship and combined to create a kind of supra- institutions, the political- media complex”. In short, ‘spectacle’ is now integral to political life and is an essential tool in political campaign techniques. If we define liberal democracy as a process of representation, there is no doubt that political campaigns are very important in the overall democratic structure. This is why political parties and their leaders attach great importance to political campaign techniques. In the society of spectacle, however, everything is ‘hyper-real’. Therefore, in this process, ‘discourse’ becomes a very important element in the structuring of political campaigns. What we witness is that it is not information, targets or realpolitik that shape political discourse any longer, but the ‘image’ and the discourse built around this image. That is why using media effectively has become a strategy in itself. This process was defined by Thomas Meyer (2007) as “media democracy”. Therefore, ‘spectacle’ is a very important concept when seeking to understand how citizens and democratic institutions take part in this process. In this context, this study aims at understanding the relationship between the spectacle as a process and the political campaigns in Turkey after 1990, by specifically problem-

atising the issue of democratic citizenship. I argue that the use of spectacle has drastically transformed the dynamics of representative democracy and citizen participation in the process in Turkey. For that purpose, I will analyse speeches given by the leaders of political parties during their political campaigns by employing discourse analysis.

THE MULTIMEDIA ADAPTATION STRATEGIES OF TURKISH TELEVISION CHANNELS: DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION CONTENT AND AUDIENCE REPRODUCTION

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The development of new media has led to a revival in television broadcasting, turning traditional practices into contemporary interactive designs. User interface design in interactive media, such as computer games, web design, mobile applications and television podcasting, has become increasingly important in those instances where the same content can be distributed via different devices. With the technological convergence of television with computers, tablets and smartphones, the content produced by television channels can be accessed via different devices anywhere and anytime. Audiences can participate in production, producing, modifying and reproducing television content. In this new era, where technology and media are expanding exponentially, new media studies looking at this multimedia relationship and convergence require a faster follow-up worldwide and are still failing to attract academic interest in Turkey. In this context, the aim of this research is to analyse the production of content by Turkish television channels in the new media environment, along with the audience's transformation and reproduction processes. The research will focus on questions such as: How have television channels in Turkey adapted to interactive media? How has television content been transformed into Internet-based interactive content? How is the content produced by the television channels developed, transformed or reproduced by the audience? How are the television channels managing this process? What are the key issues in the process of convergence between audio-visual content from broadcast television with text, pictures, video and sound from the new media interface?

POWER TO THE PATIENTS? DOES SEEKING HEALTH INFORMATION ON THE WEB EMPOWER PATIENTS IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR GENERAL PRACTITIONERS?

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Western governments and patient advocates use the discourse of patient empowerment, and the Internet is often presented as a lever for that empowerment, but there is insufficient substantive empirical evidence to support the notion that the Internet, as an information source, is actually empowering patients in their relationship with their general practitioners (GPs). On the one hand we investigate whether the Internet is a valuable source of health information for patients. On the other hand we explore to what degree information is a source of power in the patient-doctor relationship, and to what extent having better informed patients leads to a power shift in favour of the patient, thus undermining the doctor's traditionally dominant position in the patient-doctor relationship. In our literature research we distinguish three interlinked parts: first, literature on the use of the Internet as a cybermedical space (Miah and Rich) and a source of health information, second, particularly in medical sociology, the power issues linked to the medical profession, and third, the concepts of power and empowerment. For our research we have chosen a mixed approach, combining different qualitative and quantitative research methods. In the first phase we plan to observe consultations between general practitioners and their patients and to develop an ethnographic approach. In this same phase, for the purposes of comparison we wish to investigate the attitude of healthy people to the Internet as a source of health information, and to the patient-doctor relationship. This will be done by means of Internet surveys, focus groups and face-to-face interviews with healthy people. In the first part of the second phase, the same subjects will be investigated in respect of patients, by means of Internet surveys, focus groups, face-to-face interviews and expert interviews. In the second part of the second phase, general practitioners will be researched through face-to-face interviews with GPs, expert interviews and doctors' participation through presentation.

GLOBAL, NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INTERACTIONS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA. EXPLORING MEDIA POLICY DISCOURSES, AGENCY AND STRUCTURE IN LATIN AMERICA.

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This research project engages with the processes, actors, structures and contents of audio-visual media governance in Latin America. Audio-visual policies and their emergence in European countries have been researched in the past. Latin American examples invite a new level of analysis which includes not only national and regional, but also international influences. The work presented here aims to explore and define how media governance is shaped in this context and by whom. It explores the interactions of the global and the national in audio-visual media governance in Latin America. To what extent and in which ways do regional and national audio-visual frameworks in Latin America integrate global policy principles? Thus, the shape of audio-visual governance in Latin America in an era of digitisation shall be analysed critically by looking at specific policy cases. The policy transfer approach will be used to analyse the interfaces at global, national and regional level and to explore the power structures which underpin and guide media policy development in Latin America. The research focuses on the media policy discourses developed in the region, rather than on the implementation of regulatory decisions. Particular attention will be given to the dissemination of audio-visual media policy principles, which dominate policy discussions at global, regional and national levels. The policy transfer lens will be operationalised through the analysis of concrete policy processes. It integrates policy tracing, network and frame analysis and applies them to selected national, Latin American cases. The analysis focuses on member states of the Mercosur, a free-trade region with its own institutional policy-making bodies, similar to the institutions of the European Union. The understanding of international power relations in audio-visual media governance and of their role in this specific region of the world will be enriched through analysis of policy principle “flows”. Globalisation and regulation theories will back the use of the policy transfer lens and add to the explanation of international entanglements in audio-visual media governance in Latin America. The project presented is based on an understanding that, in times of globalisation, interactions at different governance levels gain importance within the process of policy formation. The exploration of policy processes and the unpacking of the mechanisms that shape them seek to

reveal how media policy discourses are advocated, framed and directed by the different actors in the cases presented. Thus, the understanding of international entanglements in the governance of audio-visual media in Latin America and of the shifting materiality in media policy-making will be enriched.

WOMEN'S CYBER-EMPOWERMENT IN MAINLAND CHINA: CHARACTERISTICS, POTENTIALITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

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Never before has the world experienced such dynamic change in new technologies. This study aims to provide a critical and thorough examination of the role that the Internet plays in Chinese women's empowerment. Specifically, the principal issue of the proposed work is to explore how Chinese women, via online groups and the women's blogosphere, organise activities and speak up in order to fight for gender equality within the complex political, cultural and social conditions of contemporary China. Under the influence of the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) in Beijing in 1995, 'empowerment' has become an innovative word that occupies an increasingly important position in women's studies. Though the concept is still slippery and difficult to define, there is a common thread that runs through analyses of women's empowerment. It consists of a process whereby women's various abilities, be they options, choices, control or power, bring about, through bottom-up 'inner transformation', a shift in perceptions of human agency (Malhortra, et al., 2000, p.5-6). Building upon the conceptualisation of women's empowerment in previous works in the literature, the reformulation here retains the elements of power, process, agency, resources and achievements, along with the gendered components. It consists of at least three aspects of women's empowerment dynamics: a) women's agency from a gender lens; b) women's resource mobilisation; c) women's identification. The presence of women's agency involves choice, control, voice and power. Resource for women is not only a medium, but also has the potential to mobilise women to make their collective/individual voices heard in the public sphere. Within the process of women's empowerment, identity has become an increasingly influential concept in women's representation, which is a matter for both the individual and collective processes of construction. In the informa-

tion age, with the advent of the Internet, women have more opportunities to self-express, communicate and network than they do via traditional media. However, the ways in which the Internet frames the process of women's empowerment have yet to be clearly conceptualised. This research project aims to fill this gap, discussing the Internet as an alternative platform which makes it possible to link women and their empowerment in the same pathway. The Internet is the entry point and the medium through which women's concerns are essentially expressed. It provides the expanding spectrum in terms of the redistribution of 'flows of information gathering and dissemination' (Sreberny, 2005, p.288) for women to organise and engage in activities on gender relations issues. By using the Internet, women can, on the one hand, recognise they are as much of a social subject as men; on the other hand, women's subjectivity can also be recognised by men. Furthermore, the Internet has the ability to reach out and benefit the construction of women's identification.

OPEN ACCESS JOURNALS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES: CASE STUDIES

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Nowadays it has become difficult to ignore the movement for open access (OA) to knowledge through scholarly publications. The deep discussions engendered by the Research Work Act (RWA) in the United States highlight the growing involvement of the scientific community. Passionate debates are taking place, notably on blogs and social networking websites. Scientists defend public access to taxpayer-funded research and call for wider distribution of their findings. A petition to boycott Elsevier has been signed by numerous researchers. The commercial publisher is being criticised for its considerable profits and its support for the RWA. But the OA movement is not the only disruption affecting scholarly publications. At the same time, scholarly journals are playing an increasingly important role in the dissemination and evaluation of research in social sciences and humanities (SSH). The OA movement and the recently acquired primacy of scholarly journals are reshaping communication in SSH. Scholarly journals are considered to be the golden road to open access. Several of the OA movement's theorists see them as the best way to "change the paradigm of scholarly publication". Beyond discourses and theories about OA jour-

nals, there is the question of how they are actually built up. To address this question, my PhD research focuses on open access journals in sociology. The objective is thus to determine what elements allow them to assert and maintain their own identity. The identification and understanding of these elements are crucial, because the way in which scientific communication actors define themselves directly influences the scientific communication value system. Are we moving towards a new paradigm? To explore this topic I have chosen the multiple case studies method, taking into account journals from different (inter)national and linguistic backgrounds, journals which have become open access and journals which started out as open access. This method allows for a more accurate description and understanding of the different actors, processes and dynamics involved.

CROWDSOURCED ART AS COMMUNICATIVE AESTHETICS

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The paper investigates what happens when recipients i.e. non-artist viewers, experience online interactive web-based crowdsourced works of art. Crowdsourced art is characterised by an artist's framing of many thousands of creative micro-contributions from individual people in relation to a particular artistic idea or a concept. The creative micro-contributions, which can be photos, text, video or drawings, are harvested by the artist through an open call on the Internet. Crowdsourced art has roots in participatory art and web 2.0 participatory culture and business models. My research question is: what do recipients experience when they view, interact with and reflect upon online, interactive web-based crowdsourced art? My assumptions are that experiences may range from aesthetic experience, immediate sensory experience and immersion to critical reflections about the underlying crowdsourced mode of production. Special attention will be given to developing an understanding of a concept of communicative aesthetics as indicative of the huge amount of everyday aesthetics and everyday experiences as the framework set out in these works of art. The theoretical framework is interdisciplinary and draws upon theories within the field of reception theory, reception aesthetics and participatory art theory, and concepts from business theory on crowdsourcing. The investigation is based on a qualitative empirical study using the methods of Grounded Theory for data collection, analysis and concept-building.

The project involves participant observations and in-depth interviews with recipients viewing crowdsourced art works. The study involves two crowdsourced works of art as cases. The first is <http://www.thesheepmarket.com/> by Aaron Koblin (2006). The work contains 10,000 drawings of sheep created by online workers, harvested by an open call over 40 days via Amazons Mechanical Turk. The other case is <http://www.learningtoloveyoumore.com/> by Harrell Fletcher and Miranda July (2002 – 2009). The work grew over seven years into a community representing everyday experiences and relying on contributions from 8,000 people (photos, texts and videos), responding to 70 assignments created by the artists. The conclusion suggests that crowdsourced art represents a new opportunity for compassionate identification the for non-artist audience through the content of everyday aesthetics and everyday experiences in works of art. In addition, it is expected that the study will document that crowdsourced art communicates a new type of asymmetric relationship which is experienced as legitimate if there is a balance between the artist's self-expression in the artwork and the attention and space given to the non-artists' creative micro-contributions.

VIDEO TRANSITIONS: THE CHANGING NATURE OF PARTICIPATORY VIDEO

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Participatory film and video has a long history, dating back to just before the beginning of the twentieth century. Some of the different types of groups and individuals historically involved in this have now appropriated the Internet as a video distribution medium. My research is an ethnographic study of three such groups which seeks to understand the reasons, methods and consequences of this appropriation: public access television stations within the California Community Media Exchange; visionOntv, the online video project of the UK activist group Undercurrents; and a television fan video-makers' group based primarily on LiveJournal. My ethnographies of these groups were informed by participating in and observing their activities over a twelve-month period, both online (e.g. making and reading LiveJournal postings and comments, participating in Facebook group interactions), and offline (e.g. participating in video production at demonstrations and conferences, attending fan conventions).

These ethnographies present a complex and contested landscape where a variety of people and technologies are enlisted by the different groups to achieve their various goals related to video distribution, and where this enlistment is sometimes resisted or unsuccessful. Also, the ethnographies present the Internet as having multiple identities; in particular, it functions for these groups both as a tool, or cultural artefact, and as a place, or cultural space (as has been observed by Hine (2000), Markham (2004) and others). I will analyse the issues emerging from my ethnographies through two different, but related theoretical lenses: the concepts of assemblages, developed originally by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, and actor networks, from Actor-Network Theory.

FROM EYEBALLS TO CLICKTHROUGH - THE ROLE OF THE USER/ CONSUMER AS ACTOR IN THE TELEVISION VALUE NETWORK AS TV MAKES THE TRANSITION TO A DIGITAL, CONNECTED ERA

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In my doctoral research the focus is on the changing role of users/consumers as actors in the television value chain as TV makes the transition to a digital, connected era. How does the role of the user change in relation to the affordances digital/connected television offers? Since digitisation, TV is becoming a networked digital technology, featuring personalisation and interconnectivity. This means a shift from traditional television as a one-way mass media model to a two-way interactive model (Carlson, 2006: 97-98) or to media of mass self-communication (Castells, 2009: 70). With digital television, users - theoretically - have the opportunity to increase their control, which could lead to changes in the television business model. This model relies on the commodification of audiences, i.e. television broadcasters selling audience attention to advertisers in order to be able to invest in the production or acquisition of programmes. Through standardised audience measurement, the watching labour of the audience is sold to advertisers (Smythe, 1977: 3). Advertisers play a crucial role in the business model for commercial television as they pay for advertising space within certain programmes, thus providing broadcasters with the means necessary to create and aggregate content. The price for the advertising spot on linear TV depends on the ratings provided by the ratings industry (Seles, 2010: 6). Audience measurement also enables broadcast-

ers to evaluate their programming and media planners to evaluate their campaigns, based on the amount of viewers (Berte, 2010: 318-319). Audience measurement as it is organised now does not take into account viewers that watch content through different platforms. It is based on 'exposure', or on the mere opportunity audience members have to see a specific advertisement. Even if the audiences' way of watching TV and avoiding advertising has not changed that much with digital viewing as opposed to analogue viewing (Van den Broeck, 2011: 429), what has changed is the ability to measure when advertisements are being skipped through via the set-top box (STB), or the ability to measure when people access content through different devices. Although the data gathered through the set-top-box are not standardised and therefore not that user-friendly for advertisers and media planners, the possible development of more accurate audience measurement can be seen as both an opportunity and a threat for television advertising. Advertisers and media planners are now being challenged to find new ways to reach their target audience in a personal way that fits with the possibilities digital television offers its users, broadcasters and distributors (Griffiths, 2003: 119). Of course, it is also important to investigate at what cost these evolutions might take place. Since these new opportunities raise questions concerning privacy and the invasion or protection of privacy, it might be opportune to investigate how convergence of online technologies and TV might evolve in terms of audience privacy, perception and empowerment.

MODELLING PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY ANALYSIS: LEARNING THROUGH PICTURES

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Press is dominated by pictures. Readers are interested in photographs which capture the suffering and pain of others (Sontag, 2003; Zelizer, 2010). But are they capable of interpreting the visual content of press photographs? The aim of my study is to examine and develop the reception process of press photography (PP) as a competency in visual literacy (VL). The concept of VL emerged in 1966 (Fransecky & Debes, 1972), but no substantial theory of this concept has yet been developed (Avgerinou & Pettersson, 2011). VL is broadly described as a multidisciplinary area of knowledge which could be defined either as a skill, a competency or

an ability (Avgerinou, 2003). Therefore, my contribution is to introduce methods for PP interpretation to improve VL skills among students. First, I created and evaluated a model for PP story analysis. The research comprised two stages: (i) familiarising study participants with the interpretation model and (ii) qualitative content analysis of the participants' interpretations of samples of press photo stories. The result is that the model enabled the participants to develop their skills in VL, while a secondary result is that familiarity with the model facilitated the activity of interpreting PP. Second, I introduce a universal typology for photojournalistic image genres. The typology provides the reader/viewer with a description of the visual and textual indicators of each photo-genre. Moreover, the definition of 'press photography' and 'photojournalism' is evaluated and discussed. Therefore, the classification may assist as an additional tool in journalism studies as well as in teaching VL. Further, by reviewing methods on photography analysis, I formulate an application of some of them to create a model for PP analysis in order to facilitate students' individual development in VL. Finally, I test the model and report results through an autoethnography, i.e. my own experience as a teacher, and a participatory observation during a study visit to a university with a developed curriculum in visual communication. Participatory observation will be based on descriptions and evaluations of individual and group exercises in which students discuss and analyse press photographs in order to improve their VL skills. The project has been undertaken in order to design a model for PP analysis and to develop PP theory. The results could be applied for teaching and learning VL, as well as for further studies on PP analysis as one of the research methods within humanities.

"POLITICS" UNDER (DE)CONSTRUCTION? – YOUNG PEOPLE NEGOTIATING "POLITICS" IN MEDIATISED EVERYDAY WORLDS

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The focus of my PhD project is on young people's negotiations of "politics" in contemporary media cultures. Theoretically grounded in mediatization theory, current theorisations of "the political" and theories of media and subjectivisation in everyday life, the project aims to understand adolescents' notions of "politics", the ways in which young people approach and negotiate issues considered by them to be "politically/socially relevant",

and the role different media practices play in these negotiation processes. Based on some shortcomings in previous research on young people, “politics” and media culture, I develop an empirical approach that (a) does not predetermine a certain notion of “the political” but remains open for young people’s own interpretations, and (b) does not concentrate on a single medium or format but takes into account processes of media convergence and young people’s different “media repertoires” in their mediated everyday lives. The main research question of my doctoral thesis is: how do young people approach, interpret and negotiate “politics” in contemporary media cultures and what role do different media practices play in the negotiation processes? For the theoretical framework, my thesis combines different approaches in order to develop an understanding of the processes of negotiating “politics” in everyday media cultures. First, mediatization theory (Krotz 2007, 2009) helps to comprehend the complex interrelations of media change and changes in society and culture by focusing on the communicative construction of social reality. Second, different strands of feminist (political and media) theory are consulted to contour a notion of “the political” that challenges dichotomies such as “public vs. private” and “information vs. entertainment” (Bargetz/Sauer 2010; Klaus 1996; Sauer 2001). Furthermore, following a poststructuralist stance in current academic debate on “the political”, an idea of “the political” is formulated that emphasises the indispensable moments of dissent and conflict (cf. the articles in Bröckling/Feustel 2010; Mouffe 2005). Finally, references to the work of Gramsci and Foucault within communication, media and cultural studies, concerning struggles of hegemony and “orders of knowledge” in everyday media cultures (Langemeyer 2009; Thomas 2009, 2010), enable a focus on processes of subjectivisation and social power relations. The explorative research design brings together different qualitative methods such as semi-structured focus group discussions, open egocentric communication charts and creative visual methods, which allow for reflection and self-determination on the part of the research participants. The findings are expected to offer theoretically and empirically grounded insights into young people’s manifold and complex negotiations of “politics” in mediated everyday life – thus contributing a differentiated and critical view to current academic and social debate, e.g. on young people’s disenchantment with “politics”.

TAMING THE UNKNOWN: JOURNALISM, FUTURE AND SOCIAL REALITY

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The study aims to investigate how the future has functioned as a point of reference in the news coverage of key moments of cultural and societal change in the post-war history of Finland. The future is a central dimension informing and framing decision-making and action at the present time. Fundamentally, there can be no knowledge of the future. The future must always be imagined, in one way or another. While both past and future are only accessible as representations in the present, for the future there is no conceivable referent outside discourse, which deems realist arguments concerning it unsuitable (although there may well be coherent realist arguments concerning the ideas, plans or attitudes about the future in the present or in the past) and thus makes the discursive struggle for the meaning of the future more manifest. In the study, journalism is considered both as a manifestation of the interpretative resources easily available at different times and as a specific kind of discourse approaching past, present and future in a certain way. From the former perspective, the study aims to write a cultural history of the future in the Finnish context. From the latter perspective the aim is to explore how the changing text forms of journalism and its changing position in society vis-à-vis other institutions also change the rules that regulate its approaches to the future. Empirically, the study consists of two case studies investigating the news coverage of key moments of cultural and societal change in Finland in the post-war era and three case studies exploring topics where the future has been an important dimension in informing and framing decision-making and action.

THE NARRATIVE POWER OF REPUTATION IN DIGITAL PUBLICITY

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In digital, networked publicity, a reputation narrative has many tellers. Traditional mass media face new, individual and networked forms of communication, where organisational stories are circulated and remediated. These forms build new passages to publicity, bypassing the traditional means of reaching stakeholders and endowing stakeholders with increased power. Manuel Castells (2009) has titled these developments as mass self-communication. The stories created in digital publicity are building the reputation of an organisation and its actions in subtle ways, and are most often based on voices external to the organisation (Hallahan, 2004; Bunting & Lipski, 2000). This study focuses on how the narratives of reputation are built in digital publicity, and on the underlying elements and structures of power. The main research question is to define the narrative power of reputation in online publicity. The main focus is on reputational narratives, which can either be supportive of the goals and strategies of the organisation, or possibly harmful counter-narratives. Even though reputation is a concept widely used in relation to corporations, the contributions of this work are not limited to corporate publicity; the mechanisms of reputation narratives and their circulation in the online public sphere can be widely applied and utilised in different kinds of organisations, from NGOs to governmental institutions. The theoretical basis of this study lies in narrative research, primarily in the concept of antenarrative developed by David Boje (2001), combined with the narrative view on reputation. Here, reputation is defined as social and narrative capital; it is a discursive construction (Boje, 2001; Deetz, 1986; Czarniawska, 1997), socially built and modified in communicative action between different publics over time. Following Boje, stories of organisational reality are fragmented, polyphonic and collectively produced, and in this reality storytelling is also a negotiation between participants with varying power positions. The concept of power is further theorised through the views of networked power (Castells, 2009) and discursive power (Foucault, 1977). Storytelling power is also definitive power, since stories are a form of meaning-making and a tool for positioning (Lissack & Roos, 1999; Czarniawska, 2004). The study consists of four articles and a summary chapter. The research orientation is based on the narrative research tradition. Each article used a different set of data and methods, but in general the approach is qualitative, using interviews, narrative content analysis and social network analysis.

VIDEO-HOSTING SERVICES AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL MOBILISATION. USES, PERCEPTION AND FUNCTIONS OF USER-GENERATED ONLINE VIDEOS IN THE INTERNET

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This project elaborates on the following research question: how are the information-seeking and political participation of online users affected by the perception of user-generated online videos (UGOV) available from video-hosting services in the Internet? Further, we are interested in how this affects the communication strategies of political actors. The project's specific objective is to analyse structural change in political communication against the background of UGOV diffusion, which has increasingly become an alternative media source for citizens. UGOV crystallise both formal and informal content in political communication and therefore expose new opportunities for the electorate, as well as for political organizations. The theoretical perspective is based on a modified dynamic-transactional approach (DTA), with agenda-setting modelling the inter-transactions, political cynicism and agenda-building particularising the intra-transactions, and social network theory explaining the dynamics of the process. Based on the conceptual framework provided here, one can develop a set of questions that are relevant to analysing the processes of user-generated media in the context of political communication. In addition, there should be a link back to the concept of the public as an intermediate system concerning the consequences of possible developments in the field of political UGOV on video platforms. We apply a multi-method design, consisting of field experiments and qualitative interviews with representatives of political parties and organisations and with the prosumers of political video content. The starting point is a self-produced cinematic contribution in several variations, using the example of the mayor's election in Erfurt, the state capital of Thuringia, in 2012. We hypothesise that the representation of politics in UGOV establishes new paths for political participation. At the same time, UGOV are expected to generate feedback on the communication strategies of political organisations (such as parties or NGOs). This may add a new dimension to the process of political mobilisation. As a result of this exploratory research, empirical findings are expected which (1) advance the theory construction of the medium-range approaches. So far, changes through innovative media products are considered to play only a rudimentary role. Our results will (2) refine the conceptual framework of the DTA by using additional and as yet unobserved

evidence on a research field. Further, we aim (3) to validate an innovative repertoire of methods to test underlying models.

COMMUNICATION IN RISK GOVERNANCE: A MULTI-SAKEHOLDER AND MULTI-LEVEL STUDY IN SWEDEN

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The complexity of current adverse events suggests that the risks we are dealing with are not equal (Dutch Health Council, 1995). Many risks that we are facing tend to be complex and systemic (OECD 2003) rather than simple and linear (van Asselt & Renn, 2011). A more holistic approach is therefore required when dealing with systemic risks. "Risk governance" pertains to the various ways in which many actors, individuals and institutions, both public and private, are involved while dealing with risks (van Asselt & Renn, 2011). During the actual risk governance process, however, while many organisations become involved in the network, the risk and crisis communication between these organizations tend to be problematic. The bigger and more severe in its magnitude and negative consequences a crisis is, the greater the number of actors there will be, from different societal sectors at the national, regional and local levels (Palttala, Boano, Lund & Vos, 2012). My PhD project intends to study communication among different organisations at various levels of Swedish society involved in risk governance. The purpose of this project is thus to identify gaps in risk communication during the process of risk governance, with a special focus on the multi-stakeholder and multi-level communication challenges in Sweden. It intends to meet this purpose by answering the overall research question: how do various risk governance organisations communicate risk between themselves and with others at different levels in Swedish society? To be able to answer the overall research question, the project will be broken down into several specific studies: 1. The first study will be carried out to answer the first research question: how does a county administrative board evaluate municipal risk and vulnerability analyses? Statistical correlational analysis will be applied during this study, in order to find out how a county administrative board and the municipalities communicate risks based on the municipal's yearly risk and vulnerability reports. 2. The second study is to investigate the communication between regional stakeholders in risk governance in one county in Sweden, such

as the county administration board, police, armed forces, healthcare, etc. Qualitative interviews and a snowball sampling strategy are expected to be used in the study. 3. The outcome of the two studies above will then guide the design of the subsequent detailed studies, which are expected to entail a combination of research methods, such as content analysis, qualitative interviews and surveys. 4. In addition to the studies in Sweden, it is expected that data will be collected in other contexts in order to learn by comparing specific issues and data. Potential cases are the UK, Netherlands, South Africa and the USA.

REPORTING ON A REVOLUTION. THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION OF 1974-1975 VIEWED THROUGH THE SPANISH PRESS

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This research aims to present and discuss the Spanish discourse on the Portuguese revolution of 1974-1975 as witnessed in the daily press. Concerning a specific moment of change in the paths of both Portugal and Spain, the Portuguese disruption represents a moment of distress for its neighbouring country. Furthermore, it might be said that both processes of democratisation – a revolution in Portugal and a law-by-law transition in Spain – mutually influenced each other. In the first stage, as Encarnación Lemus suggests (2001, 2002 and 2011), Portugal influenced Spain, and subsequently the Spanish normalisation eventually influenced Portugal. One of the objectives is to understand how, in this first stage, this influence was exerted in the Spanish newspapers. For that purpose a representative sample of legally published press was put together, consisting of newspapers such as ABC, Informaciones and Arriba, published in Madrid; and La Vanguardia, which at that time was forced to employ the adjective “Spanish”, and Tele/eXprés, both published in Barcelona. Editions of these newspapers published between February 1974, a couple of weeks before the coup on 25 April, and April 1976, when the first constitutional legislative elections took place, were extensively read and analysed. This is a piece of research focusing mainly on the use of language, and news display, in the press, and the ways they produce meaning. Following a dynamic of “us” vs “them”, it adheres to a basic assumption that the way international news is reported is profoundly connected to a newspaper’s understanding of its own country. Therefore they often denote their own

ideas about the national situation, which is particularly appropriate in the Spanish case, since the eruption of the Portuguese revolutionary process destroyed the Iberian unity constituted by the twin dictatorships: Francoism in Spain and the New State in Portugal.

DISCOURSES OF OBJECTIVITY – RE-THINKING PHOTOJOURNALISTIC WORK IN THE DIGITAL ERA

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My PhD project deals with photojournalistic work and its changes and continuities following digitisation in the late 1980s. Since then, the field has undergone a complete technological change, from dark rooms to computerised work. In the first decade of the new millennium, the advent of Internet publishing, online news videos, amateur photography and social media has confused the traditional situation even further. These changes are part of a bigger picture that is interconnected with changes in the operational environment and key values of journalism; the relevant aspects here would include objectivity, public relations, power relations, accuracy and ethics (e.g. Deuze 2005). As a consequence of the changes, I believe that the key values of journalism have to be reconsidered by the professionals. Ideological changes are slow, however, and they remain intertwined with older values. My particular interest is in the value of objectivity in relation to photojournalism. My main questions focus on how the value of objectivity is understood and negotiated by the photojournalists of today. In order to discuss the point of view of the professionals, I have conducted interviews and a web-based survey among photojournalists in Finland. The interviews (20 people) concentrated mainly on the production of online news videos in newspapers, whereas the aim of the survey (circa 200 respondents) was to map the limits of digital photo editing in newspapers and magazines. My plan is to write the thesis in an article-based format. The dissertation will consist of 4-5 peer -journal articles in both Finnish and English. In addition to the articles, I shall write a connective introduction with methods and background and conclusions for the thesis. So far, two of the articles have been published, and I am now working on two other drafts or ideas. Currently, the articles I am planning to include in the thesis are titled as follows: 1. Mäenpää, Jenni & Seppänen, Janne (2010) Imaginary Darkroom. Digital photo editing as a strategic ritual. Journal-

ism Practice 4 (4), 454–475. 2. Mäenpää, Jenni & Seppänen, Janne (2007) [Photojournalism as knowledge production, published in Finnish] Tiedotustutkimus 2007/3, 4–18. 3. Mäenpää, Jenni. The guardians of objectivity. The changing work practices and professionalism of photojournalists in the digital age. (Idea paper/ Draft) 4. Mäenpää, Jenni. [The paradox of a journalistic image. Objectivity of photojournalism in the digital age. In Finnish] (Idea paper/ Draft)

OUTER SPACE IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN FILM

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This thesis will attempt to define outer space as it is constructed in contemporary Russian film. Drawing on social constructionism, outer space is treated as a culturally and socially specific phenomenon, bound within certain constellations of power in a society and a certain cultural logic (which at times appears rather illogical to an outsider). Analysis of outer space from the cultural studies perspective thus sheds some light on more than merely the phenomenon itself: it provides an insight into the workings of a society, the relations of power within it and the logic behind the construction of the social world. Our interest in the cultural construction of Russian outer space was sparked off by the peculiar fact that the phenomenon, often present in Soviet popular culture and even political discourse in the 20th century, was pushed to the margins of media representation after the end of the Cold War and the so called ‘space race’, but has evidently returned to the fore again at the beginning of the 21st century. After a silence that lasted for almost two decades and coincided with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and an identity crisis that all of the newly formed states – Russia being no exception – experienced as a consequence, a sudden interest in outer space appeared, manifest in media and popular cultural production, as well as in a renewed interest in the Russian space programme. Russian cinematography is a particularly interesting phenomenon in this regard: 19 films explicitly dealing with the topic of outer space have been shot in the past decade (2001–2011), compared to a mere one in the previous decade and zero from 1986 to 1994. The outer space of contemporary Russian film, however, is no longer that of the times of the USSR, when around 40 films on the topic appeared. Nor is it the outer space of Hollywood: a dangerous, foreign, ultimately

“Other” landscape, where man is all alone, suffering from confinement, solitude and deprivation. It is a mix of all of those elements and the tradition of Russian thought going back to Orthodox Christianity, the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome, the birth of the Russian national idea in the 19th century and the philosophy of Russian cosmism that grew popular around the same time and remains so to this day. The main aim of the thesis is thus to determine which images and meanings are attributed to the concept of outer space in contemporary Russian cinema and to what extent they delineate certain borders of thought and possibility. Methodologically, the thesis draws on Mikhail Bakhtin’s translinguistics, supplementing the apparatus with approaches from critical discourse theory.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY’S STRUGGLE AGAINST “BOURGEOIS TELEVISION” 1968-1988

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In the 1950s, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union enjoyed a monopoly over information, which was subverted by several radio stations on the other side of the Iron Curtain. From the second half of the 1960s onwards, the government of the ESSR (the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic) faced an even more serious problem –signals from Finnish „bourgeois television“ were being broadcast into Soviet Estonia. The Communist Party tried to fight bourgeois “ideological sabotage” by using technical means, e.g. radio jamming or prohibiting shops from selling audio blocks. The latter were essential devices as they made it possible to watch Finnish television. These so-called technical countermeasures were not successful. The second countermeasure was to discredit “bourgeois television”. For this purpose, Soviet mass media were used to “reveal” the conspiracies of the West’s hostile propaganda machine. My academic interest is to find out how this counterpropaganda “revelation” campaign was waged. The Estonian Communist Party (EKP) used public opinion polls to monitor the enemy’s “propaganda action” and its consequences. The polls showed that Finnish television programmes were more content-rich and catchy than those shown on the Estonian National Television Channel (ETV). In addition, the information shown on Finnish television was immediate and objective; as a result, it was more interesting and reliable than the information provided by ETV. It seemed, however, that the Estonian Communist

Party found a way to prevent an increase in the number of people watching Finnish television channels, as well as winning back the Estonian audience from “capitalist television” – by “covering” bourgeois television. It was decided that ETV would broadcast more exciting, informative and topical programmes. Despite the great effort, however, the Estonians continued watching Finnish television until the collapse of the Soviet Union. My interest is in finding out why it was difficult, impossible even, for ETV to “cover” Finnish television signals. The Communist Party and the Soviet ideological state looked at journalism as the educator of people. From the very beginning of the so-called Soviet Revolution, the mission of Soviet journalism was to be a tool in class struggle, and at the same time to create a new ideal man. That is why journalists were looked upon as ideological workers and „party soldiers“. But there are academic studies in Estonia which indicate that the Estonian press adopted an ambivalent role. This means that we cannot always talk about the Soviet Estonian press purely as a propaganda tool – there were also the journalistic practices of „silent resistance“. The third area of my academic interest is to establish whether, in the case of ETV, we can speak about an ambivalent role for the press.

MEMORY, SELFHOOD AND SOCIALITY IN THE AGE OF NETWORKED PHOTOGRAPHY

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Personal and domestic photography has been one of the most successful consumption technologies in the contemporary media-saturated landscape. And personal images - produced, shared, consumed and archived through new digital imaging devices, platforms and networks - play an increasingly important role in media practices, as a central aspect of Internet communication. These personal photos in social media platforms can be approached as sites for human interaction and communication, for identity formation or as memory tools (Van Dijck, 2008). Considering the central role of the visual in our new media ecology and everyday life experience, my research was initially sketched by two questions: with the family album increasingly digital and networked, how are its production, perception and use as a memory object being reconfigured by media practices? And how are the practices and social meanings of personal and domestic photography changing in interaction with digital devices and

networks? Departing from these initial questions, I intend to ethnographically explore snapshot photography as an everyday practice of remembrance, sociality and identity formation and performance, the relations generated with and through networked personal photography, also reflecting upon the blurring and negotiation of boundaries between private and public spheres. Building on digital, visual and material anthropology, and having as a theoretical framework the understanding of media as practice (Couldry, 2004; Brauchler & Postill, 2011), my PhD project focuses on uses and practices concerning personal everyday photography in online communication interaction and networking, approaching the visual and digital media as expressions of selfhood and memory as they intersect in everyday social life. Families and individuals from Portugal will form the empirical basis for the project, which will be carried out through a combination of offline and online ethnographic research methods.

SCIENCE JOURNALISM AND CHANGES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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Our research work focuses on current developments in science journalism, in a context marked by the development of online information. We wish to characterise these changes and show what consequences they can have, both for the publicising of science and the construction of the professional identity of science journalists. To do this, we propose an analysis of the interrelationship between the actors involved in science communication, articulated with a socio-economic analysis of the Internet media that science journalists use to communicate. With this approach, we should be able to question many discourses circulating about the Internet's role in the publicising of science. Some say that the Internet allows people to have better access to science knowledge, and that there is less censorship, whereas there are others who think the Internet is a threat. We would like to produce an analysis which does not normalise the identity of science journalists, and that is why we base our study on interactionist theoretical frameworks, instead of functionalist ones. We take into account recent developments in the "sociology of professions", in which professions are no longer closed territories. Indeed, a good number of studies about journalism tend to show that journalists have many different practices, that there are lots of different representations about journalism, and that is

why we can say that journalism is a “vague” profession (Ruellan, 2007). So, to study science journalism on the Internet, we think that we have to look at the practices and representations that are not legitimated as being part of science journalism, for example science blogging, or science communication on social networks. We wish to conduct a parallel study of the socioeconomic situation of the different actors and the different structures that make up the landscape of online scientific communication. We are interested in the “Cultural industries” model (Bouquillon, 2008), because it makes it possible to consider heterogeneous economical and social situations. Our methodology will aim primarily to consider the following two levels of discourse that structure the profession of science journalists: the speeches being made by science communication actors, and the discourses arising out of the products of science journalism. Practically, that means that we will first conduct some interviews, in order to look at deontological discourses on science journalism, and that we will collect some science communication products. And, second, we will conduct a sociodiscursive analysis of all this material. After that, we should be able to see what practices and what representations really change because of the Internet.

NATIONAL REGULATORY AUTHORITIES AND TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES

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The regulation of broadcasting is one of the topics that best reflects the interplay between the exercise of power and control. By analysing all regulatory systems presently in existence, would it be possible to extract a model or a form of organisation that would best guarantee independence from political pressure? Such a line of research is of fundamental importance because it may provide an explicit picture of developments in broadcasting regulation. In this regard, this project presents a framework for systematic comparative research on the relationship between media systems and political systems, focusing on how democratic regimes determine the structure of national regulatory authorities (NRAs). Analysing two indicators, the funding and appointment of NRAs, we explore the extent to which typologies of national regulatory authorities can be found in certain types of democracies. Furthermore, we wish to identify the implications of broadcasting regulatory regimes in countries belonging to different political systems and the varying degrees of regulators' independ-

ence. This study examines typical spheres of supervision and how the supervisory bodies operate within those spheres. We use a comparative approach based on the three-way classification of media systems set out in Mancini's comparative framework (2004): the Liberal model (Britain, the US, Canada and Ireland), the Democratic Corporatist model (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) and the Polarised Pluralist model (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain). The approach is inductive, and we expect that examination of the various broadcasting systems will highlight both common elements and differences. We will select individual regulations and developments within the three media systems, with the intention of providing a comprehensive and detailed description. Keywords: media policy, broadcasting regulation, democracy.

THE PRESENT, IMAGINED AND ABSENT AUTHOR: A HERMENEUTICAL APPROACH TO AUDIENCES AND THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF AUTHORS

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In this thesis I build on the tradition of audience and reception research that is concerned with audiences' interpretation of texts and the question of how meaning is made. I aim to explore the relationship between the audiences and authors that is realised through a text and its interpretation, by asking how media audiences negotiate and articulate their understanding of authorial presence behind the text, and what the role of this 'imagined author' is in the meaning-making. The research is anchored in the theoretical framework of philosophical hermeneutics, with its ontological approach to interpretation as an inherent part of every understanding. I use Gadamer's (1975) key concepts of prejudice, tradition and horizon to argue that interpretation is always co-determined by audiences' pre-existing assumptions, expectations and familiarity with various aspects of the text brought into the particular text-reader encounter. Borrowing Genette's (1997) concept of paratext, the notion of author is instrumental here. I argue that the imagined author is a result of the text-reader encounter, into which the text brings an author as a part of its horizon in the form of a paratextual feature; the reader's understanding of the author is thus not only negotiated through the process of the interpretation of the text, but

also simultaneously co-determines the reader's interpretation of the text. I suggest a theoretical multidimensional model of the author to further examine how these dimensions are articulated, or not, by the readers. To see how this articulation takes place, and to ask whether and how these understandings of the author are (re)negotiated within everyday media use, I carry out qualitative in-depth interviews with 40 adults between 50 and 65 years of age, selected to create a matrix of varying degrees of media engagement and use. The collected data are analysed using methods of discourse analysis, paying close attention to how the presence of an author in the texts is acknowledged and articulated, and identifying the dimensions of the imagined author that play a key role in the process of interpretation. The analysis will therefore feed back into the theoretical model. I expect to establish a further understanding of how the various dimensions of relations between the reader and author are negotiated, and the understanding and performance of these mutual relations within the location of the text and within the process of interpretation.

DISASTER COMMUNICATION AND THE FINNISH SCHOOL SHOOTINGS. ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO ORGANIZATIONAL COMPLEXITY IN CRISIS

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Two socially significant tragedies occurred in Finland, a Nordic welfare society, within the space of a year. A school shooting in Jokela in November 2007, and a second in Kauhajoki 10 months later, claimed 20 lives in total, mainly young people. Local crisis communication response lasted several days and required cooperation from all authorities, NGOs and churches involved in the incidents. The Support Function's Command Element (Tuje in Finnish) was used for information-gathering. This model of crisis management has already proven its worth in previous crises in Finland. It governs the division of labour and information dissemination by gathering representatives of all participating organisations for regular meetings to share real-time information. This research has an organisational communication and crisis leadership approach in the context of social sciences. The focus is on the management of disaster communication requiring interagency coordination. The theoretical framework used is complexity theory. In this research, crises are treated as processes rather

than events (see e.g. Jaques 2007, Roux-Dufort 2007). The focus, however, is on crisis response in managing information: decision-making by crisis management teams as well as the management of post-crisis meanings: healing and renewal (Coombs 2010, 479). The information gathered for the study was collected some weeks or months after the shootings through a series of individual and focus group in-depth interviews with individuals involved in the aftermath of the shootings (Jokela N= 38, Kauhajoki N=28). The interviewees consisted of local municipal authorities and staff from the local Red Cross and other charities, as well as members of the local Lutheran parish. Each interview lasted 1-2 hours and usually took place in the offices of the interviewees. All participants were asked the same questions. Narrative analysis was used to provide an in-depth view of a unique experience and to give respondents a venue where they could articulate their viewpoints and evaluative standards. The main research question posed is: how could the inter-agency of public organisations' simultaneous disaster communication and crisis management be consolidated? The emphasis is on communication because crisis tends to create an information gap, leaving crisis workers, victims and the media in need of up-to-date information. The research shows that, in a disaster situation, adaptability, resilience and innovation emerge more often than in "normal", stable times. Without cooperation, however, there cannot be efficient and structured help for the bereaved and survivors.

FINANCIAL MEDIA, GLOBALISATION, CHINA'S ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

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This research aims to explore the narrative constructions of China's economic convergence with the global market. Financial media form a crucial intersection between economics and politics, particularly in the realm of globalisation, in which the transnational capitalist elites extend material interests and social imaginations beyond national boundaries. As a major emerging economy, China has begun to establish its own narratives, with ideas of marketisation and globalisation given Chinese characteristics. The paper focuses on the ideological underpinning of financial media by comparing two magazines - the Economist and Caijing - selected from the Anglo-American and Chinese contexts respectively. It examines

how these influential publications act as ideological producers to advocate and legitimise free-market liberalisation. A corpus of articles ranging from 1998 to 2008 was chosen to be analysed, focusing on major issues for China's deepening participation in the global marketplace – e.g. entry to the WTO, overseas M&A/IPOs etc. The paper uses qualitative, quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews with editors of the two magazines to explore answers to the following questions: What are the similarities and differences in the narrative of the constructions of China's economic globalization as reported by the two magazines?; How is neo-liberalism represented in the two publications? How do they cover the process of economic liberalisation in China under a communist regime?; How do the financial media, such as the Economist, portray China's deepening participation in globalisation? How do their Chinese counterparts, operating under media censorship, practise journalistic professionalism? Despite the different socio-economic and political settings of the two magazines, the paper argues that they share similar characteristics - targeting an elite readership and thus playing an ideological role in advocating a market economy. While the Economist has been advocating free-market capitalism for two centuries, Caijing is in the very early stages, as China has only been experimenting with a market economy for just over two decades. The research emphasises the political nature of financial media, suggesting that the wider implication of reporting financial stories goes beyond information dissemination. It is also about legitimising not only a liberal market but also a liberal politics, an essential foundation for the free market. This domain of media studies has received relatively limited academic attention. The contesting discourses from the Anglo-American and Chinese cases will help to establish a South-North dialogue in the changing global economic and political order.

MEDIATED ACTION, THROUGH THE USE OF IMAGES IN PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PROCESSES

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One of the newest fields in the design research method is co-design (Engholm). Here the users/participants are co-creators in the design process. The focus is on interdisciplinary work and the competence of design is spread out among many players. In co-design processes the users often

use different types of artefacts that can serve as sketching material. It can be different types of material, in which ideas and needs can be quickly produced and shown to the rest of the group. Besides the sketching material, the reciprocal exchange of views and perspectives is one of the most important aspects of participatory design processes. Research into the development of new design methods has rarely focused on what happens in situations where several people engage in conversations, gestures and forms of thoughts and ideas through the use of mediational means (Wertsch). It is the intention of this research project, to examine what happens in the interaction between individuals and mediational means in design processes where no designer should be creatively generative. The research question addresses what happens in collaborative processes when people use images as mediational means. That question is based on the idea that images can do something special in terms of sketching material in the creative collaborative process. The theoretical point of departure is that the project examines design processes as learning processes (Schön) and will therefore try to understand the design process in a learning perspective. Here, drawing on Dewey's understanding of learning as a process where knowledge is developed in an interaction between pre-understanding and practical testing in the form of theories and models. With Dewey, creativity is understood not as an activity reserved for the particularly creative, but as an activity everyone uses in everyday life. In Dewey's understanding is relational and relationship to the object and the other is the precondition for all knowledge. Trying to recognise the other's perspective, is, with Dewey, a basic prerequisite for our understanding of the world. The function of the image, in this context, is seen as a mediating mean as described by Wertsch. On the basis of Vygotsky, Wertsch describes how learning is closely linked to the actions a tool allows us to make. The progress of understanding is examined by looking at the progress being made in the mediated action, not only the progress being made in the agent's mind. The dialogical perspective is understood as an interaction between centrifugal and centripetal forces as seen by Bakhtin. The field will be explored through video recordings of users developing new solutions through the use of images. The data material is analysed, inspired by the approaches of conversation analysis and ethnomethodological analysis. (Pomerantz and Fear. Goodwin. Raudaskoski)

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN DISCOURSES OF IMMIGRATION IN THE BRITISH NATIONAL PRESS

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In recent British general election campaigns, issues regarding immigration and asylum are seen to have grown in prominence and become central to the mediation of the campaign period (see Billig et al., 2005). This has given rise to concern about the importance of the representation of these issues with regards to electoral outcomes - and social cohesion more generally. Even within the 2010 election campaign, a campaign ostensibly dominated by discussion of economic issues, the immigration debate came to the fore in two particularly notable ways. Most obviously, this was manifest in the coverage following a Gordon Brown 'gaffe', in which he called the floating voter Gillian Duffy 'just a sort of bigoted woman' following comments she had made, among other things, about immigration from Eastern Europe. Immigration was also an issue during the inaugural prime ministerial debates, in which questions regarding immigration were asked of the three party leaders in all three televised debates. It does not, therefore, come as much of a surprise that campaign strategists, media commentators and pressure groups have come to routinely vie for media access with regards to such issues within recent campaign periods. Despite these developments, however, there is a lack of understanding in how these debates may have formed historically. Without a historical perspective, it is difficult to assess the extent to which they are a product of contemporary conditions, or whether they are recent manifestations of deeply-embedded discourses. Using content analysis and critical discourse analysis methods to examine national newspaper discourses of immigration in the election campaigns from 1918 until 2010, the research seeks to ask questions, inter alia, of the electoral currency and wider news value of immigration politics over time, the representation of certain immigrant communities within campaign coverage, recurrences and/or divergences in the discursive construction of migration issues and immigrant groups, and which social actors are afforded access and arbitration over matters of immigration within the campaign period. Taking these issues, therefore, within the *longue durée*, this research seeks to move beyond the shorter-term analyses and party political frameworks that typically dominate election news analyses. Rather, the research will consider the broader public discourses that infuse and inflect news coverage during campaign periods, and what may thus be revealed about the politics of immigration and its democratic representation at each given juncture.

CELEBRITISATION IN CZECH POLITICAL COMMUNICATION FROM 1989 TO THE PRESENT

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The position of celebrities in Czechoslovakia was particularly important in 1989, when political changes were coming to a head. Their prominence then continued – not just as post-revolutionary figures but also now as recognised contributors to discussions of political developments. Today, the role of celebrities in political communication is evident, and not just in the most recent parliamentary elections. The focus of this dissertation will be to look at how the involvement of celebrities in Czech political communication has continued to evolve in the post-1989 period. The starting point of this work will be to define celebrity in the specific context of Czech popular culture and political communication. The second part of the research will include a content analysis of selected daily press articles/reports in pre-election periods. The results of content analysis will highlight the main examples of celebrity activity in political communication in the Czech Republic over the last twenty years. Selected cases will then be examined using critical discourse analysis. The project will focus on an examination of the news in the major daily newspapers that were and have been published in the Czech Republic and on the main Czech TV channels. One question the study will attempt to answer is whether the Czech situation mirrors that of foreign environments in terms of the conclusions to be drawn and observations made on the involvement (intrusion) of celebrities into political communication – the role played by celebritisation. The second question relates to the specificity of the concept of anti-communism that was manifested and more or less explicitly supported by some of the activities of popular figures. At the time, the concept of anti-communism could be seen in some primary analyses as one of the key defining characteristics of Czech political campaigns at the end of the 1990s. This work will reflect the ongoing academic debate over the ways in which politics and popular culture are interacting and influencing one another, as discussed by authors such as John Street, Liesbet van Zoonen, Paul A. Taylor and Jan Ll. Harris, Graeme Turner, Barry Richards and a number of others. The results will have produced not only a mapping of the impact of celebritisation on developments that have taken place, but will also have helped to provide an understanding of some of the consequences for further studies of contemporary, post-communist political communication, and for media studies in general.

RECOVERY AT WORK BY USING MEDIA: RECREATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE CONTEXT OF ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

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This study examines the individual interplay of work and non-work phases in the workplace and shows how media use is related to this rhythmic alternation of qualitatively different actions. The starting points of this qualitative study are the recreational experiences of employees in the context of media use. First, the intent is to determine under what conditions and in which way the use or non-use of media creates a recovery experience. Second, the study shows how this experience is influenced by the structures of power, spatial arrangements and social relationships within the organisation. The project focuses on the subjective perspective of the employees: whether their media use (including the use of private devices) during working hours contributes to the experience of recovery. This study concentrates on media practices and is concerned with the identification of the meanings of recovery and with the handling of media technology, media choice and media content. Thus, on the one hand, the study analyses media practices as self-organised strategies adopted during work time to obtain recreational gratifications. On the other hand, it also reveals how and why these practices change in a working environment, which means that media use is considered as media appropriation. Because people in working situations are faced with an increasing, socially induced acceleration (of the speed of life, technology and social change) and, in conclusion, an increasing complexity in daily life as a result of digital technology, this research is theoretically framed by the process-oriented perspective of "mediatisation". The concept of mediatisation describes the continuing and increasing diffusion of mediated communication into everyday life as a social change and draws upon the Theory of Symbolic Interaction. Referring to this theory, the study examines the employee as an inhabitant and creator of the "symbolic world organisation". Thus, an organisation is understood as a culture constituted by and through communication. In addition, the project refers to the domestication concept, which is theoretically grounded in Cultural Studies, and explains how media are appropriated by their users and integrated into their daily lives and how their lives and their environments are shaped by their use of media technologies. Empirically, this study relies on three qualitative case studies, using the grounded theory as a cross-case analysis. The data from each case will be collected mainly through person-centred in-depth interviews, participant

observations and group discussions. The results of this study will show how individuals cope with the boundaries between work-related and non-work-related media practices at the workplace and, in so doing, will show in what way individual ideas of recreational media use are inter-dependently related to organisational culture. Thereby, the findings aim to provide transparency regarding the self-dependent and self-controlled (private) use and non-use of media at the workplace and enhance our understanding of today's challenging mediatised working conditions.

VIRTUAL COMMUNITY CONTENT AS A VALUABLE INFORMATION SOURCE AND THE ISSUE OF TRUST

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This PhD research starts from the idea that an online group of people can play a significant role when it comes to making important individual decisions. When looking for factual, non-news reference information (Metzger, 2007) - such as how-to or pre-buy counsel - one can turn to online content from regular users or user-generated-content. In this way, the information search process is becoming a social event where Internet users can be considered valuable information sources. However, before people will share or pick up information, they must experience a certain level of trust. Trust allows people to cope with the insecurity they might experience when they are looking for advice based on a large pool of information, where different users possess different levels of expertise. Literature shows that in a traditional, offline environment, trust is built slowly during the process of people getting to know each other. People who often participate in online conversations - or even read the discussions of others - develop a common interaction history on which they can rely. But how do less committed users assign trust? Important trust antecedents such as identity, reputation and experience are not always that easy to infer online. Computer-mediated communication does not always offer sufficient knowledge of the skills and capacities of online information contributors. This insecurity about the identity of others makes trust development less evident. Users need a certain level of skills, not only to deduce useful information sources but also to receive and comprehend cues concerning the trustworthiness of these sources. When users succeed in understanding the identity of others they can anticipate conversations,

which in return creates the opportunity for trust and trusting behaviour. Despite the clear need for trust in virtual communities, current online trust research often focuses on commercial and organisational settings or on the link with online security and privacy. Less attention is being paid to the role of trust and trustworthiness during the search for reference information. My study looks at the construction of trust within a mainly textual online environment (“forums”), when searching for both explicit knowledge and implicit know-how (also known as knowledge based on everyday personal experiences). In order to comprehend online trust, the theoretical framework focuses on notions of community, identity, reputation, interpersonal and computer-mediated-communication and trust. The study will contain two major empirical parts. A content analysis will be performed on forum threads in order to grasp the way in which people reach consensus, how they display elements of identity and expertise and how other forum members (re)act upon these trust antecedents. During the second empirical stage, my focus will be on online and offline interviews combined with online observations, where I will contrast people experiencing initial trust with those users who already have a common interaction history with forum members.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN ESTONIAN BROADCASTING (ETV-ER/ERR) AND A COMPARISON WITH BRITISH EXPERIENCE (THE BBC)

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PSB (Public Service Broadcasting) has been in relative crisis for last 20 years, since the emergence of the dual broadcasting system. As a new step in its development, PSB is now redefining itself as PSM (Public Service Media). This raises the question of the extent to which developing PSM retain the values of PSB, the public service and the public sphere and highlights the characteristics and events influencing the choices. Thus there is a need to establish the initial position and the values, mentalities and principles used to shape PSB. The characteristics have specific features in different countries following the principles of path dependency – historical legacies, conditions, continuities and dynamics of domestic policies (Moe 2010). In the ‘new democracies’ of Eastern and Central Europe, the development has been more rapid than in Western Europe, but it has

also been shaped by the specific historical experience of strictly ideology-based regimes (Voltmer 2008). In my article-based PhD project, I ask what the influencing factors were behind the choices made in developing PSB; whether the choices made at the beginning of the transition are having a favourable or adverse effect on current choices, as PSB changes into PSM; which events are characteristic of and determine the future of PSM. Using Estonian Public Service Broadcasting as a case study and comparing the data and value system with Latvian and Lithuanian, Finnish and British experience, I distinguish the events and viewpoints as critical junctures and analyse to which extent these cause a paradigm change and where previous experience is being replicated. In my study I have distinguished six characteristics – legislation and political expectations; the financing of PSB; PSB self-image and autonomy; programme content and quality; audience ratings and expectations; the reliability and influence of PSB – through which the development and significant values of the PSB system can be brought out. The trust and values prevailing in the public sphere of a society are the aim and reason for PSM production. Through comparison of the three Baltic States' normative PSB documents I show what is present and what is missing in the mental field of PSB shaping and deduce the critical junctures affecting the choices. I show that the apparently similar starting-point and historical experiences of two decades ago have not resulted in similar paths being followed, due to differences in critical junctures. I also plan to deduce, from the analysis of choices and development, the size of the necessary critical juncture for different paths.

HUMANITARIAN AID IN A TIME OF GLOBAL DISASTERS

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In a situation in which the nature of both disasters and media is changing, it is vital to readdress the questions of humanitarian communication: how do humanitarian aid organisations perceive and accomplish their missions, how is the relationship between humanitarian organizations and the media being shaped and what is the role of ordinary people? According to Oxfam (2009), the total number of natural disasters has quadrupled over the last two decades and, during the same period, more people have been affected by them. Today disasters are characterised by the way in which they cross geographical boundaries, both in terms of impacts and in

terms of their humanitarian, emotional and political responses (Rodríguez et al. 2007). Accordingly, in a global age, they are mediated in and through complex communication flows and news formations (Cottle 2009). It is in the increasingly globalised communication environment, and in the increasingly crowded humanitarian aid field, that humanitarian NGOs struggle to raise public funds for their humanitarian work and compete for media attention. Humanitarian communication is a form of communication that aims to make us care about people we will never meet. It has been seen as being deeply intertwined with traditional media. Existing studies typically consider the relationship between media and humanitarian organisations in a time of crises as a symbiotic one (Minear et al. 1996; Philo 1993; Harrison & Palmer 1986). Humanitarian organisations are identified as important agents in global civil society, promoting universal human rights (Chouliaraki 2006; Beck 2005), but their capacity to do so has been regarded as being highly dependent on the practices of the media (Benthall 1993). It is argued that media and journalism serve as a bridge linking aid agencies and their fieldwork with the publics and potential donors (Cottle & Nolan 2007). However, the emergence of new communication technology has had an intense impact on the field of humanitarian aid (UN Foundation 2011). New computer-mediated technologies are now rapidly changing communication in disasters (e.g. Starbird & Palen 2011). The new communicative conditions are reconfiguring the communicative power of the humanitarian aid field at times of disaster. There is evidence that humanitarian organisations are increasingly willing to act as their own news agencies, disseminating information and speaking directly to their audiences (Tikka et al. 2010; Price et al. 2009). Ordinary people are also participating in humanitarian communication as digital volunteers appealing for those who are suffering (Pantti & Tikka 2012). This doctoral dissertation strives to provide a profound understanding of the dynamics of humanitarian organisations, media and ordinary people participating in humanitarian communication in today's complex media environment. The political and humanitarian implications of this relationship on the aims and agendas of humanitarian aid are scrutinised.

THE IMAGE OF THE BULGARIAN FAMILY IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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My PhD thesis is dedicated to “The Image of the Bulgarian Family in Social Media”. The main objective is to study the image of the Bulgarian family and to obtain detailed results on the variability of the image, over both short and long timescales. It is also of research interest to conduct a profound study of changes in family life. As a result, globalisation, migration and mobility have brought several changes and challenges to families. Modern media help to cope with these and ease to maintain family relations also under independent way of live and therefore create mediated or virtual ways of family communication and living. These trends, features of a globalising world, are testing the foundations of the modern family. I am therefore conducting qualitative research on the social and scientific problems of the modern phenomenon of the “virtual family”. At the same time I am conducting a five-year-research project (2009 - 2014) looking at the psychological aspects of the provision of information on television news broadcasts. The research covers the primetime television broadcasts of Bulgarian National Television (channel BNT1), a public provider of media services, and the commercial Bulgarian television channel bTV. The core of the research is the study of the varying percentage shares of different types of news, focusing especially on family life, covered from a different perspective. I have also finished research which forms part of my PhD work. It is devoted to the regulation of social media and child protection. I have collected European and Bulgarian legislative frameworks relating to child protection and described improvements in media regulation. I. My observations encompass: 1. Social media 2. TV News 3. Archival data 4. Data from literature. II. The expected results are: 1. Change to the image of parents and children as a result of the Internet and new technologies. 2. Analysis of the degree of cyberbullying in Bulgaria. The consequences for the victims of cyberbullying and society as a whole. Comparison of data with other countries. 3. Finding effective tools for increasing awareness in Bulgarian families about the negative impacts of the Internet and new technologies. III. The methods involve thorough examination of: 1. The Internet environment of social media 2. A number of surveys (questionnaires). The target group is the Bulgarian family as a whole. 3. Monitoring of prime-time television news (for a period of 5 years).

IMAGES OF A NATION. MULTI-METHOD HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON POLICY AND NATION-BUILDING IN FLEMISH FEATURE FILMS

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The PhD project 'Images of a nation. A multi-method historical research on policy and nation-building in Flemish feature films' examines the relationship between cinema, state and nation. This project feeds into a conception of nationalism which states that nations and nationalism are social and discursive constructions (e.g., Connor, 1994; Gellner, 2006; Hobsbawm, 1990; Smith, 1994). Following Benedict Anderson (1999), the concept of a nation is further considered as an 'imagined community'. Within this socially constructed imaginary society, (mass)media products play an extremely important role, for which they are often regulated by political and administrative instruments or organisations. The project focuses on how film, as a popular mass entertainment medium, relates to the concept of nation-building, and which role the state, represented by different types of state organisations or policy bodies, plays in this context. In this, we contribute to relatively recent trends in the international literature on media and nation-building, where the influence of the state or government bodies is central (see, among others, Druick, 2007; Hayward, 2005; Higson, 1995; Schlesinger, 1991). Furthermore, the project focuses on Flanders, which, because of its (recent) political history, is a very interesting case in terms of nation-building. This study involves four major research sections. (I) First, through an analysis of legislative and public policy documents concerning film, the history of Flemish film policy is mapped out. Special attention is paid to how different state or government actors and bodies have tried to formulate nation-building ideas and processes through film policy. (II) The dissection of this official discourse on Flemish film is continued in the second research section. By exploring original archive material, policy documents concerning concrete film projects and subsidy decisions are analysed. (III) This study of Flemish film policy is further examined through expert interviews with policy-makers, filmmakers and other relevant witnesses. The interviews deal with both broader film policy perspectives and identity questions, as well as with specific selections, possible interferences in the production of concrete film projects and (in)formal contacts with the filmmakers. A special focus is placed on how film policy tried to guide, in any way, the image of a Flemish nation or identity. (IV) These expert interviews are also used to

complement the fourth and final research section, in which an in-depth production, textual and reception analysis of a selection of films is carried out.

LABOUR IN CHINESE INTERNET INDUSTRIES

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China is becoming a large market in terms of academia because of its special capital production and accumulation process, which is characterised by neo-liberalism or post-socialism. Large numbers of theorists have attempted to explain the complex tensions in contemporary Chinese society (Zhao 2003, 2007, 2011, Chun 2006, Dickson 2003, Harvey 2005, Wang 2008, Qiu 2009). Meanwhile, recent research in the area of critical studies has drawn attention back to the question of workers (McRobbie 2000, Hesmondhalgh 2006, Banks 2007, McGuigan 2010, Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011). Therefore, based on existing research, my research seeks to fill the gap between the macro level tensions in contemporary Chinese society and the micro level perspective of workers in cultural industries. In other words, my research critically understands the macro level tensions concerning neo-liberalism and crony communism in contemporary China via a micro perspective of exploring the working life experiences in Chinese Internet industries. Theoretically, my research starts from the approach of political economy of communication, in order to historically and holistically understand the tensions in contemporary Chinese society via a micro and creative perspective of workers in cultural industries. Furthermore, based on the contribution of recent theorists from the political economy of communication, such as David Hesmondhalgh, my research also combines the approach of political economy of communication with the approach of cultural studies, in order to critically understand the tensions at a macro level through a micro perspective of practices in the industries. On the one hand, based on research into workers in cultural industries (McRobbie 2000, du Gay 1998, Hesmondhalgh 2006, Banks 2007, Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010, Qiu 2009), the quality of working life in Internet industries, referring to pay and working time, job-hopping, working pressure, as well as the struggles of workers, are evaluated via three main groups: the professional workers, interns, and the agency workers. On the other hand, based on the work of Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), Qiu

(2009), and Banks (2007), the dynamic processes of negotiation and resistance of workers to the state and companies are unpacked in terms of the concept of the agency of workers. In practical terms, my research conducts 14 in-depth interviews and three months' covert ethnography, as well as participant observation, in two dominant Internet companies in mainland China, in order to evaluate the quality of working life in the industries and to explore the agency of workers. Therefore, on the one hand, my study contributes to an understanding of contemporary Chinese society with a micro and creative perspective on new media industries. On the other hand, my study makes a contribution as a bridge between the existing Western research into cultural industries and the Chinese context.

EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE QUALITY NEWS OUTLETS IN EUROPE: TWO CASE STUDIES OF INTERNET-NATIVE NEWS OUTLETS IN BELGIUM AND IN FRANCE

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This research analyses how professional journalists employed by the mainstream media seek to find alternative ways to produce quality journalism and how they use information and communication technologies (ICTs). As a form of communication practice, journalism faces unprecedented challenges and opportunities, as ICTs become part of news production and consumption. The participation of non-professional reporters has disrupted traditional news gathering and production among professional journalists. In order to attract and retain audiences, editors have adjusted the ratio of text, images, videos and other supposedly appealing forms. The border between soft news and hard news is becoming blurred, but the demands for high quality coverage remains, though this is difficult to monetise. Meanwhile, journalists who work for the traditional mainstream media found they were trapped there, which has made them compromised by business demands because their agencies are under commercial pressures. At the same time, journalists have penetrated into the framework of the media agency to select and process news stories, and they also have to face institutional obstacles and restrictions in producing proper journalism. As a result, a number of journalists are seeking to free themselves from these constraints and create the conditions in which to produce quality journalism on novel platforms, exploiting

the new potential of ICTs. This research will explore two specific cases of “internet-native” news outlets, one in France (www.rue89.com) and one in Belgium (www.apache.be). Although Rue89 was recently sold to a traditional news magazine (Le Nouvel Observateur), it is still a very telling case of early initiatives undertaken by traditional journalists who feel at odds with the traditional medium where they work. The methods in this study will include document analysis, content analysis and interviews. It will also require a thorough conceptual scrutiny of key notions, most of which are either distorted or just created within the evolving context of news media and journalism in the age of ICTs (e.g. alternative media, alternative journalism, participatory journalism, etc.). The study will also try to identify and clarify the perceptions and motivations of the different stakeholders, with a particular emphasis on journalists and editors, their self-identities and the impact from the cultural and social environment, by means of interviews with the founders and key players of the websites. Finally, the study will combine the findings and analyse both cases in light of both the process of their practice and the environment and context where it developed.

INDIGENOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CASE OF THE ZAPATISTA MOVEMENT

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The dissertation focuses on the indigenous social movements for human rights in Latin America, specifically analysing the case of the Zapatistas case in Chiapas, Mexico. The main thesis of the dissertation is that the Zapatista movement significantly improved the situation with indigenous rights in Chiapas, as well as across the whole of Latin America. The goal of the dissertation is to research the influence of the Zapatista movement on the protection of indigenous rights in Mexico and Latin America in general. To achieve this goal there are also secondary aims. The first is to construct a theoretical approach that would make it possible to analyse the social movements. The second, is to analyse how the regime of indigenous rights was created. The third is to provide an overview of the Zapatista movement. The fourth is to analyse what achievements were secured by the Zapatista movement. The dissertation is constructed of three main parts. The first part is the theoretical framework. In this part

two main theories are analysed – Recourse mobilization theory and New social movements theory. The main points of each theory and the main critics are presented. Since neither of the theories can fully explain social movements, both theories will be used in the dissertation. The second part of the dissertation analyses the regime of indigenous human rights. It looks at how the regime of these rights developed, what the main obstacles were and what the main achievements were that were secured. It focuses primarily on the indigenous rights regime in Latin America. The third part of the dissertation specifically analyses the Zapatista movement. First, the Zapatista movement is presented – its roots, history and aims in the framework of the theories discussed in the first part of the dissertation. Later on the paper looks at whether or not the Zapatista movement brought any improvements in the indigenous rights situation. The research will be conducted by analysing documents as well as performing content analysis on Mexico's newspapers.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS AND EDITORS



**STUDENT FEEDBACK
WORKSHOPS**

PHOTO: FRANÇOIS HEINDERYCKX

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EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

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*Past, future and change
Contemporary analysis
of evolving media scapes*



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