The Researching and Teaching Communication Series

RESEARCHING MEDIA, DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION

THE INTELLECTUAL WORK OF THE 2006 EUROPEAN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION DOCTORAL SUMMER SCHOOL

Edited by
Nico Carpentier
Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt
Kaarle Nordenstreng
Maren Hartmann
Peeter Vihalemm
Bart Cammaerts

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Introduction: Generating a unique learning experience. The Intellectual work of the 2006 European media and communication doctoral summer school in Tartu

Nico Carpentier

1. THE SUMMER SCHOOL'S HISTORY

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

Already in 2002, ECREA (the European Communication Research and Education Association, in the form of one of its predecessors, ECCR) became a member of the Summer School consortium. This partnership allowed opening-up the Summer School to PhD-students that came from other universities than the consortium partners. ECREA's membership also contributed to the realization of one of its ten objectives, which is '*to encourage, support, and where possible, publish, the work of young researchers in Europe.*'

In 2005, the Summer School moved for the first time to the Department of Journalism and Communication of the University of Tartu. The University of Tartu also coordinated and organized the Summer School in 2006, which ran from 21 August 2006 until 1 September 2006, this time again supported by a grant from the European Commission (as an Intensive Program). During the 2005–2006 period, the consortium was expanded in order to bring 'new' and enlarged Europe's expertise and

students into the Summer School tradition. This expansion resulted in a present-day consortium of 14 participating universities: Amsterdam (UvA), Barcelona (Universidad Autonoma), Bergen, Brussels (VUB), Budapest (Eötvös Loránd), Erfurt, Helsinki, London (Westminster), Lund, Roskilde, Stendhal (Grenoble), Stirling, Tampere, and Tartu, with other universities (Bremen, Ljubljana, Kaunas and Jönköping) joining in for the 2007 Summer School

In line with this process of expansion, the Program Committee selected the theme 'Enlarging Europe – Enlarging participation' for the 2006 Summer School. This theme allowed the Summer School to combine the consortium's material expansion with a content-related focus on the notion of European expansion and the related strong need for further European democratization, all within the context of mediatization and communication. The intertwining of the organizational and content-related issues led to the following four objectives of the 2006 Summer School.

  a) to provide an intercultural and multilateral dialogue between academics of new and old EU member states focusing on an enlarged Europe, participation and the European knowledge society,
  b) to provide mutual support for doctoral studies in Media and Communication at the expanding network of the partner universities and ECREA,
  c) to expand the collaboration to universities not yet members of the network,
  d) to create a respectful but critical dialogue between academic researcher, governments, civil society and media industries focusing on new demands and developments in media within an enlarged Europe and a European knowledge society.

2. THE PEDAGOGICAL AND DIDACTICAL APPROACH OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL

The twelve-day 2006 Summer School was based on a combination of lectures, workshops, student-workshops and working visits. Traditionally, especially the Summer School lectures are related to the yearly theme of the Summer School, but nevertheless still manage to address a wide range of topics. The academic staff from the partner universities, complemented by government, administration and media industry experts, is responsible for these lectures, part of which can be found in this publication.

The core format of the Summer School is nevertheless based on the so-called student-workshops, which are oriented towards providing the PhD-students with extensive and high-quality feedback. 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 organized, where the diversity of paradigmatic, theoretical and methodological approaches is discussed, combined with the intellectual lessons learned at the Summer School.

The other workshops provided the PhD-students with more practical training on issues related to publishing, abstract-writing, and e-learning. A second group of workshops informed participants on issues related to the European research landscape and the European educational landscape. The working visits gave the participants more insights in Estonia's media and governmental structures.

3. The people / the hall of fame

At the 2006 Summer School, 33 PhD-students participated.

The first flow group consisted of Ana Sofia Pinto, Benjamin De Cleen, Caitriona Noonan, Fernando Paulino, Henry Mainsah, Iñaki Garcia Blanco, Marja Åkerström, Paula Segovia, Reeta Pöyhtäri, Richard Kpabi and Swantje Lingenberg.

Amandine Viale, Bjarki Valtysson, Christian Baden, Eszter Bakonyi, Indira Dupuis, Indrek Treufeldt, Ines Wolter, Lynne Hibberd, Sara Hamqvist, Sophie Lecheler and Xavier Ginesta were the second flow group.

Alessandro D'Arma, Birgitte Martens, Laura Juntunen, Laura Ruusunoksa, Lucien Perticoz, Nina Svane-Mikkelsen, Pieter Maeseele, Roberto Suárez Candel, Stijn Joye, Ursula Plesner, and Wim Vanobberghen formed the third group.

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

The Summer School also had 17 academic lecturers:

Anthony McNicholas, Bart Cammaerts, Bertrand Cabedoche, Denis McQuail, Friedrich Krotz, Hannu Nieminen, Kaarle Nordenstreng, Louise Phillips, Manuel Parés Maicas, Maren Hartmann, Maria Heller, Marju Lauristin, Nico Carpentier, Peeter Vihalemm, Peter Dahlgren, Richard Kilborn and Sofie Van Bauwel.

Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt was the coordinator of the Summer School, supported by the Program Committee, which consisted of Kaarle Nordenstreng, Nico Carpentier and Maren Hartmann. The latter two, together with Bart Cammaerts, acted as the Summer School's flow-managers.

4. THE EVALUATION

The 2006 Summer School was characterized 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 three following citations from the individual feedback forms provide us with a good overview of the most common reactions to the general (evaluative) questions:

- *'It has been a good first experience with an international academic sphere in communications studies. It has been a good lesson on networking, social relationships, giving feedback, presenting, receiving feedback etc.'*
- *'It's been enormously valuable in terms of meeting a great bunch of people, having fantastic time and learning more about other cultures.'*
- *'Yes, I have been thinking of it as a kind of rite-de-passage. Now I am no longer an external lecturer at university, but a PhD student (!).'*

The Summer School remains a rewarding but very intensive experience because of its duration, as these two citations illustrate:

- *'although shorter period would be nice and even useful.'*
- *'I got some useful feedback that nobody mentioned to me before, but it was a bit too intensive, sometimes I couldn't really concentrate.'*

At the same time, the Summer School evaluations have also produced a large amount of critical advice for future improvements of the Summer School format. Apart from the occasional organizational hick-ups, espe-

cially an even clearer focus on the PhD-projects and on the more practical training seem to be the most common improvement that is suggested by the Summer School participants, as is illustrated in the citation below:

- *'It's obvious that everybody's worked really hard to organize all of this and to keep their contributions positive and upbeat. Thank you very much for this, it's really appreciated. I'd like to have some more practical sessions, maybe a chance to present & re-present different aspects of our work, examine different methodologies, even workshop sessions which could be [oriented] more towards using learned theories on our own work. Overall though I've had great time, thank you very much.'*

5. THE SUMMER SCHOOL BOOK

A significant part of intellectual work of the 2006 Summer School is included in this book. Because to the theme of the Summer School, the strong focus on notions of democracy and participation comes as no surprise. Democracy is seen as the first structuring key notion of this book. In applying this concept, it is avoided to reduce it to a more centralized and elitist form of societal decision-making. This implies that the mere legal-procedural articulation of democracy and the narrow definition of the political (as the political system) is also avoided. In contrast, in this book democracy is seen as a more decentralized version of societal decision-making. This then implies that a more substantial and/or culturalist perspective necessarily supplements the legal-procedural perspective, and the broad definition of the political as a dimension of the societal complements the more traditional focus on politics.

The importance of media within the social and within our democratic and civic cultures can hardly be denied. Theorizing (and researching) this importance has nevertheless turned out to be a hazardous task, given the lack of stability of the social, political and media spheres. Moreover, these spheres are crisscrossed by a diversity of ideological projects, a phenomenon which unavoidably influences our academic gaze. The inherently ungraspable nature of our 'realities', and the radical unpredictability and contingency of the role of media in our complex societies have made the grand media narratives superfluous, and invite us to investigate localized media and communicative practices. In many cases the prominence of a diversity of media systems in our daily lives have generated a phantasm of all-encompassing media power, banning other social systems to the backbenches. This common sense position has trapped media studies scholars in a peculiar position, which Kaarle Nordenstreng (2004: 13) has called the '*paradox of media studies*', where

'our task is to deconstruct the naïve view that communication is the core of society and we specialize in undoing media hubris.'

Like many other social and political systems, media systems do offer us a substantial range of democratic possibilities. In more traditional-liberal approaches (linked to competitive-elitist variations of democracy) the informational role of media – facilitating citizens' informed choices – is emphasized. Public sphere theory, in close connection with deliberative democracy and pluralism tend to stress the more collective character of this informational exchange. Extensions of the public sphere model also allow focusing more on representational aspects of the media, again broadening the scope of the media's democratic possibilities, this time by looking the ideological constructions on politics, on the political as such, and on the political media can produce for its audiences. Finally, invoking Brecht's dream of making every receiver into a transmitter, more radical models of (media) democracy emphasize the importance of more direct forms of participation, point to the empowering role media can play, and criticize the power imbalances that prevent media from playing this empowering role.

These different approaches, with their very different focal points, do not necessarily exclude each other when suggesting building blocks for the media-democracy relationship. Information, representation and participation can all contribute to the workings of democracy. At the same time, care should be taken not to become trapped in the reductive definitions of these three concepts, as different approaches unavoidably suggest different articulations of these key concepts. Especially the meaning of participation has been softened-down (through the imposed synergy with notions as access and interaction). As participation is the second structuring key concept of this book, care is taken not to unnecessarily reduce its significative span and to use non-exclusive definitions of participation.

When focusing on the relationship between media and participation, we need to distinguish between participation 'in' the media and 'through' the media, in a similar way that Wasko and Mosco (1992: 7) distinguished between democratization 'in' and 'through' the media. Participation 'in' the media deals with the participation of non-professionals in the production of media output (content-related participation) and in media decision-making (structural participation). These forms of media participation allow citizens to be active in one of the many (micro-) spheres relevant to daily life and to put their right to communicate into practice. Second, these forms of micro-participation are to be considered important, because they allow people to learn and adopt a democratic

and/or civic attitude, thus strengthening (the possible forms) of macro-participation. Verba and Nie (1987: 3) summarize this as follows: '*a participatory polity may rest on a participatory society*'. Although mainstream media have attempted to organize forms of audience participation, especially alternative media have proven to be more successful in organizing more deepened forms of participation in the media.

Participation 'through' the media deals with the opportunities for extensive participation in public debate and for self-representation in the public spheres, thus, entering the realm of enabling and facilitating macro-participation. Starting from a broadly defined notion of the political, consensus-oriented models of democracy (and participation) emphasize the importance of dialogue and deliberation and focus on collective decision-making based on rational arguments à la Habermas. Other authors (Fraser, 1990; Mouffe, 1994) stress more conflict-oriented approaches. They point to the unavoidability of political differences and struggles and see the media as crucial sites for struggles for hegemony. Both consensus- and conflict-oriented models enable to stress the need for citizens to participate in these processes of dialogue, debate, and deliberation.

In this book a first section addresses the more general issues on the (political) role of contemporary media. In the first chapter of the book, Peter Dahlgren's uses a critical analysis of the concept of deliberative democracy as a starting point for a reflection on the relationship between democracy and communication. In the two following chapters Kaarle Nordenstreng and Denis McQuail report on the joint project (in collaboration with Clifford Christians, Theodore Glasser and Robert White) to re-evaluate normative (media) theory. Kaarle Nordenstreng's chapter focuses on the more philosophical and democratic framework of this reworking, whilst Denis McQuail's chapter adds the third component (the role of media in society) to the equation. In the fourth chapter of this section, Ines Wolter deals with the issue of international news, and the factors that determine its inclusion. She explicitly points to the democratic importance of international news, as it allows us to comprehend the world and its diversity of peoples. Manuel Parés I Maicas's chapter on media self-regulation concludes this section.

The second and third section of this book focus explicitly on participation, following the above described difference between participation 'through' the media (section 2) and 'in' the media (section 3). The first chapter of the second section on participation 'through' the media, written by Benjamin De Cleen, emphasizes the importance of more symbolic or ritual forms of participation, by looking at representational proc-

esses. His chapter deals with representation as an ideological struggle by analyzing the discourses of 'political correctness' in the media. In the second chapter, Iñaki Garcia Blanco focuses on the participation of both political parties and new social movements in the media. His analysis of contemporary Spanish politics shows the entanglement of the communicative strategies of political parties and new social movements in order to achieve optimal media coverage of their activities. The two other chapters in this section (by Hannu Nieminen and Swantje Lingenberg) deal with the public sphere combined with an explicit European focus. Hannu Nieminen looks at the conditions of possibility of a European public sphere, while Swantje Lingenberg analyses the role of the audience within the public sphere.

In the third section, three contributions focus more on content-related participation. Two chapters focus on specific media products / programs: Nico Carpentier analyzes the power relations in the television program Temptation Island, and Richard Kilborn reflects on a form of film and television programming generally known as 'longitudinal documentaries'. In the last chapter of this section, Bart Cammaerts and Nico Carpentier look at the democratic potential the blogosphere has to offer, taking the interplay of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces into consideration.

The second main part of this book takes a more general reflexive position on theory (section 4), science (section 5) and methodology (section 6), not without creating linkages with democracy and participation. Friedrich Krotz's chapter on the digital divide is a case in point, deconstructing the popular models behind the notion of the digital divide. In doing so, he also foregrounds the notion of access, also known as participation's twin sister. Wim Vanobberghen's chapter takes us back to the past (and forth) by relating the utopianism/dystopianism debate on new media to the introductions of media technologies in the past. His chapter is strongly built on the theoretical and paradigmatic support of the New History approach and on the Social Construction of Technologies approach. The social constructivist approach links up with Bertrand Cabedoche's chapter, in which he gives an overview of the debate in the French and Canadian academic scene on constructivism and its relation to post-positivist critiques.

The fifth section focuses on the communication of knowledge. Both chapters (written by Ursula Plesner and Louise Phillips) attribute a central role to the notion of dialogue in the communication (and construction) of knowledge. Ursula Plesner's chapter investigates the use(fullness) of Kenneth Gergen's theory of relational selves, and Bruno

Latour's actor-network-theory for the study of institutionalized social scientific knowledge production. In her chapter, Louise Phillips looks at how participatory and dialogical approaches can used to communicate research-based knowledge, and to open-up the gates of the ivory towers of policy and academia.

Finally, in the methodology section, yet another chapter foregrounds notions of participation. Maren Hartmann's chapter deals with media ethnography and its attempts to understand people within their own settings, within their life patterns, values, networks, etc. Media ethnographers – as research instruments – unavoidably become incorporated in a participatory process in order to give meaning to these settings and patterns. In the last chapter of the book, Anthony McNicholas problematizes one of the traditional practices of academia – the chains of citations – that generate academic knowledges. His media-historical plea to return to the original source, or the first voice, stresses the importance of rigor and thoroughness in research.

6. A FINAL WORD OF THANKS

The Summer School is supported by a wide range of individuals and institutions. The (old and new) consortium partners, ECREA and the EC all provide invaluable support to this long-standing initiative. Lecturers and flow managers have over the years invested a lot of energy in lecturing and providing PhD-support. The Phd-students themselves have shown an eagerness which can only be admired and applauded. Of course, most of the credit goes to the organizers: the members of the Program Committee, the Faculty of the University of Tartu and especially to the Summer School coordinator, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, who made it all possible.

Even this book illustrates the intensity of the ongoing collaborations, with its many contributors, editors and language editors. Being produced within an almost impossible time frame, this book bears witness of the Summer School spirit, which every year creates a unique learning experience.

For this, all involved are thanked (in all 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 and go raibh míle maith agaibh.

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WEBSITES

The European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School
http://www.comsummerschool.org/
The European Communication Research and Education Association
http://www.ecrea.eu/
The ECREA Young Scholars Network
http://young.meso.ee/
The University of Tartu
http://www.ut.ee/

PART ONE

SECTION ONE

MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

Civic participation and practices: Beyond 'deliberative democracy'

Peter Dahlgren

1. INTRODUCTION

Among democracy's many difficulties today is the declining level of participation. This has been a much-discussed topic, not least in relation to the newer communication technologies that many observers hope will help turn this negative tide. While it seems that these technologies have had more positive impact on fostering participation in alternative, extra-parliamentarian politics, they have certainly prompted expanded discussions more generally on civic communication and the role of the new media for democracy. Such topics as discussion forums, networking, and e-democracy, etc. have been aired a good deal recently. These discussions, and their related research, have thus returned us to the classical themes of civic agency and participation, but with a new slant from communication technologies. The Internet and other new communication technologies offer new opportunities for citizens to participate in democracy, especially in extra-parliamentarian contexts. Increasingly, contemporary versions of democratic theory render participation as deliberation – the notion of deliberative democracy has become pervasive. One of the aims of this chapter is to argue that while this ideal, and the model it makes use of, is central for democracy, it also has its limitations. There are other modes of communicative participation that should not be overlooked, and there are also a number of issues within the model of deliberative democracy which we should not ignore.

My presentation will first briefly address the key concepts of engagement and participation; I then discuss how we might understand the motivation behind civic agency by looking at the notion of passion and its interplay with reason. From there I address civic practices and skills, underscoring the rich repertoire available to citizens. In the final section, I sketch the contours of deliberative democracy as a communicative and participatory ideal and critically examine some of the problems with it,

underscoring the unnecessarily constricted view of civic practice that it implies. I take up three themes here: the issue of what other kinds of civic talk, the excessive rationalism of deliberative democracy, and the questions of power that it tends to ignore.

2. ENGAGEMENT, PARTICIPATION, INDIFFERENCE

We often use the concepts of political engagement and participation as synonyms, but there can be a small payoff in making a distinction between them. I would formulate it as follows: engagement generally refers to subjective states. That is, engagement indicates a mobilized, focused attention on some object. It is in a sense a prerequisite for participation: to 'participate' in politics presuppose some degree of engagement. For engagement to become embodied in participation and thereby give rise to civic agency, the subjective states that express engagement need to connect with practical, do-able situations, where citizens can feel empowered. Engagement is in a sense a potential – it must at some point become realized if it is not to dissipate.

Political participation is more than simply a feeling one has, it involves in some sense 'activity'. (The notion of 'active citizen', however, raises a number of problematic issues – e.g., what kinds of activities should count, for what duration should one be 'active' to warrant that adjective – so I generally avoid it). At the same time, it is fully possible to participate with a minimum of engagement – to simply play one's civic role in a routine, non-reflexive way – as a dutiful rather than self-actualized citizen, to use a conceptual distinction developed by Bennett (2007). While both engagement and participation can be said to be anchored in the individual, I would underscore that since we are talking about the political realm, we must have a perspective that emphasizes collectivities; the engagement and participation of the citizen is predicated on them being connected to others by civic bonds.

The absence of engagement and participation can be formulated in several ways. The most significant is in no doubt indifference. It implies a disinterest in politics and the political, an 'alienation' that can psychologically place 'politics' as an activity on par with, say, 'sports', 'music', or other forms of free time activity, and in the comparison, politics is perceived as the least interesting. Indifference seems to be the psychological condition that best describes most of those who are disengaged and manifest a sense of the irrelevance of democratic activities. We should keep in mind that indifference is not an ontological state: It can be

transformed into engagement via experience. And engagement keeps the door open for participation.

3. MOTIVATION: POLITICS AND PASSION

We still need to take one more conceptual step to understand civic agency. This step entails confronting a paradox in regard to agency that is prominent in dominant theories of democracy – from traditional liberal versions to Habermasian versions of deliberative democracy. At bottom the paradox is this: Democratic theory (and rhetoric) both postulates and admonishes engaged citizenship; participation is the guiding vision. At the same time, these traditions seem to recognize no motivational grounding for such engagement, since there is not only an emphasis on rationality and formal reason, but in many cases even explicit disparagement of anything that smacks off the affective, the emotional, the passionate.

To be engaged in something signals not just cognitive attention and some normative stance, but also an affective investment. Engagement in politics involves some kind of passion. Given all the obstacles that exist to the realization of achieved citizenship, given all the barriers to be overcome before people enter into political discussion or take political action, we would be foolish to deny the indispensable role of the affective side of civic engagement (My discussion is based on Cheryl Hall's (2005) recent book).

Hall (2005: 13) notes that traditionally, passion is conceptualized as distinct from reason, and viewed as functioning in opposition to self-control. Political theorists have claimed that it is good for citizens to develop their capacity for reason – but not for passion. Passion is seen as subverting agency, in that it undermines self-possession. She uses the notion of a 'crime of passion' to indicate the perception here: A person goes out of his or head and does something both terrible and 'crazy'. Reason, on the other hand, is seen as the foundation of agency. One can well ask why feelings should be seen as any more of an external imposition than rational thought. We can in fact be just as 'possessed' by thoughts: We get stuck in a particular train of thought that we want to avoid, or our mind/attention wanders. Reason can thus be at odds with our own self-mastery and agency. Yet we do not claim that it is a strange power that has taken over our psyche. In short, reason and passion are both a part of the psyche; neither is a foreign power poised to take over the self.

Moreover, the traditional view neglects the interconnectedness of reason and passion; Hall argues that they are inexorably linked together. In simple terms: passions have *reasons*: there is some object or vision that is valued, cherished. Passion is based, at some level, on ' …*first, a* concept *and interpretation of the object's nature and qualities; second, a* judgment *that the object is valuable in some way; and third, an* intention *to pursue the value of that object in one's life*'. (Hall, 2005: 15–16). Thus, passion is not blind, it involves a vision of the good, something to be attained, something to strive for, and often also involves some notion as to how to achieve this good. Whether the vision or object is actually obtainable or not always remains a question of democratic debate. Moreover, reasons often incorporate *passions*: especially in societal and political matters, values, arguments, ideologies, and so on can be very strongly held.

Passion is something into which one invests time and energy. It is hard to see why passion in this sense of 'intense enthusiasm' should seem so threatening for democratic theory. Would democracy be better served by consistently less intense emotion? That all depends on the issue at hand: For example, being 'mildly' in favor of justice or 'moderately' against genocide hardly seem like positive attributes. Civic agency – and all agency, for that matter – requires motivation; engagement and participation must have an affective drive. Apathy is precisely this absence of passion. To feel an intense political enthusiasm does not mean that one thereby becomes incapable of rational discussion or loses the capacity for compromise. Passion is crucial for making political choices, creating political community, and motivating political action. No passion, no participation.

4. CIVIC AGENCY: PRACTICES AND SKILLS

If citizens become motivated, become engaged, and take steps to participate, what do they actually *do*? A viable democracy must be embodied in concrete, recurring practices – individual and collective – relevant for diverse situations. Such practices help to generate personal and social meaning to the ideals of democracy, and they must have an element of the routine, of the taken for granted about them, if they are to be a part of a civic culture. Practices can be and are learned; they often require specific skills, especially communicative competencies. Thus, to be able to read, write, speak, work a computer and get around on the *Internet* can all be seen as competencies important for democratic practices. Education will thus always play a key role in nurturing democracy, even if its contents and pedagogic approaches periodically need to be scruti-

nized and debated. To engage in practices contributes to experience, which can in turn serve to empower citizens. Not only does this solidify the specific practices as part of the civic repertoire of these citizens, the practices also interplay forcefully with knowledge, trust and values; practices involve defining, using, or creating suitable spaces, and practices not least help to further foster civic identities.

More concretely, participating in elections is usually seen as the paramount practice for democracy's citizens. Talk, too has a prominent position, and has been associated with democracy and opinion formation from the start. Civic talk can involve a number of different practices, for example, having the social competence to call and hold a meeting, manage its discussions, organize and administer collective activities are all important practices involving skills. Lobbying, bargaining, negotiating, mobilizing, initiating legal action, networking, and other activities can all be a part of a repertoire of civic practices. Not least, the capacity to connect to specific issues is crucial: to identify, formulate, and pursue well-defined positions on political conflicts.

Across time, practices become traditions, and experience becomes collective memory; today's democracy needs to be able to refer to a past, without being locked in it. New practices and traditions can and must evolve to ensure that democracy does not stagnate, not least today, in relation to the opportunities offered by the new media. We see today how the lack of civic practices, skills, and traditions is an obstacle for many citizens, not only in those societies attempting to develop their newly-defined democratic character. Skills can develop through practices, and in this process mobilize passion and engagement, fostering a sense of empowerment for civic agency.

5. THE VISION OF DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Pulling together these perspectives on passion, participation, and practices, we have a robust and assertive analytic portrait of civic agency. This stands in contrast to an idealized view of civic participation that has been gaining ground in the past 15 years or so, galvanizing much of the reflection on democracy and civic discussion. Habermas' notions about communicative rationality are among the foundations, but there have been contributions and developments from others as well. It goes under the label of deliberative democracy, which melds elements of political theory with perspectives on communication. While it has much to recommend it, there is also a risk that this prevailing view of civic interaction delimits our understanding of the kinds of practices that should

characterize civic agency in the public sphere, pushing to the margins certain kinds of communicative competencies that are important for a viable democracy.

Talk is seen as constitutive of publics, and is thus both morally and functionally vital for democracy. In that sense, the basic idea of deliberative democracy is as old as democracy itself. However, it has given civic talk a major theoretical facelift; deliberative democracy has become a buzzword with high valence within democratic theorizing, and rightly so. Yet, this theoretical model, seen from the standpoint of practical participation of citizens, also has some pitfalls that we should be alert to. The model follows the traditional notions of the public sphere and becomes extended via Habermas' investigations into communicative rationality. Building on work from a number of directions, including theories of speech acts and of psychological ego development, he accentuates autonomy, agency, self-reflection, critical judgment, a competence for rational discussion, and not least, moral capacity.

Many have discussed and further developed these ideas, relating them to theories of democracy, the practice of politics, subjectivity, and identity, while at times still acknowledging problems inherent in them. In the debates, some theorists claim that deliberative democracy is only relevant within the framework of actual decision-making, by representatives of the citizens – i.e. within 'strong' public spheres. Others argue, in an overtly republican manner, that broader, more popular forms of communication modes are needed, and should be spread out as far as possible within representative democracy, beyond the formal decision-making centers into the public sphere and into as many associations and networks of civil society as is feasible (all the 'weak' public spheres).

As its point of departure, deliberative democracy underscores the importance of providing reasons for decisions taken. This is a moral principle common to most theoretical versions of democracy, since it lays the foundation for reciprocity. Reciprocity means that decision-makers owe it to those who must live under their decisions, policies, or the institutions that they enact, to provide their constituents with the justifications of the decisions. The dynamics of deliberative democracy are characterized by the norms of equality and symmetry; everyone is to have an equal chance of participation. Also, both the rules of discussion and topics to be discussed can in principle be challenged, the agenda itself is to be mutually agreed upon. Another important principle is that the reasons should be made accessible to all concerned; this means not only that they should in some manner be made public, but also be comprehensible. Further, deliberative democracy aims to result in deci-

sions that are binding, yet decisions are in principle always reversible, circumstances permitting; dialogue is never ultimately closed off.

Deliberative democracy serves to support the legitimacy of decisions that are taken, thereby enhancing the vitality of democratic institutions. Deliberative democracy strives to generate mutual respect, not least in situations where fundamental moral views are in conflict, thereby promoting practical rationality in politics. In the give and take of argumentation, it is assumed that opponents will learn from each other, and expand each others' horizons. Deliberative democracy is seen to be especially significant in situations where difference exists, where consensus is not likely, and compromise is the best one can hope for – where partners can arrive at acceptable solutions via dialogue without having to give up on core moral values.

At first glance, this appears to be a rather attractive vision, one that would seem to contribute to the quality of democracy. I want to underscore that my interrogation of deliberation here does not aim to be dismissive. Rather, I wish to highlight some of the issues that this view of civic interaction raises, and to encourage that we see its limits and not overload the role we expect it to play in the public sphere. My discussion here will center around three themes: the issue of defining what kinds of talk should count as deliberation, the issue of excessive rationality, and the problem of discursive power.

6. WHAT KIND OF TALK?

However, in clinging too rigidly to formal deliberation, we risk to lose sight of everyday talk and its potential relevance for democracy. There is an awful lot of discussion that can have political relevance, but has no status in a strict deliberative perspective. This becomes apparent if we look at a different point of departure in regard to civic talk, as found in republican-oriented theorists who attribute potential political relevance to other, informal kinds of talk. In their perspective, while that they would no doubt acknowledge the importance of formal deliberation and its settings, they look beyond them to better understand the processes by which the political emerges into talk, not least via the stimulation of interaction with the media. They emphasize instead the permeability of contexts, the messiness and unpredictability of everyday talk in order to put forth the view that politics, and thus the individual's role as citizen, is never an a priori given, but can emerge in various ways from within informal everyday speech.

It is via meandering and unpredictable talk, that the political can be generated, that the links between the personal and the political can be established. The looseness, open-endedness of everyday talk, its creativity, potential for empathy and affective elements, are indispensable for the vitality of democratic politics. Here engagement often comes quite naturally. Barber (1984) asserts that even if citizens' interaction may be lacking in terms of deep knowledge and well-thought out opinions, it is crucial for maintaining a sense of collective civic identity of and for generating a collective will. Similarly, Bohman sees citizen talk as important for maintaining '*a constant and vibrant interaction among cultures and subpolitics in a larger sphere of common citizenship*' Bohman (1996: 145). In his view, the character of civic talk is dynamic and open-ended, and not least reflexive: Self-creation takes place in part via civic participation. If we wish to be conceptually precise, we could say that 'messy conversation' is a part of the larger terrain of civil society, but as it begins to take on political connotations, as it becomes in some sense civic, it activates the public sphere (the weak, non-decision-making one).

7. UNREASONABLE RATIONALITY

Further, while the genre of formal deliberation can play an important role in certain specific settings, the question still remains what such deliberation should look like. Habermasian versions are adamant that fully rational deliberation should strictly adhere to the literal and transparent dimension of discourse. Deliberation is to manifest impartial reasoning, i.e. it must rest on the imperative that all participants will see beyond their own particular interests, being open to all points of view, and ally oneself with best arguments. Indeed, a common complaint has focused on what is seen to be the excessive rational character such speech is to have. The formal-rational view of speech that Habermas and other proponents use stands in contrast to other, more multidimensional views of deliberation.

Political innovation requires forming new publics, indeed, new ways of framing social reality, that foster formulation of new issues and strategies, that problematize or 'denaturalize' conventional perceptions and entrenched ideological positions. This involves the use of such communicative strategies as rhetoric, irony, personal narrative, poetic motifs, and theatricality, i.e. an element of *performance*, which of course marks a profound departure from Habermas' ideal, which, by implication, undermines the potential richness and vibrancy of political discussion and is likely to deflect engagement. I would add that passion, in the

sense of intense enthusiasm, as I discussed above, must also be an inexorable element in motivating citizens to engage in deliberative democracy. Moreover, the demand for impartiality among the participants is quite unrealistic: People engaged in political conflict are not prone to behave in a neutral, truth-seeking, dispassionate, or altruistic manner. They may well have fundamental value differences that preclude such inter-subjectivity.

8. DISCURSIVE POWER

Another basic issue with deliberative democracy has precisely to do with power – both discursive and social (and they are usually intertwined). Deliberative democracy asserts that meaningful political discussion can only take place if all participants are on an equal footing, that is, if respect, a pluralist outlook, and reciprocity prevail. Here is the rub: It is hard to see how this prerequisite, the leveled ground of the discussion, can be fully achieved by discussion itself. Reciprocity and equality are ideals that must be fought for rather than assumed. Deliberation by itself cannot attain its own preconditions. This undermines the universalist dimension, i.e., that deliberative democracy rests on a foundation that is by definition available to all. This does not mean that we should dismiss normative concepts such as equality, citizenship, or liberty as illusions, but rather understand that in the real world they are contingent and provisional; they must be investigated as to how they function in specific circumstances.

In fact, one could ask: given that the distribution of communicative skills tends to follow general social hierarchies, and thereby may well serve to reinforce such hierarchies, why should we expect citizens with lower communicative skill to participate, and why should we anticipate that deliberative democracy is a good way for citizens to impact on the decisions that affect them? Public speaking often correlates with power and cultural capital, and the fact that many people are afraid to speak on controversial matters in public undercuts the universalist ideal. Especially in the context of politically subordinate and/or culturally diverse groups, the imposition of an abstract, universalist ideal of deliberation can be a very power-laden move. Denying difference by forcing all parties into a singular mode of discourse that may not be suitable for all; democratic politics must be able to encompass groups who are socially situated in different ways from the mainstream or the majority and accord them voice in political contexts.

Moreover, if the deliberation itself appears to take place in a discursive mode that appears universal, neutral and egalitarian, yet is in fact the prerogative of privileged social strata, then this mode can actually serve to conceal and legitimate its own function as symbolic power. Further, it has been shown many times that groups and movements, particularly if they start with little power, will effect democratic change – have more impact on the power holders who make decisions – via mobilization and collective action, rather than through discussion. The emphasis on reaching consensus through dialogue suggests that floating beneath the surface of the model is an assumption that conflict basically derives from inadequate communication. Better communication is always desirable, but to suppress or deny the fact that conflicts may indeed have the character of real antagonisms, where shared values are insufficient to generate a common understanding of what is 'reasonable', will ultimately not yield better communication.

A strict adherence to the formalistic versions of the deliberative democracy ideal deflects attention from other, broader modes of civic talk which can evoke engagement and participation. The constraints of deliberative democracy can readily put a damper on civic passion, and deflect our attention from the rich repertoire of practices that citizens have at their disposal and the kinds of skills that can develop modes of interaction that are inseparable from politics.

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BIOGRAPHY

Peter Dahlgren is professor of Media and Communication Studies at Lund University, Sweden. He has previously taught in Stockholm and New York, and been a visiting scholar at a number of other universities abroad. His research and publications focus on themes having to do with the media, democracy, civic culture, identity, and late modernity. Currently his research projects focus on young citizens and new media. He has been active in several European networks and exchange programs over the years. His book *Media and Civic Engagement* is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.
Contact: Peter.Dahlgren@mkv.lu.se

'Four Theories of the Press' reconsidered

Kaarle Nordenstreng

1. THE CLASSIC

The landmark book *Four Theories of the Press* by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm was first published by the University of Illinois Press in 1956. It introduced, as spelled out in the subtitle, 'The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do.' These four concepts were the authors' response to their basic question: Why do the mass media appear in widely different forms and serve different purposes in different countries? Their main thesis was that '*the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted.*' (Siebert et al., l956: 1–2)

Such a thesis makes great sense and at its time this little book gave a welcome push to reasoning about the role of the media in society by suggesting different systems of the press as linked to different systems of governance. While it was customary in the social sciences to take a 'value free' stance, leaving the questions of social norms to philosophy, these authors oriented the new field of mass communication toward an explicit analysis of how the press relates to society in terms of political values, professional ethics and moral philosophies. The method of contrasting different paradigms of press and society was not only a useful theoretical tool but provided an important didactical way of training journalists.

In fact, with the growth of the media since World War II there was inevitably a need to articulate the roles and tasks of the mass media in society, including the relationship between media and politics. But in this respect the emerging scholarship had little to offer, and therefore even a casual collection of essays became a niche and a classic. The book obviously filled an intellectual gap among communication academics as well as journalism professionals. It became a bestseller and was reprinted in more copies and translated into more languages than

perhaps any other textbook in the field of journalism and mass communication.

Yet, the classic has been heavily challenged. Many have pointed out its oversimplified framing of history and its analytical inadequacy. Its political and cultural bias has been recognized since the 1960s, especially by the critical school of communication research. *Four Theories* was a child of the Cold War era, when the world was deeply divided between the capitalist West, socialist East and the underdeveloped South. Fifty years later there is a new world order and a more global awareness which no longer feeds the same kind of normative thinking. Consequently, after the shift to the new millennium the question is no longer whether or not the classic is passé but what is the best way to get beyond it. As Hallin and Mancini (2004: 10) put it, '*It is time to give it a decent burial and move on to the development of more sophisticated models based on real comparative analysis.*'

While the classic was valuable with its basic question and thesis, its four theories typology turned out to be a poor response to the authors' own challenge. A useful eye opener in this respect is provided by a group of scholars from the same College of Communications in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where the three authors of the classic once worked. *Last Rights*, published by the University of Illinois Press in 1995, revisits *Four Theories* by critically assessing its relevance in a post-Cold War world.

As pointed out by Nerone (1995), 'Four Theories *does not offer four theories: It offers one theory with four examples*' (Nerone, 1995: 18); '*It defines the four theories from within one of the four theories – classical liberalism ... it is specifically in classical liberalism that the political world is divided into individual versus society or the state*' (Nerone, 1995: 21); 'Four Theories *and classical liberalism assume that we have freedom of the press if we are free to discuss political matters in print without state suppression*' (Nerone, 1995: 22).

In a wider perspective, Nerone (1995) made the point about the moment in intellectual history at which *Four Theories* was written: '*by the mid-twentieth century, liberalism had reached a philosophical impasse. And, while political theory has moved beyond the impasse of liberalism, mainstream normative press theory in the United States has not*' (Nerone, 1995: 4). The impasse was mainly caused by the fact that it was no longer feasible to view individuals as atoms, with natural rights, at a time when '*politics became the stuff of institutions rather than of individuals*' (Nerone, 1995: 5). Moreover, the press had become an institution, separate from the people, and '*it became more intelligent to talk about the public's rights — the right to know, the right to free expression — rather than the press's rights. The press had*

responsibilities; the public had rights' (Nerone, 1995: 6). A compelling presentation of the same perspective is offered by Peters (2005).

A particular chapter in the intellectual history which gave rise to *Four Theories* was the Commission on Freedom of the Press known as the 'Hutchins Commission' in the mid-1940s. It elaborated the idea of social responsibility applied to the media which was then adopted by Siebert et al. as the third of their four theories. The Commission's report *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947) sought to lay a philosophical and moral basis for the idea that the press owed a responsibility to society because of the dependence of democracy on a flow of trustworthy information and a diversity of relevant opinions. Accordingly, if liberalism in general had reached a philosophical impasse by the mid-twentieth century, the theory of social responsibility of the press can be seen as an attempt to rescue liberalism in the field of journalism and mass communication.

By and large *Four Theories* has been valuable by setting in motion further discussion on the role of media in society. Several complementary and alternative attempts to define the normative 'theories' regarding the media, but none of them has managed to gain the same momentum as the classic did. The problem of the classic was that it collapsed into one level of consideration at least three levels of analysis: philosophical doctrines, political systems, and press systems. Further, it identified each type with a very concrete historical case situated in specific countries.

2. A NEW BEGINNING

One of the attempts to get beyond the four theories has been pursued during the past two decades by Clifford Christians (University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana), Theodore Glasser (Stanford University), Denis McQuail (University of Amsterdam), Kaarle Nordenstreng (University of Tampere) and Robert White (Gregorian University).[1] Our forthcoming book is tentatively entitled *Journalism Roles in Democracy: Normative Theories of Public Communication* (University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Our methodological point of departure is to keep separate the three levels—philosophical traditions, political systems, and media roles—but to show how these three levels are intimately related. Each of these three levels has its own logic and merits its own analysis, but for an overview they are presented here side by side:

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1   For a progress report, see Nordenstreng 1997.

PHILOSOPHICAL	POLITICAL	MEDIA
Normative traditions	Models of democracy	Roles of journalism
– Corporatist	– Pluralist	– Monitorial
– Libertarian	– Administrative	– Facilitative
– Social responsibility	– Deliberative	– Collaborative
– Citizen participation	– Direct	– Radical

Admitting the didactic and heuristic advantage of typologies, we analyze each of the levels in terms of a typology which is commonly used for that level of analysis. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between types in the three different levels. None of the four historical traditions of normative theory corresponds exactly with a given type of democratic political model, nor with a given media role. To force the correspondence would repeat one of the errors of *Four Theories*.

A typology does not mean that each concrete case is placed in one and only one pigeonhole. Accordingly, a contemporary journalist may represent in his or her professional thinking simultaneously several streams of the normative tradition – not least the oldest corporatist one. Media roles as held by media institutions or individual communicators are typically composites of different and sometimes contradictory traditions. Thus the three typologies should be seen as vehicles of analytical understanding rather than sets of fixed locations for actual phenomena. The types in question are tendencies or vectors on a quadrant which is open to limitless combinations.

Accordingly, we propose three typologies that seem to us to cover the main range of variation at each level of analysis. By chance, or mischance, each typology contains four main entries. However, there is no intention to promote the legacy of the original *Four Theories* and the various entries at each level have no correspondence across the boundaries of the given typology. Nor do we try to link any of the typed established with any particular historical case of nation, political system or media system.

The first level of analysis is the most general and deals with the historical contexts and debates that have generated philosophical traditions to give guidance to public communication, including media and journalism. We term these traditions as 'philosophical' because they tend to link norms of good public communication with deeper explanatory justification in terms of conceptions of the human, of society and the good life. For this reason we take the discussion back to the debate about the ethics of public communication in classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Augustine.

The second level of analysis allows a more precise discussion of the contribution of the media to the working of democracy. As noted above, we recognize the existence of alternative forms of democratic institutions and procedures within some overall agreement on the notion of popular sovereignty. It is quite clear that different societies have developed their own practices of democracy, according to variations in historical circumstances and political cultures. There is also considerable debate about the evaluation of alternative practices leading toward the goal of democratic participation. For these reasons, we identify the main alternative political *models* of democracy, each of which makes somewhat different normative demands on the media of public communication.

At the third, and lowest, level of generality, we focus on the media themselves, especially the media's journalistic task. We see journalism as central factor the constitution of a democratic social order. Some might think that, in this era of infotainment and the wide discussion of the political implications of entertainment media, it restricts the range of applications of normative theory to focus on the press and journalism. We prefer this focus, however, recognizing that journalism is more clearly and explicitly related to the defense of democracy. We would prefer not to deal with genres such as music videos or the monologues of talk-show hosts, even though this no doubt serves as a source of information and commentary. However, we have taken account of new developments with the Internet such as blogging and podcasting although their implications for democratic institutions have not been sufficiently explored.

3. NORMATIVE TRADITIONS

At the philosophical level we distinguish four ways of looking at the normative values and institutions that have evolved in two and a half millennia of debate over how public communication should be carried on:

- *Corporatist*: search for public wisdom (500 BC – 1500 AD)
- *Libertarian*: opening for personal freedom (1500 – 1800)
- *Social Responsibility*: growth of popular democracies (1800 – 1960)
- *Citizen Participation*: rise of postmodern cultures (1960 –)

The first and second of these traditions tend to be historically in sharp contrast, while the third and fourth are closer to each other and tend to take on many different forms. While the four traditions can be distinguished as relatively solid and 'paradigmatic' they are brought about by

a historical evolution and should be seen like schools of thought in political philosophy. We do not argue, however, that the more recent traditions have displaced the earlier ones nor that these are to be regarded as superior for providing guidelines for public communication. Each tradition implies a set of institutions that time has tested and which continue to be an important set of norms regarding the roles of media in democracy.

The *corporatist* tradition has its origins in the direct democracies of the relatively small Mediterranean city-states, especially in the political culture of Athens, some two thousand five hundred years ago. It is termed corporatist because it rests on a cosmic worldview of organic harmony in the universe. A classic statement of corporatist public philosophy was made by Aristotle in his treatises on ethics, rhetoric and politics, but a stronger communitarian philosophy would be found in contemporary political theorists. A corporatist philosophical worldview is still today very influential as a foundation for public communication in many parts of the world, especially in India, Asia and in the Islamic cultures. It differs from the 'authoritarian' model put forth in *Four Theories* to describe autocratic monarchies or twentieth century military dictatorships because it is open to democratic processes of public communication. In most cases, however, it is a tradition which expects the media to be cooperative in matters of national interest and in relation to other social institutions such as religion, education and the family.

The *libertarian* tradition might also be called 'liberal-individualist' as it elevates the principle of freedom of expression to the highest point in the hierarchy of values that the media are expected to uphold. The libertarian ideal of public communication emerged in the late medieval and renaissance eras in reaction to deeply entrenched monarchies and religious institutions of Europe, which combined to resist any challenge to their authority. The libertarian tradition came to full fruition in the nineteenth century, especially in the writings of John Stuart Mill which claimed to show not only the superiority of freedom in principle as a path towards uncovering truth but also in the utilitarian benefits that accrued from the free flow of information and ideas. According to utilitarian philosophy, liberty in the expression of ideas, as with liberty of trade, could only contribute to the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

The *social responsibility* tradition of thinking retains freedom as the basic principle for organizing public communication including the media, but the public or community also has some rights and legitimate expectations of adequate service. The term itself was largely the product of the

Hutchins Commission. Ultimately, freedom of the press has to be justified by its fruits. This may call for limits to media activities or interventions designed to supplement or control the media market. However, within this framework, there is a wide spectrum of views about how far it is legitimate for the state to go to achieve an acceptable level of service to the public good. A social responsibility view of the media has been espoused with varying degrees of strength. A minimalist view expects the media themselves to develop self-regulatory mechanisms of accountability, based on voluntary promises in response to demands from the public and other agents of society. The development of professionalism is thought to play a key part in this process. A more interventionist expression of the responsibility tradition comes in the form of press subsidies and laws to ensure diversity or innovation, as well as the founding of publicly owned media, especially public service broadcasting.

The *citizen participation* tradition, while more recent than the others named, already has a history of three or four decades. The distant roots are to be found in the dissident religious and political movements of the sixteenth century and to the struggles for a right to freedom of the press in the eighteenth century. Precursors are also to be found in the radical press of early labor movements in the nineteenth century. Even so, the modern notion of a citizen participatory press can be more usefully dated from the alternative presses and then through free radio of the 1960s and 1970s, and it is inspired by a wide range of ideas and motivations. Not least important were grass-roots activist media in many proto-revolutionary situations spanning much of the twentieth century. The basis of legitimacy for this tradition is the idea that the media are of and for the people, with an emancipatory, expressive and critical purpose. They are typically engaged in some form of struggle for collective rights.

4. MODELS OF DEMOCRACY

Our second level of analysis begins with the simple view that democracy is government by the people, for the people and of the people. However, democracy is not only a matter of accountability of rulers to the people but encompasses many other means by which people can act together to influence their rulers and their own lives, including the many forms of public communication now available. We may wonder if the corporatist tradition is very compatible with democracy, according to either a narrow or broad definition, since the element of direct popular control is

absent. Even so, democratic societies may choose professionally-administered corporatist forms of media governance as being in the public interest—public service broadcasting institutions as examples. There is no one-to-one correspondence between the normative traditions outlined and a particular model of democracy. Indeed there is no agreement on how to classify or arrange the various concepts and forms of democratic politics in the modern world. Still, there are good scholarly roadmaps for conceptualizing democracy (notably Held, 1987), and on that basis we single out four models of democracy: liberal-pluralist; elitist-administrative; civic-deliberative; and popular-direct.

There is one dimension that cuts across most democratic theory and practice, distinguishing between individual rights and liberty, on the one hand, and equality and collective rights of the community, on the other. Emphasis on the former is more typical of the Anglo-American situation, while the latter is typically a Continental model more associated with France and inspired especially by Rousseau.

Pluralist democracy is well represented in our time by many countries that give priority to individual freedom, look to the market as the main engine of welfare, and prefer to restrict the role of the state to what is necessary for the orderly running of a free market society. The connection of this model with the libertarian tradition outlined above is quite obvious, and it is well explicated by Hallin and Mancini's (2004) liberal pluralist model.

However, not all issues concerning the media are solved by the convenience of having a compatible theory of democracy. For example, the media market may in practice not serve the needs of pluralism by failing to give access to competing voices. The media market is as much, if not more, subject to tendencies towards concentration as other industries. Unrestrained pursuit of profit has also periodically been blamed, rightly or wrongly, for a variety of harms to individuals and society, arising especially from content representing crime, violence, sex and other kinds of socially disapproved behavior and tendencies. A democratic social order is not necessarily well served by libertarian media. Solutions may not be available in effective self-regulation, even if permitted by theory. At times of crisis, the state cannot depend only on the vagaries of supply and demand in media markets. Aside from problems of control or regulation that are inconsistent with a minimal state, there is some difficulty in consistently identifying any 'role' for the free media in a free market society. The media can choose or avoid roles in society as they wish.

Administrative democracy emphasizes the need for institutions of professional administration and other expert bodies to look after the welfare of the people. Neither politicians nor ordinary citizens have the knowledge to govern a highly complex modern society. In the past, there was a tendency to rely on public bureaucracies to run essential services, sometimes even major industries. More recently, the trend has been away from direct public control and towards private ownership, subject to review by regulatory bodies. The elites appointed to carry out essential government roles are accountable in various ways, including by way of public opinion, if need be by intervention into the market. There are still considerable differences between Europe and the United States in what might be recognized as expressions of administrative democracy.

The relation between the administrative form of democracy and the media is typically ambiguous, even when there is a symbiosis between social-responsibility theory and social-democratic politics in a number of societies, as exemplified in the democratic-corporatist model of media-politics proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Within the terms of this model, the attitude of the state towards media is consistent with the principles of administrative democracy. The media are from time to time taken to task for their failures to support governmental and political institutions, and are not fully trusted to have complete independence. There are attempts to increase accountability and the retention of public broadcasting, against the tide of media deregulation, reflects this lack of trust and desire to keep residual control. The clash between government and the BBC in the UK in 2003 over reporting the steps to war in Iraq is one clear example of the permanent tension of relations.

Deliberative democracy takes a variety of forms, although its general message is that any genuine and healthy democracy should be characterized by the active and self-conscious involvement of citizens in formulating opinions and representing certain shared interests, especially at a more local level. It is a form of democracy that is not very compatible with government by elites and experts and is clearly differentiated from the democracy of society-wide aggregates of individual voters. The liberal-pluralist model has been undermined, in the view of many critics by declining levels of voting, party membership and other forms of political activity.

The model of deliberative democracy is somewhat problematic as a guide to norms for the media, but it appears to call in general for more use of all forms of participatory media such as the Internet as well as reinforcing the need for diversity and localism. Solutions typically call for the media to provide increasingly relevant and higher quality infor-

mation and news, to open their channels to more voices, to listen to the concerns of citizens and reflect them, and to play an activating role on citizenship issues. Many such proposals, however, risk coming into conflict with the economic interests of news media under highly competitive situations. They are unlikely to amount to much unless backed by the professional commitment of journalists and significant consumer demand.

Direct democracy can be interpreted in even more diverse ways than the previous type. The classical form of direct self-government by an assembly of the people is not possible in extensive contemporary societies. The modern equivalent would be government by referenda and plebiscites, with majority decision-making the rule. Political systems differ in the degree to which they offer such possibilities. But governments have various devices for listening to the populace, for instance by way of surveys and focus groups even if the people have no power over decisions. Electronic government has been canvassed as a practical possibility, although it has not gained much support in practice.

The requirements of direct democracy for the media, leaving these issues aside, are primarily that there should be media channels available that allow all significant voices and claims to be heard, perhaps especially where they may be ignored by established elites. Direct democracy is likely to be promoted by large numbers of small-scale and grass-roots media voices or by recognition in the market place of the potential unmet demand for content that will please some majority or significant minority that is being otherwise ignored. Opinionated bloggers and uninhibited critics of those in power, in whatever media channel they appear, will make a contribution to direct democracy.

5. ROLES OF JOURNALISM

At the third level of the media we distinguish four roles of journalism: *monitorial*, *facilitative*, *collaborative* and *radical*. These are one of several possibilities to articulate the media-society relationship – by no means ours is the only correct one. A closer treatment of the media roles is done in Denis McQuail's chapter in this volume.

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BIOGRAPHY

Kaarle Nordenstreng is Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Tampere (Finland). Before this appointment in 1971, he worked as head of research and journalist at the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE), making interviews e.g. with C.G. Jung and Marshall McLuhan. He studied at the University of Helsinki, majoring in psychology and phonetics, with PhD on psycholinguistics in 1969. His research areas include international communication, media ethics and theories of communication. He has published 30 books (as author, co-author or editor) and over 400 scholarly articles. (See http://www.uta.fi/jour/laitos/nordenstrenge.html).
Contact: Kaarle.Nordenstreng@uta.fi

Media roles in society

Denis McQuail

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to explore a particular approach to the complex problem of conceptualizing the relationship between media and the society in which they operate. The approach in question is by way of conceptions held by journalists (or attributed to journalism) of the role they should play in wider social processes. The problem is complex because the relationship is often a contested one, with alternative views and arguments about both what the relationships actually is and also what it ought to be. There is no definitive answer to these questions and in any case the answers given will vary from one country and media system to another and from one set of circumstances to another. As far as the first part of the question is concerned – what the relationship actually is – there are three main possibilities. One is that the media strongly influence the society (for good or ill), another that the media simply reflect what is going on in society and are more an effect than a cause, while a third is that the relationship is an interactive and circular one, with no clear line of influence. There is a fourth possibility, not to be dismissed, that posits a lack of influence in either direction: The media are a cultural and social phenomenon of society but not clearly caused and with no clear direction of effect. Society and media are two independent complexes of social and cultural practice.

This chapter, however, is more concerned with the second part of the question, the one that relates to what ought to happen, how media ought to behave in relation to society, what social purposes they should espouse. To take this question seriously has the implication that media as an institution do have some kind of social responsibility, both with respect to possible effects and also to their intentions. This idea is somewhat controversial in open or liberal societies, because it seems to imply some limitation on the freedom of the press to choose their own purposes, including the right to refuse to accept any general responsibility, beyond that of any citizen. The issue is of course not a new one and there

is large record of debate and theorizing and many examples from practice of what the media do for their own society. The work of theorizing this topic owes a good deal to a study published fifty years ago entitled *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert et al., 1956) in which it was proposed that in general media 'take on the color of the society in which they are located' and in some cases they contribute to society in ways determined locally and circumstantially. This and subsequent theorizing about the nature or media-society relationships is discussed in a parallel chapter in this volume by Kaarle Nordenstreng.

2. DEFINITIONS AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

The general starting point of this chapter is that, whatever the overarching theory of the given society, much depends on how the media, and journalism in particular, sees the task. To fulfill the purpose of the chapter we need to set some limits to the discussion and also to make some working definitions of terms in use, even if they seem to have an obvious meaning. Essentially we are going to be concerned with news journalism, rather than all the varied activities of the media. In line with this, there is a differential attention to the working of democratic politics and the role of information in these processes. Our main limitations and definitions are as follows.

- By media we mean all means of public communication, although for reasons given below our main attention is directed to the established or mainstream media where the work of the professional journalist is embedded (even if not exclusively).
- By society we mean any collective social entity to which media as defined might be oriented. This includes countries, cities, localities and certain bounded social groups that have the characteristics of a wider community. Included in the definition are the social institutions that operate in the name of the society and that typically are reflected in media and make use of media for their own purposes. These include institutions of politics, law, education, family, business, etc.
- By role we mean a composite of occupational tasks and purposes that shows wide recognition and recurrence (it has an enduring and stable character). Roles are normally located within an institutional framework and they are directed and regulated by the typical activities of the institution. The relevant institution here is the mass media system of a given society. The element of purpose in a

role introduces the normative character of certain roles- that is to say attaches an element of value-based desirability.

- The term 'normative' that can be applied either to the media institution, or a given medium or a role also needs some definition. We mean by using the term that the actions/practices involved in performing the role are guided by some external ideal; they are not carried out primarily for material reward or calculation of advantage. These are not excluded but are subordinate. Normative also usually implies an element of association with others (relationships) and some form of accountability or willingness to be accountable. Normative purpose can either be voluntary (self-chosen by an organization or a purpose) or assigned externally (as in the form of media law and regulation). Journalistic roles often have a dual form of 'normativity' (e.g. to professional ethics and to country) and often the matter is somewhat ambiguous.

3. ON JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION AND ITS SOCIAL ROLES

These materials enable us to put together a view of the role of journalism in society. Essential to a fuller view of the role of journalist is the notion of a profession, if we take as a working assumption that journalism is a profession. The challenge to this assumption is noted below. The concept of profession as applied to the occupation of journalism points to and depends on the presence of the following key elements:

- Certain tasks and practices requiring skill and judgment;
- Training in the relevant skills;
- A location within a media institution;
- Some entry requirements, boundaries and means of self regulation of standards;
- An ethic of public service;
- Acceptance of certain responsibilities;
- Some processes of (self) regulation and accountability.
- And in all these matters some degree of autonomy as a professional body.

There has been argument about whether journalism does constitute a profession, based on various grounds. These mainly concern the uncertainty about the core skill of journalism, the lack of any effective monopoly over the central task and the uncertainty as to whether the above conditions are really met. However, there are many occupations that claim professional status on weak grounds. More fundamentally there

seems to be a conflict between the claims of journalism and the right that all of us have to make public our own observations and accounts of events. This conflict has been accentuated by the rise of citizen journalism in the form of blogs and other Internet-based forms of communication to the wider world.

We need next to look in more detail at the empirical component of the journalistic role. What do journalists actually do for the most part, that has a societal relevance. In general it would seem that the central practice of the journalistic task is the construction of accounts of events (social reality) in a form that can be given a public dissemination according to conventions known to audiences and all those concerned. Journalism also involves giving space to the accounts of others and sometimes challenging them or evaluating their reliability. The journalistic role is a collective social construct that provides an explanation of organized and regular media activities.

The task of identifying the tasks carried out by journalists has been made easier by the large amount of research over a period of three or four decades (see, e.g. Wilhoit and Weaver, 1986; 1996; Weaver, 1999, etc.) into the perception by journalists themselves of their own roles. This research has incidentally providing inventories of the varied tasks that (news) journalists carry out, with varying degrees of salience and preference. No list is likely to be complete, but the most recurring items of journalistic tasks and purpose can be listed as follows:

- Information 'discovery';
- Information processing into accounts for publication;
- Monitoring of the social scene;
- Checking on economic and political power;
- Providing forum and access for other voices and sources;
- Opinion-forming by way of advocacy and comment;
- Interpretation of news events;
- Signaling events and setting an agenda for public discussion and politics;
- Servicing the public communication needs of other social institutions;
- Providing a service to clients and advertisers;
- Being a means of expression directly;
- Campaigning for various causes and beliefs;
- Social networking (including gossip);
- Acting as critic of government and other agencies in society;
- Entertaining the public;
- Supporting the culture of nation, region, place or particular group.

This list is not detailed or exhaustive and there are other items and other ways of formulating what journalists actually do most of the time. One most economical version of what are the basic tasks of journalism might confine itself to three main 'functions', each with an empirical as well as normative component: acting as *observer and informant*; providing a *channel and forum* for other voices outside the media themselves; playing a *participant* role in the society.

The literature on journalism referred to above has done much more than describe what journalists do, but has tried to uncover the structure of activities according to frequency, preference and attributed significance. Not all the tasks of journalism mentioned are regarded equally and there are variations from time to time and one national culture to another. The most important aspect of commentary journalism on the findings of journalism research for the present purpose is the uncovering of a number of basic conflicts, oppositions or choices that face the media as institutions and journalists personally, in certain circumstances. Very briefly, these differences can be summarized in terms of the following oppositions:

- Adopting either a neutral or participant role in relation the surrounding society;
- Concentrating on 'facts' or setting out to interpret and provide advice and commentary;
- Acting as a 'gatekeeper' for society or being an 'advocate' for some cause or interest;
- Following an ideal(-istic) conception of the journalistic task versus serving the media organization, with purposes determined within the hierarchy;
- Choosing social (and non-profit) purposes over profit and market criteria, or vice versa.

The formulations are different and to some extent independent of each other, but there is an obvious interrelation between several of these alternative choices and orientations. The more normative forms of journalism (as defined above) tend to favor participation, advocacy, commentary and ideal, non-profit goals over the imperatives of the media organization embedded in the larger media industry and market. What the material reflects, in any case, is a good deal of diversity in what we call journalism, with quite a few different types of news media, each with its own purpose, selective public and market niche.

However diversity is not a matter of many equal but different types. In the landscape of journalism of the media systems of (mainly) western,

developed nations with democratic systems and a more or less free press, it is not difficult to identify a 'modal type' of professional journalism that characterizes most 'mainstream' news media, whether in commercial or public service systems.

This type has the following main characteristics:

- Adopting a neutral attitude and following rules of objectivity in giving accounts (accuracy, completeness, relevance, balance, etc.);
- Operating in a market system, but with public broadcasting as prominent exception;
- Following professional norms and rules;
- Being pluralistic;
- Enjoying 'freedom of the press', although not always personal freedom of expression;
- Being separately defined according to the varied news media sectors.

Although we can separate out the empirical from the normative components of the role of journalists in relation to service to (or influence on) society, there is an underlying problem of quite a complex kind in reconciling the two aspects. It is clear, for instance that the 'modal type' of objective journalism as just indicated sees the role as more or less 'value-free'. Professional journalism should not be biased to any interest group or point of view and should aim to reproduce and represent the social world 'as it is'. In practice this is also itself a norm (a certain value perspective) but it is the only one that matters and it has more elements of skill and good practice than idealism. It does not really matter for this point of view that the attainment of perfect objectivity is not possible. A second aspect of the problem concerns the relationship of any normative obligation to society and the potential conflict with the wider freedom of expression and of the press. A truly free press is free from any obligation in its relation to society. It cannot logically be expected (certainly not require) to serve some given societal purpose.

4. LINES OF JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTABILITY

Although these remarks expose a fundamental dilemma, this does not really prevent the press in practice from meeting a variety of goals for the society (as defined at the outset). Media activities are so situated and organized that they are drawn to serve various purposes in the normal course of their work. We can think of this in terms of a number of 'lines of accountability' that attach the media to the social environment in which they work, giving rise to numerous attachments and relationships.

These relationships may not be fundamentally normative, but the result may be the same. The main forms of such relationships or 'lines of accountability' from media to society are compromised of the links between media (and thus persons at journalistic tasks) on the one hand and the following:

- The public as audience (with interests and needs rooted in social circumstances);
- The public as citizens representing the wider society in question (for instance expressing public opinion);
- Social institutions that need media for their normal operation in public life, such as government, law, education, religion;
- Sources and voices of many other kinds seeking representation and channels of public communication;
- Referents, meaning those persons, groups organizations etc, that becoming the object of news attention, whether wanted or not;
- Clients and advertisers of various kinds;
- A cause or belief system;
- Agents of law and regulation that impinge on media and set certain limits or have a claim to require accountability.

Certain of the relationships indicated here are likely to involve some kind of normative attachment on the part of the media or a particular journalist. This applies especially to the link with the 'society', of which the journalist is a member, with certain (but not all) institutions and interest groups. This also applies to sources and voices, some referents and some groups served by a medium. The attachment might be moral or ethical, or one of loyalty and positive feeling.

It is less easy to make any inventory of the ways in which normative connections are filled in a specific way by guides to performance, rules or actual norms. Some of the content of normative attachment is circumstantial and informal, but more certain indications come from:

- Authoritative pronouncements from respected sources in the society (such as commissions, committees) about how roles should be carried out;
- The codes of self-regulation;
- The media's own customary traditions and conventions of conduct;
- Particular allegiances to particular causes and groups;
- Individual moral principles and conscience.

It should be noted that loyalties and attachments important for their normative significance are not only forged with external entities. There are also internal relations that have normative elements. These include

loyalty to and personal identification with a publication or an editor, strong attachment to the norm of a profession, etc.

5. MEDIA SYSTEM DIFFERENCES

The content and strength of normative links from media to society is governed to some extent by characteristics of particular systems. There have been various attempts to differentiate and characterize alternative types of media. Only a few examples can be cited briefly here, as follows.

One fairly typical approach is offered by Schudson (2003), in the following terms: media are governed according to three main models that are named as *market*, *trustee*, or *advocacy*. The market model does not really posit any normative links for media that take precedence over the laws of the market place. However, it is evident that media cannot operate in society only on a basis of calculating profit and loss. The loyalty and affection of audiences is commercially valuable and so can service to communities, etc. The trustee model implies that media are looking after the interest of their audiences and the public in general and protected in some degree from market forces. In commercial systems of broadcasting, licenses may be issued by regulators to ensure this. In European public broadcasting, there are legal requirements to meet certain public interest goals. The advocacy model applies to media serving parties, beliefs and causes that have a clear and specific normative agenda and contacts with society are subordinate to these purposes.

Another example of a differentiation model has been provided by Hallin and Mancini (2004) and in the end takes a rather similar pattern. It identifies three types of relation between media and a democratic political system as: *liberal* (essentially market-based); *democratic-corporatist* (government intervention ensures citizen interests as well as media independence (a form of trusteeship)); *contested pluralism* (media partisanship runs parallel to the structure of political ideology in a society).

Where a given medium can be located according to one or other of these types, certain ties with society are implied and certain forms of normative action are legitimated.

6. CHALLENGES TO NORMATIVE JOURNALISTIC ACTION

It has been remarked earlier that there are tensions within news media between normative inclinations and the practice (or belief in) journalistic objectivity. However there are other sources of challenge that undermine

normative impulses. These can only be briefly mentioned, but include especially:

Globalization. This trend affecting media and all aspects of social life involves a reduction of distinct cultural identities and devaluing of local and regional identities. Ties with region, place, community and even nation may be weakened and this affects the purposes of media.

Secularization. 'Modernization' in the form of economic development, urbanization and growth in materialism is historically associated with the decline of religion, traditional ways and values and also political belief systems and ideologies. The decline or demise or communism is one important instance, but depoliticization has been widely observed in many societies. This is a complex process that needs more interpretation, especially as new belief and value systems emerge, but it can be appreciated that it does weaken some of the past normative supports for media activities.

Commercialization. Little more be said about this, but it is accelerating in its influence on media, especially when linked to globalization and the extension of global media conglomerates. There may be markets for certain forms of normative content, but the effects are generally to limit the normative tendencies of media.

Manipulative uses of media for ulterior and propagandist ends of economic and state power.

Media change is working in the direction of individualization and multiplication of consumer choices and thus the fragmentation of audiences and the collectivities that help to shape loyalties and affections on the part of journalists.

7. FOUR PARTICULAR ROLES OF JOURNALISM

In the larger body of work in which the content of this chapter is located (see Nordenstreng loc. cit.), four roles in particular have been selected, each specifying certain tasks of journalism and each with a normative component as defined earlier. These are as follows:

The *monitorial* (informational) role that describes the most fundamental tasks of journalism, with particular reference to: maintaining a constant surveillance of the social world, both immediate and wider, with relevance to the media's own public; finding, processing and publishing objective and reliable news accounts; acting as a conduit for information and views from a range of other sources in society; signaling event and setting an agenda. These activities can be carried out with widely varying degrees of activity and normative purpose.

The *facilitative* role. This refers to journalism that aids democratic activity in the wider public sphere of civil society, supports community formation and citizen participation, provides lines of communication between citizens and government. This role meets needs of individual citizens and the wider society and is not typically driven primarily by profit.

The *collaborative* role. Less common than the foregoing but is adopted under circumstances where the wider needs of a society take precedence over profit or journalistic purpose and require cooperation of the media with other external agencies, sometime even the government, otherwise depicted as a potential adversary. Circumstances encouraging the collaborative role arise in developing countries, at times of natural or other disaster and threat in any society, in time of war or similar crisis. Patriotism and other cultural and social identifications provide the impulse to collaboration.

The *radical* or critical role. This goes beyond routine comment and opinion forming and refers to the choice of an adversarial stances in relation to authority, on clearly motivated normative grounds. The journalist in this role takes the side of a cause or belief, a minority or other victimized or deprived group. Often there is a fundamental challenge to the society and its economic and power structure. The role is clearly not consistent with the dominant model of objective, pluralistic and 'professional' conduct. It is more likely to be found outside the journalistic mainstream and in a variety of forms (see Downing, 2000).

It should be noted that these roles can overlap, especially in respect of the actual tasks involved. For instance, all deal in the transmission of 'information'.

8. THE MASS MEDIA AND THE EUROPEAN CULTURAL SPACE

This chapter has given a theoretical account of the relationship between mass media and society, based on a consideration of the various roles accepted by the news media. I wish to conclude by very briefly applying this line of thinking to the complex problem of the potential for mass media to extend the European public space. The latter must be one of the aims of the European Union, or even a perquisite for the successful growth of European institutions on a democratic basis. The many practical obstacles are well known, especially the relative disinterest in media in key European political events that do not directly concern the particular nation where the media are located. There is no obligation or even customary inclination to give any priority to news about Europe or to

present it in a way that is either sympathetic or likely to extend the commonality of sense of membership of a new supranational entity.

This can only be a very brief sketch, based on the question whether the roles mentioned can be activated in the way outlined. We can first of all say that a minimum level of awareness of a common European space can be expected on the basis of the commitment of each national government and parliament to membership of the EU. Domestic politics is always an important source of news and European level politics can benefit in some degree from this fact. Routine facts about European politics and some access to various (mainly one national) perspectives on European wide issues do receive some attention in the national media, albeit not very prominently or in depth. There are of course no European level media in any significant sense. This minimum level is hardly enough to help constitute any great possibility of creation or extension of a new public sphere. For one thing it is too fragmented by national interests that cut across matters of potentially shared concern.

Nevertheless, there are circumstances when the more or less accepted roles of the media as outlined may be activated above the minimum level. This may occur, first of all, where some issue of significance cuts across the national loyalties and there is something like a Europe-wide public opinion on the topic. Unfortunately for hopes of unity, such issues are not necessarily positive for the European project. However, any common feeling may be important and there is potential in situations (fortunately not yet arisen) when a common danger or need unites different national publics. The mobilizing effect of routine events such as European elections is clearly not enough to have much effect of this kind.

A second possibility arises where political actors within nations working towards a European commonality have some power or influence over mass media and uses this to require more attention and less negativity. This applies to a limited degree with respect to public broadcasting, but the trend is towards a weakening in their role and broadcasters cannot be too collaborative with more or less elite projects of this kind. Thirdly, there are occasions when European events and personalities earn attention by their own intrinsic news value and by fitting the logic of mass media. This may imply the need for more conflict and less consensus, but is not necessarily bad for the development of a European public space. Developments in this direction cannot be ruled out, although the right kind of incidents for gaining media attention tend to be sporadic in occurrence. Fourthly, it is possible that the development of professional norms and sense of responsibility amongst journalists that already leads to coverage of routine but unexciting political proc-

esses at the domestic level may extend to European politics. A slow process of this kind may break down the barrier which has often confined the sense of obligation of journalists to the national scene.

These are a few suggestions of pathways towards a more active and fruitful relationship between the media and the extended arena of democratic life in Europe.

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BIOGRAPHY

Denis McQuail is emeritus professor of the School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam, where he held the Chair of Mass Communication from 1977 until 1997. Before that he was professor of Sociology, university of Southampton, England. He is author of a textbook, McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, London, Sage Publications, 2005 (fifth edition). His previous book publication was Media Accountability and Freedom of Publication, Oxford University Press, 2003. He has published widely on issues of political communication, media policy and audience research. He is an editor of the European Journal of Communication.
Contact: 106233.3000@compuserve.com

Determinants on international news coverage

Ines Wolter

1. INTRODUCTION

International media coverage is a topic, which has already been studied extensively in the past. This chapter seeks to give an overview of different perspectives concerning the analysis of the affecting determinants of international news. The chapter ends with a critique of previous studies and offers a prospect for future research on the topic.

International news has become increasingly important as the world appears to get smaller (Wu, 1998: 493). International news, however, has decreased since the collapse of the communism in 1989/ 90. In addition, the so-called 'post-cold war provincialism' is not exclusive to the involved countries. The much-touted globalization of news is more a myth than a reality in most parts of the world (Hoge, 1997: 49). One reason for this decrease in media attention for international news is the low public interest. However, citizens are not per se uninterested in international news. The coverage of issues and news items in which the audience is interested would lead to a consumer-driven journalism (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991: 782). Another possible explanation for the reduction in international news is the shifting news agenda. Today, international news is produced by correspondents who are 'parachuted' into a smaller number of locations (Hoge, 1997: 50). This leads to lower quality in international reporting, and possibly also to reduced public interest. In this sense, international coverage is less a lack of interest as it is a concentration of ownership that is profit-driven, and having no inclination to meet its responsibilities in this regard, except those of the lowest denominator (Hoge, 1997: 51).

If international news is considered as the public's need to react on the basis of knowledge, not on the basis of emotions aroused by the media, the subordination of the media organization under such a constraint can

be problematic. The public may not show a great deal of interest in international affairs when a particular event occurs, but media reporting has at times an impact on power structures (Hoge, 1997: 52). Public opinion is one of the factors influencing foreign policy in democratic societies. Therefore, scholars have argued that international news coverage can trigger changes in foreign policy and transformations in international relations (Cohen, 1963 cf. Wu, 1998: 493). In this regard can also be referred to the co-called CNN-effect, which is associated with a view of strong media influence (Robinson, 2002). However, in the light of the war on terror and the fall-out of 9/11, as well as other cases, this also should not be exaggerated.

From a normative and democratic point of view international news has certain functions for citizens and the democratic process in society. News is in most cases the only source for citizens to receive information on other countries or regions, which, according to some, leads to stronger agenda-setting effects regarding international news than domestic contents (Zucker, 1978 cf. Wu, 1998: 493). This has an impact on how we understand the world and communicate with people of different nationalities (Wu, 1998: 493). The question that can be derived from this is which determinants are responsible for the volume, the direction and the patterns of international news. Studies are selected if they refer to influences on foreign or international news, predominantly in newspapers. Foreign or international news are defined as: foreign news abroad, home news abroad or foreign news at home (Hafez, 2001: 139–140).

2. DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The coverage of international news is not only approached from different theoretical perspectives, but also analyzed at different empirical levels. Scholars mostly distinguish between media intrinsic and media extrinsic determinants, but their definitions are not consistent (Nossek, 1994; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Wu, 1998; Kim, 2003).

Communication scholars (i.e. Chang, Shoemaker & Brendlinger, 1987) tend to group international news determinant research into two schools: the gate-keeping or event-oriented perspective and the logistics or context-oriented perspective. The event-oriented perspective predominantly focuses on those foreign events which are selected as newsworthy and which factors lead to the final editorial decision. Since the international news flow and coverage is defined as a chain closely related to the gatekeeping processes, a body of micro-level social psychological factors is mainly proposed to determine international news selection. The perspec-

tive shows the international news flow as a newsperson's decision-making process. The context-oriented perspective examines the socio-economic components and physical logistic of newsgathering while focusing on broad and systemic factors of international news flow.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) developed a ring model of influencing factors at five levels. Although not focusing exclusively on international news, the model is useful, as it adds an organizational perspective to the event- and context-oriented perspectives on what determines international news production and distribution (Lacy, Chang & Lau, 1989). In the following parts of this chapter the main determinants of international news will be systematically discussed based on three levels. The newsperson's decision-making processes contribute to international news coverage at the micro level. The mezzo level refers to media routines and organizational factors of media organizations. At the macro level, media organizations are permeated by extra media factors, such as sources of power (especially political and economic), international relations and unwritten social and cultural guidelines and obligations.

2.1. Individual determinants

Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 65) suggest a model for the individual level in the inner-most (micro) ring. It starts with the communicator's characteristics, personal backgrounds and experiences that can indirectly affect gate-keeping processes. From this point the lines of influencing media content can follow one of two alternative paths– on the one hand, organizational roles subordinate or conceal personal characteristics, and on the other hand, holding of power or high status in an organization permits individual communicators to express their personal beliefs and values in public communication, and thus resist subtle and less subtle mechanisms of subordination.

Thus, the first question that arises is whether there are any distinctive patterns of communicators' characteristics or experiences to be found among foreign correspondents. The personal background of the group is very well examined. Mowlana's (1975: 89) study found the foreign press corps in the United States to be an extremely well-educated and socially unorthodox group (cf. Willnat et al., 2003: 407). From a socio demographic perspective, correspondents are on average male and in their mid forties (Lambert, 1956 cf. Hess, 2006: 19; Hess, 2005: 32). The impact of backgrounds may be most obvious when demography is linked to expertise, which relates to the changing nature of foreign correspondents. Shuster (1988: 43), a former freelance foreign correspondent, says that it

is more practical to hire foreign journalists as 'foreign correspondents' than to send American journalists abroad. Fiscal responsibility aside, the foreign journalists can probably do a better job: Since they know more about the local environment, they *'should be able to depict foreign reality more accurately than a 'parachuting' foreign correspondent'* (Shuster, 1988: 43). Nair's (1991: 62) study added that correspondents from First World nations have a greater chance of putting a question at presidential press conferences in the US than correspondents from other nations. Personal characteristics function as background variables of the following personal factors.

When we follow the personal path of factors, attitudes, values and beliefs are well-analyzed categories. However, evidence for the assumption that individual values and beliefs directly affect news content is rather weak. Concerning more indirect influences on news content Nawawy (2001 cf. Ibrahim, 2003: 94) discovered that some correspondents in the Middle East receive less information, because they have another religious belief than the Jewry. Personal attitudes and values become more relevant, the more power correspondents have over their own messages and their work within the organization[1].

Tracing the second professional pathway, professional backgrounds and experiences come into play. Inevitably many studies describe the professional origin and education of correspondents. Naturally, experienced senior journalists are more likely to get better access to special kinds of information in host countries (Hannerz, 2004: 88). Professional backgrounds contribute to professional roles and ethics as well as personal characteristics. For instance, media roles differ between European and other foreign correspondents based in Washington D.C. and New York City. Willnat and Weaver (2003: 419) point to differing political systems and national cultures that lead to different journalists' considerations concerning the importance of roles.[2] Bonafede (1985: 421) summarizes that the role of a foreign correspondent in the US is not only to report the straight news but also to clarify, analyze and explain what is happening in the US and to interpret its significance for the country and the rest of the world. '*He becomes a player in a sophisticated*

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[1]   See at (2.2.) the lines of authority.

[2]   Other studies support the fact that the politico-social context and the journalists' understanding of their nation's interest influence their role perception (Glasgow University Media Group 1985 cf. Nossek 2004: 347; Nossek 2004: 348; Herman & Chomsky 2002; Shah 1994 cf. Beaudoin & Thorson 2001: 500; Starck & Villanueva 1992: 21). The dependence of professional roles on the national and cultural context links to the extra media level.

game und influences policy.' Several authors even describe the political importance of correspondents and demand a more advocate and diplomacy role for them (cf. Willnat & Weaver, 2003: 406).

Summarizing the impact of individual factors, Chang and Lee (1992: 560) found support for the assumption that American editors' criteria of selection are, in effect, related to their personal and professional backgrounds, such as foreign language training, political ideology, and professional education. Their criteria of selection are related to the psychological concept of newsworthiness by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Later, this approach became the starting point for the event-oriented research, whereas traits of events were not considered the most important criteria of selection, but rather the attributions given to the events by journalists, media organizations or social systems. However, scholars do not agree on the question which actors are responsible for the news selection (Robinson, 1973: 345–346). The same disagreement can be observed regarding the correspondents' orientation towards the audience. Nevertheless, the perception of the audience and its perceived needs and interests, does lead to certain content decisions[3] (McChesney, 1997 cf. Tai & Chang, 2002: 255).

2.2. Organizational determinants

At the level of organizational determinants of international news, media organizations and distributors of information content, come into play. While Shoemaker and Reese (1996) define a third component called 'audience', the audiences' images of journalists are part of the individual level and the existing audience impacts are extra media influences that belong to the third level in our model. The organizational level overcomes the limitation of individual approaches by taking into account sociological theories of the organization.

Media organizations have certain power structures that are responsible for many decisions concerning editorial policy and resource allocation of international news. Focusing on these power structures implies analyzing the impact of ownership and lines of authority on international news coverage. While Tang and Chan (1990) found that the percentage of self-produced international news had increased more quickly in a commercial paper than in a ruling-party owned 'flagship'

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[3]   The results of Tai and Chang (2002: 262–263) discuss the news preferences of editors and audiences, but it can't be clarified the connection between audience's interest as a perceived image of the journalist or a real audience demand (see extra media level 2.3.).

paper, other studies found no significant relationship between owner-ship type (group owned vs. independent papers) and percentage of news section given to foreign news coverage in US newspapers (cf. Kim, 2003: 70). The lines of authority are related to the hierarchy and their relevance, as well as to autonomy and power. Willnat and Weaver (2003: 418) conclude that correspondents are less concerned, on the whole, with the policies of their news organizations than US journalists in general, probably because they are more removed from these organizations and because their reporting is often used by multiple organizations. In contrast, newer studies argue that the relative freedom of correspondents diminished because usage of the Internet by the home bureau to retrieve information on international affairs led to more pressure on the correspondents. However, they still had considerable freedom (Lugert, 1973: 151; Hannerz, 2004: 149). In many cases, the autonomy of correspondents depends on their geographic location which may be more or less important for the home bureaus and their coverage (Hannerz, 2004: 211).

Altogether, the influence of the owners or the management directly affecting the editorial policy, the news philosophy or international news coverage, were seldom examined. Indirectly, however, management decisions affect resource allocations for international news making. Willnat and Weaver (2003: 414) alert us to some problems of correspon-dents centered on the large number of possible stories each day about the United States that will not be covered in their home countries due to lack of time, space or interest. Ghorpade (1984: 35) referred to a signifi-cant number of correspondents who complained about staff shortage. Besides, correspondents cited limited budgets as contributing signifi-cantly to their inability to travel outside their city areas in order to gather first-hand information (Ghorpade, 1984: 36). This not only confirms the co-orientation of journalists, the 'routine' sharing of information among themselves (cf. Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 124; Tai & Chang, 2002: 260), but also explains why foreign correspondents most frequently rely on domestic newspapers and television networks. The usage of wire services is again dependent on their availability in number and type (Chang & Lee, 1992: 560). Thus, the organizational size, indicated by budget or circulation, has a strong impact on resource allocation. The latter is highly dependent on the number of journalists (Kim, 2003: 77) and the type of roles: the bigger the organization the more specialization in the newsroom (Lowrey, Becker & Punathambekar, 2000). More resources result in greater expertise of workers and a higher volume of international coverage (Kim, 2003: 77).

A second strand of organizational determinants relates to the suppliers of so-called raw material. They can be viewed as an adaptation by media to the constraints imposed by their sources. Beside domestic media, mentioned earlier, important sources are news agencies and the Internet. Different studies support the fact that at least 50% of the coverage comes from agencies. The editorial offices behave themselves fairly passively (Hafez, 2001: 96), especially, when the access to other sources is restricted. Nair (1991: 61) describes the limited access to sources as constituted by officials *'not wanting to deal with a foreigner with a shaky grasp of the language'* or feeling *'indifferent to what appears in the foreign press'*. However, an extensive usage of domestic media or wire services leads to single-sided constructions of events. Agencies prefer hard news, especially relating to domestic political events, official or government sources and emphasizing on affairs between nations (Boyd-Barrett, 2000: 315). Domestic media or agencies play a significant role in the construction of national identity (Boyd-Barrett, 2000: 305), which Nossek (2004: 364) also understands as an impact of defining international news. Dependence on a limited number of sources also leads to more similarity between newspapers (Kim, 2003: 77).

2.3. Extra media determinants

At the extra media level, all aspects of impact, besides the media professional and the media organization must be considered. This level of analysis includes different kinds of information sources and revenue sources, technical determinants, the political and economic environment, ideological values from the 'home' society as well as the host society.

While we mentioned the image of the audience at the individual level, existing audience influences are also an important factor at the extra media level. Audience demands or community attributes affect the news selection. Hoge (1997) suggests that the lacking interest of audience is attributed to the decline in the international news volume. Tai and Chang's (2002:, 262–263) results go a step further claiming that journalists represent exactly these types of stories which readers seek. However, media are not successful in covering specific events that fascinate readers[4]. Lowrey, Becker and Punathambekar (2000) see the reason for the

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4   The US audience and US editors agree about the most newsworthy event types of international news: accident/ death/ violence, natural disasters, US military involvement, trial, and politics/ elections. In detail, the American audience preferred human-made and natural disasters (shootings, deaths, plane crashes, abnormal weather patterns) with an unmistakable propensity of ethnocentrism (Tai & Chang 2002, 260).

variability between newspapers in expertise and specialization in the content area of international news via communities. They found that the community's size and the community-orientation of a newspaper are highly related to the organizational-level and personnel-level content specialization of a newspaper. Most predictors of personnel expertise are stronger in larger communities than in smaller ones. They interpret the insight in that way that active local groups reach a critical mass in bigger communities and, therefore, enlarge their influence in bigger communities. The finding lends support to the fact that newspaper decision-making reflects the leanings of the dominant power structure in its community (Tichenor, Donohue & Olien, 1980; Lowrey, Becker & Punathambekar, 2000).

Turning to the context-oriented approach as a critical response to the psychologically biased event-oriented newsworthiness approach of Galtung and Ruge (1965), Rosengren (1974) called for 'extra-media' variables to explain the foreign news flow. These factors are examined in traditions of the political development macro theories.

Wu's (1998: 498–501) meta-analysis of 55 research papers summarizes the relevant components embedded in the world structure that determine the amount of coverage which one country receives in the press from another one: trade, cultural affinity (former colonial ties, ethnic bond and shared language), political relations (same political camp, ideological group or national interest), communication resource (access to technologies in the host country, presence of international news agencies, other media facilities), geographical proximity with contradictory findings, regionalism (relating to issues of identity and a country's historical context), and national traits (GNP value, population or physical size of nation, stance in the world's system). After the meta-analysis, Wu (2000: 124) analyzed nine important factors of quantitative news flow in 38 countries. As a result, he considered trade and the presence of news agencies to be the strongest predictors. Nevertheless, the fact is unsatisfactory that the critical dependency model is largely based on evidence of quantity of flow and on some limited interpretation of ideological tendencies of content. There is little or no research on the posited effects (McQuail, 2005: 256). Thus, Wu (2000: 127–128) concluded from a political economy perspective:

The topics to which the majority of international news hole is devoted – international politics, transnational trade, military conflict, and domestic politics – also evidently reflect the news from abroad provides a function of surveillance. Thus, it makes a lot of sense for most countries to monitor closely the moves of the few elites. In so doing, they could

take necessary steps to protect their own national interests should something emergent or threatening occur.

As already indicated, dependency or domestication processes reflect an ideology of someone, but there is only very little systematic research in this area. The study of Westerståhl and Johansson (1994: 79) is one example of different ideologies in different countries based on domestication processes. They examined the extent of media coverage of Poland and other countries in Western and Russian media during the time of the Solidarity movement's activities. They could explain the volume of the news coverage for all countries but Poland through news values. They interpreted the intense reporting on Poland as an expression of an interest with strong roots in a common Western ideology. The figures from Pravda, a communist USSR national newspaper at that time, giving little attention to Poland, supported this claim (Westerståhl & Johansson, 1994: 79).

3. CONCLUSION: NEED FOR INTEGRATIVE PERSPECTIVES

As shown above, there are many influencing factors at work at different levels and from different theoretical perspectives. While factors at the micro and mezzo level arise from media science theories, systemic factors do not result from any own theory of international news coverage, beside Galtungs' structural theory of imperialism (Hafez, 2001). Instead, they are derived from several macro political theories of international relations dealing with media effects of modernized or dependent media. (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). Ideally, these insights should be combined with media-organizational and event-specific models to validate the contradictory results of systemic factors. Kim (2003: 67) summarized the problems that arise when attempting to integrate both perspectives. On the one hand the tension between the two perspectives is caused by stressing a different set of determinants, lack of explanatory mechanisms, difficulty in comparative studies and making generalizations. On the other hand, the failure to clarify analytic levels and theoretical dimensions of news determinants can also not be ignored. All of these are, more or less, related to a theoretical and methodological gap between the two traditional perspectives, thus impeding an integrative theory construction in international news determinant research. Kim reasoned that there have been only rare efforts to integrate the event- and context-oriented perspectives.

One of the few exceptions is the construction of an integrated model by Shoemaker, Danielian and Brendlinger (1991) which conceptualized

newsworthiness in the three dimensions of event-related deviance, country-related social significance and communication constraints. Thus, they extracted the relative contribution of the event and country characteristics described in predicting prominence of coverage. The main result of the study shows that event characteristics were more effective in predicting how prominently international events are covered in the US media than country characteristics (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991: 789). Chang's (1998) integrative efforts remained at a theoretical level rather then being empirically grounded, but both models are criticized for not taking into account the organizational level. Thus, cross-media differences cannot be compared (Kim, 2003: 82).

Nossek (2004) made another suggestion while she examined the coverage of four events in three different countries. She found that the definition of an event as political violence causes the reporter and editorial board to adopt a stance and define the political violence as 'theirs' or 'ours'. Since an event is defined as theirs or ours, it is covered either as an open story or a closed[5] one. She suggested that the reason for this distinction is that the national position takes precedence over professional norms whenever an event is defined as 'our' political violence. Moreover, the professional frame of reference takes precedence whenever political violence is defined as 'theirs' or is not framed as a specific type of political violence (Nossek, 2004, 363).

More effort in integrated perspectives should not only assess the contribution of different influencing levels, but also analyze the direction of influences between the three levels for different dependent variables as volume or content patterns of international news coverage. So far each of the research perspectives claimed to be most effective in influencing international news coverage.

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5   How 'open' or 'closed' a story is depends on how balanced and factual its presentation is. Thus, the less historical allusions and emotive labels and the greater the variety of sources, the more open the story will be and vice versa (Nossek 2004: 355).

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BIOGRAPHY

Since October 2005, Ines Wolter is a PhD candidate at the University of Erfurt, Thuringia, Germany. In her PhD project she analyses micro, mezzo and macro influences in the Coverage of Eastern Europe in German national newspapers. She has also worked at the University of Leipzig, Saxony, as a research associate examining the quality of regional newspapers. At present, she is working as a scientific assistant in the department headed by Prof. Bertram Scheufele at the University of Jena, Thuringia. Her research interests include international communication, communicator research and content analysis. Address: Department of Communication Science, Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena, Germany. Contact: ines.wolter@uni-jena.de

Media self-regulation in Europe

MANUEL PARÉS I MAICAS

0. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, media regulation is a very important element in the development of mass media in Europe. In order to provide an overview of the issues at stake, this chapter is structured in the following way:

1) The concept of journalistic deontology
2) The professionalism of journalism
3) Self-control of media information
4) The role of the deontological codes

1. THE CONCEPT OF JOURNALISTIC DEONTOLOGY

According to Ernesto Villanueva (1996: 17), journalistic deontology is the '*set of ethical principles willingly assumed by the professional of journalism on the basis of integrity, professionalism and social responsibility*'. He adds to this definition that it is the only existing way -in democratic states- to allow journalists to preserve the free flow of information, which is beneficial to the society as a whole.

It is fitting to observe that before Villanueva developed this definition, Jean-Louis Hebarre (1979: 27ff.) stated (on a more general basis) that there are norms related to the professional behavior to which all members of a profession should be subjected, whether these norms have a legal nature or not. In this context, Hebarre points out that the concept of deontology has a different signification if it is applied to the liberal professions or if it relates to journalists.

It is interesting to take further notice of the distinction Hebarre formulates between the professional deontology in general and the journalistic deontology. Hebarre (1979: 27) thus defines deontology as the '*set of ethical norms which a profession adopts and that its members have the duty to*

respect'. He mentions the following distinctions between liberal professions' and journalists' deontology:

1) Within the liberal professions, there are a small number of basic internal differences. But essentially, they are 'independent' from one another.

2) Media companies and their journalists have the same objectives, but they are not submitted to the same rules, except when a press council exists.

3) The access to the journalistic profession is free. In democratic states no degree is required in order to practice this profession. Conversely, for most liberal professions, law regulates the conditions for access and for practicing the profession.

2. THE PROFESSIONALISM OF JOURNALISM

The principal function of journalism is to truthfully inform its audiences about facts, events, conflicts, ideas of which s/he is knowledgeable. Obviously this is the general rule, but in practice this principle is often neglected or ignored.

It is necessary to outline that the concept of being a journalist has evolved as a consequence of social, cultural, political and technological changes, and because of the evolution of the nature of information itself and the related practices of distributing information. This means that in certain cases the function of a journalist may be assumed by other professionals, often those engaged in public relations. The growing role of PR-companies implies that a good deal of information diffused by the media and received by the citizens has a persuasive or biased origin.

As a matter of fact, the concept of journalism is strictly linked to the diffusion of information (or news), which is a fundamental public service. The Spanish Constitution states in its article 20 that information should be 'truthful', which is unfortunately not always the case. It is necessary to add that article 19 of the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 regrettably does not include this essential requirement.

Today the most complex and difficult issue to handle is the practical confusion that often exists between journalism and public relations; this becomes problematic if we take into account that a good number of activities of the latter also require media diffusion. This confusion creates difficulties in setting up ethical and deontological borders between journalism (and the journalists' informational role) on the one hand, and public relations on the other hand. Another (related) problem is that

journalists (professionally) diffuse information which has a public rela-
tions origin.

3. SELF-CONTROL OF MEDIA INFORMATION

From a historical point of view, I here have to mention the work of José
Maria Desantes, (1973: 46ff.). He deals with two different conceptions of
self-control, as formulated by Loeffler and by Hebarre.

In relation to the first author, Desantes offers an extended definition,
exclusively devoted to the role of the press: '*Organizations of self-control
are institutions set up by and for the press. They include journalists and editors,
adopting freely their decisions and being only responsible in relation to their
conscience. They cooperate in order to preserve the existence of balanced and
loyal relations between the press, on the one hand, and the state and society on
the other. This balance is accomplished through maintaining a high professional
morality within the press, and by defending the press freedom*'. (Loeffler, 1969:
149).

Desantes (1973: 53–54) believes that control should be exercised by the
professionals themselves, but he uses a broad definition of 'profes-
sionals', including journalists, editors and media owners. In my opinion
this broadness is doubtful and generates problems, because of the
diverging interests of these various actors. Furthermore, self-regulation
should be applied to all kinds of mass media.

As far the definition of Hebarre (1979: 18ff.) is concerned, he locates
self-control within the frame of the complex relationships between Law,
Ethics and Deontology. He asserts that self-control is the professional
ethics which is freely accepted by the members, who identify with it.

His definition is the following: '*[an] organism which should allow the
press –which he qualifies as a very singular industry- to fulfill its own institu-
tional function in the core of a modern democratic society.*' (Hebarre quoted in
Desantes, 1973: 46) In his opinion, if a competent organism, which is con-
nected to the journalistic profession, organizes self-control, this avoids
state control in many areas.

From another perspective, Jacques Leprette and Henri Pigeat
(Leprette, 2004: 31–32) conceive self-regulation as the creation and
utilization of instruments and independent bodies (by the journalistic
profession, with the participation of society –which they consider highly
convenient) which define the norms that regulate the journalists' behav-
ior on the basis of professional ethics. Their main justification is also to
leave the exercise of the freedom of the information to the media –
evidently journalists themselves are included here- outside state control.

In different books, but specifically in the chapter 'Media and public sphere: the role of self-regulation' (in Aznar & Villanueva, 2000: 156ff.), Hugo Aznar outlines the mechanisms of self-regulation: the deontological codes, the style books, the statutes of the editorial staff, the ombudsmen, the readers' representational organizations and the news councils. He enumerates the following two main objectives:

1) To promote specific moral values in relation to media content, and to facilitate ways that allow claiming and requiring that this content respects these values and norms;

2) Its functioning and effectiveness are a result of the free initiatives and voluntary engagement of those who intervene in mediated communication, namely owners and media managers.

As Aznar does not seem to distinguish between owners and media managers, it is tempting to think that he collapses all types of media, journalists and other communications professionals, the audience, and the journalists' sources into his model.

According to Aznar, the objectives of the self-control are:

a) To formulate the ethical norms guiding the media's activities, either ethically or deontologically;

b) To ensure that the working, professional and social conditions reinforce the normal accomplishment of the ethical and deontological requirements;

c) As a consequence, to inform the public opinion about breaches of these norms;

d) To study, discuss and judge the conflictive actions of the media, in order to make the media and the public opinion aware of the media's importance and necessity.

However, Aznar (2000: 161) remarks that self-regulation does not decisively solve these problems, as many economic, political or other risks or dangers exist.

Cristina López Mañero (2000: 170ff.) explains that the increasing number of organisms for self-control is caused by four reasons:

a) To face the increasing criticism launched at the journalistic profession and to deal with its consequent loss of credibility;

b) To demand from the public opinion that they require the professionals to perform their function correctly;

c) To allow for and engage in close contact with the audience;

d) To avoid legislative action (which is, in my opinion, the most powerful reason).

Cristina López Mañero also lists five conditions for the existence and functioning of self-regulatory systems:

    a) They are only feasible in democratic systems;

    b) Media professionals, media organizations, the political elite and society at large should be aware of the need and efficacy of self-regulatory systems. (I should like to structurally doubt the good intentions of public powers. The existence of representative organisms and social movements are important counter-powers; it is crucial to remain aware of their importance);

    c) They must be free;

    d) They must enjoy the support of the majority of the media professionals;

    e) They require a professional and social atmosphere which positively evaluates the relevance of the moral values; this atmosphere should appreciate the absence of the ambition to impose these values coercively.

Among the difficulties and obstacles that self-regulatory systems face, she outlines the following list: professional reticence, audience skepticism and the practical problems that arise from the absence of the ability to legally enforce them.

Finally, Hugo Aznar (2005: 30ff.) makes an interesting contribution to this debate, as he stresses that self-regulation has nothing to do with censorship. This -in democratic systems- unlawful practices imply attempts to limit media freedom because of economic, political or military interests.

Aznar claims that self-regulation originates from the voluntary engagement of those agents participating in communicational processes. Its aim is to implement media freedom, used responsibly and wisely. Over all, it is especially guided by the values and objectives of communication itself. In contrast to self-censorship, self-control must be based on the largest possible consensus of the social and communicational agents involved.

I am quite sure that the different points of view that I have exposed, to which I agree entirely, do not require any further comments from my side.

4. Deontological Codes

From a European perspective, deontological codes are general principles of ethics applied to a specific profession. They principally deal with: a)

the integrity of the journalist; b) the professional dignity and the loyalty to the media, c) the use of honest ways to obtain information, photographs, and any kind of documents; d) the avoidance of advertising or propaganda aims and techniques; e) the acceptance of the responsibility for the information that is distributed; f) professional solidarity; g) the application of a conscience clause when deemed necessary.

According to Daniel Cornu (1994), the following elements should be taken into account:

a) Press freedom must be based upon the absence of any material or moral interest, the refusal of political propaganda and of advertising, the resistance to pressures, the connection of deontology with the Law and journalists' rights (Cornu, 1994: 70ff.);

b) Considering that the truth is a fundamental duty, it integrates the correct treatment of sources, the refusal of unloyal methods, the duty to rectify, and professional secrecy (Cornu, 1994: 88ff.);

c) In relation to respect of human dignity, considered to be a threshold value, he emphasizes the importance of the protection of honor and privacy; of the risk involved with mentioning names of people implicated in judicial procedures, of the presumption of innocence, and of respect for the sensitiveness of audiences and minorities (Cornu, 1994: 111–119).

In relation to the effectiveness of codes, Hugo Aznar (2005: 64) stresses the need for three basic elements: a) the need for it to be known; b) it should be applied as a fundamental exigency; c) and it needs to have the largest possible diffusion.

Finally, the following international principles of journalism's professional ethics, formulated by the UNESCO at November 20, 1983, cannot go unmentioned:

1) The right of the citizen to truthful information;
2) The support of the journalist for the objective reality;
3) The social responsibility of the journalist;
4) The professional integrity of the journalist;
5) The access and participation of the audience;
6) The respect for privacy and human dignity;
7) The respect for the public interest;
8) The respect for the universal values and cultural diversity;
9) The disappearance of wars and other similar plagues;
10) The promotion of a new world order of information and communication.

As a matter of fact, some of these principles remain unfortunately theoretical in (journalistic) practice, but I consider it a necessity to mention them in order to emphasize and remember their importance for democratic societies, however often theses principles are obliterated.

5. Conclusion

I do hope that these points of view, considerations and judgments about self-control, as a vital requirement for our contemporary societies, can be taken into account. This question has arisen in many European countries, with their many different cultures. Nevertheless more or less similar issues have surfaced. This is the reason why The Alliance of Independent Press Councils of Europe (AIPCE) was created. It is a loose-knit group, but the AIPCE participants believe in the application of self-regulation, independent from government, at a local or regional level, based on nations' different cultures.

Journalistic ethics and deontology are two core pillars of societies that claim to be welfare states. In these states, the principle of information as public service should always be considered as a qui pro quo.

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BIOGRAPHY

Manuel Parés I Maicas is emeritus professor of the Faculty of Communication Sciences, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; honorary president of the International Association for Media and Communication Research; Director of the UNESCO Chair of Communication of the University; one of the promoters of the European Consortium of Communication Research, now ECREA; cofounder and promoter of the Summer School of Doctoral Studies in Communication; member of the Deontological Commission of the Consell de la Informació de Catalunya and of the Federación de Asociaciones de la Prensa de España; and author of numerous books and journals articles. He has participated and contributed in many international conferences and symposiums.
Contact: Manuel.Pares@uab.es

SECTION TWO

PARTICIPATING IN EUROPE

Multiculturalism and 'saying it like it is': Mapping discourses of 'political correctness' in North Belgium

Benjamin De Cleen

1. INTRODUCTION: A SHORT DISCURSIVE HISTORY OF 'POLITICAL CORRECTNESS'

'Political correctness' (PC) is or has been an issue in cultural, political, economic and other debates in many Western countries. This chapter focuses on North Belgium. It presents part of the results of a quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles that aims to map discourses of 'political correctness' in North Belgium.

Various accounts of the origin of the term 'political correctness' exist, ranging from a 1793 Supreme Court case in the US to Mao's Little Red Book (see Epstein, 1992; Perry, 1992; Suhr & Johnson, 2003: 9). There is some consensus (Cameron, 1995: 126; Perry, 1992: 72) that 'political correctness' was used by the (academic) (New) Left from the 1960s onwards as a form of left-on-left critique, a critique of leftists on other leftists for being dogmatic or too strictly following party lines.

In the beginning of the 1990s, 'political correctness' in academia and education became an issue of public debate in the Anglo-Saxon world (see Aufderheide, 1992; Berman, 1992; D'Souza, 1991; 1992; Dunant, 1994; Hughes, 1993; see also Journal of Communication 42(2) devoted to communication scholarship and 'political correctness'). This debate focused on university policies regarding offensive speech, the representation of women and minorities in curricula (e.g. black or female authors in literature courses), and these groups' representation in staff and student population. Cameron (1995: 128) argues that a number of best-selling books on 'PC' in the university and the media focus on this matter marked the beginning of the term's 'discursive drift'. In the process, she argues, the meaning of 'political correctness' broadened, the term acquired new connotations, and lost its past connotations as a left-on-left condemnation (see also Feldstein, 1997: 59).

'Political correctness' was a critique of the so-called politicization of education (see Annette, 1994: 2–3) and the identity politics associated with it. This critique was also directed at the academic currents that were said to have been at the root of this politicization – Continental philosophical traditions, especially Deconstructionism and neo-Marxism – and at new areas of study such as gay and lesbian studies and women's studies that were seen to exemplify this politicization (Diederichsen, 1996: 39). Similar reactions against 'politicization' are also central to critiques of 'political correctness' in art (e.g. paying more attention to black artists[1]).

Further changes in the meaning of 'political correctness' occurred as the term made its way to other countries (and languages) and interacted with different local contexts. In Germany for example, critics of a renewed German nationalism were castigated as 'politically correct' (see Diederichsen, 1996; Huhnke, 1999; Johnson & Suhr, 2003). In France, discourses of 'political correctness' seem to be less connected to politics and are mainly found in the context of (reviews of) cultural products (Toolan, 2003: 84).

'Political correctness' as a critique of the politicization of domains outside of politics can be understood in the light of Mouffe's distinction between 'politics' and 'the political'. Mouffe (2000: 101) defines 'the political' as the '*dimension of antagonism that is inherent in human relations, antagonism that can take many forms and emerge in different types of social relations*', whereas 'politics' is considered '*a separate system, the political system, and is expected to stay within the boundaries of this system*' (Stavrakakis, 1999: 71). Critique of 'political correctness' is partly a critique of the idea that antagonisms can be found throughout society – i.e. between different social groups, and in different social contexts. Critics of 'political correctness' argue that certain 'politically correct' attempts to ameliorate the position of women and minorities, of changing the representation of these groups, etc. politicize identities and domains that were not political before. Those deemed to be 'politically correct' argue on the contrary that power relations, difference and conflict have always existed and that their efforts to change representations, power relations, etc. are merely making this (the 'political' nature) explicit. Cameron (1995) develops a similar argument for language specifically when she argues that ('politically correct') 'verbal hygiene' calls into question the common sense view of language as a neutral instrument.

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[1] See for example Hughes, 1993; for a critique of PC as a way of denouncing art, see Diederichsen, 1996

2. Mapping 'political correctness' in North Belgium

2.1. Quantitative content analysis

Because of its capacity to mean different things in different contexts, 'political correctness' has been called a '*fluid term*' (Feldstein 1997: 10) or '*Plastikwort*' (Huhnke, 1997 in Johnson & Suhr 2003: 50). This chapter tries to grasp this discursive elasticity empirically through a quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles.

From a social constructivist perspective on language, stressing the constructed nature and the historical and cultural specificity of any view on reality (Burr 2003: 1–5) – a perspective that was/is itself criticized as being 'politically correct' (Feldstein, 1997: 2) – 'political correctness' is treated as a construct. From this perspective, all discourses – including those labeled 'politically correct' and those labeled (or labeling themselves) 'politically incorrect' – are seen as constructing a version of reality. So, the question is not what is 'politically correct' and what is not, but rather: in which discourses is the signifier 'political correctness' deployed? Which version of reality do these discourses produce? And what is the role of 'political correctness' in this?

The mapping of discourses of 'political correctness' presented in this chapter is part of a larger research project that studies meta-discourse in politics. This research is grounded in social constructivist assumptions and is as such far removed from the scientific positivist tradition that often underpins quantitative research. Nevertheless, discourse analysis can make good use of quantitative approaches as a way of contextualizing the discourse studied, as other research on 'political correctness' (e.g. Johnson & Suhr, 2003; Johnson, Culpeper & Suhr 2003; Toolan, 2003) has shown.

Wester (1995) sees quantitative content analysis as '*systematic-quantifying*' and opposes it to '*qualitative interpretative*' content analysis. In his view (Wester, 1995: 135), 'quantitative' refers mainly to the size of the corpus and the statistical nature of the analysis. The systematic nature lies in the reading of the material on the basis of detailed rules that are contained in a coding book. Quantitative content analysis aims at the highest possible correspondence between different coders, which makes it most suited for analyzing manifest content (Wester, 1995: 137). Neuendorf (2002: 23–24, 146) notes that latent content can be researched by translating it into manifest variables, but she admits that this is an issue of debate and that latent content has a negative influence on reliability. Therefore, quantitative content analysis alone is not enough to

grasp the workings of discourses of 'political correctness', but it is well suited to identify different uses and meanings of 'political correctness' in North Belgium, track the evolution in the use of this 'fluid term' and identify cases in which discourses of 'political correctness' come to the forefront.

2.2. *The corpus*

Media are important producers as well as sources of discourses of 'political correctness' (see also Johnson & Suhr, 2003; Johnson, Culpeper & Suhr 2003; Toolan, 2003). Through the diversity of topics they cover, newspapers are expected to provide an overview of discourses of 'political correctness' in North Belgium. The selection of newspapers maximizes this diversity. Three newspapers were analysed between the start of their archive[2] and June 30th 2005. [3]

Regional tabloid *Gazet Van Antwerpen* has a socially mixed readership, a lot of sports coverage and a Flemish (nationalist), catholic and socially inspired editorial line (CIM, 2006a; De Bens, 2001: 291).

De Morgen, a former socialist party newspaper and now independent broadsheet, is considered the most left wing of the three. It has a considerable share of political news, covers both 'popular' and more 'elitist' culture, and has a rather educated and relatively young readership (CIM, 2006b; De Bens, 2001: 339).

Business broadsheet *De Tijd*'s archive is accessible from 1988, creating the possibility of analyzing the introduction of 'political correctness' in North Belgium. The focus of De Tijd on economic and financial issues might imply a specific kind of discourses of 'political correctness'. De Tijd has a small, educated, mostly well-off readership (CIM, 2006c; De Bens 2001: 346).

First, using a list of search terms[4], all articles referring to 'political correctness' are collected. Within these articles, references to 'political

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[2] GVA: 1996; DM: 1998; DT: 1988.

[3] The corpus of newspaper articles is not meant to be representative for all texts referring to 'political correctness' in North Belgium, but does intend to be representative for the North Belgian press. An analysis conducted on a sample from a fourth newspaper (De Standaard) showing high sample validity confirms that this is indeed the case.

[4] politieke correctheid; politiek correct(e); political correctness; politically correct; politieke incorrectheid; politiek incorrect(e); political incorrectness; politically incorrect; politiek oncorrect; politieke oncorrectheid

correctness' are the actual units of analysis. This results in a corpus of 1695 articles, containing 2080 'PC-terms', which are all analyzed.[5]

Results for De Tijd point to a steady increase in discourses of 'political correctness' from the beginning to the end of the 1990s. After this introduction, the irregular evolution in the number of references to 'political correctness' suggests that discourses of 'political correctness' are connected to specific debates, issues or events.

The earliest references to 'political correctness' are English loan terms: 'political correctness' and to a lesser extent 'politically correct' are the first 'PC-terms' to be used (in 1992, there are no occurrences between 1988 and 1992 in DT). Dutch terms are introduced in 1994 and from 1996 onwards are used more frequently than English terms. 'Politiek correct' ('politically correct') is used most often, followed by 'politieke correctheid' ('political correctness'). The most frequently used English term is 'political corrrectness', which reaches its peak in 1998 and occurs less often after that.

2.3. Identifying discourses of 'political correctness'

The main aim of this quantitative analysis is the identification of different uses of 'political correctness'. The analysis is centered around two variables: one looking at the domains of social life these uses are situated in, and one looking at the issues they are connected to.[6] A matrix (per newspaper) combining these two variables reveals what kind of discussions on 'political correctness' there have been in North Belgium.

Discourses of 'political correctness' can be found in various kinds of discussions, from film reviews to political debates. A first variable, *sphere*, situates uses of 'political correctness' in domains of the social.[7] On the

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[5]   Every reference to 'correct' is included in the corpus. This results in a number of 'PC terms' that are not part of the list (and or not searched for systematically), but that in some cases clearly do refer to 'political correctness' (most importantly: 'correct'). Cases that are irrelevant to the research (e.g. the literal use of 'correct') are filtered from the data analysis. Other forms of 'correctness' (cultural, economic, etc) are not included in the analysis, as they would skew the results.

[6]   Other variables, such as the author(s) of the article and the person(s) using the 'PC term' are not discussed here.

[7]   *Sphere* is just below the reliability standard for tentative conclusions (Krippendorffs Alpha = 0,639). The discussion of Sphere is therefore limited to giving an indication of the main conclusions.

basis of a literature review and introductory reading of the material, seven spheres[8] are distinguished:

politics,	education & science,
culture & media,	personal life, and
consumption,	sports.
economy,	

In North Belgium, references to 'political correctness' can be found mainly in political and cultural contexts. Following Mouffe's (2000: 98–108) distinction between 'politics' as a specific social domain and 'the political' as the antagonism inherent in all social domains, all kinds of 'politically correct' practices can be considered 'political'. The sphere of *Politics* is limited to political institutions, policy, and academic-philosophical debates on political ideologies and policies. In Gazet Van Antwerpen and De Tijd most references to 'political correctness' are related to politics. De Morgen has the most politics related 'PC terms', but has even more in the realm of Culture & Media, which can be explained by its higher share of arts, entertainment and media coverage.

'Political correctness' occurs only sporadically in other spheres. *Consumption* groups all forms of consumption except for the consumption of cultural products. This includes 'politically incorrect' fast cars, 'politically correct' vegetarian food, etc. *Economy* includes the production side: stock exchange, labor unions news, etc. Unsurprisingly, business newspaper De Tijd has relatively more economy related references to 'political correctness' than the other newspapers, but this is still a very modest number. The debates on 'PC' in academia that were very lively in the US, did not really spread to North Belgium, or at least not to the press. 'Political correctness' does occur in an academic context, mainly as an evaluation of (semi-) academic books, but there is hardly any press coverage of 'political correctness' in education or research. In all newspapers, *personal life* (e.g. 'politically correct' gender roles in households) and *sports* (e.g. boxing being called 'politically incorrect' because of its violent nature) are the least discussed in terms of 'political correctness'.

The results for the variable Sphere show a quite diverse range of discourses of 'political correctness'. A second variable, *'Issue'*, maps the issues that are discussed in terms of 'political correctness' throughout the different spheres. It attempts to answer the question: why is a certain view, person, thing labeled 'politically (in)correct'? From the literature

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8 Each reference to 'political correctness' is coded under one of these Spheres. This is not necessarily the same as the topic of the article (e.g. when in an interview an actor talks about 'political correctness' in politics).

review and an introductory reading, fourteen issues are derived.[9] An overview is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Issues relating to political correctness

Issue	Description
Multicultural	deals with multicultural society, racism, ethnic minorities, colonialism, etc. This is by far the most prominent issue, and will be discussed in 2.4.;
Gender	refers to 'political (in)correctness' regarding the relations between and representation of men and women;
Sexual preference	groups 'political (in)correctness' towards lesbians, gays, heterosexuals and transsexuals;
Religion	includes 'political (in)correctness' towards religious communities and religion itself;
Handicap	refers to the representation, rights, etc. of people with a handicap;
Animal rights & environmental protection	where 'political correctness' is used as a way of ridiculing or criticising for example vegetarianism or a plea for closing nuclear power plants;
Pacifism	where those who are against violence or war are discredited as naive or 'politically correct'
Mani pulite	which refers to a more literal use of 'politically correct' in the sense of (anti-) corruption or (anti-) nepotism;
Crime & repression	or the 'political (in)correctness' of (different views on) crime and repression, where tougher laws and repression are presented (positively) as 'politically incorrect';
Flemish nationalism	or the 'political (in)correctness' of discourses on Flemish identity, differences between the Dutch and the French speaking part of Belgium, where Flemish nationalism is evaluated (positively) as 'politically (in)correct';
Safety in traffic	or the 'politically incorrect' nature of driving fast versus the (naive) 'political correctness' of strict speed limits, etc.;
Sexuality	includes different perspectives on sex, nudity, pornography, etc;
Health	refers to healthy living in general as well as to drugs, alcohol and smoking; and
Intellectualism / elitism	where 'political correctness' is linked to different views on public participation in arts, politics, etc.

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[9]   Most issues are reliable (Krippendorffs Alpha between 0,8 and 1,0); Pacifism (0,794) and Crime & Repression (0,785) are just below the 0,8 standard. Conclusions regarding Gender (0,664) and Religion (0,575) should be interpreted more cautiously.

These last three issues especially show the discursive elasticity of 'political correctness'. Openness regarding *sexuality* (nudity, pornography, etc.) is sometimes called 'politically correct' (e.g. nude on stage in experimental theatre is negatively appreciated as 'politically correct'). More often, showing sexuality is positively appreciated as 'politically incorrect' (e.g. nudity in mainstream American cinema). Regarding *health*, a progressive attitude towards drug use (the legalization of soft drugs for example) is sometimes called 'politically correct', while in other cases, (the representation of) drugs, alcohol and smoking is labeled 'politically incorrect'. As for *intellectualism / elitism,* depending on the context, both striving for maximum public participation in culture, and 'elitist'/'intellectualist' (experimental/alternative) art are labeled 'politically correct'. 'Political correctness' nearly always has a negative connotation, but what is evaluated negatively as 'politically correct' or positively as 'politically incorrect' can differ greatly. As the examples above show, this is mainly true in a cultural context. It will become clear that in politics, critiques of 'political correctness' work mainly (but not exclusively) in one direction.

2.4. 'Political correctness' and multicultural society

In North Belgium, *multiculturalism* is the issue most discussed in terms of 'political correctness'. For example, when the extreme right party Vlaams Blok (VB) was convicted for racism (and was forced to change its name to Vlaams Belang), it criticized the other (democratic) parties for being 'politically correct'. The VB created a chain of equivalence in which this 'political correctness' was linked to censorship, to the political establishment (i.e. all parties except for the VB) and to lying about 'the truth' (i.e. that multicultural society does not function). It opposed this to a chain of equivalence linking the VB to free speech and respect of democracy, and presenting the VB as the party that represents 'the people' and the(ir) ('politically incorrect') majority opinion.

Discourses of 'political correctness' also often occur in political debates on multicultural society in the Netherlands. Frequently, the electoral success of the late right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn – that was attributed to his breaking down so-called taboos regarding multiculturalism – was described as the 'end of political correctness'. After his murder, the climate in the Netherlands moved even more towards a climate where anything goes. Interestingly, those critical of this radicalization of the debate do not defend the 'political correctness' that is said to have been dominant before. Instead, they use a neutral definition of

'political correctness' as 'the prevailing discourse' and often accept that the debate in the Netherlands had been too taboo-laden in the past. However, they argue, this climate has changed and we are now witnessing a new form of (right wing) 'political correctness'. By describing the discourse that prides itself on breaking down taboos as the dominant norm, the rebellious character of anti-PC-discourse is undermined.

Co-occurrences of issues[10] show that when 'political correctness' is used in relation to *religion*[11] and/or *crime & repression*[12] it is often simultaneously related to multicultural society. As for crime and repression, those critical of ethnic minorities pride themselves on breaking down 'politically correct' taboos by overtly criticizing (mainly) Muslim minorities, for example by linking crime rates to ethnicity. Here, 'political correctness' is part of what Prins (2004) has called a 'new realist' discourse on multicultural society, that presents its view as 'reality' by opposing it to 'political correctness'. In the case of religion, it is revealing that those defending the rights of Muslim minorities are criticized as being 'politically correct', while at the same time a negative attitude towards Catholicism is also called 'politically correct'.

In a cultural context, 'political correctness' refers mainly to the way ethnic minorities are represented and to the chances they get as media professionals and artists. Whereas multicultural issues in politics were quasi exclusively European and linked to local political debates, 'political correctness' in arts and entertainment is frequently linked to the 'PC' climate in the US. In some cases, 'political correctness' is even presented as a current in US visual arts. In a cultural context, 'political correctness' also often refers to *gender* and – to a lesser extent – *sexual preference*. As with ethnic minorities, 'political correctness' here refers both to the way gender roles and different sexual preferences are represented and to the access women, gays, lesbians, etc. have as media professionals and artists. In general, discourses of 'political correctness' attribute the success of women and minorities in arts and entertainment to their being women or minorities, thus questioning their own merit.

In political debates, gender is seldom discussed in terms of 'political correctness'. When this is the case, 'political correctness' usually simultaneously refers to multicultural society and/or religion (i.e. Islam). Again, this seems to be part of 'new realist' discourse: critics of the posi-

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10 Because a 'PC term' can refer to one or more issues, each issue is coded as a binary (Yes/No) variable.

11 16/29 in GVA, 26/41 in DM, 30/40 in DT

12 20/33 in GVA, 31/42 in DM, 15/20 in DT

tion of women in Islamic countries or in ethnic-religious minorities claim that they are breaking 'politically correct' taboos that have long stifled the debate on these issues.

3. CONCLUSION

Discussions on 'political correctness' are still very much alive in North Belgium. The mapping presented in this chapter shows that the discussions on 'political correctness' are similar to the discussions in other countries. The debate is mainly focused on issues of representation and language. In a cultural context especially, discussions on the representation of women and minorities are very similar to those in other countries. However, in a political context, debates seem to have a more local (or European) flavor. As 'political correctness' becomes integrated into North Belgian political discourse, it is more and more associated with multiculturalism.

'Political correctness' functions in the debate on multicultural society as part of 'new realist' (Prins, 2004) discourse that opposes its reality to the 'politically correct' naivety of multiculturalism. The quantitative analysis shows that (extreme) right wing politicians and opinion makers indeed use 'political correctness' frequently. It also shows that critiques of 'political correctness' can be heard across most of the political spectrum (except for the Green party to some extent), which could point to a more critical attitude vis-à-vis ethnic-religious minorities and to more offensive discourse. However, the hegemony of 'new realist' anti-'political correctness' discourse on multiculturalism is not complete. For one, the dominance of anti-'political correctness' discourse has led some to ask who exactly makes up the 'politically correct' elite that is setting all the taboos to be broken by the 'politically incorrect'. Another way of destabilising 'new realist' discourse is turning the idea of 'political correctness' as a set of dominant ideas against 'new realist' discourses that would constitute a new or right wing 'political correctness'. Nevertheless, the discrediting power of 'political correctness' seems to be so strong that there are hardly any instances where 'politically correct' is evaluated positively. Even those critical of anti-PC-discourse, do not redefine the term in a positive way.

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BIOGRAPHY

Benjamin De Cleen is a research assistant at the VUB department of Communication Studies and is preparing a PhD on the role of meta-discourse in the debate on multicultural society in North Belgium. He obtained his Master's Degree in Communication Studies from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in 2004 and graduated on a Masters thesis that ana-lyzed the discourse of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) on downloading music.
Contact: benjamin.de.cleen@vub.ac.be

Blurring the boundaries:
The dismantlement of the institutional and non-institutional politics dichotomy through the media-oriented strategies of new social movements and political parties

Iñaki Garcia Blanco

1. INTRODUCTION

> *Today, political leaders throughout Europe are facing a real paradox. On the one hand, Europeans want them to find solutions to the major problems confronting our societies. On the other hand, people increasingly distrust institutions and politics or are simply not interested in them.* (European Commission, 2001: 3)

The above excerpt from the white paper on European governance captures a widespread concern about the quality of our political system that has been expressed by political theorists, citizens, and politicians alike. The European executive branch publicly accepts the existence of a 'crisis' of representation affecting European institutions. Different indicators suggest that the most consolidated democracies are passing through a critical moment, as voter turnout is decreasing every election[1] and citizens' trust in their politicians and political institutions is not high[2]. The Spanish case does not diverge from this pattern: Professional politicians

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[1] See, for example, the study of Gray and Caul (2000) on turnout decline in industrial democracies since the 1950s.

[2] The 62nd wave of the Eurobarometer reported that only 57% citizens of the Member States were 'totally satisfied' with the way democracy worked in their own country. 38% citizens expressed their trust in their national parliaments, and 34% trusted their national governments. Political parties had the lowest degree of trust, as they were only trusted by 17% (European Commission, 2005).

are attributed a low status compared to other social and political actors[3], to the extent that 12.6% Spaniards consider them to be among the three main problems affecting the state (CIS, 2006b).

Some political communication scholars (Robinson, 1976; Robinson, 1977; Patterson, 1993; Fallows, 1996; Cappella & Hall Jamieson, 1997; Street, 2001) have explained the causes of the acclaimed crisis of Western democracies by referring to the development of new political communication strategies and to news media performance. As contemporary democracies and the media are mutually dependent, it comes as no surprise that the development of new strategies may end up altering the way politics is practiced[4]. The centrality and sensitivity of this issue also justifies the importance attributed to this development by academic researchers. Dealing with the extension of political communication strategies and political marketing involves dealing with their impact on the quality of our democracies. Thus it makes sense for research to go beyond descriptive aims and adopt normative stances. Based on what Pippa Norris (2000) calls 'media malaise theories', politicians and their consultants have been blamed for the impoverishment of our public life through their use of strategies of 'packaging politics' (Franklin, 1994). Other scholars such as Cappella and Hall Jamieson (1997) attribute responsibility to the journalists, viewing citizens' political cynicism and disengagement as a direct consequence of the media portrayals of politics.

This 'crisis' of political representation, however, has been paralleled with an increase of interest in politics, civic engagement, and other forms of political participation –demonstrations, signing petitions, civic boycotts, …. Both right wing and left wing initiatives have been backed by massive citizens' support. Millions of Spanish citizens have marched in the past years against neo-liberal globalization, against the Iraq war, against gay marriage, or against ETA talks. It goes without saying that the media have played a crucial role in the development of such forms of political participation, either by supplying a channel through which

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[3]   The Spanish barometer in its March 2006 wave asked respondents to express their degree of sympathy towards different social / political actors. Only squatters scored worse considered than professional politicians (CIS, 2006a).

[4]   '*The meaning of democracy changes over time because forms of communication with which to conduct politics change (…) Neither communication nor democracy is a transcendent concept; they do not exist outside history. The meaning of these terms varies with available media and with whatever concrete notions of democracy happen to be popular at any particular time*' (Carey, 1993: 2).

these initiatives gain a presence in the public domain or by generating the need for citizens to engage in certain forms of political action.

The analysis that the decrease of the electoral turnout implies that citizens have become disengaged and cynical, assumes that nothing political exists outside the traditional political institutions, and consequently, that there is no form of political participation apart from voting. The examples from recent political Spanish history show that the political transcends the restrictions imposed by the intense, sometimes unjustified use of categories as institutional/non-institutional politics. This dichotomy loses all its explanatory force when used in an *a priori* way, as a tool to compartmentalize research which nicely fits the world into predefined categories. This chapter will analyze an evolution that recently took place in the Spanish political realm, which indicates that political actors, both institutional and non-institutional, are starting to share their forms of action, blurring the clear boundaries which used to distinguish them.

2. THE NEED FOR MEDIA COVERAGE

Institutional political actors have developed highly professionalized structures in order to get their message across to the media. Whether cause or consequence of the scientificization of institutional politics, the rise of political consultancy has gained an influential position by winning support for policies and also by pursuing favorable media coverage[5]. As it is believed that this (favorable) media coverage may generate public approval and/or citizens' adhesion (Blumler, 1990), it is much valued. Governments (and political institutions in general) increasingly take the priorities and interests of political journalism into account, with the aim of gaining more positive coverage in the media (Swanson, 1997). The media become one of the main targets for politicians, as they represent the channel through which most political information reaches the citizenry. This pragmatic political approach has generated normative

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[5]   Or a negative depiction of the political opponent, it may be added. Negative campaigning is considered to be the hallmark of American campaigning since the late 1980s. However, it has spread, and it is now used during the whole political cycle. While negative political advertising may be a novelty with negative consequences, Ansoholabere & Iyengar, (1995) claim that it affects news media content and contributes to the decrease in turnout - political opposition is a very necessary element in democratic politics. However, the literature shows certain sloppiness in the use of these concepts, and sometimes conflates negative campaigning with acts of mere opposition, which provide citizens with essential information (see Mayer, 1996).

concerns, above all in Great Britain, where spin-doctors' strategies are often discussed, even in the press. The main concern here is based on the possible dominance of communication over politics.

The development of alternative forms of political action also requires media support. New social movements and protest groups need the media to publicize and broadcast their actions in order to get their message across to the public domain. Despite this need, in the past many movements used to adopt more critical strategies towards the media, as they tended to receive negative coverage in the mainstream media. This generated disengagement among activists, who often reacted by targeting the media as yet another opponent. In the nineties, with the rise of the movement against neo-liberal globalization, this attitude changed, leading to movements that are considerably more media-oriented and characterized by an intense usage of public relations techniques (Rucht, 2004).

Contemporary social movements are still spontaneous and informal, which are the two main organizational features of new social movements (Offe, 1985). However, they have developed networks formed by individuals, communities with specific interests, and also by existing organizations (for example, trade unions and NGOs). Some of the latter organizations[6] have provided the 'permanent secretariats' of movements that are in charge of the organization of events and actions, and of media relations. They have become responsible for the production of press releases that inform about activities of the organization/ movement[7] and present their political opinions and positions. The level of professionalization of this 'permanent staff' is now considerable, and the websites they maintain contain similar amounts and types of information to those of political parties and political institutions: agendas of activities, press releases, promotional videos and downloadable promotional materials such as posters, stickers and t-shirt transfers.

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[6] This chapter is supported by an analysis of a series of organizations' websites. The content of the websites of the Spanish local chapters of Attac (Spanish portal: www.attac.es), of the gay and lesbian associations' umbrella (www.cogailes.org), and of the Association for Terrorism Victims (www.avt.org) have been examined weekly since January 2004. In the case of the main Spanish trade unions and political parties, a weekly check has been carried out since October 2002.

[7] As these organizations often try to appropriate the movement, the distinction tends to blur.

As a result of the process of professionalization, these organizations now fit within the parameters of permanent campaigning[8]. This concept, initially used to describe the way American presidents conceived their role and activities, now defines the way some alternative political organizations approach their public presence. This does not mean that social movements are abandoning their traditional forms of action (for example, demonstrations, petitions and civic boycotts). Nor does it mean that new social movements have never used public relations techniques. What it does mean is that new social movements have intensively adapted their ways of communicating their actions to the press in order to obtain the most favorable coverage possible. This strategy, legitimized as a reaction to the historical feeling of misrepresentation (Rucht, 2004), has probably improved the public image of movements. However, the orientation towards the media may, at the same time, put the movements' independence and alternativeness at risk.

3. Parties on the move

Partially because of the *more positive* media coverage that followed the adoption of media-oriented strategies by new social movements, and also because of the citizen's disenchantment with traditional politics that resulted in a decline of party support, Spaniards have developed quite a positive perception of new social movements such as those of ecologists, alterglobalists, pacifists, and feminists (CIS, 2006a). It could also be argued that new social movements benefit from the 'brownie points' earned from not participating in traditional politics, which allows them to avoid negotiating or having to make concessions in order to implement specific policies.

Spanish political parties have understood the positive potential of social protest strategies as a supplement to their traditional political apparatus, as the social protest strategies also contribute to attaining their general, institutional goals. While the Popular Party was in office, the Spanish left wing political parties started to support demonstrations and some other initiatives of social movements to which they could

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[8] '*The permanent campaign is the political ideology of our age. It combines image-making with strategic calculation. Under the permanent campaign governing is turned into a perpetual campaign. Moreover, it remakes government into an instrument designed to sustain an elected official's public popularity*' (Blumenthal, 1982: 23). In spite of the presidential origins of the concept, permanent campaigning techniques are now being used by all sorts of political actors.

adhere. In addition to the utilization of their formal channels of political support[9], these parties –or their proxies– overtly participated in the organization of mass mobilizations favoring same-sex marriage and adoption, protests against the Iraq war, and against the (considered inadequate) political response to the Prestige oil spill. A less intense relationship emerged concerning the opposition to neo-liberal globalization as some members participated 'on their own behalf', and some links to organizations related to the movement were placed on the parties' websites. The reaction of the right-wing President José María Aznar qualified these opposition parties as '*a coalition of placard bearers, communists and nationalists*' (Madorrán, 2004: 20) precisely because of their support for new social movements.

These linkages between social movements and the left –however fluid– are hardly unnatural, as their principles regarding life politics tend to coincide. However, the ability of right wing organizations to also adopt these strategies should not be underestimated. Since the Popular Party was ousted from government in March 2004, we have witnessed several protests that have been organized, using network strategies that are similar to those used by the social movements with a left-wing orientation.

Resorting to a series of affiliated organizations of diverse origins (for example, religious organizations, organizations opposed to ETA terrorism, parents' associations), the Popular Party has created a network that supports its main political goals[10], organizing a multitude of demonstrations that provides the PP with excellent arguments to back up their opposition strategies. The photographs of these massive events cannot be as easily discredited as statistics can.

Since March 2004 PP leaders have supported demonstrations against the increased secularization of the educational system, against same-sex marriages, against the dialogue with ETA, and against increasing the level of autonomy of the Catalan region. The most visible action took place in June 2005, when three demonstrations were organized on three

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[9]   The social-democrat party (PSOE) has a secretariat for the relations with social movements and the NGOs, similarly the left-green coalition (Izquierda Unida) has a secretariat for social movements (besides different secretariats for civic liberties, gays and lesbians, globalization...).

[10] Belén Bajo –Director of the PP communications office– stressed that the main goal for the PP is to re-gain office, and their main strategy consists of emphasizing that '*PP is a clear government alternative, being the only political party that defends the integrity of the state*' (personal communication, 26th July 2006).

successive Saturdays[11], prior to the Galician regional elections (which were held on 19 June). These demonstrations generated great media expectations and attention, outshining, to a great extent, the electoral campaign. In addition to the coverage of the demonstration themselves, triumphant declarations and reactions circulated during the four weeks the issue lasted, creating a time-zone of a month during which the tension in the government-opposition game was constantly peaking. All these demonstrations were organized by different NGOs, which were backed by a right wing support network (NGOs, foundations, and the Catholic church), received the support of, and were promoted by, the right wing media –above all, *El Mundo*, and COPE, the radio station owned by the Catholic church– and had the participation of *all* the PP leaders 'on their own behalf'.

This type of demonstration does not suffer from the lack of visible leaders that troubles most new social movements' actions, and which made their access to the media so difficult in the past. The presence of national political leaders offers journalists picture opportunities and provides them with statements that fit their production needs. At the same time, political leaders renew and refresh their image in these mass rituals, presenting themselves as active and real citizens who surmount the constraints of their organizations.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The enhanced orientation towards the media is assisting new social movements in gaining positive media coverage, public support, and attention from the political authorities. In July 2004, the Socialist Party stressed during its last political conference (which was devoted to drafting the guidelines to be followed by the party once it would be in office again), the need to be close to social movements, as they represent a means of political expression for citizens who do not find their place in institutional or partisan politics (PSOE, 2004). At the same time, organizations that fully participate in certain protest mobilizations (like some local chapters of Attac) are developing political initiatives at the local level, sharing responsibilities with local authorities.

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[11] The demonstration of the 4th of June was against the ETA talks; the demonstration on 11 June was against the restitution of the Catalan government files that were kept in Salamanca since the end of the Spanish Civil War, and the demonstration on 18 June was against same sex marriage.

The Popular Party and their political consultants, aware of the low support that citizens are expressing towards institutional politics, also try to benefit from the advantageous image that principle-based informal politics has to offer, in contrast to strategically oriented politics. This change of strategy towards lifestyle politics seeks to colonize the political space of non-institutional politics, one of the realms in which parties as yet do not have a major presence. The choice of a strategy of colonization strategy may simply be a very pragmatic one, adopting a strategy that has proven to be successful. The choice may also be legitimized by the need to develop new ways of targeting the more politically disenchanted citizens, who may be open to giving their electoral support to a political party, if addressed in the 'right' fashion. After all, non-institutional political actions are perceived as much more idealistic than parliamentary or governmental politics, which are identified more often with power struggles and the strategic give-and-take.

The growing media-orientation of new social movements may lead them, however, to the same situation in which political parties find themselves nowadays, in desperate need of a renewal of their discourses and their ways of approaching politics, because their social and, above all, electoral support is decreasing. Designing protest actions that exclusively follow a media logic entails running the risk of complete institutionalization, which may mean the end of new social movements as we know them – namely, actors that mainly base their political claims on values and principles.

Certainly, there are movements –or other forms of political activism– that do not follow these patterns of institutionalization. But these resistant organizations are less likely to gain media coverage, due to the orientation towards the media of the other movements and due to the fact that the media have covered their 'movement quota' by paying attention to the latter group.

The use of forms of social protest by political parties, and the adoption of professional political communication strategies by social organizations, together with the growing degree of intertwinement among authorities, parties, and new social movements, can be seen to represent the dismantlement of the dichotomy between institutional and non-institutional politics. The disappearance of the tension between institutional and non-institutional forms of politics from the mediascape will result in the loss of an institutional public arena for institutional and non-institutional organizations to publicly oppose, express their views, and negotiate. The substitution of this area of tension, struggle, and

political conflict by a party-controlled sham might not be the best news for the health of our democracies.

But the dynamism of political activism and of the media environment suggests that there is reason for hope. New communicative formats and new media platforms for expressing political clashes and conflicts of interest have emerged. A broadly-organized observation of the political and media realms is needed in order to identify how these possible changes manifest themselves, and, consequently, to analyze the repercussions that these transformations may have for institutional politics and citizens' political participation.

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BIOGRAPHY

Iñaki Garcia Blanco is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. During the academic year 2005–6, he followed the MSc in Politics and Communication at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research interests are centered on the relationships between the media and the political realm, understanding the political in the broadest possible sense.
Contact: inaki.garcia@uab.es

What do we mean by a European public sphere?

Hannu Nieminen

1. BACKGROUND

In recent research literature differing accounts of the European public sphere (EPS) have been offered. We can find at least four ways to understand the concept:

- The EPS understood as an agora, as a space of critical debate and opinion formation which is open to all European citizens and has established structures and procedures;
- The EPS understood as a special way of organizing relations between an individual and society, historically shaped and matured in Europe;
- The EPS understood as distinct from national public spheres, consisting of all public debates and discussions which concern Europe and European issues;
- The EPS understood empirically, consisting of all public representations that the European media produce.

Most research seems to have centered on the first approach, although from different standpoints. Where the followers of deliberative democracy have adopted the European public sphere as a positive regulative idea (see e.g. Habermas, 2006), the advocates of radical democracy criticize its forced homogeneity and propose instead a pluralized concept of the public sphere (see e.g. Mouffe, 2000).

The second approach, which is perhaps best articulated by Charles Taylor, has been less discussed (Taylor, 1992, 2004). Although having a strong affinity to the ideals of deliberative democracy, it takes the debate to a more general level. According to Taylor his approach is based on a 'cultural' theory of modernity, in contrast to an 'a-cultural' one referring to an empiricist-positivist approach (Taylor, 1992).

The third and fourth approaches are less theoretically developed. The definition of the EPS as distinct from national public spheres appears in

the documents of the EU (see e.g. Wallström, 2005); the EPS as an empirical totality of European media contents is sometimes used in a cultural-critical sense to contrast the dominance of commercial interests in the mainstream media to the participatory-democratic potential of the counter public spheres of activist networks.

For the purposes of this chapter I will concentrate here only on the second or 'cultural' approach. Although I will adopt some of Charles Taylor's conceptual and theoretical tools, I will apply them freely in building up my own theoretical framework.

2. NORMATIVE-PRESCRIPTIVE VS. CULTURAL-DIAGNOSTIC APPROACH

First I need to clarify the distinction between the first and second approach a bit further. As I mentioned above, the first approach presents the EPS as a regulative idea: It is an ideal which may never be fully realized but which can act as a normative framework for critical evaluation. The EPS as an ideal would require an institutional framework for the creation of European public opinion and will formation, inclusive to all European citizens. The EPS would thus give necessary legitimization for European decision-making and governance, which are now in great difficulties. I call this approach normative-prescriptive.

From this point of view, the main obstacle for the EPS is the historical anchoring of the public sphere to the narrow and limited frames of European nation states. This is not only a practical problem, concerning the actual functioning of public institutions, but also a theoretical and conceptual problem which concerns critical research (see e.g. Fraser, 2000). The task of critical scholarly debate is to bring about the conceptual and theoretical means to realize the potential and establish a transnational European public sphere.

From this point of view, the question is: How best to create the conditions and institutional framework for as extensive and inclusive formation of European public opinion as realistically possible? To what extent do elements of this already exist, and what is the role of the media? What should or what could be the role of the EU in this? Etc.

Many scholars have aptly criticized the ideal of a (European) Public Sphere for its allegedly naïve understanding of power relations (see e.g. Mouffe, 2000; Gould, 1998). In the context of this chapter, I will not go into this discussion.

The difference between the first and second approach is not so much in their normative outlooks but in their analytical emphasizes: If I called the former approach normative-prescriptive, the latter can perhaps be characterized as cultural-diagnostic. (Another and perhaps more apt would be historical-sociological.) The main difference between them can be put in the following way: In order to make prescriptive judgments we need a better understanding of the historical and sociological (pre)conditions of the phenomenon that we call the (European) public sphere.

Thus, we need to ask such questions as: What is our shared understanding of Europe and Europeaness, and from where have we adopted it; how do we speak of Europe and of being Europeans in contrast to other countries and communities; what kind of status do our conceptions of Europe have in our everyday life; how are the public discourses on Europe and Europeaness produced; etc. A key question naturally is: Who are 'we' from whose point of view the above questions are articulated; whom do we include in the 'we', whom we exclude.

3. ON HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

My starting point here is that our conceptions of Europe and Europeaness form an indistinguishable part of our background knowledge of the world (see Taylor, 2004). We think Europe as 'our' continent, Europeaness as 'our' culture in distinction to America, Asia, Africa, which all are 'different', each in their own ways. We have adopted our European identity through many institutionalized practices which support each other: childhood socialization, school education, the media and other forms of our symbolic environment.

As historians have emphasized, Europe as an idea, as 'our' Europe, is not a modern invention. It begun to take shape early in Ancient Greece, when the division between Europe and its 'others', Asia and Africa, was first articulated (see e.g. Pagden, 2002; Rietsbergen, 2006). This basic distinction was strengthened and institutionalized especially by the Catholic Church, and has been interwoven in many ways into the European mythologies.

The public sphere, on the other hand, is clearly a modern phenomenon – although its historical roots have often been placed in Ancient Greece too. The public sphere as a distinct mode of social relationships, as it is for instance conceptualized in the works of Jürgen Habermas (1989) and John Dewey (1994), seems to be a phenomenon which is uniquely part of modern European cultural and political history (also in

its North-American varieties). It is seen as one of the cornerstones of individual moral autonomy, characteristic to the Western modernity (see Taylor, 2004).

In Habermas' presentation, the concept of an autonomous individual subject is developed in the battles of the emerging urban middle classes (or bourgeoisie) on the one hand, against the autocratic King and his/her court, and on the other, against the religious conservatism of the church. In these battles the public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*, openness, publicity) was effectively used both as a means and as a motto, and its idea became indistinguishably embedded in the self-identity of the emerging bourgeois middle classes.

Since then, both as a means of democratic governance and as a regulative idea, the concept of the public sphere was adopted as part of the self-understanding of modern liberal democracy. How it has been institutionalized in the European level can be observed e.g. in the European Convention on Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1950).

An interesting perspective on the historical constitution of the public sphere is offered by Juha Partanen's division between the four borders surrounding what is understood as the public sphere (1985). In his account, on the first side are the things which are considered private and intimate; on the second side are the things which belong to secrecy; on the third side are the taboos, the things of which it is forbidden to make public representations; and on the fourth side are the things which are still unknown and as such non-representable and non-conceptualizable.

The borders between the public sphere and the four areas are in a constant flux. Historically, the division between public and private has changed greatly, as has the divide between public and secret. Old taboos have become public and new taboos are established, new unknown areas are delineated, etc. Although the borders are flexible, they can yield to both ways, which means that there is no automatic historical expansion of the public sphere. We have seen lately that in the name of the War on Terror the public sphere has been challenged from all four borders e.g. (see e.g. BBC, 31.7.2006). The question becomes then: Who controls the borders, and why and how are they controlled.

4. EUROPE AS A PUBLIC SPHERE OF NETWORKS

I have claimed above that there is a certain historical background knowledge which, at least in a loose cultural sense, unites all educated Europeans despite their language and nationality. It is embedded first of all in the institutions of socialization, education and the daily media. The ques-

tion is, however, that as these institutions are mostly firmly national in character, bound by the customs and laws of nation states: How are they supposed to promote a common understanding on Europe and Europeanness?

We can seek for an answer in the fact that Europe actually consists – and has always consisted – of numerous transnational networks of cooperation (on global networks, see McNeill & McNeill, 2003). Many of them have developed over several centuries and are anchored firmly as part of European and global relations. One of the oldest and most powerful networks is the Catholic Church. Other traditional networks are also those functioning in the area of art and humanities. Lately the economic and commercial networks – with their ever-expanding arms of financial institutions – have gained a more and more dominating role in defining Europe and Europeanness both in our continent and globally too.

These networks have evolved simultaneously with the gradual emergence of the nation states, having been reined sometimes more strictly and sometimes more loosely by the governments. Mostly, however, the networks have developed autonomously, being able to establish their own inner cohesion with the functional logics and criteria of efficiency of their own. Each network has also been able – at least to certain degree – to define its own criteria concerning the borders between what is public and what is private, secret, taboo or unknown.

In the general course of the process of differentiation, which is characteristic for Western modernity (see Luhmann, 1982; Habermas, 1987), these networks have specialized and created their own normative systems, i.e. criteria of judging what is good and bad, right and wrong, etc. Sometimes these normative systems of different networks are close to each other or mutually supportive, as e.g. in the case of many religious movements (see the Ecumenical Movement, WCC, 2006) and the supporters of the social welfare state; sometimes they are exclusive, as is the case between the networks in arts and humanities compared to those in the stock market. In the latter case, an attempt to measure the validity and efficiency of the networks in arts and culture using the criteria applied in the stock market would be a violation of the autonomy of the networks in arts and culture.

It is obvious that in their own public spheres these networks also produce and introduce issues for other public spheres, including such public spheres which are addressed not only to the members of certain network but to publics at large. An example is the environmental movement who has its 'own' public sphere supported by journals and maga-

zines, websites and e-mail lists. At the same time it takes part in the debate in wider public spheres, both national and transnational.

The problem is that there are issues where the mere public debate is not enough but coordinated action is needed, as with the issues concerning environment, security, employment etc. In many cases transnational coordination of action can take place through voluntary agreements, as happens with many civil society associations (e.g. environmental organizations, trade unions etc.). However, when more formally binding mediation is required (energy, security etc.), the mediation shifts to the level of inter-governmental cooperation, with all its positive and negative aspect, as the experiences of the EU has shows us.

The fact that economic and commercial networks have gained a more and more dominating role in defining Europe and Europeanness has brought about an increasing tension between the autonomy of the networks and the urge to curve this autonomy in the name of better economic efficiency and productivity. The argument is that from the point of view of Europe's global competitiveness, all areas of public activities – including civil society networks – should be brought to support the unity of the EU and its adopted goals. This can be paraphrased as the need to make the Union '*the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion*' (European Council, Lisbon, March 2000; see Euractiv, 2006; EPHA, 2006). From the point of view of the civil society networks, this would result in 'streamlining' the functional logics of different networks and their normative bases on the basis of economic efficiency. An illuminating example of this is the way how the goals of the EU's 7th Framework Program for Research have been set (see Cordis, 2006).

Against this development several scholars have emphasized the capacity of the networks for self-defense, presented in the form of new social movements and civil society networks. Often-cited examples include the recent anti-globalization movement, environmental campaigns, etc. Using the potential of new information and communication technologies (Internet, mobile technology etc.), they have established transnational counter public spheres opposing the hegemony of the elite controlled public spheres. However, as these movements and networks are so diverse and constantly changing, it is not yet clear what their analytical status should be from the point of view of resisting the 'streamlining' tendency described above. (See Bennett, 2003; Dahlgren, 2004).

5. DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN TWO LEVELS OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

I have discussed above the general conditions of the emergence of the modern European public sphere. In the classic accounts of the development of the public sphere, it is usually linked with the birth of the press and other forms of mass communication. How should we accommodate the media with the diagnostic approach outlined above?

In order to get a better analytical grip on the role of the media I propose a distinction between two levels of the public sphere:

- firstly, there is the realm of the social imaginary or shared background understanding, assumedly common to all European educated citizens,
- secondly, there is the public sphere proper, which is actual, media-related or media-constructed and works on a daily basis.

The public sphere proper actualizes when some issue or event becomes significant for us, when it captures our attention for a reason or another. In order to be meaningful and understood, the issue or event calls for interpretative elements from our shared conceptual reservoir. This can be illuminated by a piece of news of the situation in the Middle East. If we are missing the necessary background understanding of why and how the situation has come about, news about the Middle East does not make sense to us.

I have mentioned above the processes of differentiation between different areas of social life, characteristic to Western modernity. The resulting increasing autonomy of networks is reflected in many ways in the public sphere, too. One manifestation is the different evaluation criteria applied to different areas of social life and to the networks operating on these areas.

An empirical case of this differentiation is the historical process of the compartmentalization of content in the newspaper press (see e.g. Pietilä, 1980; Tommila & Salokangas, 1998). In the early history of newspapers there was no clear distinction between news, reports, columns, and other forms of content. Only gradually did the process of the division of news and other content into different sections of the newspaper take place: We got domestic news, foreign news, news on politics, economic news, sports, human interest and other sections. Another form of differentiation is the division between different modalities in content: We as readers can easily make a distinction between news reports, editorial opinions and commercials.

There is a close connection between the modern media and our understanding of citizenship. To a large extent our conception of citizenship has been informed by the media and their given understanding of the 'proper' and 'natural' relations between different areas of life. This also includes an implicitly adopted background understanding of the criteria of rightness and truthfulness, characteristic to each of the different areas and the respective networks.

Problems arise, when these borders are confused and traditionally applied criteria do not appear valid any more. One example is the claimed entertainmentalization of political journalism, allegedly a central feature of the tabloidization process of the media. Another example is the recent phenomenon of reality TV, which has bemused the audiences and confused traditional notions of the borders between fact and fiction. These tendencies have raised quite a lot public concern, based on the claim that a big part of the public does not have necessary competence to interpret the new hybrid program forms in a way that makes sense or in a way that the producers have expected.

6. FULL CITIZENSHIP?

The concept of citizenship includes the competencies an individual member of society needs in order to be able to rationally function in his or her interests. Full citizenship refers to the citizen as an autonomous subject who has the capacity to make necessary distinctions between different areas of social life and their respective functional logics, and apply them in a meaningful way. (See Painter, 2003; Lister, 2006)

The problem is that the concept of citizenship assumes a more or less homogeneous form of background knowledge of all the members of society. In real world this is obviously not the case: There are big differences between different social groups within any national society, not to speak of the whole of Europe. (Young, 1990; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994) As mentioned above, when speaking of 'we' we usually refer to the experiences and ways of thinking of the members of educated urban middle classes, from which also the members of national and European elites are recruited. These elites have a central role in how Europe and Europeanness are defined in the public sphere.

There is a considerable amount of literature on citizenship and on the competencies an individual needs in order to be able to claim and exercise her or his rights as a citizen (see e.g. Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Feldblum, 1997; Painter, 2003). For the purposes of this chapter, I mention here only two factors which restrict (and facilitate as well) these

competencies: education on one hand and language and culture on the other. The better educated the citizens are, the more homogeneous is their social imaginary and with it their background knowledge.

The significance of language and culture is partly, but only partly directly linked to education. Members of linguistic and cultural minorities do not spontaneously have access to the same social imaginary and background knowledge as the majority communities do, and vice versa. Non-spoken values, norms, myths – often beyond public articulation – hinder the experience of full citizenship of the members of minority communities. As a large part of our background knowledge is 'silent' – i.e. non-spoken and non-cognitive – it cannot be formally taught and cognitively transmitted. Thus it is also excluded from the formal curricula of educational institutions. This means also that many issues in the public sphere proper are fully understood only by those members of audience who are advised in their interpretation through the common background knowledge.

7. DIFFERENTIATION AND CULTURAL INTERPRETERS

I have described above the processes of differentiation between the areas of social action and the problems which concern the establishment of functional coordination between them. As different areas of social action are based on different functional logics, their coordination requires specialized expertise and interpretation.

In democracy all social activities must be justifiable on the grounds of a common background understanding and shared value basis. This is why democracy needs interpreters who can reasonably explain the specialized needs of different areas of action in critical public debate, and can also produce respective orientative proposals of mutually coordinated action to the society at large.

We can see this interpretative orientation at work e.g. in the newspapers' editorials, covering a number of areas of specialized knowledge and presenting suggestions for coordinated action or policy proposals. My example here is based on a sample of editorials in Helsingin Sanomat, the leading metropolitan paper in Finland, which in four days time covered a variety of issues such as the state of Russian oil industry, Finland's state budget, Japanese nationalism, EU's contribution to Congo's elections, the dot.com boom in the stock market, and nursing ethics at Finnish hospitals (HS editorials from 28 to 31 July 2006).

In respect of the two levels of the public sphere as sketched above, democracy requires two types of interpreters: Those who specialize in

the matters on the level of background knowledge, and whom we can initially call 'ideologues', and those who specialize mainly in the matters on the public sphere proper and whom we can call 'mediators' (cf. Bauman, 1987).

The task of the ideologues is to upgrade and renew our background knowledge so that our basic values, norms and beliefs are brought in accordance with our new experiences of the world and that the background knowledge makes us able to make sense of the world. Main institutional forums for the ideologues are education, science and research, arts and culture.

The task of the mediators – journalists, teachers, cultural critics, public intellectuals– is to offer answers to daily issues and phenomena, and interpret them with the help of the expert services of the ideologues, i.e. to refresh the daily functional competence of citizens. From the point of view of the European public sphere, this means that actual issues and daily events must be interpreted through the conceptual tools of the local and nationally shared background knowledge. Again, if the members of the public do not share – at least minimally – a common conceptual reservoir, only a part of the public is able to make sense of the public sphere.

From the point of view of the European public sphere, we can see several problems arising. One is linked with the work of ideologues. They can work only with the material that can be critically contested and from which justifiable arguments can be derived, and the conclusions should be acceptable by the criteria shared by the community.

Thinking of the recent developments in different European countries, including the results of the referenda on European Constitution in France and the Netherlands in summer of 2005, the questions concerning Europe and the future of the EU seem to be still too controversial and contested among the different elite groups that all attempts for simple answers are doomed to fail. No firm conclusions can be drawn which could be justified through a consensus, or at least by a widely shared majority opinion within the community ideologues. The concepts of Europe and Europeanness are still in flux, even so much that there is not enough shared background understanding to make common definitions possible.

This makes the work of the mediators problematic: It is difficult and often even impossible to make sense of the issues and phenomena concerning Europe and Europeanness as long as the common conceptual reservoir is lacking.

Another problem concerns the varied competences for citizenship of members of different social communities. Especially problematic is the situation of many immigrant communities. It seems that in many European countries the authorities are planning special models of 'reduced citizenship' for the non-European immigrant communities. The aim is not to promote full citizenship but instead, a more restricted one which would bring about the competence of a legal subject (or confirm an earlier imposed one) but would not give the rights of a full cultural, social and political subject. (See e.g. the debate in OpenDemocracy, 2006.)

8. CONCLUSIONS

What follows from the cultural-diagnostic approach that I have outlined above? Briefly put: our conceptions of Europe and Europeanness are always products of a certain situation-bound public discourse. Although our conceptions are anchored in our historically grounded background knowledge on the meaning of Europe and Europeanness, their definitions are not clearly marked. Dominant definitions are ever-temporary compromises between competing elites, both national and transnational. Through their battles and compromises also the borders of the European public sphere are delineated again and again – i.e. what is possible to say in public and what is not, which issues and which approaches are favored and which are not, etc.

The dominant definitions must however always be anchored to the commonly shared background knowledge, to the intersubjectively shared social imaginary, recognized by at least the majority of people. If not, the elite discourse of Europe and Europeanness does not make sense, does not appeal to the popular social imaginary, and does not find a connection with the lived experience of the European people.

It seems obvious that the latest attempts to establish a European public sphere have suffered from this type of elite bias. The dominant discourse of Europe, managed by the economic elites, includes the notion of Europe primarily as an economic entity which all Europeans should support and promote, which does not appeal widely to the popular background knowledge outside the elites, as shown in many recent opinion polls (see e.g. Eurobarometer 251, 2006; 255:2006). The result is that the mediators in the public sphere proper are not able to lean on the ideologues' expert services, as the needed commonly shared background knowledge has not yet been formed.

If I try now to answer the question of the title of this chapter, my answer would be: There is a commonly shared background under-standing of the relationship between an individual and society that we can call European and Europeanness. When I say 'commonly shared', I mean that this background understanding and the social imaginary arising from it, are shared by the educated urban middle classes, and that it includes more or less uniform sensibility of European history, European arts and culture, European humanism, European modernity. In this sense it also forms a kind of a 'proto public sphere', a proto-EPS.

This background understanding does not, however, include firm and solid definitions of what Europe and Europeanness mean in each instance and each situation. It is more like a reservoir of possible defini-tions and significations which actualize in different ways in different circumstances in the European public spheres proper.

Following from this, there is not a European public sphere in the sense that we could imagine the formation of a European public opinion or a European common will formation. There are no institutional struc-tures nor are there democratic procedures to fulfill these functions. Instead, there are a variety of different European and transnational net-works, exercising their own public spheres and bringing forward ele-ments for European public discourses which realize in different forms and in different forums.

There is still one question left: Is a European public sphere proper needed, in the sense of European public opinion and will formation. This question belongs, however, to the area of the normative-prescriptive debate, and engaging with that debate has not been the purpose of this chapter.

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BIOGRAPHY

Hannu Nieminen is professor of media policy at the University of Helsinki, Finland. He received his Ph.D. in 1996 in the University of Westminster, London. In 2003-2005, he worked as the director of the Communication Research Center, University of Helsinki. His research interests include media and democracy and theories of public sphere, on which themes he has published several books and articles. Currently he is leading the research project European Public Sphere(s), Uniting and Dividing (2005-2007), funded by the Academy of Finland. His publications include Democracy and Communication: Habermas, Williams, and the British Case (1997), Hegemony and the Public Sphere (2000), and People Stood Apart: the Constitution of the National Public Sphere in Finland 1809-1917 (2006, in Finnish).
Contact: hanniemi@mappi.helsinki.fi

The audience's role in constituting the European public sphere: A theoretical approach based on the pragmatic concept of John Dewey

Swantje Lingenberg

1. INTRODUCTION

Through the process of European integration, more and more political power is transferred from the national levels to the European level. Despite this phenomenon, our knowledge of the workings of public communication to legitimatize political decision-making in Europe remains limited. This chapter aims to shed light on the audience's role in constituting the European public sphere. By assessing John Dewey's pragmatic concept of the public sphere it outlines a three-dimensional approach to the European public sphere which includes the political functions, the spatial reach and boundaries as well as the audience level.

The public sphere is generally considered a crucial element of democracy. As a '*network for communicating information and points of view*' (Habermas, 1996: 360), it fulfils certain functions such as enabling mutual observation between policy-makers and citizens, mediating interests, legitimizing and controlling political decisions, integrating members of society and promoting collective will formation (Peters, 1994). When focusing on the European level, there is quite a heated debate as to whether a European public sphere exists or not, and if so, how it materializes. In this chapter, three possible answers are discussed, and preference is given to an approach that sees the European public space as a pluralistic network of issue-oriented transnational publics that exists as soon as the same topics are discussed simultaneously and according to the same criteria of relevance[1] (Habermas, 1998: 160). Such a network is

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[1] 'Same criteria of relevance' means a shared master frame for certain problems that can then be discussed controversially (Kantner, 2004: 155).

tied together by transnational discourses and generated by the communicative interactions of speakers, media and audiences. According to Dewey, public spheres emerge as soon as citizens realize the impact of political decisions on their lives and enter into public deliberations (Dewey, 1927). Applied to the European context, it is not only the creation and mass mediated distribution of European issues, but the audience's communicative actions based on the perception of the media that are fundamental for the establishment of public spheres[2].

The search for a European public sphere is primarily driven by its democratic indispensability. Since the European Union's self-conception is that of a democratic system, it is important to examine and theoretically conceptualize European public communication processes. The question then becomes whether and how a European public sphere is feasible in a highly fragmented arena that is characterized by diverse cultures, languages and media systems. The difficulty of establishing a viable theory of the European public sphere is also enhanced by a lack of democratic theory for transnational spaces (Latzer & Saurwein, 2006: 37).

2. CONCEPTUALIZING THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE

Even though the European integration process today (modestly) transcends a unified economic market and has received a political dimension, one can assume that the European citizens have not kept pace with this development. Hence, the emergence of a European collective identity and a European public sphere seems to proceed with a limp. Since the early 1990's, scholars from different disciplines have debated whether or not the European Union's democratic legitimization and public communication are deficient. Whereas, at the beginning, the chances for the emergence of a European public space were assessed pessimistically in the light of linguistic, cultural and media diversity, more recent publications (Eder & Kantner, 2000; Kantner, 2004; Van de Steeg, 2004) are more optimistic and argue that there already are public communication processes going on in Europe, namely in the form of multiple publics in which the same issues are discussed simultaneously and within a shared frame of relevance. The following section presents three theoretical models of the European public sphere and furthermore emphasizes the necessity to include the audience level.

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[2]   The terms *public sphere* and *public space* are used synonymously here. For reflections on the transcultural etymology see Kleinsteuber (2001).

2.1. Three models of the European public sphere

The academic discussion about the contributing factors and structural conditions of European public communication has produced three theoretical approaches. First, the model of the supranational European public sphere claims that the national public arenas are reproduced at the European level and requires a European-wide media system[3] as well as a European identity and a common language as necessary preconditions. Since these aspects do not exist in the European context – at least not compared to the national situation[4]– and are not likely to exist in the near future, this approach concludes that a European public sphere is lacking (Gerhards, 1993; Grimm, 1995).

The second model postulates the Europeanization of national public spheres. Its focus is on the reporting of European issues in national media on the basis of a European perspective[5]. The existing national public arenas are viewed here as the institutional hardware of the European public space. Therefore this model is considered to be more realistic than the first one (Gerhards, 1993: 108). However, long-term data indicates that European issues are discussed much less compared to other political news. On average, five to seven per cent of the political reporting is dedicated to European issues. Furthermore, EU-issues are discussed predominantly from a national perspective. Consequently, this approach also puts forward a deficit diagnosis regarding the European public sphere (Eilders & Voltmer, 2004; Gerhards, 2000; Sievert, 1998).

The third model criticizes these deficit diagnoses and regards the European public sphere as a pluralistic ensemble of issue-oriented publics that exists once the same issues are discussed simultaneously and within a shared frame of relevance (Eder & Kantner, 2000: 315). It argues that the concept of the supranational public sphere as well as the Europeanization of national public arenas do not consider the compatibility of the underlying normative, nation-based concepts of the public sphere (Latzer & Saurwein, 2006: 15). Indeed, they may not be sufficient to explain the functioning of public communication processes beyond the nation-state and therefore run the risk of failing to identify where new

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[3] There have been efforts to establish pan-European media – such as the newspaper *The European* or the TV-channel *Europa-TV* – but most of them failed due to language transformation problems and lack of demand (Kevin, 2003).

[4] For reflections on the possibility and emergence of a European identity see for example Walkenhorst (1999).

[5] According to Gerhards, a European perspective refers to a common European interest (1993: 102).

forms of public sphere have emerged as a result of adaptation to the dynamic multi-level system EU[6] (Baerns & Raupp, 2000: 40). Following Kantner, a deficit diagnosis would only be plausible if public communication and mutual understanding in Europe solely relied on people using the same media to inform themselves about EU-politics, speaking the same language and sharing the same cultural background. From a hermeneutical point of view these are not necessary preconditions for the European public sphere (Kantner, 2004: 130). In Switzerland, for example, nobody questions the existence of a national public sphere in spite of linguistic, cultural and media heterogeneity. Apparently, there is no equivalent to the national public arenas at the EU-level and therefore it seems to be necessary to overcome nation-based normative approaches and rethink the concept of the public sphere in order to understand the structural transformation of public spheres that is taking place in transnational contexts (Koller, 2004: 193ff.). Upon a closer look, the assumption of an on-going societal fragmentation and pluralization of publics holds true at the national levels as well. The only difference is that within the nation-states the illusion of a homogenous public sphere can be maintained by referring to the unified national demos (Eder et al., 1998: 325). Subsequently it can be argued that 'w*hat increasingly characterizes public spheres is the multi-connectedness of symbols and discourses as opposed to the 'horizontal connectedness' among members of civil society*' (Soysal, 2001: 170). As the third model is considered the most adequate one, it will form the starting point for the development of a theoretical framework presented in section three.

2.2. Why do we need to include the audience?

It is assumed in this chapter that not only the creation and mass mediated distribution of European issues, but the audience's communicative actions based on the perception of the EU-related media coverage, are fundamental for the establishment and stabilization of public spheres (Krotz, 1998: 97). Therefore it cannot suffice to focus solely on the media reporting when it comes to the existence and materialization of the European public sphere[7]. Hence, a theoretical concept needs to include the audience level as well:

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6   Regarding the 'multi-level governance system EU' see Kohler-Koch (1999).
7   Most empirical studies focus on the media coverage of EU issues, but do not - or hardly - consider the audience level. For a study of the communicator level, see Lingenberg (2004).

> *The public sphere does not begin and end when the media content reaches an audience; this is but one step in a larger communication chain that includes how the media output is received, made sense of, and used by citizens in their interactions with each other* (Dahlgren, 2006: 321).

Since democracies and the public sphere ultimately rely on citizens and their engagement with each other in political talk, it is deemed necessary to consider the citizens' role in constituting the public sphere and to pay attention to their communicative practices beyond being mere media audiences. However, some light should be shed on the distinction between *audiences* and *publics* as well as their interrelationship. Following Dahlgren, audiences and publics can be conceived in a procedural perspective inasmuch as '*audiences coalesce into publics through the processes of engagement with issues and discursive interaction among themselves*' (ibid.: 275). Since our perception of the world is increasingly dependent on the media, '*publics must always have been audiences*' (Dayan, 2005: 56) and moreover need to remain audiences in order to stay up to date with the relevant issues. Nevertheless, they can – and do in most cases – remain mere audiences too (Dayan, 2005: 57). Therefore audiences, ultimately consisting of citizens which turn to be publics by participating in communicative interactions become constitutive of the public sphere.

3. A THEORETICAL APPROACH BASED ON DEWEY'S CONCEPT OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Linking up with the third model, it is argued that the European public sphere materializes as a pluralistic network of issue-oriented publics that is tied together by transnational discourses in which European citizens can participate via their own media and languages. It enters into existence as soon as the same issues are discussed simultaneously and according to the same criteria of relevance. Dewey's pragmatic concept of the public sphere is chosen in this chapter as the theoretical matrix for the development of a three-dimensional approach to the European public space. According to this approach, the first dimension refers to the political functions, the second refers to the spatial reach and boundaries of the public sphere and the third dimension considers the audience level.

3.1. John Dewey's pragmatic concept of the public sphere

In his book *The public and its problems* (1927), John Dewey, philosopher, political theorist and one of the founding fathers of American pragma-

tism, questioned the conditions of the public sphere in heterogeneous mass societies, focusing on US society at the beginning of the 20th century. In those days, the United States faced the challenge of integrating its population which was deeply fragmented in terms of cultures, languages and interests and, moreover, widely spread across the country. The question was how to ensure citizen's participation in the political process and how to guarantee democracy in the industrial era. Dewey developed his approach in discussion with intellectuals like Walter Lippmann who suggested an elitist solution by reducing citizens' participation to the act of voting. In his book *The phantom public* (1925), Lippmann states that the public sphere is based on an *'ideal of the omni-competent, sovereign citizen'* (1925: 39) that is not likely to be feasible under the present American conditions, and therefore suggests transferring all political power to experts in order for them to govern (paternalistically) in the citizens' name. Dewey agreed with Lippmann regarding the structural transformation of the public sphere with the emergence of mass society. Nevertheless, Dewey draws other conclusions and insists on citizens' continuous participation in identifying relevant social problems and in bringing them to the attention of the political decision-makers. He starts to develop his concept of the public sphere by distinguishing public from private actions with respect to their consequences. A transaction is private when the consequences only affect the persons directly engaged in the action, it is public when the consequences affect others beyond those immediately involved (Dewey, 1927: 12). Subsequently *'the public consists of all those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions to such an extent that it is deemed necessary to have those consequences systematically cared for'* (Dewey, 1927: 15f.). The necessary precondition for the emergence of public spheres is the visibility and perception of the indirect consequences by the citizens. According to Dewey, it is the media and science which need to detect and make public the indirect consequences (Dewey, 1927: 166ff.).

Summing up and following Dewey, public spheres emerge in the wake of common problems. They are constituted as soon as citizens realize the impact of political decisions on their lives and enter public deliberation about how to regulate – enhance or avoid – the consequences. Due to the claimed issue-orientation, the public sphere is considered pluralistic and dynamic. Yet, it is the citizens' interpersonal communication that ultimately stabilizes public spheres (Dewey, 1927: 218f.). Transferred to the European context, it is the citizens' participation in public discourses on EU-political issues and the communicative actions based on the media reporting that are fundamental to the emergence of

the European public sphere. Inasmuch as Dewey's concept is defined discourse-theoretically and posits functionality over territoriality (ibid.: 42f.), it allows a conceptualization of the public sphere that is independent of geographical and cultural borders and therefore fits the European context.

3.2. A three-dimensional approach to the European public sphere

3.2.1. Political functions

The public sphere, representing an intermediary space between civil society and political decision-makers, provides the basis for democracy. As mentioned above, it enables transparency and mutual observation, and permits the circulation of ideas, arguments and opinions as well as the mediation of interests. Furthermore, it forces politicians to justify their decisions in order to gain public legitimization. At the same time it allows citizens to make justified electoral voting decisions. With respect to the deliberative dimension, it enables collective will formation and decision-making by means of discursive exchange of arguments and thereby serves as problem-solving mechanism (Dewey, 1927: 202f.). By linking social needs to political power-holders, the public sphere integrates members of society and generates expressions of the collective will through its by-product – public opinion (Habermas, 1996: 354ff.; Peters, 1994: 46ff.).

3.2.2. Spatial reach and boundaries

Traditionally, public spheres are conceived as inherent in nation-states and promoted by national media. As argued above, national borders, linguistic, cultural and media communities no longer serve as useful frames of reference to define the European public sphere. Consequently, the spatial dimension becomes virulent here. Linking up with Dewey's concept, it can be stated that there are no *a priori* given borders of the European public space; indeed they are defined through the discursive interactions about the perceived indirect consequences. The investigation of patterns of public discourses concerned with EU-politics can therefore prove helpful in order to identify the spatial reach and boundaries of the European public sphere. The public sphere in Europe then appears as a communicative space with a rather high density of discursive interactions internally and a decreasing density of interactions towards its border regions (Kleinsteuber, 1995: 41). However, there is a demand to dissociate the concept of the European public sphere from geographical location and consider it a symbolic space created through commu-

nicative practices[8]. On this basis, it becomes evident that the borders of European public communication will never be clearly defined but remain fluid and flexible – depending on the spatial reach and density of the discourses at play in the communicative interactions.

3.2.3. Audience level

> *Public spheres are not a given, are not out there waiting to be discovered by some analysts. Rather, they are social constructions in the true sense of the word. Public spheres emerge in the process in which people debate controversial issues in the public* (Risse, 2003: 5).

Risse nicely condenses what has been argued throughout this chapter and what Dewey has emphasized. Public spheres are best viewed as social constructions that emerge within citizens' discursive interactions. They need to be kept alive and actualized in an ongoing process (Dewey, 1927: 218). By viewing the public sphere as coming into existence once the citizens perceive the indirect consequences of political decisions and enter public deliberation about how to handle them, Dewey includes the audience level per se. '*Publication is partial and the public which results is partially informed and formed until the meanings it purveys pass from mouth to mouth*' (Dewey, 1927: 219). Underscoring the plurality and issue-orientation of the European public sphere, it is clear that the composition of involved citizens varies according to the issues. Hence, public spheres '*emerge, exist for varying durations and then eventually dissolve*' (Dahlgren, 2006: 274). Empirical questions based on this perspective would ask how citizens participate in transnational EU-related discourses, how they perceive and make sense of them and how they localize these discourses in their cultural contexts[9].

4. CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to shed light on structures and processes involving European public spheres as well as the audience's role in the constitution of European public spheres. The discussion of different theoretical approaches shows that European public communication has to be thought of independently of nation-based normative concepts in order to

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[8]   A shift towards a dissociation of the concepts space and place can also be observed in the academic discussion on media globalization (see for example Volkmer (2005)).

[9]   On the concept of cultural localization within the scope of globalization processes, see Hepp (2006).

avoid the generation of a blind spot, which masks the emergence of new forms of public sphere as a result of adaptation to the multi-level EU system. The public space in Europe is defined as a pluralistic network of issue oriented publics that is tied together by transnational discourses and exists once there is a synchronicity and convergence of discussed issues. Furthermore, the necessity to include the audience in a theoretical approach has been stressed by defining the public sphere as a social space that is created and stabilized within citizens' discursive interactions. By building upon Dewey's pragmatic concept that emphasizes citizens' perception of the indirect consequences and their subsequent participation in public discussions, a three-dimensional approach to the European public sphere is developed. The first dimension claims that the political functions of public communication also need to hold true at the European level. The second dimension suggests determining the spatial reach and boundaries of the European public sphereprocedurally and depending on transnational discourses on EU-political issues. Europe then appears as a communicative space with a decreasing density of communicative interactions towards its border regions. However, these border regions are more flexible and fluid than they are static and fixed. The third dimension, considering the audience level, underscores the importance of citizens' perception of the impact of EU-political decisions on their lives as well as their participation in communicative interactions. Inasmuch as the three-dimensional framework allows a conceptualization of the European public sphere independently of national and cultural borders, it proves helpful in order to understand (theoretically) the structural transformation of the public sphere that is taking place in the European context. However, the necessary preconditions for public communications in Europe – common problems and political decisions affecting European citizens – are given. The failed referenda on the European Constitution in 2005 serve as a good example and illustrate that especially political conflicts and crises provoke European public communication and thereby foster moments of the European public sphere. Regarding the emergence of a European civil society and identity and assessing a procedural perspective, it is supposed that these are constituted *'by a process of interaction, negotiation, and contestation'* (Soysal, 2001: 169). Hence common identities and civil societies are not a priori given and therefore not considered necessary prerequisites for the emergence of a European public sphere. Rather, they are created within citizens' communicative practices concerned with common problems. The resulting conflicts, contestations and oppositional perspectives do

not hinder European public communication as well as the European integration process, but, conversely, act as their catalysts.

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BIOGRAPHY

Swantje Lingenberg (MA) is a PhD candidate at the Department for Media and Communication Studies at the University of Erfurt, Germany. She studied Communication Science, Romance Languages and Economic Policy at the Universities of Muenster, Sevilla and Bologna. Her research interests include transnational and transcultural communication, the public sphere and political communication. Her PhD project examines the audience's role in constituting the European public sphere and empirically researches citizens' participation in the European Constitutional debate.

Contact: swantje.lingenberg@uni-erfurt.de

SECTION THREE

PARTICIPATING IN EUROPEAN MEDIA

Participation and power in the television program Temptation Island: '*Tits*' and '*Melons*' on '*Slut Camp*'[1]

Nico Carpentier

1. INTRODUCTION

The reality show, Temptation Island (TI), was televised for the first time in 2001 on the FOX network in the USA. Many television networks bought the rights to this format, and in Belgium and the Netherlands the local version was produced by Kanakna Productions for two SBS Networks broadcasters, namely VT4 in North-Belgium and Veronica in the Netherlands. The first Dutch TI was televised in 2002, and since then a new series has been produced every year, with the fifth, and last, series broadcast in April 2006.

The format of TI is relatively simple, based on a clear and quasi-impenetrable categorizing of the participants. Eight couples, four men and four women, are housed separately in 'resorts' on two tropical islands[2], where they meet a number of so-called 'bachelors' (or 'tempters' and 'temptresses'). The program format revolves around a relationship test, where each partner receives the attention of the 'tempters' and 'temptresses' for two weeks.

The eight partners (and their 'tempters/temptresses') spend most of their time having fun, in smaller or larger groups, while every action is filmed and recorded by the (sometimes hidden) cameras and sound recording equipment of TI's production team. The different episodes consist of a montage of this footage, with commentary, as well as inter-

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[2] The television text hardly makes any reference to the locality of these resorts, disconnecting them from their (post)colonial realities.

views with the participants. The (group) interactions are alternated with two subformats. On the so-called 'dates', which culminate in the 'dream date', the partners choose one of the tempters/temptresses for a private date during which they undertake a romantic or adventurous activity. In the second scenario the participants are shown video clips of their partners' escapades at the so-called 'bonfires', while at the same time being interviewed by one of the presenters, Hans Otten (VT4) or Tanja Jess (Veronica). The reunification of the couples also takes place during such a bonfire. Both the dates and the bonfires are aimed at increasing the pressure on the partners. In the final episode the couples are visited some months after their TI stay, and an inventory is made of the damage caused to the relationship.

2. POPULAR BANALITY?

At first glance a program such as TI appears to feed a banal voyeurism on the side of the viewers, and to afford participants an opportunity for entertainment (as far as relationships go, as well as from a tourist perspective), with possible stardom as an added bonus. At the same time popular culture is a site where social meanings are constructed, where we are offered definitions of what our society would tolerate, would strive for, or would sanction. These constructional processes are not always homogenous. In fact, popular culture is characterized by a criss-cross of the many contradictions inherent to our culture. It is a place where attempts are sometimes made to transcend or transform rigid and impenetrable discourses. As John Fiske (1989) argues, popular culture serves as oxygen for these transgressions. At the same time it is also the stage where hegemony operates, finds foot and is resisted again.

Television programs such as TI are microcosms allowing us to examine our boundaries as well as elements in our culture that we take for granted. It is in particular the emphasis on human relationships and sexuality, core elements of society, that makes TI so relevant as research material. In addition, this program generates viewing pleasures for large audiences. In one of the many discussion forums[3], this viewing pleasure

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3   This text is based on an analysis of the broadcasts combined with an analysis of the postings on Temptation Island on the following forums, blogs and feedback pages: fok.nl, sbs.nl, belg.be, zattevrienden.be, whitelinefirm.nl, veronica.nl, goedZO?!.com, femistyle.be and vt4.be. The online postings are quoted verbatim. The author does not necessarily agree with them as to form and content. Please note that the postings from the forums are all translated from the original Dutch.

is summarized as follows: '*Of course, it supplies viewers with sufficient "suspense and sensation". That's why we watch. And don't forget the lovely bodies*' (Bobette, 02-05-2006, femistyle.be).

However, not all viewers are entertained by the program. As often happens with popular television – which was also emphasized in Ien Ang's analysis in 'Watching Dallas' (1995) – there are two different discourses underlying the evaluation of popular television programs. On the one hand there is the discourse (or the ideology, as Ang calls it) of mass culture, condemning popular television as boring and irrelevant. In some instances this condemnation is somewhat less subtle, as in the following description of TI as *'a fuck-around-program with machos and sluts!'* (kattekop, 30-032006, femistyle.be). On the other hand there is the discourse on popular culture which views these cultural expressions as legitimate and (even as) of cultural importance. These two discourses are not totally separated, as the ironic perspective reconciles them. When for instance one poster raises the following question (from the mass culture perspective): '*Is there really no-one who recognizes the sadness of the program?'* (calimero, 13-04-2006, vt4.be), the answer came the following day, and is telling evidence of the ironic perspective: '*Sad? Sure. Pathetic? Definitely. Entertaining? Enormously!'* (sugababe, 14-04-2006, vt4.be).

Therefore an analysis of popular cultural products such as TI can never be made outside of the discursive, ideological, and political-economic contexts. An important part of TI's context is provided by the television and media system(s), which is a commodified system, aimed at the production of a television program of such popularity that it can compete on the television market of North-Belgium and the Netherlands. It is also a professional system, grounded in media-professional identities, structured *inter alia* by means of – interrelated – ethical discourses, discourses on the hierarchy between participants and media professionals, on the format of reality TV, and on the quality of television (not to mention the numerous other discursive formations that encircle and contextualize television).

Of importance for this text are the power relations generated by this context, as it is precisely from this power-laden interactions that the television text, TI, originates, and in turn will feed (as a televised discourse) into culture and society.

3. POWER AND THE PRODUCTION OF A TELEVISION TEXT

According to Foucault – in his analytics of power in the 'History of Sexuality' (1978) – power does not belong to a specific actor (or class), but it

cuts across human relationships. However, this mobile and multi-directional character of power does not mean that power relations are by definition equally balanced. Foucault expressly recognizes the existence of unequal power relations, focusing on disciplining (of the other and the self) in 'Discipline and punish' (1977). He states at the same time that no actor will ever fully realize his strategies and intentions, because there is always the possibility of resistance and contra-strategies. It is precisely this dynamic combination of strategies and contra-strategies, of hegemony and resistance, of creation and restriction, that makes power productive. Through this power logic new discourses and identities are produced, and old discourses and identities are transformed or in fact consolidated.

Applying Foucault's analytics of power on TI's production sphere shows that the different actors effectively find themselves in unequal power relations. On the one hand the media professionals largely control the island context: They developed (*in casu* adapted) the format, they made the rules that have to be followed on the island, they chose (*in casu* cast) the participants, they concluded their contracts, for 24 hours a day their cameras (partly visible and partly hidden) are focused on the participants, they ask the interview questions, and they select the footage and edit it into a cohesive narrative which is broadcast on their respective stations. On the other hand the participants are not totally powerless. The entire format of TI depends on their willingness to commit themselves to the interaction with the other participants, to answer the interview questions, to live with microphones attached to their bodies, and to try and forget the ubiquitous cameras and cameramen, and behave as 'normally' as possible.

This power play become productive because it is exactly through these unequal power relations between the actors – co-determined by the circulating discourses – that the production of a television text is ensured. Because of this productivity, television becomes a discursive machine that transforms human interaction into (television) texts. As all texts, the TI texts are also ideological in character, containing a series of discourses that transcend individual statements and interactions cast in pictures and sounds.

4. KEY DISCOURSES IN TEMPTATION ISLAND

One of the most important discourses generated in (and through) TI, is the discourse about sexual fidelity. In principle human relationships can be organized in many different ways, but in TI – through the emphasis

on the basic dichotomy of the couple / the bachelor a specific form of heterosexual relational organization is privileged, thereby ruthlessly excluding many other societal forms. But at the same time the status of the bachelors is acknowledged, although their identity stands in an antagonistic relationship with the partners. The reason for this is that the bachelors represent hedonistic pleasure, which at the same time is articulated as threatening. It is the forbidden fruit, which is again a specific and reduced presentation of this social category.

Moreover, the idea of the relationship test is reduced to one of resisting (physical) seduction and of sexual fidelity. A specific and homogenous representation is offered of what is regarded as primordial in a relationship, and which criteria should be used to test a relationship. The problematic character of (sexual) infidelity and the intrinsic link between love and sexuality is strengthened by the recurrent references in the broadcasts to earlier crises between the partners as result of infidelity. It is precisely this testing of mutual trust that is seen in the TI text as an important motivating factor for participating. Once this trust is backed up by practical evidence during the TI encounter, and the partners have proven their fidelity to each other, the way to an everlasting and harmonic relationship lies open. In this sense TI is articulated as a rite of passage, allowing people to enter the world of 'genuine' relationships. Thus the program becomes part of the hegemonic discourse of heterosexual monogamy, where relationships are regarded as exclusive, and where participants are perceived as striving for a lifelong unity.

When the partners fail the relationship test, another element takes precedence: honesty. The entire configuration (and power dynamic) of TI is in any case based on truth speaking. Participants who are interviewed (alone or during the bonfires) are trusted to be revealing their innermost feelings to others (the presenters, their partners, the viewers), in particular when it comes to sexual infidelity. Of course this emphasis on honesty forms part of the production team's management strategies, but these strategies only strengthen the emphasis on the cultural importance of honesty, presenting it in the television text as an important regulatory mechanism in human relationships.

Apart from the emphasis on honesty, other cultural demands are made on human actions. The strong emphasis on the narration of the self, within the basic framework of the relationship test, presupposes consistent and rational (or rationalizable) action. Emotional fluctuations and (seemingly) inconsequent behavior are frowned upon in the commentary and in the interactions with other participants. At the same time the individual responsibility of the participants is strongly emphasized, which

again pushes the entire structuring context (and in particular the production team's management) to the background.

A second key discourse in TI is based on the ideal of physical beauty as source of and catalyst for attraction and seduction. It is not by chance that a tropical island is chosen as set for the series, resulting in an endless parade of scanty swimsuits, bikinis and shorts. A significant number of the TI scenes support the idea of physical seduction, including a scene that unsubtly copies Kubrick's 'Eyes Wide Shut', the apparently inevitable wet T-shirt competition, the selection rituals for the 'dates' (reminiscent of beauty contests), and short-skirted or bare-chested dancing. In particular, the relationship test comprises exposing the partners to the physical component of sexuality, and to female and male beauty. With this emphasis on physicality[4], TI's discourse also reinforces the classic ideals of beauty, with symmetry and slimness as key components.

A third and last key discourse involves the 'holy' rules of the game. As the direct interventions of the production team are supposed to remain hidden, their control is translated into the system of rules. The power of the media professionals is never directly seen in operation in TI; we only see the results of this power imbalance. Despite a number of modest manifestations of resistance, the entire program radiates obedience. The participants are docile bodies, disciplined by the production team. In this respect TI is a metaphor for normalization of media power as an impassive mover, the 'primum movens immobile' that manages to hegemonize its own basic assumptions, principles and methodologies. At the same time TI is an alarming discourse of obedience, with participants prepared to let their relationships deteriorate for the sake of the rules of the game, and for the entertainment of the many.

5. POWER IN TEMPTATION ISLAND'S PRODUCTION SPHERE

The production team use a number of sophisticated management techniques to place the partners under pressure. The most important of these mechanisms is the unlimited trial. By basing the entire program concept on a relationship test to which the participants voluntarily subject themselves, the extreme interventions by the production team are legitimized.

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4   This somewhat exclusive focus on physicality and beauty is toned down by the notion of the 'connection', which refers more to an attraction based on character than one based on the physical. But talk about the 'connection' only takes places during the second part of TI and remains on a secondary level.

Based on the concept of the relationship test, TI becomes an unlimited trial, where not only the tempters/temptresses *do everything in their power to place as much pressure as possible on the women [and men]'* (VT4 website[5]), but where the production team as well try to influence the context in such a way that the carefully selected couples' relationships are placed under pressure, often resulting in a break-up between the partners when the program ends. By taking part in a program of this format, the participants relinquish their power over the nature and intensity of the tests to which they are subjected.

The basic mechanism of the unlimited trial as management technique is strengthened by the artificial setting, which is strongly reminiscent of a panopticon. The participants are cleverly isolated by housing them on a distant tropical island, which offers a wide range of tourist (and sexual) attractions, but at the same time strongly resembles a prison (including the occasional 'escape'). Within the imaginary walls of the so-called 'resorts' the participants are subjected to numerous surveillance techniques by means of which (almost) all their activities are captured day and night. These images are then shown to the viewers and their partners. Finally TI is 'safeguarded' by numerous rules, contractually enforced, which direct and discipline the participants' behavior.

A third management technique is based on what Foucault has termed confessional power. *Inter alia* through interviews the participants are continually urged to describe their activities and emotional state, and to confess even the slightest 'infringement' to the presenters and thus also to the viewers. The interview questions are (partly) enabled by the production team's Olympian perspective (due to the ubiquitous cameras). This not only results in an endless series of (self)revelations, which the presenters of course do not reciprocate, but it also makes the presenters the first witnesses (and judges) of the, often inevitable, 'lapses' of the partners. The culmination of the confessional power is found in the subformat of the bonfire, where the partners are not only questioned on their reactions when seeing suggestive or explicit clips of their partners, but where they also confess their own 'bad behavior'. It is in particular at the last bonfire, where the partners are re-united and have to confess their 'sins' to each other (and to the presenter and viewers), that the most intimate details are confessed, often leading to emotional outbursts.

Two remarks have to be made regarding this analysis of the production team's management techniques. First, the power dynamics are more complex, because the partners try to support and protect each

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5   At the time of writing, this website was no longer online.

other, but they also discuss and judge each other's behavior during the interviews. Second, and more important, is the fact that resistance against the management of the production team is evident amongst all participants. Despite having very little opportunity, participants sometimes do manage to escape the cameras and microphones, for example, by swimming far enough out to sea, thereby becoming invisible and also inaudible, or by simply removing the portable microphone. Also refusing to participate in the interaction by locking themselves in or by 'going to bed early', can in some instances be seen as resistance. This is also true of the roles of the tempters/temptresses', that were sometimes not performed with as much enthusiasm as expected.

6. THE TELEVISION TEXT AND THE VIEWER

The TI production process is aimed at creating a television text, which in turn has the objective of reaching as many viewers as possible. But the viewers engage with this text in their own interpretative manner, and not necessarily follow the intentions of the producers. However, the audience is not hyperactive, and might often be satisfied to accept this dominant reading of the television text.

The popularity of the program is not only evidenced by the many hundreds of thousands of viewers, but also by the many responses and discussions on online discussion forums, blogs and feedback forms, which make it possible to involve the voices of the viewers in this analysis[6]. As could be expected, these online responses are extremely diverse. A large part of the postings is purely informative, asking for or offering information on how the program is developing, but also on the private lives of the participants. These more informative postings are supplemented by a limited number of predictions of future developments and analyses of geographical[7] and gender differences (or expressions of geographical and gendered (lack of) comprehension). However, the main attitude displayed by the postings on the forums that were analyzed was of a judgmental nature. In other words, the posters expressed themselves

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[6] This method has its drawbacks, as online forums are specific communicative systems with their own specific characteristics. For example, a number of these forums were moderated, so some postings were removed or only partially shown.

[7] The focus of this text is not on cultural differences between different categories of viewers or posters. Differences between the North-Belgian and the Dutch broadcasts are not considered, as are the differences in online culture between Northern Belgium and the Netherlands, and the difference in status between the posters ('ordinary viewers' and participants).

on many different levels about the participants, their behavior, their physical appearance, their personalities and their moral fiber, as the following quote illustrates.

> *'I find it an amazing program; just cannot understand that there are still couples who want to participate, because by now everyone knows the game so well!! I would never participate, but I like to watch it.'* (praia, 12-05-2006, verionica.nl)

It is in particular the idea of the (unlimited) trial that emphasizes the indisputable element of play. In a number of instances the words 'play' or 'game' are expressly used. It is a game in which the stakes that the participants will fail, are high, and some viewers watch with drooling eagerness for the participants to 'transgress'. Others again strongly support certain participants, so that the program is turned into a race into decline, rather than a series of smaller and larger human dramas.

To be able to define this program as play, it is imperative (at least in part) to place the players in a not too favorable position and to avoid identification, so that pleasure can be derived from seeing their problems displayed on the screen. It is for this reason that so much emphasis is placed on the fact that the participants themselves carried the responsibility to decide whether they wanted to participate, or that they are discredited by calling them 'mad', 'silly' or 'stupid'. Via this mechanism some of the partners are reduced to jokers.

The evaluations are largely on par with the key discourses described above. It is not surprising that the debate about sexual fidelity plays an important role in the discussions of the program. One of the words that are used most frequently to describe (at least some of participants), is the word 'slut'. On the strength of this, one of the posters (Zagato, 11-04-2006, zattevrienden.be) calls the entire program '*Slut Camp*'. One section of the viewers sees the female singles as 'sluts', as their assumed promiscuity is in conflict with the traditional monogamous moral values, in the good old tradition of the double standard. While the television text portrays the hedonism of the singles in a mostly positive manner, the attitude of (some of) the posters is more negative. And the partners who (presumably) succumb, are not spared the censure. One of the most striking postings (by Jaytonism) identifies each partner with a specific characteristic. Two are described as 'whores'. The same day a reaction appeared defending (only) one of the women.

> *'Kevin is smart. Matthieu is gross. Len is smart. Lisette has a sweet smile. Bianca is a whore. So is Cheyenne. Björn is naive.'* (Jaytonism, 22-05-2006, fok.nl) *'Ok, Cheyenne had sex with the Smoothy...but come on, this does not suddenly make her a whore? Though it is sad that she*

> *was not honest about this ... Kevin is far too good, and perhaps he would even have forgiven her.'* (hardsilence, 22-05-2006, fok.nl)

It comes as no surprise that the second woman, Bianca Mommen, was not defended. Very soon after the first broadcast, the news that Bianca Mommen (aka Alana) was an erotic masseuse and prostitute, was circulated on some websites, and it also appeared in an article in a major North-Belgian popular newspaper, *Het Laatste Nieuws.* Bianca Mommen defended herself in this newspaper article with the Clintonesque statement: '*I only give massages with my breasts. That is not sex. I have never been paid to have sex with a client.'* These first articles generated an avid online investigation into Bianca Mommen's private life, creating a whole series of texts parallel to TI's text. In addition, photos and a masturbation video were posted, and there were a whole series of testimonies by clients, contradicting her statement. More important than this privacy-infringing variation of which is sometimes called citizen journalism, was the abusive tirade that broke over Bianca Mommen's head. An almost endless row of posters insulted her, and her initial reticence and her emotionality were held against her. The fact that she was seen as a prostitute brought all the traditional registers about prostitution to the fore in the discussions, resulting in her being dehumanized and objectified, defined as abnormal and deviant, and stigmatized. The following posting is only one of the many insulting postings that were made on this issue:

> '*An ugly whore who gives a stupid and prudish performance on TV [at least at first]. One should throw such a person in the Willebroek channel.'(danzig, 11-04-2006, zattevrienden.be)*

A small number of posters spoke out in defense of Bianca Mommen, for example by trying to make a distinction between a 'slut' and a prostitute, but these postings were ignored or countered. Bianca's denials of both her professional activities and her sexual escapades with Stephen also elicited negative responses. Also other participants who were suspected of lying were condemned, and their deceived partners then received messages of sympathy. These participants were expected to confess and apologies. If they did not do so, the postings got even more condemnatory. This again emphasizes the cultural importance – or even the hegemony – of the traditional monogamous relationship, of sexual fidelity, and of honesty.

In addition to the debate on fidelity, the debate on physicality and beauty is paramount in the postings. In some instances the clips of specific body parts (especially female) were applauded, for example in the postings by eronmiller: '*To quote HUMO: TITS, TITS and again TITS!*

Whether it is Rebecca or Bianca, they are wiggling there for our visual pleasure...' (eronmiller, 12-04-2006, vt4.be) and by FreCas *'Melon time again'* (FreCas, 11-04-2006, zattevrienden.be). Often certain participants were singled out, and the attractiveness (or lack thereof) of their bodies exhaustively discussed and evaluated. In some cases this resulted in renewed attacks on participants, with Bianca Mommen once again being the target. These discussions are supported by the classic ideals of beauty and slimness. Those singles (and sometimes also the partners) who fit the beauty ideal, were judged in positive light, and called 'pretty', 'nice' or 'sweet'.

Finally, some posters did also mention the production team's management. In rare instances the posters actually critiqued the (legitimacy of) TI's management and the program (or a facet thereof) was then defined as 'ridiculous' or 'miserable', or the posters gave vent to their annoyance. In a small number of instances this annoyance led to fundamental criticism against the production team's (and in particular the presenters') behavior. The posting by believer was one of the few where the deontology of the program makers is indeed questioned.

> '*And I actually find that the whole thing can no longer be justified by the producers. OK, the participants ask for this, but surely as a human being, this must kill you?* ' *(believer, 28-04-2006, femistyle.be)*

The criterion that is applied is based on the seriousness of the emotional and relational impact on the participants, but once again they are reminded of their individual responsibility, and relatively little is said about the structural limitations. Most of these 'critical' readings of the television text (with some exceptions) in fact refer to a specific aspect, and ignore the all-encompassing character of the production management, which in any case remains hidden from most of the posters.

Besides the criticism leveled against the way in which the program is managed, as discussed above, the television text is also critically evaluated on a second level. This criticism goes to the heart of the program concept, as the authenticity and the real-life quality of TI as reality show is questioned. The contradictions in Bianca Mommen's behavior, the sensational news that she is a prostitute, and also the presence of participants who have taken part in other television programs and therefore are no longer considered 'ordinary people', was enough for one group of posters to call the entire program a 'put-up job'. In this roundabout way the production management then comes under fire (and heavy, at that) because the credibility of the program is prejudiced through interventions from the production team – negating the idea of fair play, or the

idea of 'ordinary people'. This type of resistance is not aimed against the productions team's deontological code, but against the fact that they transcended the program format, and it is sometimes extremely radical in form and content.

7. CONCLUSION

Besides entertainment, TI offers many viewers an in-depth look at our culture. The conclusion that they draw from this viewing is often not very optimistic. Both the program and the viewers who responded online, show a rigid moral perspective on sexual fidelity and monogamy. While the television text still offers scope for hedonism (through the central, and legitimately-defined role of the singles), the online discussions are dominated by a conservative perspective that in some instances escalates to intolerance, moralization and stigmatization.

Through the logic of photo-negativism, where visions of order are photo-negativized into stories of disorder (see John Hartley (1992)), TI confirms the hegemonic interpretation of the ideal relationship. The partners, who one after the other succumb to the pressure, present negative points of identification against which the viewers can measure themselves, enabling them to confirm their own moral value system as presented on the (television) plate. That is the source of the malicious satisfaction as well as the pleasure that the viewers experience when they see how people whom they consider (with all their faults) as inferior, fail. When the partners do succumb, the viewers in addition await the catharsis of the final confession that has to restore social order.

In order to legitimize the pleasure, the viewers enter into a social contract with the program, allowing them to ogle the bodies, and in particular to tolerate emotional abuse in the name of the game. The program cleverly creates a distance between the viewers and the participants, discouraging identification through the participants' articulation as 'stupid' (for entering into a situation which will unavoidably lead to their downfall), and through their articulation as being individually responsible. This is further strengthened by conferring an element of play on the happiness (or unhappiness) generated by human relationships. In this respect TI is truly an anti-empathetic program.

TI once again illustrates how the television system manages to hide its power very effectively, and how it makes the production team's management role largely invisible. This raises the deontological question of how the members of the production team can justify treating other people in such a destructive manner. The question is not whether the participant's

should be protected 'against themselves', which would place us in a paternalistic position. The question is how media professionals can justify – both for themselves and towards the entire media sector – spending two weeks (and more) trying to destroy people's relationships. The argument that it is 'only a game' and that participants voluntarily take part, is not a satisfying answer to this ethical question.

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Biography

Nico Carpentier is an assistant professor working at the Communication Studies Departments of the Free University of Brussels (VUB) and the Catholic University of Brussels (KUB). He is co-director of the VUB research center CEMESO and a board member of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA – formerly ECCR). His theoretical focus is on discourse theory; his research interests are situated in the relationship between media, journalism, politics and culture, especially towards social domains as war & conflict, ideology, participation and democracy. His most recent publications include the books *Towards a Sustainable Information Society. Deconstructing WSIS* (ed., with J. Servaes)(2005); *Reclaiming the media: communication rights and democratic media roles* (ed. with B. Cammaerts)(2006) and *Discourse Theory and Cultural Analysis. Media, Arts and Literature* (ed., with E. Spinoy)(in press).
Contact: nico.carpentier@vub.ac.be

Tracking real lives: Reflections on longitudinal documentary

Richard Kilborn

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The main aim of this chapter is to reflect on a form of film and television programming generally known as 'longitudinal documentaries'. For the sake of brevity I will henceforth refer to these as 'long docs'. 'Long docs' entail tracking individuals or groups over an extended period of time, reporting on how their lives have developed since the last visitation and inviting audiences to reflect on the changes that time or circumstances have wrought.

My interest in 'long docs' has been stimulated by work that I have undertaken in the broader field of film and TV documentary (Kilborn & Izod, 1997; Kilborn, 2003). Like all other kinds of programming destined for consumption by a mass audience, 'long docs' bear all the marks of the institutional setting from which they emanate. I should also add at this juncture that I am currently embarking on a more detailed investigation of the 'long doc' phenomenon. The present chapter is therefore based on a number of preliminary findings rather than on a more solid body of research evidence.

As a generic category, 'long docs' belong, at least as far as television is concerned, to the larger body of work to which the label 'factual/documentary programming' is sometimes attached. As such, 'long docs' raise many of the same questions as other forms of documentary destined for a particular slot in the programming schedule. For this reason, an analysis of 'long docs' will need to consider more general issues relating to how documentary film and program makers seek to connect with their respective audiences. 'Long docs' also reveal a number of common traits with other types of biographical and autobiographical work. In the case of autobiography, individuals seek to keep track of, or give an account of events in their own lives by keeping diaries, making home movies or writing memoirs. In the case of biography, with which

'long docs' have more in common, an external third-party agent will be centrally involved, thus arguably allowing for a more objective, critical form of assessment. The biographer, however, generally attempts to keep sufficiently close to his/her subject to give readers or viewers the sense that they are gaining insight into the featured individual from a privileged or knowledgeable perspective. Making such a distinction (between autobiographical and biographical accounts) also allows us to make a more general point about 'long docs'. This is that 'long docs' will almost always involve the intervention of an agent commissioned by an organization or institution with predetermined ideas as to the purposes that this piece of work should fulfill within the programming schedule of a particular channel. However much the biographer (or program maker) may attempt to make it his/her own account, the work in question will always, in some measure, bear the marks of the commissioning agent. The other point to make about biographical accounts with specific reference to 'long docs' is that the biographer/director will, in almost all cases, retain full editorial control over the material that (s)he chooses to include. In the case of autobiographical accounts (such as *Video Diaries*), a different set of editing criteria will come into play, since here the program maker will, by definition, be able to retain much firmer control over what is included in the account being offered.

2. MICHAEL APTED'S *7-UP* SERIES

Whilst there have been different types of 'long doc' produced over the last few decades (several of which will be the subject of investigation in the longer project I am currently undertaking), I intend to concentrate in this chapter on what is possibly the best known 'long doc', Michael Apted's *7-Up* series.[1] Starting in 1964 with *Seven Up*, the *Up series* set out to explore the Jesuit maxim 'Give me the child until he is seven and I will give you the man'. The original concept was to interview fourteen children from diverse backgrounds from all over England, asking them about their lives and their dreams for the future. The series has continued until the present day with Apted returning every seven years to interview those subjects still willing to expose themselves to this form of

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[1]   Though Apted has remained deeply committed to the *7-Up* series for close on half a century, it is possibly of some significance that, following his early non-fiction success with *7-Up* in the mid-1960s, he should have chosen to relocate to America and to make a career in Hollywood as a director of fiction films such as *Gorky Park, Gorillas in the Mist, Nell* and several James Bond movies.

extended media scrutiny. Apted's series, which has enjoyed great popularity over the years (it features in various lists of 'top 10 documentaries'), has provided the impetus for several other longitudinal projects including *Born in the USSR* (begun in 1991) and *Born in South Africa* (begun in 1992).

In the rest of the chapter I would like to pursue what I regard as a number of key issues relating to 'long docs', using the *7-Up* series to provide relevant examples. I shall divide these key issues into two broad categories. The first of these relates to a range of what we might describe as 'production issues': What challenges do film-makers confront in producing such series? How difficult is it to maintain good working relationships with subjects over a span of several years or decades? What are the principal ethical concerns surrounding what is arguably one of the more intrusive forms of documentary inquiry? The second category concerns the significance of 'long docs' in the wider tradition of documentary. If we accept the Griersonian definition of documentary as 'the creative treatment of actuality', what kind of picture of 'historical actuality' emerges from the *7-Up* series? To what extent, for instance, do series such as Apted's provide a chronicle of British life during the past four decades? And can the longitudinal format be considered to give a more telling account of social change than other forms of documentary chronicling?

2.1. Production issues

Though the *7-Up* has acquired the reputation of a 'classic documentary' and has, as suggested, also provided the impetus for several other 'long docs' employing similar revisitation techniques, it is important to recognize that the program was originally conceived as a single, one-off documentary in the ITV *World in Action* series. Apted, who was at that time (1963) in his first job as a junior researcher working for the ITV company Granada Television, describes the original concept of the *World in Action* film in the following terms:

> *[Someone] thought it might be a good time to have a hard look at England and see whether or not this social revolution was in fact having any genuine impact… Were the great cultural events changing for ever the class system that had permeated England for close on 800 years? Did everybody have a fair chance, or did the accident of birth bring power, wealth, and success? Were children made into winners or losers by class divisions?* (Apted, 1999: vii)

This was the premise on which the *World in Action* program was based and Apted rapidly set about gathering together the group of 7-year-olds who would be subjects of his film.

Apted had just three weeks to find fourteen children from a variety of class backgrounds. He went for the biggest possible spread, ranging from kids from highly privileged backgrounds attending private schools to no-hoper kids from very deprived backgrounds attending state schools. He got them talking about their attitudes to topics such as money, girlfriends and boyfriends, family life, race and religion. The additional part of the remit was to get some kind of idea of the jobs and careers that these children might have by the time the new millennium arrived. In Apted's words: '*These were to be the politicians, managers, trade-unionists, and parents of the year 2000, so what kind of England did we have now and what could we look forward to?*' (1999: vii).

Given the short time that Apted and his team had to complete the first *7-Up* film and mindful of the fact that it had to conform to the requirements of a particular current affairs slot, it is not surprising that the original black-and-white *World in Action* film appears to be just another run-of–the-mill TV documentary. Certainly it shows all the signs of the period at which it was made. Everything about it – the Voice-of-God commentary and the earnest attempt to address contemporary social issues – mark it down as a classic *World in Action* investigation. Viewed from a different perspective, however, one can already identify in this first *7-Up* film the embryonic elements that were, in the fullness of time, to make it one of the most successful 'long docs' in the history of television. Chief among these is the inclusion of the conjectural speculation as to what will become of this group of 7-year-olds by the time the new millennium dawned. How many of them will have realized their dreams? How many will have developed in ways quite different to those that they imagine? In other words: even though they did not recognize it at the time, Apted and his team – by setting a specific where-will-they-be-then?' date (the year 2000) – were in fact sowing the seeds for a much longer project than they could ever have thought possible as they worked on that first *World in Action* film.

The longer-term potential that lay in the *7-Up* concept was only recognized some time after the transmission of the *World in Action* film, even though – as we have already suggested – it was there, embryonically, from the very outset. Extracting the maximum mileage out of an initial TV concept or idea is, of course, something that has come to play an ever more important role in the economy of contemporary television. It is for this reason that – over the past 3 decades or so – we have witnessed ever-

greater emphasis on the idea of series or serial presentation modes. In a risk averse industry, series formats have become the dominant feature of TV programming schedules. Not only are there cost benefits in not having always to develop new ideas for programs; the series or serial format also encourages especially strong forms of audience loyalty, an increasingly valuable commodity in today's competitive media environment.

Even though the *7-Up* series has been running for more than four decades, it is important to bear in mind how certain aspects of the original remit and specification for the *World in Action* film significantly shaped the structure and character of the whole series. The *World in Action* program raises questions about how the die may be cast for later developments in life by the forces of heredity and environment. In exactly the same way, with the *7-Up* series, the die was cast for the longer-term series by a number of pre-production decisions relating to such matters as the 'sample' of 7-year-olds and the speculation about the kind of careers they would be following by the year 2000. To be more specific: in gathering together his group of 7-year-olds from a wide range of social backgrounds, Apted decided – for what must have seemed at the time quite plausible reasons – to concentrate on the extreme ends of that spectrum. In taking this step, however, he effectively bracketed out individuals from the middle ranges of society. Apted later conceded that this was an ill-fated decision, as it considerably reduced the value of the series as a social chronicle. In his own words: '*the film lives a bit in the extremes of the social system – more of the middle ground would have been valuable*' (1999: ix).

The other decision that was to have an enduring impact on the series as it developed concerns the gender mix of the participants. In focusing on whether children were made into winners or losers by class divisions and on the future careers of the children, the production team persuaded themselves they would have to include more boys than girls in their sample. As the series wore on, however, Apted began to recognize that this skewing of the gender mix was something that also imposed limits on his ability to provide an accurate reflection of the changing times. As he observes:

> *My regret is that of the 14 I originally chose, only four were women. In my defense, if you were going to predict in 1964 who would be the trade-union leaders or politicians of the year 2000, you wouldn't have picked a woman. Who would know that in fewer than 15 years, there would be a lady Prime Minister? But I've suffered for that mistake, as one of the most powerful political upheavals of my lifetime is the changing role*

women in the home and workplace, the conflict between family and careers, and I missed it. (Apted, 1999: ix)

2.2. Ethical issues

The production of such series as *7-Up* also throws up a number of ethical issues concerning the making of documentaries. These issues have, if anything, become more prominent in recent years, as film and program makers have come under greater pressure to produce material that will be 'factually entertaining'. In practice this means that a higher premium than once may have the case is now placed on the inclusion of all kinds of titillating talk and confessional revelation. The key question, then, is whether those who agree to participate in such projects are always made sufficiently aware of what this degree of media exposure might entail. Producers may secure the informed consent of participants (as is required by broadcasting regulators), but this is not always in itself sufficient to guard against those same volunteers feeling at a later stage that they may have been exploited. For those not versed in the ways of the media, it often comes as a surprise to participants that they have much less control than they might have imagined over the image of themselves that is publicly projected.

The *7-Up* series provides an especially stark illustration of the consequences for the individuals concerned of participating in a program of such longevity. Taking part in a single documentary investigation may bring a certain amount of unwanted exposure.[2] Being exposed every seven years to public examination, as is the case with the *7-Up* participants is, however, in a completely different league. As one participant (Andrew) conceded after he had been with the program for 35 years: '*If you came and asked me if you could do this to my children, I certainly wouldn't be enthusiastic. I think it's something that I wouldn't want to wish on someone, particularly*' (Apted, 1999: 177).

Here Andrew makes an important point about the selection of participants and the giving of informed consent. When the children were first selected, consent was given on their behalf by parents or guardians. As Apted came calling again at seven-year intervals and the participants moved into their adult years, they were, of course, at liberty either to stay with the program or withdraw. By this time, however, most of the participants felt – to a greater of lesser degree – under some form of

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[2]   This provides an interesting contrast with participants in reality game-docs like *Big Brother* where would-be contestants will move heaven and earth to get on the show.

moral obligation to remain loyal to the *7-Up* project. One gets some indication of these pressures in the following two statements by participants. In her description of what it feels like to be a *7-Up* subject, Suzy avoids using the word 'intrusion', but clearly she regards the need, at regular intervals, to provide an account of the last 7 years of her life as an unwelcome disturbance:

> *There's a lot of baggage that gets stirred up every seven years for me that I find very hard to deal with. And I can put it away for the seven years, and then it comes round again, and the whole lot comes tumbling out again, and I have to deal with it all over again.* (extract from *42-Up* – ITV, 2005)

For Symon, son of a black father and a white mother, who grew up in a children's home, participation proved to be a much heavier burden:

> *I think for the first 4-odd years, it restricted me. Because I was always shy to start with, and knowing that people were going to be looking at me and watching me, rather than do something that's going to look stupid, I've always pulled myself back.* (extract from *42-Up* (ITV, 2005)

Given the special demands that the format makes on the subjects, it is perhaps slightly surprising that, out of the original cast of fourteen, only two have dropped out in the course of the series' 40-year history. When Apted asked participants in the course of the *35-Up* program to reflect on their experience of appearing in the films, not one of them sought to deny that their participation had had a significant impact on their lives. Apted himself, when challenged on the legitimacy of this degree of intervention, has always tended to be non-committal about the possibly adverse effects on subjects:

> *I don't know what effect being in the film has had on them all. There's no visible, dramatic impact – they haven't got jobs or found partners because of the film, except in one case when a friendship developed with dramatic results. Psychologically, it must affect them, but I must plough on hoping not do damage, always telling myself that they don't have to talk, that they're free agents and can look after themselves.* (Apted, 1999: x)

In making such remarks, Apted may appear to be slightly disingenuous, since – for understandable reasons – he may wish to downplay the power that a film-maker has in setting the agenda and dictating the final shape of the program. It may be going too far to assert that the participants are being manipulated like pawns in a game of chess. In terms of power relationships, however, it is always the program maker who has the final say in determining the roles that the subject-performers are

allowed to play in the unfolding drama.[3] Apted may claim to be merely a facilitator in putting together the series. Certainly, though we occasionally hear his voice, he never enters the frame as a visible presence. Nevertheless, it is he who devises the questions to which the subjects are required to respond. It is he who decides what parts of these responses will be incorporated into the final 60- or 90-minute program. And finally, it is he who has the final say over how individual participant's contributions will be played off against their earlier statements as 7- or 14-year-olds. Small wonder, therefore, that Apted has become ever more acutely aware of the responsibilities that he bears towards his participants.

3. CHRONICLING THE TIMES OR TRACKING LIVES?

As already intimated, the *7-Up* series – in common with most other 'long docs' – can also claim to be a social chronicle of the times (Bruzzi, 2006: 86–93). In some measure it provides a public record of Britain during a period of far-reaching social change.[4] Starting the series in 1960s Britain was actually a very propitious time to launch such a project. The period of wartime austerity was over and change was in the air. There was a strong sense of a new age dawning, an age epitomized by the explosive impact of pop culture (the Beatles and the Rolling Stones) and by the desire to throw off the heavy burden that the past imposed. Much of the 'crustiness' that had clung to British life for generations had begun to flake away. The older structures did not simply disappear overnight, however. Many traces of the old class system remained – and opportunities in life were still closely tied with the family you came from and the schools you attended.

The changes that we witness in the lives of *7-Up* subjects, as the decades flow by, certainly reflect changes occurring in the wider society. During the period in question, Britain has experienced the gradual decline of what are generally referred to as 'traditional values and beliefs'. Society has become increasingly mobile and aspirational. Listening carefully to what the participants have to say about how they have

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[3] It goes without saying that there are strong affinities between longitudinal series like *7-Up* and traditional soaps such as *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street.* Both are potentially never-ending stories. Both record the passing of time in ways which audiences may consider to be close to their own lived experience.

[4] *7-Up* is generally considered to be a '*social history documentary*' which provides a '*classic example of a longitudinal research study*' (Molloy & Woodfield, 2002: 5).

negotiated the challenges that change has brought provides a useful starting point for a deeper exploration of the social history of post-war Britain.

It remains a starting point, however, and one is well advised not to over-emphasize the significance of *7-Up* as a social document. As far as audiences are concerned, the primary appeal of such series is still likely to remain the pleasure of being able to accompany a group of individuals on their respective life-journeys. More than perhaps any other media artifact, 'long docs' provide the opportunity to witness and reflect on what marks (both internal and external) the passing years leave on individuals. Production teams involved in putting together 'long docs' are well aware of the nature of this appeal – and also of the pleasure we take in measuring people's actual achievements against their stated ambitions. Thus, in recording interviews with participants, 'long doc' producers such as Apted will always be concerned to get subjects both to indulge in speculation about their future and to reflect back on their past lives. What hopes and aspirations have been fulfilled? At what points have their lives taken a different course to the one they might have imagined?

Apted himself took some time to recognize that this aspect of this work was a source of such continuing and deep fascination for audiences. When the program began, he was – as already mentioned – mainly concerned with establishing what impact the British class system might have on the lives of his subjects. As such, the program would therefore, to his mind, acquire political significance. As time went by, however, Apted began to see that the appeal of the series lay more in the opportunities it provided for audiences to imaginatively connect with those whose lives he had chosen to focus. In his own words:

> What I had seen as a significant statement about the English class system was in fact a humanistic document about the real issues of life – about growing up; about coming to terms with failure, success, disappointment; about issues of family and all the things that everybody can relate to. (Apted, 1999: xi)

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BIOGRAPHY

Richard Kilborn is senior lecturer in the Department of Film and Media Studies at the University of Stirling (Scotland) and is a member of the Stirling Media Research Institute. He has also taught at the University of Munich and has been a Visiting Professor at Northwestern University (Chicago). His major research interests have been in film and television documentary and in television drama. Major publications include: *The MultiMedia Melting Pot* (Comedia, 1985), *Television Soaps* (Batsford, 1992), *An Introduction to Television Documentary: Confronting Reality* (Manchester University Press, 1997) and *Staging the Real: Factual TV Programming in the Age of <u>Big Brother</u>* (Manchester University Press, 2003). He is currently working on a new book on the subject of longitudinal documentary. Contact: r.w.kilborn@stir.ac.uk

The Internet and the Second Iraqi War: Extending participation and challenging mainstream journalism?

Bart Cammaerts & Nico Carpentier

1. INTRODUCTION

Weblogs, or what is often called the blogosphere, can be deconstructed in a variety of ways; as alternative 'citizens' journalism, as a participatory instrument for citizens/activists to produce their own media content, as websites of opinion, as a social platform to inform friends and family within everyday contexts, but also increasingly as a new marketing and propaganda-tool for elites. They challenge several dichotomies: between what is being perceived to be public and private, between alternative and mainstream media and between the citizen/activist and the media professional.

In this chapter we examine the use of blogs by different actors in the context of the war in Iraq and their relation to the mainstream media. Armed conflicts constitute, of course, an extreme and extra-ordinary situation, but that is precisely why we choose to study it, as certain (media and communication) processes become very visible and apparent in these circumstances. As Carruthers (2000: 13 [quoting Williams, 1992: 158]), quite rightly points out that:

> '[w]ar should not be seen as a special case of how the media works', but rather as a magnifying glass which 'highlights and intensifies many of the things that happen in peace-time', albeit revealing them in exaggerated form.

Moreover, war is the site where different hegemonies meet. First, it is the site where hegemonic mainstream media practices become highly visible, also because alternative media fiercely (try to) resist them. Mainstream media practices and representations are stretched to their limits, and often start showing cracks, fissures and internal contradictions. Especially the mainstream (news) media's much-cherished notions of objec-

tivity, balance and truthfulness loose much of their taken-for-grant-edness. Through the fog of war, it becomes visible what they 'really' are: always-specific constructions of ideal-typical concepts. This process of demystification can be explained by two causes: the enormous stream of practical problems that mainstream media have to face during wartime, and the confrontation with another hegemonic level: the ideological model of war, that becomes inescapable for media organizations and media professionals at times of war.

2. WAR AND IDEOLOGY

When a nation, or a people, goes to war, powerful mechanisms come into play, turning an adversary into 'the enemy'. Where the existence of an adversary is considered legitimate and the right to defend their – distinct – ideas is not questioned, an enemy is excluded from the political community and has to be destroyed (Mouffe, 1997: 4). The transformation of an adversary into an enemy is supported by a set of discourses, articulating the identities of all parties involved.

Following Galtung and his colleagues (Galtung, et al., 2001) it is contended that these discourses on the self and the enemy are based on a series of elementary dichotomies such as good/evil, just/unjust, innocent/guilty, rational/irrational, civilized/barbaric, organized/chaotic, superior to technology/part of technology, human/animal-machine, united/fragmented, heroic/cowardice and determined/insecure. Both sides claim to be rational and civilized, and to fight a good and just war, attributing responsibility for the conflict to the enemy. The construction of the enemy is accompanied by the construction of the identity of the self, clearly in an antagonistic relationship to the enemy's identity.

The problems in the representation of war are strengthened by the application of the specific procedures and rituals (Tuchman, 1972) that media professionals use to guarantee or legitimize their truth-speaking (and objectivity). Journalistic daily practices and procedures are regulated through key concepts as balance, relevance and truthfulness, which have an important impact on the representations journalists produce. As these fluid concepts have to be transformed into social practice, their content is rendered highly particular and specific.

The mainstream media's war coverage often contains a double hegemony. First, they contain the ideological model of war that dominates the cultural sphere in which they operate. This hegemonic model defines 'the self' and 'the enemy', and connotates them positively or negatively. Secondly, the mainstream media's war coverage is based on

procedures, rituals and values that are in themselves also hegemonic, and become very visible at times of war (see Galtung et al., 2001; Tumber & Palmer, 2004). The main characteristics of mainstream media coverage of war include:

- A preference for the factual narration of the events of war, detached from individual (private) suffering, and supported by eyewitness accounts of journalists;
- A preference for elite spokes-persons whose statements are considered to be of public relevance;
- A preference for (often military) experts providing contextual information to the conflict.

All these practices remain firmly embedded within the ideological model of war that frames the images that are shown and the analyses that are made. At the same time the mainstream media's practices and preferences also tend to exclude a number of other approaches that transcend the sanitized narration of war, that allow 'ordinary people' to speak, and that deconstruct the traditional dichotomies of the ideological model of war.

3. Alternative voices

Although the processes listed above often characterize the mainstream media output, care should be taken not homogenize the diversity of media organizations and practices. In a number of cases mainstream media have managed to produce counter-hegemonic discourses and provided spaces for critical debate, in-depth analysis and humor. They have also, on a number of occasions, shown the horrors of war. Some even attempted to counter some of the basic premises of the ideological model[1], by giving a face to Iraqi victims, by paying attention to the strong European and the less strong US popular resistance against the war.

Alternative media organizations and communication channels offer counter-hegemonic discourses and identities that threaten the mainstream media's double hegemony, described above. These counter-hegemonic discourses are, however, much more complicated than often assumed. First, they do not always face both hegemonies head on, but

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[1] A modest but interesting example is provided by the North Belgian newspaper De Morgen on April 4, 2003, when referring to the US-led coalition as a '*mini-coalition*'.

often negotiate a critical position in relation to these two dominant positions. Second, they tend to change over time, as these alternative voices sometimes become incorporated by the mainstream. To show this complexity, we have selected three very different cases that are all related to what is now commonly called the blogosphere.

This first case of the blogger Salam Pax shows how this blogger managed to deconstruct the dichotomous model of war by expressing his reluctance to be liberated. The second case of the so-called mil-bloggers illustrates the complexity of eye-witness accounts even more, as this time American soldiers are seen to enter into the public space. Finally, the third case of the Abu Ghraib pictures totally disrupts the clear-cut difference between mainstream and alternative media, private and public, taking the dehumanization of the enemy to an extreme.

3.1. Salam Pax: disrupting the hegemonic definition of the Other

The Internet has emerged as (one of) the privileged channels or arenas that could be used to voice dissenting discourses regarding the war, thereby articulating alternative representations of war (and peace).

In this regard, Salam Pax, known as the Baghdad Blogger[2], is a prime example. He is an affluent, western-educated architect, with good knowledge of English, likeable from a Western perspective, not extreme or fundamentalist, and also a member of a suppressed gay community in Iraq (Melzer, 2005). Salam Pax is in many ways not an average Iraqi, but he did provide us with an alternative and highly personalized narrative of war. An example of this can be found in this quote: '*War sucks big time. Don't let yourself ever be talked into having one waged in the name of your freedom. Somehow when the bombs start dropping or you hear the sound of machine guns at the end of your street you don't think about your 'imminent liberation' anymore*' (Salam Pax, posted on 9 May 2003). His personalized narrative, from the inside of Iraq, contradicts the prevailing good-evil dichotomy that classifies Iraqi either as victims of dictatorship that welcome the American army as liberators, or as supporters of the Iraqi regime; '*No one feels like they should welcome the American army. The American government is getting as many curses as the Iraqi*' (Salam Pax, posted on 10 March 2003).

Salam Pax is also highly critical of the mainstream media and its practices, but his mere existence (and postings) already constituted a critique towards the mainstream media on a number of levels. As a witness he could—as no journalist could—simultaneously write from the position of

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[2] See URL: http://dear_raed.blogspot.com/ (with archive) and his new blog: http://justzipit.blogspot.com/

an expert, an independent observer and a citizen journalist. In doing so, he generated an alternative media practice that created exceptional insights and bypassed the professional journalistic culture of detachment. An example of his critical stance towards professional journalism is this quote: '*Iraq is taken out of the headlines. The search for the next conflict is on. Maybe if it turns out to be Syria the news networks won't have to pay too much in travel costs*' (Salam Pax, posted on 23 April 2003)

During the invasion and immediately after it, several newspapers in Europe and the US started to re-print excerpts of his blog. Salam Pax subsequently became a bi-weekly editorialist for The Guardian (McCarthy, 2003). His critical perspectives were also published in many other newspapers throughout Europe and the US. His blog-writings were also published in book form (Salam Pax, 2003). Furthermore, Salam Pax also produced a series of documentaries for Guardian Films, using his own footage (Salam Pax, 2005). These contributions have been bundled on a DVD and were aired on BBC's Newsnight.

Salam Pax thus evolved from being a concerned Iraqi citizen, blogging on how Iraqi citizens experience the war into a foreign (war) correspondent, filmmaker and author. In doing so he was catapulted into the mainstream. Salam Pax still positions himself as opposed to the hegemonic structures that define professionalism and journalism, while at the same time reluctantly becoming a part of it.

3.2. Mil-blogs: rendering the private self visible

Besides Iraqi citizens, also US military personal and their families use blogs to connect the front with the home front and vice versa, but also (at times) as a platform to disseminate alternative representations of war and personal accounts of how this is being experienced by the soldiers themselves and their families. In this sense, these blogs are alternatives to the mainstream media's way of covering war.

Although these sites can be seen as critiques towards mainstream media's hegemony, most of them simultaneously re-enforce the hegemonic discourse of war, reverting to the classic dichotomies that characterize the western ideological model of war[3]. An example of such a hegemonic mil-blog is that of Buck Sargent[4], an infantry officer who presents

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[3]   To witness the popularity of blogs amongst soldiers and their families, it suffices to visit portal-sites such as 'http://www.military.com/blogs' or 'http://www.milblogging.com/', which provide a gateway to a diversity of military related weblogs.

[4]   http://americancitizensoldier.blogspot.com/

himself as *'a University of Texas graduate, a Ronald Reagan conservative, and a George Patton patriot. […] pro-victory'*. Having done tour of duties both in Afghanistan and Iraq, Buck Sargent eloquently amplifies the persuasive discourses of the war on terror, claiming to bring peace and democracy in both countries.

Some mil-blogs not only offer an alternative position towards the mainstream media, but simultaneously take a clear counter-hegemonic position in relation to the ideological model of war. These more critical mil-blogs have understandably been the object of controversy and gave the military establishment the uncomfortable feeling of (partially) loosing control over the flow of information. Disturbing in this regard – at least for the US military, but difficult to discipline or control, is the use of blogs and websites by family-members of soldiers on tour of duty, by family-members of killed military personnel or by veterans to support the troops and/or to protest against or to question the legitimacy of the Iraqi war as such[5].

Counter-hegemonic discourses can also be expressed in a less obvious, implicit, way by describing the everyday life of a soldier, the emotional stress, but also the banality and boredom of war. They are contradicting the heroization of American soldiers in Iraq by narrating the ordinariness of their activities. A telling example of this is a critical blog *My War: killing time in Iraq*, written by Spc. Colby Buzzell, based in Mosul. This blog had a daily hit-rate of 10.000 in September 2004 and offered a critical perspective of 'his' war (Cooper, 2004; Buzzell, 2005). He wrote about the irrationality and indiscriminateness of war, contradicting the image of the (American) heroic soldier that is always in full control. The case of Buzzell is also relevant in terms of the efforts of the military to reassert control over mil-bloggers. Due to its popularity, Buzzell's blog attracted the attention of the Pentagon censors (Cooper, 2004). He was ordered to remove two postings from his archive and to have his contributions screened by his superiors before posting them. As he was not ordered to stop his blog, his case not only reveals the presence of censorship, but also the tolerance for blogs. This also exposed the Pentagons' view on blogging, as is summarized by the following statement of a military spokesperson:

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5   Examples of such sites and blogs carrying distinct counter-hegemonic messages and voices are Families Against the War ('http://www.mfaw.org.uk/'), Military Families Speak Out ('http://www.mfso.org/') and Iraq Veterans Against the War ('http://www.ivaw.net/').

> *We treat them [the blogs] the same way we would if they were writing a letter or speaking to a reporter: it's just information […] If a guy is giving up secrets, it doesn't make much difference whether he's posting it on a blog or shouting it from the rooftop of a building.* (Lt. Col. Barry Venable, quoted in Cooper, 2004)

Not surprisingly, the censored postings emerged on other blogs mirroring and thereby again bypassing the attempts to remove them from the public space[6].

Although the anxiety of the military authorities and attempts to control and screen material posted online was apparent in the case of Colby Buzzell, there are clearly also more subtle disciplining mechanisms of self-censorship at work. Buck Sargent's Blog, for instance, explicitly states that *'Opsec [operational security] will be strictly observed in all submissions'*. Sgt. Lizzie, a female soldier blogger serving in Iraq, points to the notion of operational security while also exposing a strong desire of soldiers to escape the everyday reality of war through their blog:

> *Reason you don't hear about much action from me: 1. I work in a very sensitive field, 99% of my work is classified, so I really can't talk about it. 2. Operational Security. There are certain things that I just can't talk about because it isn't wise to.* (New Lives, 20/10/2004[7])

Finally, technology also allows relegating blogs back to the private sphere of family and friends. The Green Side was an example of a site primarily directed at family and friends, which was still publicly accessible. However, after concerns of operational security voiced by the military establishment, the site was secured by making it password-protected.

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[6] http://perspective-seeker.blogspot.com/2004/09/my-war-fear-and-loathing-in-iraq.html (Consulted on 16 July 2006).

[7] http://sgtlizzie.blogspot.com/2004_10_01_sgtlizzie_archive.html (Consulted on 16 July 2006).

Source: http://www.thegreenside.com

3.3. The Abu Ghraib Pictures: falling on the wrong side of the hegemonic divide

As early as June 2003, one month after Bush declared 'mission accomplished' on board of the USS Abraham Lincoln, Amnesty International already condemned the US government for its treatment of prisoners in Iraq, both in Camp Cropper at Baghdad International Airport and in Abu Ghraib Prison (Amnesty International, 2003). Several US soldiers also provided eyewitness accounts of incidents of torture (DeBatto, 2004). In January 2004, Sgt. Joseph Darby handed over photographs he had obtained from others in his company who had served in Iraq, to the US-Army's Criminal Investigation Command (CID).

These torture photographs were acts of self-representation, made possible by the ubiquity of digital cameras. The soldiers present at, and involved in, the acts of torture used digital cameras to document their 'everyday life' in the Abu Ghraib prison, with the explicit intent to share them with friends, family and other members of their social networks. They were souvenirs of the 'good times' the makers had in Iraq.

The self-representations of the Abu Ghraib photographs were not neutral, but were mainly depictions of proud torturers in the same frame with the humiliated tortured, at times smiling and showing us the thumbs-up signs. Sontag (2004) made the analogy with so-called lynching photo's taken in 1880s–1930s, '*The lynching photographs were souvenirs of a collective action whose participants felt perfectly justified in what they had done. So are the pictures from Abu Ghraib.*' The sexual nature of many of the

abusive photos also shows the psychology of shame and bio-politics (Foucault, 1975) in a raw form. The evilness of the enemy legitimizes the dehumanization of the enemy soldiers. In warfare, this logic is used to justify the killing of these enemy soldiers, eradicating their bodies with a total disregard of their humanity. It similarly justifies torture, as these enemy bodies are no longer human, but mere containers of military information, or fragmented objects of (sadistic) pleasure, a *homo sacer* (Agamben, 1988).

Source: The Memory Hole[8]

It was not until April 2004, when Seymour Hersh reported in the New Yorker on the ongoing investigations and published some of the photographs (Hersh, 2004), and when CBS's 60 minutes aired a documentary on the photographs, that the Abu Ghraib scandal really gained its momentum. More and more pictures appeared in the global mainstream public sphere and in February 2006, Salon.com managed to obtain a DVD with a thousand unpublished photos and an internal CID-report on it, from a source who had served in Abu Ghraib and was *'familiar with the CID investigation'* (Benjamin, 2006).

The mainstream media and their hegemonic practices were a necessary condition to turn the Abu Ghraib scandal into a media spectacle of global proportions. It was the investigative journalism of the mainstream media that allowed them to be the catalyzing actor through which the photographs were tilted from the private into the public domain. Here,

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8   http://www.thememoryhole.com/war/iraqis_tortured/index2.htm   (Consulted on 16 July 2006).

the 'alternative' Internet was first used to restrict the circulation of these pictures, by keeping these trophies inside the social networks of the perpetrators. Later, but only after the mainstream media made these pictures public, photo-blogs would mirror, copy and paste these pictures on many other websites[9].

The publicness generated by the mainstream media also changed the nature of the Abu Ghraib pictures from trophies to legal evidence. As the torturers transcended the cultural norms of warfare, taking the dehumanization of the enemy to the extreme and moreover deriving pleasure from it, they became a threat for articulation of the American self as 'good'. In order to maintain its hegemony, the model that constructed the Iraqi soldiers as evil and the American soldiers as good, had to be defended. This was done by defining these soldiers as 'bad apples' and pushing them outside the American hegemony (and military).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The three cases explored above — the Salam Pax blog, the mil-blogs and the Abu Ghraib pictures — show, each in their own way, how the Internet manifests itself as a medium capable of bypassing mechanisms of control imposed by either the state or the military, and generating alternative discourses capable of challenging the hegemonic ideological model of war and at times also the dichotomous frames of 'we' versus the 'other'.

These blogs disrupt the hegemonic practices of the mainstream media, and their focus on the rational narrative, the warring elites and the semi-military experts. These alternative ways of reporting show that ordinary people can also perform expert roles and communicate valuable knowledges, and that these 'subjective' experiences can be factual, relevant, truthful and authentic. In this sense they are not that different from what we expect from professional journalists, but they do complement these more traditional forms of journalism, whilst professional journalism still remains an important truth-finding system, as is illustrated by the Abu Ghraib case.

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9   A good example in this regard is the site 'http://www.thememoryhole.org/' dedicated to archive sensitive material that is in danger of disappearing from the public sphere. Also wikipedia has archived the Abu Ghraib photo's on: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Ghraib_prisoner_abuse_reports/Gallery (Consulted on 16 July 2006).

At the same time this chapter shows that these alternative channels of communications and these alternative discourses are in many cases more problematic that often assumed.

First, the cases show that a rigid separation between alternative and mainstream, and the assumed univocal inter-relationship between mainstream and hegemony is difficult to sustain. It shows that while some actors use alternative media channels such as weblogs, they in fact reproduce hegemony (cf. the patriotic blogs). Similarly, some counter-hegemonic voices are given a platform by some mainstream media in their quest for balance. Bloggers then become portrayed by mainstream media as the new 'real' truth-tellers, as long as they fit within the professional hegemony of the mainstream media.

Second, while the Abu Ghraib pictures represent the loss of control over the communicative process by the US-government, ironically initiated by whistleblowers from within the military, re-establishing control was very much an issue concerning the mil-blogs. Besides this, more subtle disciplining techniques are also at play, often internalized by mil-bloggers and seen as common sense for instance not to breach operational security. In other words, hegemony can sometimes strike back.

Finally, these dynamics and interactions between alternative media and the mainstream media illustrate that the mainstream media cannot be articulated as a singular or necessarily subservient actor to state propaganda and control. Selected counter-hegemonic voices were given a platform and/or their blogs were referred to in mainstream online, print or broadcasting media. Furthermore, sound investigative reporting revealed and initiated the Abu Ghraib scandal. It is too easy to dismiss this as mere co-option strategies and to condemn 'the media' for being a mouthpiece of US and UK propaganda. At the same time it has to be noted that not all Iraqi, nor all military bloggers, were granted the same level of exposure. And here again, hegemonic journalistic routines and codes influence the choice of which bloggers are 'selected'. This would explain why Spc. Buzzell got a high exposure and Sgt. Lizzie did not. Along the same line, we could ask why it is that all attention was focused on Salam Pax and not or much less on other Iraqi bloggers (such as Riverbend[10], a female blogger) or on more fundamentalist bloggers.

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[10] See URL: riverbendblog.blogspot.com/ (Consulted on 16 July 2006).

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BIOGRAPHIES

Bart Cammaerts is a political scientist and media researcher lecturing on media, citizenship, and democracy at the media and communication department of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research interests include the impact of the Internet on the transnationalization of civil society actors, as well as on mobilization, direct action, (media) activism, and interactive participation; alternative media and practices of resistance; the use of the Internet by international organizations (UN and EU) in order to involve civil society actors in their decision-making processes and their claims to democratize global or regional governance processes. He publishes widely, is a member of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and chairs the communication and democracy section of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA). Contact: b.cammaerts@lse.ac.uk

Nico Carpentier is an assistant professor working at the Communication Studies Departments of the Free University of Brussels (VUB) and the Catholic University of Brussels (KUB). He is co-director of the VUB research center CEMESO and a board member of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA – formerly ECCR). His theoretical focus is on discourse theory; his research interests are situated in the relationship between media, journalism, politics and culture, especially towards social domains as war & conflict, ideology, participation and democracy. His most recent publications include the books *Towards a Sustainable Information Society. Deconstructing WSIS* (ed., with J. Servaes)(2005); *Reclaiming the media: communication rights and democratic media roles* (ed. with B. Cammaerts)(2006) and *Discourse Theory and Cultural Analysis. Media, Arts and Literature* (ed., with E. Spinoy)(in press). Contact: nico.carpentier@vub.ac.be

PART TWO

SECTION FOUR

THEORIZING COMMUNICATION

Rethinking the digital divide-approach: From a technically based understanding to a concept referring to Bourdieu's Social Capital

Friedrich Krotz

1. THE APPROACH

The starting point to the digital divide approach is the invention of a new medium, more precisely, the PC or the Internet. This new medium is understood to spread in a given society or culture. The related development is described via the theory of diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1995). Empirically this implies that researchers find out who has access to such a medium and who does not. It is evident that at every point of time, there are users and non-users – often called 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The divide between them, with respect to the media under consideration (usually the PC or the Internet), is called the digital divide.

It is further assumed that this digital divide does not exist only temporarily, but that it is a long-term phenomenon. This is a fearful expectation because the assumption underlying it is that the uptake of digital media is highly relevant for the future economy, society and, seen from the perspective of the individual, for having a chance to get a job. For the digital divide perspective, not having access implies exclusion from these developments.

Thus it appears to be a task for the respective governments to take care of the group of 'have-nots'. In the digital divide approach, this problem is understood to be a problem of those single individuals who do not use the media under consideration. Because of this, primarily children and young people are meant to become acquainted with the new media and to become more media literate, so that at least the adults of our future society will be on the better side of the digital divide. Thus governments purchase more and more computers for schools and pay the telecommunication industry to connect these schools to the Internet:

They should learn media literacy. In some but not all nations, the elderly are also offered easy access to PC and Internet. In general, this government strategy completes the above picture, as more people would then use new media and therefore the diffusion process would continue.

In the following text, these ideas and the underlying assumptions will be discussed. The main thesis is that the growing role of digital media may be important for the life chances of people in the future. But the digital divide approach leads us into a wrong direction. Following its argumentation and strategies will not eliminate unequal life chances in the future.

2. THE THEORETICAL BASE

The digital divide approach (Arnhold, 2000; Norris, 2001; Kubicek & Welling, 2000) is grounded on three basic theories: the theory of diffusion of innovations, the theory of media literacy and the knowledge gap theory.

Theory of diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1995): This theory describes how innovations with a measurable fixed advantage for those who use it – ranging from new medicine to new media – diffuse within a population. At the beginning, only specific people – called 'innovators' – use the innovation, but then more and more members of society see its advantage and become users themselves. This process of diffusion ends when all the people who are convinced of the innovation's advantage use it. At this point, it is said that the process of diffusion is saturated. Thus an empirically measured digital divide between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' of a population may exist only temporarily, while the diffusion process continues. Or, it may be a stable divide, when saturation has already taken place, but still not everyone uses computers and the Internet. A variety of strategies may then be used to influence the diffusion process, as, for example is the case, when governments want to hasten the spread of computer access and literacy.

Media literacy (Potter, 1999; Baake, 1996): The concept of media literacy is of importance for the digital divide concept. As noted above, the approach of diffusion of innovations starts with the assumption that it makes sense for a person to use an innovation because of its objectively existing advantage. If a person nevertheless does not use it and does not want to do so, she or he is not behaving in a rational way according to this approach. Perhaps there are traditions that prevent him or her from using it, or maybe it is too expensive. In the case of digital divide, it is usually assumed that non-users lack media knowledge. To overcome

this digital divide, media literacy is taught in schools, public libraries, and also in other institutions for adult learning, such as community and senior centers.

The digital divide conclusion: The problem has been attributed the name 'digital divide', which – within the area of communication research – refers to the knowledge gap theory (Bonfadelli, 1994). This approach emerged in the context of campaign analyses. Empirical studies showed that the availability of information in the mass media might enlarge a gap between those who know and those who do not know about the goals of the campaign. This happens, for example, because people of higher socio-economic status receive and process information more quickly than those of lower socio-economic status. This phenomenon is referred to as the knowledge gap, and by analogy, the term is now applied to the differences in access to and use of personal computers and the Internet. However, the mechanisms behind those two 'gaps' are different – the original knowledge gap referred to information distrib-uted through a variety of media, while the digital divide is concerned only with access to and use of computers and the Internet.

On the basis of these three theories, a considerable amount of empiri-cal research has been done on the digital divide problem and its develop-ment over time. These studies mostly measure whether people have access to a computer, the Internet, or neither. Only a minority of researchers (c.f. Marr, 2004) operate with more complex concepts and try to define the digital divide in terms of the purposes for which people use PCs or the Internet.

3. CRITICS

While the digital divide between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' demands the attention of government and civil society, the theoretical analysis and empirical research on this divide raise a lot of issues. We mention here only the main ones.

First, it is doubtful whether such technology-based theories (like the diffusion of innovations) are adequate for media analysis. This is because this theory claims that an innovation must have a given, clear and fixed advantage for those who use it. This in general is not true in the case of media, as shown by media history over and over again. Media are not merely technical inventions. Instead, they have communication poten-tials that are used by the people in very different ways. Thus the possibilities offered by the computer or the Internet vary fundamentally over time and are not fixed: The computers of 1982 often did not even

have a hard disk, could not show pictures or colors and were not connected to the Internet. Also the Internet, understood as a medium, used to be very different from what we today understand it to be – it started as a military net, then as a net of science, later it was a net for enthusiastic freaks. Today, it is a huge market for goods and entertainment, and in the future it will again be very different from today. Thus 'the given and clear advantage' of media does not exist over time. In conclusion, there may be different divides in the population in question, but clearly there is not one divide.

Second, media cannot be understood independently of culture, and so the diffusion theory, which claims to be valid in every culture, is not adequate for the problem. Similar, simple modernization theories which exclude culture as a relevant binding force (Lerner, 1966; c.f. also van der Loo & van Reijen, 1992) have practically never been successful or even helpful to change the life chances in developing countries.

Third, the empirical research in case of the digital divide is highly problematic. This is because most studies only ask whether people have access to a PC or the Internet. Where research goes deeper, it still only asks for standardized ways of using the net, mostly whether people use it for e-mail, surfing, gaming, collecting information and so on. But is it really relevant for the future, if a person learns today how to use Windows or Netscape, which will disappear at some point in time? And a boy who has access to the Internet and is playing computer games all day – by measurement he is on the better side of the digital divide – are his future life chances better then those of a girl who has learned to read and is able to read a whole book? Evidently, the measures used by the digital divide approach cannot grasp future advantages or disadvantages.

Fourth, the solution of the digital-divide-problem is understood to be a job for the individual: Each person is urgently told to become media literate. But this evidently means that the individuals should learn to fit into the future society: Not the development of society follows the needs of the people, but the people are forced to follow a technologically and economically driven development. Thus, the concept of media literacy and the arguments in favor of it, urgently need to be deconstructed in order to uncover the ideological assumptions behind it and to come to better solutions for future social problems.

Of course, if the activities of the people and the development of culture and society diverge, there is a problem. But the strategies of the governments to buy computers for schools and to connect them with to the Internet are only good for the computer- and telecommunication

industry, but not for the population, and the research arguments of communication science are not an adequate base to find better solutions.

What then can be seen as a better theory? What should be done instead? The rest of this chapter presents some ideas about how to approach these problems in a better way by sketching and framing more adequate theoretical approaches, which of course need more empirical research.

4. Alternative concepts

4.1. Society as development

Traditionally, sociological and cultural thinking starts with the assumption that we live in a given culture and society. But nowadays, it may be doubted that this is still valid – today more than ever. Stable states exist only for 'moments' in a constant flow of history and development. The conclusion is that only in starting from an understanding of our actual society and culture, as a product of long-term-processes, we can try to understand what takes place in the culture and society of today and of the future.

But if we want to do so, we lack adequate concepts. A concept like 'process' (for example, as it is used in the diffusion of innovation approach) is not a good way to understand long-term developments such as enlightenment, industrialization, globalization, or individualization. Developments like these may last for decades or centuries and are not necessarily confined to an area or a given culture. It is also not clear at which point in time they start or end. It is not even clear whether they have a defined goal and direction and what is part of them and what not.

Thus, there exist long-term developments which are not processes in the above sense. For such developments we prefer the term 'meta-process' (Krotz, 2003; Hepp, Krotz & Winter, 2005, 2006). Globalization, individualization, commercialization and mediatization (see below) are at least four contemporary meta-processes which influence democracy and society, culture, politics, economic and other conditions of life. Thus, these meta-processes are relevant for any answer to the question about the future forms of life and life chances, and for an adequate strategy of governments. It is evident that these meta-processes are important for people on the micro-level, for institutions and organizations on the meso-level and for culture and society on the macro-level. It is also evident, that there are complex relations between these four meta-processes.
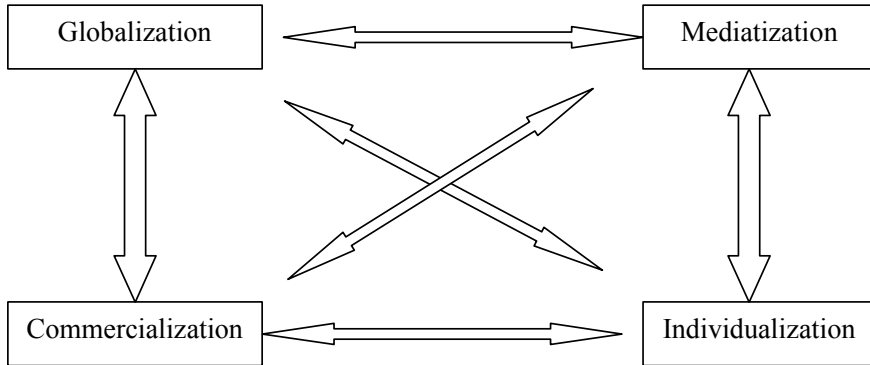
4.2. CONTEMPORARY META-PROCESSES

Figure: Contemporary meta-processes

The meta-process of *globalization* (Albrow, 1998; Castells, 1996; Giddens, 2001; Duerrschmidt, 2002; Hepp, 2004; Hepp, Krotz & Winter, 2005) originally refers to market actors (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998), but could today be understood as a theory of worldwide financial, economic, and in addition, political and cultural development, which influences the forms of social and cultural life in the future. A second important meta-process is *individualization*, which was already analyzed by Emile Durkheim. Following Ulrich Beck, a new form of individualization has come into life after the Second World War (Beck, 1994; Krotz, 1999), which consists of losses in social aggregates and orientations, but also of a reintegration into markets and institutional forms of living.

A third and for media and communication research most relevant meta-process is *mediatization*, which changes our media environments and our forms of communication through the invention of media and the social and cultural based use of them (c.f. Krotz, 2001, 2003; Krotz & Eastman, 1999), as new media usually do not substitute old ones. Theoretically, we here refer to the so-called 'medium theory' (McLuhan, 1967; Barck, 1997; Goody et al., 1986; Meyrowitz, 1985), understood as '... *the historical and intercultural analysis of different cultural environments produced by the communication media*' (Meyrowitz, 1995: 51). It is thus occupied with the role of media technologies and in consequence with changing human communication. Today, we can say that mediatization means (at least) the following:

- An increase of different media (as it is the case of the digital media);

- Changing media environments (as they become more complex);
- The changing functions of old media (as e.g. using TV is vastly different today from watching TV in previous decades);
- New and increasing functions of digital media for the people and a growth of the importance of media in general;
- Changing communication forms and relations between the people on the micro-level, a changing organization of social life and changing nets of sense and meaning making on the macro-level.

These changes are relevant for communication, which is the core of human action (Berger & Luckmann, 1969), ourselves (Mead, 1967) and our society (Habermas, 1987) or social life, our culture and the meaning of human action. Today, we have four main forms of communication: (1) face-to-face communication of human beings in a common situation as the basic form of communication, as it is learned by every individual as a baby (and the human race at the beginning of history), (2) interpersonal communication via media, as is the case if a person writes or reads personally addressed letters and emails, or in the case of speaking by phone to other persons, (3) media reception, which takes place if a person reads standardized texts or TV programs addressed to everyone, (4) interactive communication, which takes place in computer games, with robots or tamagotchis.

Besides globalization, individualization and mediatization, there is also commercialization. We define this fourth meta-process just by saying that the role of the economy becomes more and more relevant for the way how society and culture, politics and institutions function, and similarly, that human relevance systems and thinking more and more refer to the economy. We here can refer to the work of Herbert Schiller (1989, 1994) and others (McAllister, 1996; Sennett, 1999; Krotz, 2001a).

Together, these four meta-processes are relevant for the social and cultural development. Evidently, each of the introduced meta-processes is more or less independent from each of the other ones. But they all belong together with regard to the questions raised in this chapter as they all may be described as relevant forces which will lead us into the emerging world of the future. They are probably independent, as they are based on different rationales. But they of course interact in complex ways, they are intertwined and intermingled. We can also say that in general the meta-process of commercialization is a core process behind all meta-processes.

4.3. Further approaches within the frame of mediatization and the other meta-processes

The concept of meta-processes, the actual meta-processes and especially the meta-process of mediatization may serve as a conceptual frame to analyze phenomena and to develop theories – for example, by analyzing not only one upcoming media but by analyzing all of them as changing the media environment of the persons, their communication behavior and a lot more. Inside of this frame, further theories may be used, e.g. that of domestication and that of Bourdieu's concept of capital. We shortly sketch out this line of argument.

Silverstone and Haddon (1996) mean by the domestication of a medium a process which starts with a produced artifact – e.g. a PC – which is a technical device and has a given purpose and a technically inscribed user. Both serve to catch the people in order to develop ideas how to use the device and how to motivate them to buy it. Of course, this purpose and also the inscribed user are only the ideas of the producers, but they are relevant for the specific design of the device. The next step of domestication then is made if the user buys the device and installs it at home. Then a complex, socially and culturally based process of inter-action starts in the household (involving all members of the household) about who may use the device, for what, under which conditions and with which relevance.

This process depends on the economic, social and cultural situation of the members of the household, as there may be costs or necessary literacy involved. As a result, the specific communication practices and expectations of the new owners about the media come into life. Thus, people become specific users of this device. As such, owners then operate with the offered media content, but they also discuss the new medium with people they know or in public, and so convey their experiences back to the public and to the industry to make the products more adequate. We thus get a detailed understanding on how a specific medium finds its place and becomes part of everyday life culture in a commercialized world, guided by industry and public – and how people and their forms of living and communicating are affected by this.

Another important theoretical approach to understand the rise of new media and mediatization as a theoretical frame in more detail is the generalized understanding of capital by Bourdieu (1993). Traditionally, the concept 'capital' is – following Marx and others – used for economic capital. But Bourdieu generalized this concept to cultural, social and symbolic capital. His idea behind this was to ask for the relevant quali-

ties of capital. He found two, generalizing that (economic) capital may be accumulated, and that (economic) capital may be exchanged. Both is true for the other types of capital, and thus one gets a broad field of concepts to describe the change of everyday life in culture and society.

Capitalism functions by accumulation of economic capital. But you can also accumulate cultural capital, as you can learn more and more in similar or in different fields. The same is true for social capital, which in the view of Bourdieu belongs to individuals and consists of their social relations: You can accumulate social relations, and this may give you influence and power. And it is true for symbolic capital, as you can accumulate honors – e.g. prizes and others.

Now, the advantage of capital accumulation is that you can transform one capital into others: e.g., if you have money, you can exchange it into cultural capital by studying at a good university and getting a title, by buying a picture of Rembrandt or by 'buying' people with high cultural capital that help you to do some things. If you have a lot of social relations, this may be helpful to get a job, which means you exchange it into economic capital. And if you are a Nobel prize winner, you will be invited everywhere.

Thus, the different types of capital are a helpful way to understand how society functions today. It is evident that having no cultural or economic capital makes it difficult to participate in the digital media society, as one needs money and knowledge for that: Thus 'old' inequalities are also highly relevant for the life chances in media society. In addition, other 'old' capitals may disappear by new media – e.g. it may be less important to know how to write correctly if your PC has a program to help you. Also, new forms of the different types of capital may become important: This is for instance the idea behind media literacy, which should be understood as a mixture of cultural and social capital. And in general, by the upcoming of digital media, the nets of social relations of the people may change.

5. Conclusions

All this shows that the social and cultural change in the context of media and communication changes may be highly relevant for the future. But the digital divide approach and the conclusions from its results point us into a wrong direction. Research must use a broader approach, become more critical, and use better fitting theories. This text hopefully also makes clear that new theoretical concepts and a lot of qualitative and quantitative empirical research is necessary. The developments we are

part of today seem to be mainly organized and driven by economy and industry. But they are highly relevant for the future of democracy and the forms of cohabitation. So, we cannot leave the relevant decisions to economy and politics. Relevant questions for the future must be decided by civil society. But civil society needs much more knowledge about these questions. It is the task of academic communication and media research to produce this knowledge and to transfer it to civil society.

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BIOGRAPHY

Friedrich Krotz is a Professor in Social Communication/Communication and Media Science at the University of Erfurt in Germany. He is head of the Media and Communication Research Department and of the research center 'Communication and Digital Media'. Next to many other positions, he is head of the 'Psychology and Public Opinion' section of the IAMCR. His main research areas are media and culture, sociology of the media, globalization and intercultural communication, interactive and interpersonal digital media and its meaning for society and democracy, and research methods. He has done comparative media studies in Europe, Israel, the United States and Japan.
Contact: Friedrich.Krotz@uni-erfurt.de

Back to the future: historicizing social dream worlds about new media

Wim Vanobberghen[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

The introduction of new information and communication technologies and the Internet in particular into broader parts of society in the nineties was accompanied by utopian and dystopian discourses about their impact on society. Techno-enthusiasts like Nicolas Negroponte, William Mitchell, Frances Cairncross or Bill Gates claimed that, no longer restricted by geographical barriers, people would gather on the basis of common interests. The traditional centralist view of life would disappear. Hierarchical institutions and their representatives would subsequently lose power. This would be to the advantage of the ordinary citizen. Social relations would no longer be regulated by old-fashioned notions such as 'class', 'gender' and 'ethnic origin'. Instead, a harmonious society will arise in which the cooperation among different peoples and world peace were to be central values. They further claim that the new information and communication technologies will increase the quality of life. A range of services from health care and education to employment and investment will be brought to the house. In this way, people will no longer be confronted with all sorts of uneasy aspects of public life. Finally, the claims state that the new digital homes will enrich family life (Negroponte, 1996; Gates, 1996 & 1999; Cairncross, 1997; Mitchell, 1998). Techno-pessimists, on the other hand, were convinced that the new information and communication technologies would create an atomic society and reinforce the traditional cleavages in society. People would become more subordinated to control by the state and corporations and would not enjoy a higher quality of family life (Postman, 1993; Rochlin, 1997).

However, these accounts are not only media deterministic, but a-historical as well. They conceal that myth-making is an inherent process to technological development and that the introduction of new media in the past (telegraph, telephone, radio or television) was also surrounded by 'doom' and 'boom' scenarios about their effects on society (Flichy, 2001; Mosco, 2004). Given the actual pace of technological development in ICTs and the dreams and fears that accompany current debates about them, it is an important research task for media historians to tackle this 'historical amnesia'. In this chapter we want to highlight which theoretical schools of thought enable media historians to historicize visions about new media that are communicated by and to broader groups of society. The starting point of the chapter will be the paradigm shift from the 'old' to the 'new' history that took place within the history discipline and enabled media historians in particular to work in an interdisciplinary way, to expand their corpus of sources and to adopt a new chronological framework. In the second instance we will analyze which repercussions these three movements offer for tackling the 'historical amnesia' surrounding new media. More particularly, we will highlight the lessons media historians can learn from the social shaping of technology approach and the social construction of technology and domestication concepts respectively. Thirdly, we will discuss which new sources may be valuable for historians and how they should cope with chronology when historicizing the social dream world around a new medium. The main conclusion from these considerations will be that for historicizing utopian and dystopian visions surrounding new media, media historians should abandon the traditional linear and teleological perspective on media development. Instead, they will have to write histories that investigate how representations about uses and users of new media, put in their historical context, shape media development.

2. FROM 'OLD' TO 'NEW HISTORY'

The first major starting point for historicizing a social dream worlds around new media is to be found in the paradigm shift within history from the traditional Rankean approach of writing history to the so-called 'New History''. The traditional Rankean paradigm, named after the famous German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), dominated the history discipline since the nineteenth century and was influenced by contemporary positivism. According to this paradigm, history should only deal with visible and objective 'hard' facts ('facts are sacred, opinion

is free'). Therefore, history was meant to focus on 'events' and historical accounts emanated in narratives in which one event followed the other. Moreover, this paradigm privileged above all political history. The history of the church as an institution, and of military campaigns were also part of the paradigm, while the history of art or other histories were considered as being peripheral to the interest of 'real' historians. Consequently, the historical stage was the privileged terrain of leading men (kings, politicians, church leaders, generals…). Finally, the Rankean paradigm only accepted written administrative documents, emanating from official instances and preserved in national archives as sources (Burke, 1991: 3–6).

Although some historians in the nineteenth century were already critical towards this paradigm, resistance only grew substantially during the Interbellum (1918–1940). The founding of the *Annales* journal in 1929 by the French historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch and the role of their successors Fernand Braudel and Jacques Le Goff after World War II were major developments in the resistance against this traditional paradigm. They started developing a new research program for historians that emerged as the so-called 'New History'. Jacques Le Goff listed the basic assumptions of this new paradigm in an essay called *L'histoire nouvelle*, published in 1977. The traditional focus on political history was meant to be replaced by a 'total' history ('l'histoire totale') that investigated all aspects of society and human activity. Along with these views emerged a notion of cultural relativism: the world was seen as being socially and culturally constructed. Historians started to pay attention to cultural practices and their symbolic character in society. Moreover, instead of a focus on the actions of great men, histories 'from below' were supposed to be written. The way ordinary people experienced change in their everyday life and their visions and expectations were to become central preoccupations for historians. As a result, histories of labor organizations, collective mentalities, discourses and imaginaries emerged (Le Goff, 1988: 35–63). Influenced by this paradigm shift, media historians were also able to broaden their research scope. Since the end of the 1980s their traditional institutional perspective, i.e. the focus on technological innovation, on competition among electronic manufacturers, and on media regulation and policy-making by the state, gradually made room for studies emphasizing the everyday functioning of the media in their social and cultural contexts (Anderton & Curtin, 2002).

This turn towards cultural practices and everyday life experiences of ordinary people and 'total' history confronted historians with three new

challenges. First, there was a need for an interdisciplinary approach. Since historians started to investigate areas they had previously neglected, it became necessary to engage in a dialog with disciplines that already investigated similar problems. Consequently, historians started to learn from and collaborated with disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, economics (Le Goff, 1988: 35–76; Burke, 1991: 4–5). Secondly, history underwent a documentary revolution. Historians in search for sources that expressed visions of ordinary people and enabled writing total histories were no longer satisfied with the official records, but expanded the historical source canon with all sorts of written texts (newspapers, pamphlets, literature), images (photo, film, coins), quantitative data, archaeological remains, oral sources etc. Thirdly, the New History rejects a history that is obsessed with searching for the first cause or origin since this more often than not leads to teleological or anachronistic accounts. Historians should instead search for historical explanations within the time context of the object or subject they are studying rather than desperately seeking for its origins or founding father(s) (Le Goff, 1988: 44–60; Burke, 1991: 16–18).

What are the implications of these three basic assumptions for media historians? In the first place, the interdisciplinary approach enables media historians to incorporate insights from other social sciences that shed light on the way broader groups in society give meaning to media change. Secondly, it means that traditional sources like media laws or annual reports of broadcasters or firms should be replaced by sources reflecting fears and hopes people expressed with the introduction of new media in the past in an informal way (Anderton & Curtin, 2002; Boddy, 2004: 2–5).

3. SOCIAL SHAPING OF TECHNOLOGY

Within the sociology of technology, the 'social construction of technology' by Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker, the 'actor-network theory' (ANT) by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon and the 'construction of large technological systems' by Thomas P. Hughes are enriching for historicizing the social dream worlds. First, they offer media historians interdisciplinary starting points. Despite the claim of New History that all aspects of human activity should be investigated, media history has not been a major research area among historians until recently. Hence media historians turn towards the sociology of technology to be able to grasp the dynamics of the process of technological development. Secondly, by causing a shift within the history of technology from an internalist to an

externalist view on technological development (Cohen & Pestre, 1998: 721–722; Schot, 2004), the three approaches share with New History the assumption that the world (and hence technology) is a social and cultural construct. This opens the path for investigating discourses around technological development. The internalists write the history of machines from the viewpoint of the inventor and laboratory practices. They chart the sequence from one step in the process to the other. The history of a technology ends when it is ready for use by society. This internal approach, however, creates a linear view on technological progress. It implies that the whole history of technological development has followed an orderly or rational path and that every technological decision in history was oriented towards the present situation. Moreover, these linear histories of technological development portray the inventor as a genius who knows intuitively how his invention was about to evolve in the future. Instead of explaining why an artifact was successful or disappeared, success or failure were considered as the explanandum. To avoid such teleological and linear histories, an externalist perspective is needed. It tries to understand technology from the viewpoint of those who encounter it at a particular place and time. This perspective makes it necessary to see social institutions as active agents in technological development (Pinch & Bijker, 1987: 21–26; Nye, 2006). By rejecting technological determinism and a linear history of technological development externalist approaches have two major points in common with media historians working with the premises of New History. On the one hand, the focus on those who encounter media clears the path for writing a media history 'from below'. On the other hand, by reducing the role of the inventor in the process of technological development, externalist approaches enable media historians to break with the idolatry of origins and instead search for explanations in the context of the studied media itself. How are all these insights linked to the analysis of the past visions around a new medium?

3.1. Social construction of technology

For historicizing how broader groups in society debated the introduction of a new medium, out of the three externalist approaches, the 'social construction of technology' (SCOT) appears to be the most fruitful because of its concepts of 'interpretative flexibility' and 'stabilization'. Instead of a linear model of technological development, SCOT offers a multi-directional model that consists of three stages. This does not only take successful phases into account, but lists every possible alternative at a

particular time as well. This allows SCOT to research why some alternatives died and others were a success. The starting point for this analysis are the different problems and solutions presented by an artifact at particular moments. SCOT starts by identifying 'relevant social groups' that consist of people that share meaning towards an artifact. Relevant social groups can consist of engineers, advertisers, consumers etc. These groups are not static and new groups may emerge as the artifact develops. Different social groups associate different meanings with a particular technology leading to 'interpretative flexibility'. The developmental process of an artifact is thus filled with all sorts of controversies: conflicting technical requirements, opposite solutions to the same problem and contrasting moral values. Different outcomes of the process are possible. Interpretative flexibility, however, does not last forever. Stabilization and closure appear: a certain meaning attached to an artifact and consequently a certain technological form becomes dominant among different social groups. The resulting picture of the developing process is one of varying degrees of stabilization between different social groups. The invention of an artifact is not a single event, but the result of a process that spans over years. The final stage of SCOT consists of linking the meanings of social groups to the broader norms and values of the groups that are shaped by the same socio-cultural and political situation (Pinch & Bijker, 1987: 28–46).

SCOT and its concepts of 'interpretative flexibility' and 'stabilization' teach media historians that when a new medium emerges; its meaning is not fixed but subjected to different interpretations. In other words, the development of new media is surrounded by discourses about its use, its place and function by different groups in society (both on the production and consumption side) that each try to influence the development process of the medium. Only after some years can the meaning of a medium be pinned down and will turn into an unproblematic and natural feature of our daily lives. When historicizing discourses surrounding new media, SCOT teaches us to relate these visions to an actor/group and the particular context of place and time they are operating in.

Despite these insights, SCOT has a major weakness for mapping visions of new media by broader groups of society. Although it claims to bring users and their everyday discourse into account, SCOT has focused too much on the design phase of artifacts. By holding a rigid perspective on closure and favoring the production side, it has hardly questioned how social groups give meaning to technologies once they spread in broader groups of society and how this influences their development (Edgerton, 1998: 816–819). To write a more bottom-up history of media,

we need an approach that brings the role of users and uses of media more to the fore.

3.2. Domestication

Domestication is a theoretical and empirical framework, elaborated by Roger Silverstone, Leslie Haddon, David Morley and Eric Hirsch, that considers how technologies are adopted by households. Technologies have to be transformed from unfamiliar, exciting and possibly threatening artifacts into familiar objects embedded in the structures, values, daily routines and practices of users and their environment. Households thus have to appropriate those new technologies into their moral economy. This concept describes the situation that households are on the one hand part of the formal economy and reproduce goods but on the other hand that the economic activities of the household members are defined and informed by the values and norms of the family. The domestication process consists of four phases: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion. Commodification is the link between the design phase and the domestication of a new technology. Artifacts appear here in public spaces of exchange values and a market place that surrounds them with conflicting images coming from regulators, advertisers, engineers, the press. When a household decides to buy the artifact, the phases of appropriation, objectification and incorporation start. Households in those phases are negotiating the space the artifact is about to occupy and the spatial arrangements surrounding it as well as its impact on patterns of domestic time and domestic use. The three phases are influenced by the social dynamics and politics of families like conflicts over use and location, ownership and control, the fear for disrupting family rituals and routines, anxiety for undermining the moral standards in the household and challenges for the competences and skills of an individual. Conversion reconnects the household with the public world since households are making their private experience public by expressing a certain lifestyle to neighbors, friends and family. Through conversion the consumption cycle can be continued, since designers learn about people's experience and modify their artifacts (Silverstone, Hirsch & Morley, 1991: 20–26; Silverstone & Haddon, 1996: 62–65).

Domestication teaches media historians that in the evolution from the phase of 'interpretative reflexivity' to 'stabilization' with the emerging of a new medium in society, production and consumption should not be considered as separate spheres but as intertwined processes. Users have agency and technological development therefore is bound up with con-

sumption. For such a project, the meaning households attach to technologies can be considered as discourses. In this way, domestication teaches us that the technological development of an artifact results (at least partly) from discourses from users and producers about technology's possible uses and actual uses throughout the different domestication phases. Moreover, domestication offers media historians a good framework by showing the different aspects that are involved in the 'taming' of a new medium and to which discourses can relate. Domestication is, however, only a partial solution: most of their studies are restricted to the household. However, other societal institutions are social spaces too that adopt a technology at a historical juncture as a part of their ongoing development. Recently there have been attempts to broaden the concept to non-household contexts like work, leisure and lifestyles (Berg & Aune, 1994; Lie & Sorensen, 1996; Laegran, 2003). Moreover, for historicizing the social dream worlds surrounding new media, tracing down the discourses of different users and visions about use in the past is not an easy task. Domestication studies are focused on the present and make use of ethnographic methods that simply cannot be applied to question the past. What sources do media historians then have to look for to map the discourses about uses of new media in the past?

4. SOURCE MATERIAL AND CHRONOLOGY

4.1. Source material

Influenced by the source challenge of the New History, these theoretical reflections enable media historians to include new sources into their traditional research records. Since the 1980s media historians from the U.S. have developed a research program to analyze this social imaginary of new media. They claim that these different visions can be found in popular accounts of new technologies written by technicians, in science fiction literature, advertisements from media companies, photographs, movies and journalistic coverage of new artifacts (Flichy, 1995: 186–196).

In this study we limit our observations to the journalistic coverage of and advertisements for new technologies in newspapers. Studies about the introduction of the telephone, the radio, the television and digital media in the United States (Marvin, 1988; Douglas, 1987; Spigel, 1992; Boddy, 2004) illustrate that both sources are fruitful for gaining insights in the way the introduction of new technologies and media in particular are debated and anticipated in society. The study of these journalistic accounts and advertisements has been largely ignored in European

media history until now. The American studies teach us that journalists do not content themselves to report about new technologies, but engage actively in the formation of a social technological imaginary. Long articles about the use of a technology in the industry or the place and role of domestic applications in the home fill many pages of journals and magazines. The popular press is often the first channel through which people get their first impressions about new technological inventions. Newspapers and magazines can moreover be considered as 'discursive arenas' since they function as a site for different discourses originating out of different social institutions. These accounts are thus hardly neutral or objective: journalists support a certain pattern of beliefs and ideas about how a new technology must be used by legitimating certain uses and condemning other. This characteristic explains the often-diverse meanings and representations about new technologies historians encounter when investigating these sources. Popular media can therefore be seen as sites of cultural debate with power struggles and negotiations among a range of social ideals. Analyzing which stories are told and which are not is thus a fundamental question. It is, given the reflections about finding users' responses in the past presented above, crucial to keep in mind that newspapers and magazines do not reflect the response of users directly, but that they reveal a general set of discursive rules and roles that are formed for thinking about a new medium (Douglas, 1987: XV–XVIII; Spigel, 1992: 1–8; Flichy, 1995: 187; Boddy, 2004: 2–5). The advertisements in newspapers must be considered as transformations of the visions of media producers in the way of adapting to, on the one hand, the existing discourses of consumers, and on the other hand, the representations thereof found in the press (Flichy, 2002: 5). Journalistic coverage and advertisements reflect in this way the commodification and conversion phase in the domestication framework.

When media historians use popular sources for analyzing discourses about new media in the past, they have to bring the past back to life with all its available potentialities at a specific moment in time. Popular sources like journalistic accounts and advertisements are not to be considered as mere fanciful or misguiding images of new technologies, but as serious sources which enable media historians to analyze the connection between technology and culture, language and ideology (Douglas, 1987: XVII – XVIII).

4.2. Chronology

Such an account, however, has an important consequence that has not yet been outlined: the traditional chronology offered by history will no longer do. Following the insights from the New History that history itself is only slowly changing and explanations should be found in structures, establishing explicit temporal limitations to the project is not an easy task. It is crucial to keep in mind that tracing and mapping the history of media discourses does not entail identifying 'hard' data as such. The introduction phase of a new medium has a longer and broader space of time than purely its technological emergence and establishment as a mass medium. The introduction of television for example can be viewed in a longer development – a 'longue durée' – of dreams about 'seeing and experiencing from a distance'. Such a 'longue durée' perspective, however, has the disadvantage for this project that it will be difficult to consider what can be understood as 'seeing from a distance' (Schneider & Spangenberg, 2002: 16–17). Therefore, selecting a terminus ante and post quem in historicizing discourses surrounding new media will always be inspired by pragmatic research considerations.

5. CONCLUSION

The New History offers media historians fruitful starting points for historicizing the social dream worlds around new media in the past. Its call for an interdisciplinary approach enabled media historians to start a dialog with approaches within the sociology of technology. Their externalist view on technological development taught media historians to abandon a linear, media deterministic and teleological perspective on media development for a multi directional approach. SCOT in particular points out that the meaning of a new medium is not fixed, but is the result of different discourses emanating from different groups that are located in the production and consumption sphere. Domestication refines this image by focusing on how both spheres are intertwined and that uses and visions about uses from consumers and producers are the driving forces behind innovation. To historicize discourses surrounding new media means to analyze the role of representations, put in their historical context of place, actor and time, about users and their uses in the shaping of the technological development of a new medium. Writing a history of discourses from this perspective, forces media historians to question their traditional source canon. The New History cleared the path for exploring sources that bear more 'popular theories' about new

media and their uses like newspapers and advertisements. Finally, this history must not pin down discourses to 'hard' data since utopian and dystopian visions about a medium's potential are often older than its actual technological realization. Putting a temporal limit on these studies will always be influenced by pragmatic considerations.

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BIOGRAPHY

Wim Vanobberghen studied history (2001) and communication studies (2003) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in Belgium. As a Research Assistant of the Research Foundation Flanders – FWO – he is conducting PhD research entitled: *The discourse about the user of communication technologies in historical perspective: a discourse analysis of the Flemish Catholic and Social-*

ist Press with the introduction of radio (1923–1936) and television (1947–1960) in Belgium. Through this historical analysis, he wants to demystify, falsify and/or verify the current discourses and expectations about the information society, by asking whether they are radically different from – or, on the contrary, show similarities with – those visions that have been pronounced with the introduction of new communication technologies in the past. Historical analysis may thus in this context provide a better understanding of the information society as a revolution – or evolution.

Contact: wim.vanobberghen@vub.ac.be

Do the media help us grasp European *Realities*? Philosophical, ethical and methodological questions

Bertrand Cabedoche[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

To be a supervisor of doctoral thesis can serve as an excellent starting point to introduce some reflections that resonate within our transnational scientific community. One recent thesis I read, stated the following regarding methodology: '*To clarify the main characteristics of the Estonian people, I will refer to Le Monde (or Die Welt, El Pais, The Guardian…)*'. In terms of hypothesis, the text continued: '*I would like to prove that Le Monde (or The Washington Post, Deutsche Welle TV, Al Jazeera, Granma, Radio Canada …) does not tell the truth, when speaking about (for example) what the European Constitution project really means, or who were really the perpetrators and the victims in the last Kosovo conflict…*'. In reflecting further, this dissertation text continues: '*To be exhaustive in my analysis, I must add, obviously, that the media are the culprits, as decisive factors in influencing the "Non" and "Nee" votes in the referenda on the European Constitution Project; there was a gap between, on the one hand, the contents of media, and on the other hand, people's realities, and accordingly, the processes of reception*'.

Each sentence I have quoted here poses a particular problem. The first one seems to say: '*The media are telling the truth*', revealing in this way a Naïve Posture, problematic for anybody with an awareness of the pitfalls of *media centrism.* The second one seems to imply: '*The media are not telling the truth, they just give the impression that they do*', revealing in this way a Normative Posture, also removed from a legitimate research framework. The third one apparently suggests: '*Reality derives from individuals, as witnesses of real life: the media must mainly refer to witnesses in the field*', revealing in this last way a Superior Prescriptive Posture, also inade-

quate as a research framework. But beyond these particular aspects, these three sentences pose problems in a similar way, each in their reference to *Reality*.

To understand the philosophical, ethical, epistemological and methodological problems these three sentences create, we can derive some insight by looking at a current debate among researchers from Canada and France. Here we find the philosophical positions that can be summarized on the one hand as *Realist* (*Positivists*); and on the other hand, as *Idealist* (*Constructivists*).

2. REHABILITATING *REALITY*: AGAINST DOGMATIC DEVIATIONS WITHIN *CONSTRUCTIVISM*

2.1. Reality, *as a rediscovered object for journalism*

Historically in France, referring to *Reality* appears to be a recent admonishment, probably because during the XIXe century, journalism was mainly the activity of novelists and other fiction writers, who were more attached to the aesthetic dimension of their texts than to the accuracy of their own affirmations. This is not to say that, during this period, *Reality* had disappeared from sight. But writings in the press were to a great extent evaluated for their literary and argumentative qualities. Systematically referring to the concrete world and mobilizing empirical facts was considered as a Naïve Posture at least until the First World War (Schudson, 1978).

However, during the same period even in France, despite this previous contestation, famous authors – since Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 – and some political actors saw the Anglo-Saxon media as a credible model, preferring *correct news* to *beautiful writing* (Bautier & Cazeneuve, 2000). Legitimating facts was becoming a political stake for liberal politicians. Then, with Antoine Cabet, and even more so with Auguste Comte, this emerging ideal allowed the expression of a journalism that was in a sense castrated. It was reduced to a limp practice that could not critically deal with efforts to impose spurious versions of *Reality*. During the Empire period for example, referring to facts in the media, and to Official Reports, was regarded as an absolute duty. Later, with Third Republic, correctness, thoroughness, and Enlightenment – rather than literary devices deriving from subjective choice – was deemed the legitimate foundation of knowledge by the educational policy-makers.

This framework from the republican schools, together with Auguste Comte's positivist thinking, has increasingly become the influential framework for journalistic practices, as the XXth century progressed. Thus, generations of journalism students were learning the main rules of their future profession: Facts are independent of any human perception. According to Harold Lasswell, the professional task was to answer the Five W's (Who says, What, to Whom, through Which channel, with What effect), to use precise wording and to respect deontology and law. All this was seen as an objective way of working, which became the established, venerated model of professional journalism.

But for the last twenty-five years, the main influence in French communication research has no longer been *Positivism*, but *Constructivism*. Consequently, speaking about media events does not stipulate that facts as the starting point of media's work (thereby referring to some ontological truth), but rather human construction. That is to say, mediated events are only the result of what media discourses succeed in imposing, as they circulate in the public sphere (Véron, 1981). Furthermore, this perspective includes an emphasis on intertextuality, and the analysis of strategic games between social actors, who are working to produce and impose their own meanings. According to this view, a mediated event is dependent on the news media produces, as well as on numerous negotiations between many other actors, including audiences. Such a perspective seemingly undermines any notion of *objectivity* – except in the case where pro- and anti-media opinions make rhetorical use of this concept in the context of debates (Sériot, 1986). Beyond the analysis of mechanisms of media production, some researchers have even been debating the existence of *Reality* beyond its representations, claiming it is only plausible, but not yet proven (Searle, 1995). Progressively, intentionally or not, *Constructivism* has been emerging as the mainstream epistemological framework within media studies, fed by famous academic references, such as Piaget or Watzlavick (Le Moigne, 1995). We are even told that *Constructivism* has become the prominent philosophy for information and communication sciences in France.

However, for the last three years, a revival of a polemical confrontation with *Constructivism* has been growing, primarily instigated by Canadian researchers (Gauthier, 2003). In these debates it is usual to oppose a *Realist* theory, which believes in the existence of *Reality*, to an *Idealist* theory, which pushes it into the realm of representations. These debates are important because they remind us, on a philosophical, epistemological and methodological level, of asking how European *Realities* can be ascertained and communicated.

Without corresponding to a full *Positivist* position, some reservations have been expressed about the rise of *Constructivism* in France: Certainly, the interest in such a framework should be considered as a remarkable intellectual contribution in the late XXth century (Bautier, 2004). However, it is not because the existence – or the non-existence – of *Reality* cannot be proven without any reference to *pure facts* that Reality does not exist (Gauthier, 2003). Rather, it is indeed necessary, in regard to language and communication, to study the connection between *Reality* and the discourses about it; failing to underscore this interconnectedness we would miss something truly fundamental here (Bautier, 2004). So, how can we actually analyze the (re)construction of this 'pure fact' of *Reality* from the perspective of mediated news production, without returning to a Positivist framework (Neveu & Quéré, 1996)?

What is being debated now, from an expressly *Positivist* position by authors such as Gilles Gauthier, emerges from an absolute conviction, namely that *Reality* does exist, even though it is not possible to prove it. If we do not accept this as a fundamental and paradigmatic postulate, it is impossible to analyze the way journalists are managing their own relation to *Reality*, for example, how they are working with *primary definers*, as Hall calls them (Hall et al., 1978: 58ff.). It is impossible to speak of the way journalists are reformulating information from 'pure facts', for example using the techniques of writing or interviewing. It is impossible to distinguish correct from incorrect information, and to analyze how rumor works, all of these examples being important topics of research in our scientific field. To be qualified as an objective newspaper, or not, could be done only from one's own subjective political point of view. Finally, rejecting this postulate paradigm, as Constructivist researchers do, would be promoting a scientific untruth. Because, referring to everything as a construct reduces the world to a mere culture-bound, language-delimited, and user-shaped entity. And this very radical attitude makes any engagement unsubstantial: The question of objectivity is only debated on the political field, not on the metaphysical one (Lichtenberg, 1991). As such, what is now being denounced is fundamentally a philosophical posture, both an ontological and epistemological one – *Constructivism* – as a dogmatism, rather than as a mode of knowledge.

2.2. Constructivism, as a dangerous ideology

The basic argument of the *Positivists* is that because its real scientific contribution is in fact poor, *Constructivism* should be rejected. Of course, on the one hand, one could discover an element of construction in all

communication. Two possible functions of such *Constructivism* could be recognized: to counter any mythological beliefs that media professionals hold and refuse to question (Le Bohec, 2000); and to boost research works to shed light on opaque practices within the media. But above all, *Constructivism* constitutes a significant obscurantist risk.

On the other hand, while some authors (Delforce, 1996; Derville, 1999) are well supported in their constructivist deviations, the constructive dimension of a journalist's job should not be considered as only one part of his activity, but fundamentally as its essence. To inform would be impossible from a position of absolute truth. And because the media's texts can never be innocent of human activity, free from any influential strategy, *objectivity* should be treated as an illusion, referring to an abstract principle more than an actual practice or a deviation.

In the debates, four arguments have been developed against the Constructivist stance. The first one rejects the totalizing significance that Constructivists assign to the constructive dimension of media information. Most certainly, the existence of a given truth is not yet proven. But this does not mean that pure facts in a newspaper are rare. The foundation of such belief is a mode of conceptual exclusion that makes it difficult to connect the real world to the constructed world. A fact can be pure ('*Now, it is raining in Tallin*'), or it can be institutional ('*Next month, Germany will preside over the European Union*'). In any case, facts are the *Reality* which pre-exists before the news, and from which the production of news is not disconnected. When constructing media information from institutional facts, the construct could be only at best partial; pure facts must enter into the picture at some point.

The second argument takes issue with the absolute denial of objectivity that constructivists proclaim in regard to journalism. In this regard, de Saussure (1997) distinguished between speech (as an individual act) and language (as a collective system). But this does not mean that every word used by a journalist unavoidably contains connotations or associations, simply because speaking consists in choosing some elements from language instead others. News is quite capable of constituting pure denotation ('*three workshops are now debating on the question of taxes since nine o'clock, this morning*').

The third point of contention takes issue with the effects of meaning that Constructivists are playing with. According to Jakobson (1963) one could stress mobilizing, expressive and other functions within mediated communication. However, this does not mean that one cannot inform without conveying surplus meaning. On the contrary, it is the main func-

tion of media, to provide pure facts, without having to clarify any latent meaning ('*The Prime Minister's speech was at midday*').

The fourth argument criticizes the Constructivists' rhetoric about the weakness of *Reality.* For some Constructivists, *Reality* is less important than the observation, which is pre-shaped by a singular meaning. But for other, more radical Constructivists, *Reality* is reduced to a construction by the observer, or by a human community, a position developed within *Social Constructivism*, based on a poor understanding and erroneous appropriation of the classic text by Berger and Luckman (1967). If this position was indeed accurate, journalism could be viewed as pure construction. Yet, if non-reality is not proven, as Constructivists are forced to concede, we must consider the realist approach more correct. Most certainly, to accept the proposition '*Reality exists*', or to choose the opposite, is a choice, because there can be no proof. But this does not mean that there is equality between the two options. One – '*Reality exists*' – is more credible compared to the way some Constructivists deviate into obscure dogmatism, a-historical affirmations, and untenable polemical postures. Of course, such a head-on attack has provoked a swift response from the Constructivist camp.

3. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF CONSTRUCTIVISM AS A RISING CONCEPT

3.1. *A confrontation between two ideologies, about* The Given *and* The Constructed

The goal of the counter-arguments against Gilles Gauthier's attack was not to rehabilitate a conceptual purity within *Constructivism*; only one intervention (Benoit, 2004) took such a position. Perhaps because references to *Constructivism* have become a bit banal in France, such discussions have by consequence been gradually less compelling, on the theoretical and ethical levels as well. Yet in the present case, the response defended *Constructivism* as an indispensable framework, a concept on the rise (Hacking, 1999: 39), allowing genuine depth in scientific debates, especially in tackling questions about objectivity, truthfulness and ethics.

However, the debate does not seem to have revived the traditional philosophical opposition between, on the one hand, *Realist* researchers, analyzing the world based on human observation, and on the other hand, *Idealist* researchers, reducing the world to representations of the

observer[2]. Many Constructivist sympathizers distance themselves from *Solipsism*[3] and from the resolutely nihilist stance at times associated with *Constructivism*. Without passing any judgment on such positions, other Constructivist sympathizers can reflexively treat *Constructivism* as a form of ideology. By this they simply mean that *Constructivism* is a more or less consistent system of views, ideas and ethics, aiming at accounting for relations between humans, and human relations with nature, the imaginary and the symbolic.

So if *Constructivism* is considered as an ideology, the same applies for *Positivism* (Benoit, 2004). Most certainly, the sentence '*Reality exists, independent of human representations*' is only a plausible one (d'Espagnat, 1985). But this does not consequently permit a generalized imposition or acceptance of the actual references that point to *Reality* (Le Moigne, 2001). Middle ground positions have been proposed, suggesting for example a correlation between the world and the cognitive system. Perhaps a *Primary Order Reality* could be unanimously recognized ('*The sun is shining today in Moscow*'). But this is only an inter-subjective reality, not an objective one. And to consider the meaning of that Primary Order Reality ('*It will be possible to go shopping today, because the sun is shining*') is a *Secondary Order Reality* (Watzlawick, 1978). In short, to accept that every *Reality* is derived from the interpretation and the co-construction of facts, really only means that every piece of knowledge about the world also offers us knowledge about the Speaker. It tells us about his – or her – own preconceptions, horizons, beliefs, interests, intentions – within the external context or within the *co-constructed dimension* (Varela, 1989).

Consequently, reporting facts cannot be recognized as a simple neutral activity, without referring – as Gilles Gauthier did not – to the context in which the utterances have been formulated, to the interactions between the relevant actors (Bautier, 2004), and to the descriptions that have been shaped by the subjective dimension of language mediation (Koren, 2004). First, we recognize a referential intention in a discourse (while still keeping the option of a functional and neutral language open). Numerous researchers have demonstrated the linguistic inability to disassociate what we can call *The Given* (the independently existing reality) from *The Constructed*[4]. Notably because connotations are not only dependent on the uses of a language, they are also inherent in part of its

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[2]   The conflict opposes in the same way *Computationalists* (or *Cognitivists*) to *Dynamicists* in Cognition Sciences; cf. Benoit (2004).

[3]   A doctrine that reduces any reality to an individual *Ego*.

[4]   Cf. Roselyne Koren refers to Georges Kleber's works.

vocabulary (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980). Thus, vocabulary, with its lexical definitions, is dependent on knowledge statements (i.e., we did not use the word '*sphere*', speaking about earth, as long as the planet was thought to be flat). Vocabularies are contingent upon culture (for instance, Pygmies do not use any word to speak about '*Non-Pygmies*'; in Bali, there is no word to speak about '*Art*' and '*Artists*'). Vocabularies – or more precisely, the meanings attached, as well as absent, from words – are also shaped by prevailing frameworks of ideology (one can recall Georges Orwell's novel, where Big Brother imagined a Newspeak, in which no word was available in order to speak about rebellion against authority).

In my own work, I have had to define the concept of the '*Third World*', an effort that required 100 pages, without any possibility of arriving at a full consensus, since there are authors and political actors who refuse to question this concept for political reasons (Cabedoche, 1990). Moreover, connotations are inherent to the syntax of language (Ducrot, 1993), the manner in which an article begins, the form of oppositional arguments and the way in which one ends a text, resonate with the patterns of thesis/antithesis/synthesis. Different values can be derived from the terms used in Dichotomies (or paired oppositions); thus, *Palestinian/Zionist*, does not have the same meaning as *Arab/Israeli.* Lastly, connotations are embedded in cultural contexts; for example, to teach the traffic rules in an African village-school, one may well have to make use of oral fables with animal characters, or to understand Sorcery, one may well have to demonstrate its relationship to rationality.

Furthermore, an apparent function in a speech – a referential one, for instance – may actually serve as an inciting one (Reboul, 1980) (cf. *Radio London*, during the last World War). Even when reference is concerned with numbers, as I have already demonstrated elsewhere (e.g., the co-occurrence in the French extreme-right leader Jean-Marie Le Pen's speeches: '*Three million unemployed people, three million immigrant people*' (Cabedoche, 2004)), the information in the media is the result of a construction-reconstruction logic (Véron, 1981). It is driven more by the intention to capture audience attention ('*effets de captation*'), and by the aim of appearing believable and authentic ('*effets d'authenticité*'), than by truth-values (Charaudeau, 1997), in order to establish credibility (Tétu, 2002).

Thus, to speak about objectivity in regard to a newspaper product becomes a tricky issue. Specifically, *Constructivism*, can shed light on these issues by providing us with an efficient framework.

3.2. An efficient framework

Reacting to the anti-constructivist attacks, authors recognize some operational advantage from this approach; among other things, it encourages us to think about paradox, as well as self-referencing (Cabedoche, 2005; Cabedoche, 2006). *Constructivism* allows us to be open-minded to complexity, not least in regard to the levels of social organization, and the processes of knowledge generation. Most certainly, *Constructivism* may risk marginalizing *Reality,* yet this is neither a fatality, nor a perversity, as Gilles Gauthier lamented! (Koren, 2004). In another way, to associate *The Given/The Constructed* with *Constructivism* allows us to oppose forms of totalitarian thinking, which refer systematically to *Reality* only from their own point of view, according to the stakes and interests at hand.

Thus, we must view *Constructivism* not as a dogma, but on the contrary, as a long process of progressive scientific experiments (Delforce, 2004). Only some years ago, *Functionalism* and *Positivism* were the obvious mainstream ways of approaching research (Pélissier, 2004). Relieved of its dogmatic deviations, *Constructivism* must be considered as the foundation of an '*Anthropology of communication*', an innovative scientific exploration, able to include elements from Positivism (Winkin, 1996) and yet to reveal at the same time the frameworks of perception among social groups and population, and the ways the world is constructed by them. In this way, communication is not longer considered an information transfer, but rather a contribution to culture, as part of the ever-evolving circulation of meaning.

To pursue this line of thinking means that scientific studies could be treated as forms of a meta-language. Research itself can be seen as the product of particular cultures, rather than the expression of some objective and neutral methodology that reveals *Reality* to us. However, this does not mean that we reduce research to subjective opinion. *Constructivism* simply leads us to pose questions about the processes whereby scientific knowledge is generated (Gavillet, 2004). And this is precisely one of the most specific tasks for French information and communication science, to systematically question the values, premises, and horizons embedded in the meta-languages of research. Because Gauthier is living in a North-American context, it could be that he is uncomfortable with this point of view (Pélissier, 1998). However, such a task requires an interdisciplinary open-mindedness, an ability to go beyond the media-centrism of analyzing media content (Gavillet, 2004). We need to be able to elucidate the conditions and processes that lie behind the social construction of media output (Delforce, 1996).

So, what we call *Constructivism* is a risky, but an innovative opening, a rigorous thought process, positioned against *Positivism*, but open to hybridization (Lemieux, 2000), gathering several strands that stress pragmatic, symbolic or indicative processes (Pélissier, 1998; Le Bohec, 2000; Le Cam, 2003). It could be called, among other things, a dialectical, an empirical, a methodological, a logical, a radical, a social, an historical or a socio-political *Constructivism*.

4. CONCLUSION

Gauthier (2005) attempted to respond to the previous counter-arguments, without closing the debate. According to him, even if *Constructivism* can mean many different things, its supporters recognize three basic false postulates to be avoided. First, if we accept that knowledge is a construct, must it therefore have nothing to do with *Reality*? Must we accept that connecting knowledge to *Reality* is invalid for researchers, which means aligning ourselves with a *Cognitive Anti-Objectivist* position? The answer is 'no', according to Gauthier. Secondly, because the existence of *Reality* cannot be proved, must we therefore accept that the expression of any judgment is not scientific, which ushers us into an *Ontological Scepticist* position? Again, his answer is negative. Third and last point in the present debate, there are some Constructivist defenders who accept *Reality*, i.e., what we call a *Realist* position. But must we treat – as they do – *Reality* as only a temporary postulate? No, *Reality* is not only a postulate, it must exist, especially in relation to journalism, because to understand the media's processes of construction we need a point of reference, Gauthier argues.

What remains of *Constructivism* as a relevant theory, when both a *Cognitive Anti-Objectivist* and an *Ontological Scepticist* perspective are wrong? When Constructivists finally accept a *Realist* view (even temporally), which is ultimately a positivist concept? Nothing, according to Gauthier, except a desperate desire of recognition, within fashionable French intellectual circles. To provisionally conclude after Gauthier's reactions, it appears that the main differences within all those debates revolve around the importance (or not) given to each term *The Given/The Constructed*, when analyzing mediated information. Gauthier, et. al. think '*the Construct is an exception*'. Delforce and Derville think '*the Given is an exception*'.

However, as promoters of the debate observed, nobody was debating the foundation of *Reality* (Fleury-Vilatte & Walter, 2004). And it is no longer possible to content oneself with referring to a so-called common

sense, which has already been debated, and rejected, for all its dimensions, as well when its meanings, what is natural, practical, simple, wise or accessible (Geertz, 2002: 94–118). Is Reality founded upon spiritual references, as John Milton said (according to the Christian Truth)? Is it based on economic and social factors, as Karl Marx said (according to Historical Materialism)? Is it to be determined by scientific references, as Karl Popper said about objectivity (according to the Falsification theory)? And in this case, what does a good and adequate reference mean in regard to the social and human sciences when no new scientific statements are legitimate to disqualify older ones, when one can only inconclusively juxtapose them? Or must we admit it is not possible to identify any foundation to *Reality*?

So the question would be: Where does *Reality* come from? Does *Reality* emerge as the result of a competitive media marketplace, with competition between *Correct* and *Incorrect News*, as liberals would say? Or does *Reality* emerge as the result of deconstruction, as Bachelard argues? Or does *The Reality* signify an inaccessible and mysterious territory, when we, together with some with anthropologists, conclude that it is impossible to really understand the Other, and consequently, to understand the social facts, indeed the physical facts, which the Other is acting upon, as Geertz demonstrates.

Noting such a diversity in defining *Reality*, one could say that the question of *Constructivism* is re-legitimated, if defining its foundation refers to a belief, a set of assumptions, and not to an absolute proof. So, we need to question knowledge and the place of researchers in its production, before questioning journalism and mediated information. We need to question what is knowledge is; how is it generated?, how is it constructed?, how is it transmitted?, and not least how is it evaluated? (specifically in regard to relevance and ethics). From there, connecting journalism to knowledge, we must question how to maintain a hierarchy between knowledges in a public sphere, which is in a bad state at the moment. Forty years ago, Abraham Moles spoke about a *mosaic culture*, where everyone, everywhere, all the time, and under all conditions, was supposed to be informed. If this seems ludicrous today, we need to ask why, and what a more realistic or better vision might look like. And at the same time, we should avoid a posture of scientism in all this, recognizing legitimacy to journalism; because the field of human endeavor, let us not forget, encompasses not only rationality, but passion as well.

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BIOGRAPHY

Bertrand Cabedoche is Professor in Information and Communication at the University of Grenoble III. He has worked on journalistic discourses on North-South relations and on the representations of the European Union in the main newspapers of the member states. He recently published a study on the CEA's public communication, entitled: 'Ce nucléaire qu'on nous montre. Construire la socialité dans le débat sur les énergies' [The nuclear that's being shown to us. Constructing the social in the energy debate], L'Harmattan, 2003, 592 pages. His recent research focuses on scientific and technology communication, the education and position of journalists and journalism, and the evolution of information and communication theories in the face of globalization (publication in preparation).
Contact: bcabedoch@numericable.fr

SECTION FIVE

COMMUNICATING KNOWLEDGE

Mass mediation as relational practices: The case of social scientific research communication

Ursula Plesner

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores how two very different relationalist approaches from the fields of social studies of science and social psychology respectively, may be used in order to conceptualize the communication of research via the mass media in 'dialogic' terms. First, I will briefly present the doctoral project, which has given rise to this theoretical discussion. Then I will introduce a current of thought that the project is both informed by, and critically interrogating, namely 'the dialogic turn in research communication'. I present this current as springing from two sources: the critique of transmission perspectives in communication studies and the critique of 'public deficit' thinking in science studies. I proceed to suggest that, even if 'mass media' and 'dialog' may be considered a contradiction in terms, a *recasting of mass mediation as 'a series of relational practices'* highlights precisely the dialogic element in mass communication – and as such, the mass media need not be excluded from consideration when we analyze or try to practice dialogic research communication. Following this, I will sketch out the two relational approaches that I draw on in my reconceptualization of mass mediation: a) Kenneth Gergen's theory of relational selves, with its theorization of all utterances as inherently dialogic, and b) Bruno Latour's actor-network-theory, which takes us beyond the separation of actors, institutions and texts into separate domains, by locating meaning production in relations between 'actants' which cut across all those domains. Finally the chapter describes how the relationalist, constructivist approach challenges pre-established categories in communication studies such as the notions of audiences and public. It is also proposed that the investigation of mass mediation faces the challenge of being sensitive to how empirical

alliances and groups are formed, and how those groupings *themselves construct boundaries and categorizations* in a given network.

The doctoral project seeks to develop an interdisciplinary, post-foundationalist framework for the analysis of research communication.[1] From this perspective, knowledge is not a reflection of reality but a product of our ways of categorizing and constructing the world. The project is driven by an interest in the general question of how we can conceive of strategic communication from such an anti-essentialist point of view. A basic assumption is that an in-depth empirical study can provide the basis for a reconceptualization of the established categories, models and notions of communication studies. As its case, the project will investigate the production and communication of knowledge of the EU-supported research network 'Civil Society and New Forms of Government' as 1) processes of network formation and 2) negotiations between different forms of knowledge. It will do so by carrying out multiple, detailed case studies of the discourses and practices of – and relations among – its researchers, involved communication professionals at the host university, involved journalists, and users of the mass media texts representing the research. Over a 3-year period, the network will gather 100 researchers from European countries around a number of 'work packages'. Through in-depth empirical analysis of the positioning, boundary work, and different discourses, interpretative repertoires and rationalities played out around selected work packages, the doctoral project aims to identify the moments of dialog, translation, negotiation, and association in mass mediation.

2. THE DIALOGIC TURN IN RESEARCH COMMUNICATION

In post-traditional societies, science is in a troubled position between speaking with an authoritative voice and seeing its authority undermined by epistemological doubt, public skepticism, increased competition from other institutions, an instrumental view on its raison-d'être and so on. This can be seen as part of an emergent new mode of knowledge production (Nowotny, 2000), where the investigation of the world is no longer recognized as an objective endeavor, but as *'a dialogic process, an intense (and perhaps endless) 'conversation' between research actors and research subjects – to such an extent that the basic vocabulary of research (who, whom, what, how) is in danger of losing its significance'* (Nowotny et al.,

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[1]   In this endeavour, the project is engaged in co-operation with Phillips (this volume).

2003: 187). At the same time, developments within communication theory and in policy-making have led to the demand for not only more but also 'better' communication of research to the public (Kjærgaard, 2006). Thus, even if these trends cannot be seen as hegemonic, both one-way communication models and 'public deficit' perspectives have been subjected to a substantial amount of critique of sender-centricity and elitism (e.g. Irwin & Wynne, 1996). The underlying view is of the public as an un-knowledgeable receiver that needs to be provided with appropriate information from scientists via 'professional communicators'. This critique has led to the proliferation of public, political, and academic demands for 'dialogic', 'interactive', 'empowering' approaches to the communication of research to 'the general public'.[2] In Denmark, some experimentation has taken place over the last decades (consensus conferences, science cafés, and the like), and the dialogic ambition has been articulated in relation to policy-making. One example is the work of a think-tank established by the Danish Ministry of Science and Technology specifically in relation to the communication of university-based research to the public.[3] One could argue, though, that it is a rather thin version of dialog taking place, with few, selective events, an almost exclusive focus on hard science and technology, and a strong orientation towards the legitimization of investments in promising technologies. Along the same line of critique, one could claim that we are not developing dialogic communication of research as an integral part of a knowledge society, but rather engaging in a public relations type of communication to uphold our participation in the global knowledge economy. One could also argue that when the information offices of the universities routinely apply press releases directed at the mass media – rather than interpersonal communication or more interactive media such as Internet discussion forums – this a step in the wrong direction in relation to the realization of the dialogic ambition. However, granted that there may be an

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2   Thus, here we are not concerned with the numerous other forms of research communication taking place in peer-reviewed journals, teaching at universities, etc.

3   In a report, it is stated: '*We do not start from scratch. A lot of dissemination of research is already taking place. In the think-tank we see it as our mission to contribute to an improvement of the dissemination of research. We need to look into new ways of communicating research and communication based on dialog. This is also why we prefer the term "communication of research" rather than the traditional "dissemination of research", which indicates that more information is the answer to all problems. With the notion of "communication of research" we wish to underscore that good communication of research is two-way communication*' [my translation, UP]. Downloaded on 24.9.06 on http://www.vtu.dk/fsk/div/forstaelseforf/forskogfortael/index.htm

enormous potential for developing more – and more diverse – dialogic forms of research communication, the challenge in this chapter is to interrogate whether it makes sense to conceive of *the mass media* as playing a central role not only for linear ways of thinking research communication, but also in relation to the 'dialogic imperatives'.

2.1. The critique of transmission perspectives in communication

After decades of concern in communication studies with media effects, propaganda models, etc. – related to a view of communication as a message transferred from a sender, via a channel and a medium to a receiver (Shannon & Waever, 1948) – vivid critiques have been addressed at this linear, top-down way of conceiving of communication. In contrast, in post-structuralist and anti-essentialist approaches, the individual is seen as having no essential personality – but instead multiple, contextual identities; pre-established target groups based on socio-economic classifications are seen as too rigid; and the idea of communication as simple and linear is sought to be de-constructed. Various attempts are being made at working strategically with communication from a more dialogic perspective (e.g. Dervin et al., 2003), although the insistence on dialog and heterogeneity presents quite a challenge with regards to both methodology and resources. Now, it might seem obvious that transmission theories offer a restricted explanatory frame for understanding the complexities of communication – but such views still underpin both common sense understandings of communication and dominant approaches to strategic communication. They underlie such notions as diffusion, dissemination and popularization, which are applied in relation to the communication of science. For instance, traditional science journalism tends to accept the objectivity of the sciences and see itself as 'simply' concerned with popularization, without engaging in any kind of critical-reflexive dialog (Meyer, 2004). On this conceptual level, it becomes clear how critiques of transmission models can be linked to critiques of deficit models: *'dissemination is a problematic notion, indicating a model of one-way communication where the knowledgeable (the experts) are to fill the gaps of knowledge of the less knowledgeable'* (Horst & Poulfelt, 2006 – translation UP).

With this line of critique as a backdrop, there are at least four different paths to take. The first would be to dismiss dialog as a methodological ambition altogether. This is indeed a common choice for communication planners, journalists, etc., and may also be a consequence of disillusionment with inconsequential attempts to work with new formats. The sec-

ond would be to try to distinguish between different communication contexts, and to see the dissemination of knowledge and dialogic communication of research simply as two different *kinds* of communication of research (Jensen, 2006). In this way, it becomes possible to develop communication tailored to the concrete contexts of research communication. The third is to engage fully in the dialogical project. This is the logical consequence of a normative engagement with dialogic research communication. The fourth is the path that will be explored in more detail below: to analyze *the discursive constructions of the need for dialog*, as well as the *empirical instances of dialogical communication* from which we may draw insights that can be applied to develop a framework for the analysis and planning of research communication.

2.2. The critique of the deficit model

As indicated above, science and technology scholars have voiced a critique which has a certain structural homology with the critique of the transmission view within communication studies. The critique identifies and problematizes the so-called 'deficit' model, which assumes that rational discourse can be transmitted from the scientific community to the public, thus solving the alleged problem of the public's lack of understanding of, and appreciation for, science. The critique has contributed to the partial replacement of transmission and deficit models by what could be called the 'dialog model', according to which scientists have a responsibility to listen and respond to public concerns, not just the right to have their views transmitted to passive audiences. According to this 'model', scientists must be made aware of the need to speak the language in which these concerns are expressed, and we must invert the 'public understanding of science' problem to a 'science's understanding of the public' challenge. But, as is the case with transmission models in the field of planned communication, the old cognitive deficit model is very much alive and well (Irwin, 2006) and *'we should be cautious in the face of institutional claims to have embraced a new social contract of dialog, transparency and consultation'* (ibid.: 302). While the critique of the deficit model has had some influence on policy-making processes and discourses, the 'problem' of science/society relations has, of course, not been solved. With regard to the question of what direction should be taken after this critique, there is a strongly normative or a discursive turn to take. Following the normative path, it would become necessary to provide individuals with resources to challenge science's authority, by making them aware of how scientific knowledge is produced and applied (Dick-

son, 2000). Following the discursive path instead, the step to take would be to analyze the discourses on dialog, transparency, etc. empirically, in order to identify their relations to new modes of scientific governance. One argument within this chapter is that following the discursive path should preclude an interventionist, normative practice. This is linked to the ambition of 'following the actors' in research communication without fixed ideas about how they communicate or how they ought to communicate. This idea is expanded below, but first it will be argued that, besides the discourse focus, two specific relationalist approaches mentioned at the beginning of the chapter can contribute to the understanding of research communication via the mass media – namely, Gergen's approach to relational practices and Latour's actor-network-theory.

3. A RELATIONALIST APPROACH TO THE MASS MEDIA

Theorizing or analyzing the mass media often implies a focus either on institutions or on texts, or on professional practices or individuals engaged in production or consumption. In contrast, so-called holistic approaches (Fenton et al, 1998; Deacon et al., 1999) stress the importance of investigating the different dimensions of mass communication processes to understand a given media practice or text. For instance, to give a comprehensive account of how social science is portrayed in the media, Fenton et al. (1998) carried out an extensive quantitative and qualitative study of what one could call the different links of the mass communication chain, showing how different logics (of scientists, journalists and readers) have consequences for the overall image of social scientists. While such an approach can provide important insights into power relations, professional ethics, etc., it does not contribute to a questioning of pre-established categories of mass communication such as texts and audiences. With a constructionist, relationalist approach to the above-mentioned case, attention is drawn to the continuous construction- and boundary-work of the involved actors; the contingent nature of categories is stressed because the focus is on the actors' own categorizations; and the relational character of communication of social science can be explored because the mass communication process it not 'cut into pieces' by looking at predefined areas of interest such as 'production' and/or 'text' and/or 'reception'. Such an anti-essentialist approach can be seen as a necessity for a rethinking of research communication via the mass media as dialogic and for shedding light on subtleties and complexities that are not captured when working with predefined groups.

3.1. Dissolving actor-categories

Kenneth Gergen – one of the leading authors in the social constructionist movement within social psychology – proposes a radical reconceptualization of relations. He insists that we transcend the dichotomisation between the individual and the social, between self and relationship, and refrain from ascribing determining force to any of these (Gergen, 1994). All meaning is generated in relationships, since we all carry a history of relationships and necessarily address others when we perform. 'The other' enters the expression in its very formulation: *'one's performances are essentially constituents of relationship; they are inhabited not only by a history of relationships but as well by the relationships into which they are directed'* (Gergen, 1999: 133). The thought-experiment of this chapter is to consider if the point Gergen makes with regard to relations between individuals can be applied with regard to relations in mass communication. Rather than seeing participants in mass communication as isolated individuals or groups with distinct sets of interests, professional codes and types of language ('a scientist', 'a research community', 'lay person', etc.), and rather than splitting mass communication processes into delineated phases of a line of transmission, mass communication can be seen as constituted by different actors that each bring different resources into communication situations, and carry new experiences and articulations further into other contexts. This view draws attention to the complex interconnectedness of different actors, as well as to the variety of the resources they draw upon in relation to social science issues. While it has little focus on processes of association or the importance of non-human actants, it adds to the sociology of science analysis of network formation discussed below a conceptualization of meaning-making as generated in dialogic relationships. Here, Gergen draws on Bakhtin's dialogism, which has affinities with the dialogical turn described above, with its critique of the oppressive character of monologue and the capacity of a single authority to monopolize meaning, as well as its conception of dialog as an ideal to strive for. Apart from the normative quest that bears resemblance to deliberative democratic ideals, Bakhtin stresses the embeddedness of dialog in all utterances; how discourse always draws upon other discourses: *'No speaker is, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe'* (quoted in Gergen, 1999).

One of the implications of the notion of dialog provided by Gergen's reading of Bakhtin is that it allows us to look beyond the concrete dialog as an instance of 'interpersonal communication' and instead see it as part of wider interpretive communities. As such we begin to grasp the

dialogical dimensions of mass communication processes in their entirety, with concrete 'relations' as the central analytical point of entry.

3.2. Beyond the primacy of the text as well as of face-to-face communication

The promise of actor-network-theory (ANT) in relation to the analysis of mass communication is twofold: it inspires us to focus on the coming-into-being of networks in mass mediation processes, and it offers a way to avoid giving primacy to entities such as actors, institutions and texts involved in communication when thinking about dialog. With Latour's way of seeing also material objects as actants participating in the constitution of networks (Latour, 2005), texts, institutions and individuals may be seen as equally important parts of mass communication processes. While actor-network-theory has emerged out of the science and technology studies field, it has informed empirical research in other domains as well. Two applications of ANT shall be highlighted here: one argues for the use of this approach in documentary studies (Justesen, 2005), the other constructs the public sphere as a 'laboratory' and representations as 'actants' (Horst, 2005). As such, they point to important areas of interest for the study of research communication via the mass media. They do this firstly by theorizing the text as performative in itself and as a site for struggles between actants, and, secondly, by theorizing the public sphere as something that is accomplished in action, with emphasis on '*the specific processes of public opinion formation*' (Horst, 2005: 1). Let us first consider the document, which in the study of the mass mediation of research could be, for example, a scientific research report, a press release or a newspaper article. In line with Gergen's anti-essentialism with regard to the individual, an actor-network perspective considers such a text void of essence, which gains meaning only upon being mobilized and used in the formation of a network. At the same time, the text (like Gergen's discursive self) is performative: when entering relations documents *act*, given that they categorize, legitimize, problematize, and perform a lot of other things (Justesen, 2005: 222). They also embody 'translations', an ANT-term that designates how one actor speaks on behalf of others so as to mobilize them in a network. An obvious example within research communication is that of the scientist who speaks on behalf of 'the scientific community'. Another notion that can be useful for the analysis of research communication in the mass media is that of the 'black box' – the 'scientific fact' that is allowed to remain temporarily unquestioned. Now, looking at the public sphere as a laboratory, the

attention is directed towards processes of public opinion formation. Horst proposes that media representations create actants – that is, *someone or something with a legitimate voice […] In this sense, representation is not restricted to human actors, but is a reference to various actants – human or nonhuman – articulated as having a relevant and legitimate "standing" in connection to the [policy] process in question*' (Horst, 2005:4). Over time, public debates in themselves may also become actants that are sought aligned in networks. For instance, in the present doctoral project on research communication, reference is made to the actant 'public demands' that are aligned with the other actants 'political demands' and 'academic developments' in a network that works towards more dialog in science/society relations.

The above two uses of ANT indicate how this perspective may be useful to communication studies by focusing on the action of, and within, texts – how they can be understood as actants and how different actants are constructed within them. Used on this level, it can be argued that ANT is not so different from social constructionist approaches to discourse analysis, but what ANT may add to this is tools for the empirical analysis of the status of and relations between events, encounters or physical entities that impinge on the mass mediation of a given subject matter. To make sense of the empirical observation, e.g. that some experts are used extensively by certain journalists and in certain television news programs, an actor-network approach can alert us to the ways in which very different actants are aligned in a network; the research, the expert, the institution, the voice and appearance of the expert, linguistic markers of excellence etc. And such a thing as a directory of media-savvy experts could be seen as one of the actants that ensure the relative stability of the network. With this focus, we can arrive at local understandings of research communication in the mass media that do not rely upon abstract forces or general mechanisms such as 'social pressure', 'professional ethics', or 'a capitalist system of media production' as explanatory factors. As such, we broaden the scope of analysis beyond the text, while retaining a focus on empirically created categories and abstaining from explaining research communication via the mass media with reference to predefined categories or abstract concepts. Questions of the relationship between media institutions, journalists, PR-professionals at the universities, researchers, texts and audiences are not sought to be *solved*; rather the sometimes changing, sometimes more stable, associations in and between them are followed closely. Methodologically, this can be through a focus on the articulation of different rationalities, differ-

ent forms of knowledge and instances of boundary-work (inclusion and exclusion from the network).

4. AUDIENCES AND PUBLIC SPHERES: EMERGING, ACHIEVED, …

To understand the 'reception part' of the mass media, media scholars have sought to clarify if – or how – the concepts of audience and public may be reconstructed in such a way that they no longer point to, respectively, a private, passive crowd of consumers, and an active, engaged citizenry, but come to portray a more complex reality. The problem of conceptual dichotomization is sought to be resolved by, for example, the introduction of notions of 'civic culture' (Livingstone, 2005) or 'citizen-viewer' (Goddard; Corner & Richardson, 2001) to account for the consequences of changing media environments, where the public is increasingly mediated, where audiences are no longer contained within the private sphere, and where it makes little sense to uphold a distinction between consumers and citizens. While this attempt to grasp a more complex reality of mass media reception and use is a necessary step, we may take the line of argumentation one step further by insisting on a less deductive approach to the issue of categorization of media users. From a radical constructivist perspective, it is an empirical question how, for instance, a network of 'users', 'producers' and 'objects' of research communication comes into being and stabilizes itself. 'Public issues' or 'private concerns', then, function not as characteristics of an abstract category potentially 'filled in' by individuals, but as resources to be drawn upon in the formation of concrete networks. Audiences, users or the public may be achieved or emerging, but cannot be conceived of as existing 'out there'. As already mentioned above, such categories as 'the public', 'the audience' or 'the users' can also be constructed as actants themselves – and be used strategically as such in network formations of politicians or researchers, or as the negotiated agreement between journalists of their generalized reader; 'the man on the Clapham omnibus' or the like. Also, the actants in media texts can be aligned in networks of media users; that is, people can use parts of media texts as resources in other contexts. On an analytical level, one consequence of this view is that the problem of target groups of research communication cannot be addressed in general terms. We must, therefore, refrain from deductively speaking of pre-established social groups, interests, conceptions of relevance, etc., and instead work with the categories that make sense in relation to concrete empirical communication networks. On a strategic level, it may be sensible to speak of 'user configuration' (Grint

& Woolgar, 1997). Although a technical term borrowed from computer programming, Grint and Woolgar analyze it as connected to issues of reading and interpretation. According to them, a text (in its broadest sense) sells itself when many different readers find a use for it. This means that a strict and narrow definition of 'the user' is counter-productive, and even if the organization of a text does not determine interpretative options, it delimits possible readings and thereby reduces its possible users. Configuring the users of the text is, then, a matter of defining who the user is and, importantly, finding ways to convince the user of the usefulness of the text. As such, user configuration involves boundary work (ibid.: 77); ideas of the user's capacity and possible future actions are inscribed in the text. This takes us back to Gergen's assertion of the dialogical element in all utterances, only with an explicitly intentional inscription of 'the other' in the communication of research. In the communication of research, at least three dimensions must be considered: how to be attentive to (and enter in dialog with) voices of relevant actors; how the text may configure its readers; and how the text works in relation to network formation. This concern with 'the user end' of research communication may be a challenge to uncover in a network analysis, since it could turn out that the strongest network ties in communication exist between 'the producers' (for example, between the journalist and the university communications professional or between the journalist and the researcher), but this empirical approach may also show us some concrete instances of how 'society's concerns' feed into research communication.

5. METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: FOLLOWING THE ACTORS

Having sketched out the above theoretical framework for understanding mass communication as relational practices, this chapter will conclude on a paradoxical note, underscoring the need for an *empirically driven approach* to the analysis and planning of the communication of research via the mass media. From a constructionist and relationalist point of view, meaningful categories and concepts emerge in the interaction with (and between) participants in mass communication. What becomes interesting is how alliances are formed and upheld, and how experience and discursive resources are used in interaction. This calls for an ethnographically informed immersion in different spheres of communication, concretely where, in the case of my study, institutionalized social scien-

tific knowledge production takes place (e.g. conferences, seminars, different kinds of texts); where contacts between researchers, PR-people and journalists are established and worked on (e.g. conferences, interviews, texts), and where texts are used as resources and combined with other resources by media users. Through following the actors, the categories hypothesized above as meaningful to investigate can be challenged, expanded or replaced. It can be argued that it is through a sensitivity to the empirical material that it becomes possible to do as Gergen insists and generate ways of talking that suspend traditional binaries.

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Biography

Ursula Plesner is a doctoral student at the Department for Communication, Business and Information Technologies at Roskilde University, Denmark. She holds an M.A. in sociology from the New School for Social Research and a Master's Degree in communication from Roskilde University. Her research interests include the production and communication of knowledge, culture and identity, political communication, new media and the public sphere, and development of methods in strategic communication.
Contact: uplesner@ruc.dk

Communicating social scientific knowledge dialogically: Participatory approaches to communication analysis and practice

Louise Phillips

1. INTRODUCTION

The communication of science has traditionally been conceived as *the one-way transmission of finished research results to the public.* This conception is based on the so-called 'deficit' model that attributed public skepticism towards science to the public's lack of knowledge and thus saw the provision of knowledge in the form of research results as the way to reduce public skepticism. In science, there has been a shift towards a more *dialogical relation* with the rest of society, involving a rejection or distancing from the deficit model and resulting in new co-articulations between science and other forms of knowledge (eg. Bensaude-Vincent, 2001; British House of Lords Select Committee on Science and Technology, 2000; Gibbons et al., 1994; Irwin & Wynne, 1996; Nowotny et al., 2001), Sturgis & Allum, 2004).

Broadly speaking, *dialogical* approaches to research communication treat the communication of knowledge as a process of *knowledge-sharing* between the researcher and relevant social actors in contrast to the traditional view of communication as a process, where completed research results are transmitted from the researcher to the relevant target-group(s). *The dialogical turn in the communication of research* can be identified in relation to three main fields of research communication practice. In the first field, researchers in universities and other research institutions are increasingly called upon to communicate their research to the public, and often that communication is understood explicitly in terms of dialogue as opposed to the one-way transmission of results (see eg. Aagaard & Mejlgaard, 2003; Ministry for Science, Technology and

Development, Denmark, 2004; Research Councils UK, 2004)[1]. The second field takes the form of 'dialogue with the public' initiatives such as public consultation exercises (e.g. the Citizen Foresight initiative, Public Consultation on Developments in the Biosciences and GM Nation? debate in the UK), science cafes and the consensus conferences of the Danish Board of Technology (Andersen & Jæger, 1999) which have been widely exported (eg. Guston, 1999; Seifert, 2006). These initiatives are often based on a vision of participatory or deliberative democracy, whereby the aim is to take citizens' views into account in the decision-making involved in policy formation. The third field in which the communication of research has taken a dialogical turn is the field of 'interactive', dialogical research. Interactive research is an umbrella term for a diverse range of approaches such as 'dialogical research', 'participatory action research', 'co-operative inquiry', 'action inquiry' and 'autoethnography' that aim to democratize relations between scientists and other social actors in the production and communication of social scientific knowledge and to work towards change in social practices. Researchers in interactive research often engage relevant social actors as co-researchers in the production of knowledge (eg Bochner & Ellis, 2002; Greenwood, 1999; McNiff, 2002; Reason and Bradbury, 2001) and involve the audience in dialogue about the results and their implications (eg. Lather & Smithies, 1997; Richardson, 1997). The dialogical turn across the three fields is in line with or – particularly in the case of the third field draws upon – post-foundationalism whereby research-based knowledge is understood as a product of situation-specific, contingent represen-

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[1]   In the case of Denmark for example, since the university law of July 2003 which made it mandatory for universities to engage in the communication of their research to the public, several initiatives have been launched in order to improve the quality of the communication of research, often advocating 'dialogue'. Examples include the establishment of a think-tank on research communication by the Ministry of Science in 2003 which, among other things, held two dialogue-seminars for, respectively, journalists and researchers, commissioned an analysis on good research communication practice (Aagaard & Mejlgaard 2003), produced the report 'Forsk og Fortæl' (2004) and introduced an annual 'Research Day' in which university researchers open up their research to the public. In addition, a number of conferences have been held on research communication which have focused on how to improve its quality (for example, the conference 'Researchers and Media', University of Copenhagen, 12–13 November 2003 and the Conference of the Research Council for the Social Sciences 'The Communication of social scientific research: Dilemmas and Impact', Copenhagen, 26 February 2004).

tations of the world (or discourses) rather than a product of a neutral, context-independent foundation (eg. Foucault, 1980)

In my chapter, I give an account of the movement away from transmission perspectives and towards dialogical, participatory methods for the communication of research-based knowledge via the mass media and interpersonal communication. Then I sketch out the ingredients of the analytical framework which is being developed in my current research project for the study and practice of the communication of social scientific knowledge. The aim of the research project is to transcend the limitations of work in the three fields of research communication sketched out above by *bringing together* approaches from all three fields and combining them with approaches in communication studies in order to form *an integrative framework* for the analysis and practice of dialogical social scientific research communication. In the project, post-foundational approaches are used in order to conceive social scientific research communication *as the negotiation between different knowledges in which researchers and other social actors participate throughout the whole research process from the definition of research problems to the production of results, rather than the transmission of finished research results to the public.* The idea is to produce the analytical framework through case-studies exploring how different knowledge forms are produced, negotiated, challenged and transformed in the meeting between different knowledge forms in the communication of social scientific research via the mass media and interpersonal communication in particular institutional contexts. Following the outline of the analytical framework of the project, I describe how the analytical framework is being developed through one of the case-studies belonging to the project. The case-study is an analysis of a particular case of dialogical research in which the communication of social scientific knowledge is conceived as a process, integral to the research process itself, in which the researchers and involved social actors engage in a negotiation between potentially different knowledge forms and epistemic interests. The aim of the case-study is to produce empirically-based knowledge about the communication of social scientific knowledge in dialogical research that can then be used to further develop the analytical framework. The case of dialogical research selected is a research initiative in Denmark designed to further the production and application of educational knowledge in relation to the implementation of learning-plans in child-care institutions.

To conclude the chapter, I introduce a normative perspective, addressing the issue of whether and how social scientific knowledge-claims can and ought to be *supported epistemologically*, given an adherence

to the post-foundationalist position that deprivileges scientific knowledge, arguing that *all* knowledge is contingent and that no knowledge can ever be based on a neutral, context-free foundation. And specifically with respect to the *communication* of social scientific knowledge, the issue arises of *how we can – and ought to – communicate contingent knowledges* with authority, given that they cannot be presented as universal truths.

2. FROM TRANSMISSION TO DIALOGUE

> *[Dialogue] is not a simple conduit of information flowing from me to you without hinder. Dialogue is the series of processes which make it possible to understand what we need to know so we can share knowledge…The task of dialogue is to find common ground. Common ground is not agreement. It is about exploring common cultural territory as a prerequisite to pursuing routes to agreement. It is understanding where each party is coming from.* (Helen Haste, 2006)

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, the dialogical turn in the communication of science involves a rejection of previously dominant 'deficit' understandings of scientific knowledge – the previously dominant paradigm within the field known as the public understanding of science – where the acquisition of knowledge was presented as the solution to public skepticism towards science and technology. The 'deficit' perspective has been challenged as a result of the spread of, firstly, the view that public skepticism is not based on ignorance but on socially specific understandings of the world that count as forms of knowledge on a par with scientific knowledge and, secondly, the view that science does not (always) provide the objective truth or definitive answers but is based on socially specific understandings and/or, in many areas, is characterized by uncertainty. The claim is that a better understanding from both science and the public can and should be furthered through an exchange of perspectives in dialogue. Moreover, it is asserted that research problems *ought* to be formulated as part of this dialogue rather than being the prerogative of scientific experts.

The consensus conferences in Denmark organized by the Danish Board of Technology in which participants debate controversial issues such as genetically modified foods or cloning, were pioneering in the field of public consultation about science (see for example, Andersen & Jæger, 1999). In the UK, there are now a number of cases where government bodies have set up dialogue-initiatives such as the 'GM nation?' debate over the commercial growing of GM crops in the UK. Taking

place in the summer of 2003, this involved the organization of several countrywide events attended by more than 1000 people as well as 40 or so regional events and 629 local meetings. The idea was that the debate was '*framed by the public*' (Irwin, 2006) – that is, that the participating members of the public defined the issues – and the official intention was that the ideas generated would inform government decision-making. Thus this initiative, in common with other dialogical initiatives, was based on a vision of *participatory democracy*, whereby citizens' views are taken into account in decision-making. The Report of UK House of Lords Science and Technology Committee is a commonly cited expression of this perspective:

> *We recommend… that direct dialogue with the public should move from being an optional add-on to science-based policy-making and to the activities of research organizations and learned institutions and should become a normal and integral part of the process* (2000: 43).

The perspective is also articulated in central official European documents:

> *The proposed action plan marks the beginning of a long process, the objective of which is to change the relationship between science and society.* (European Commission, 2002)

'Dialogue', in these terms, is conceived as an exercise designed to produce a shared understanding of the different – and possibly conflicting – assumptions upon which the participating parties base their positions. According to Irwin's analyses of key dialogue with the public initiatives in the UK (Irwin, 2001, 2006), the shift towards a new style of scientific governance based on public dialogue and citizen engagement has been only partial, as a new version of the deficit model that replaces public *ignorance* with the need for public *trust* in science is articulated together with the discourse of dialogue and engagement. The articulation of the deficit model works through the construction of institutional frameworks for dialogue initiatives that circumscribe the extent to which public input could be based on their own frames of understanding. For example, Irwin's analysis of the UK's public consultation on developments in the biosciences (Irwin, 2001) shows that the agenda was preframed through the institutional definition of the issues for discussion.

3. COMMUNICATING SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE DIALOGICALLY: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The point of my research project is to produce knowledge *about* the production and communication of research-based knowledge that can be of use in development of methods for *both* the analysis and planning of dialogical social scientific research communication oriented towards change in social practices. The general research aim is to create empirically-based knowledge about the dialogical communication of research-based knowledge based on a post-foundationalist theoretical understanding of research communication as the *negotiation* between different forms of knowledge through whole research process. The main research question is as follows:

How can the *communication of social scientific knowledge* be theorized and practiced as the *negotiation between social scientific knowledges and other forms of contingent knowledges* rather than the one-way *transmission* of universal, value-free truth-claims?

A key issue here is the problem of how to communicate contingent knowledge-claims with authority under conditions of epistemic doubt. My framework combines approaches to the production of knowledge developed in post-foundationalist philosophy and sociology of science, approaches to the communication of knowledge developed within communication studies and approaches to interactive/dialogical research. Drawing on science and technology studies, the aim is to take into account specific conditions of knowledge production in social sciences.

Central to the research project is the goal of developing methods for not only the analysis of the communication of social scientific knowledge but also the practice. The idea is that methods that enhance reflection and innovation in practice can be of huge benefit for social actors in different fields of social practice, given the increasing demands in contemporary society to adapt reflexively and creatively to social change. The post-foundationalist view of research communication as the negotiation between different knowledges obviously lends itself to an interactive, dialogical approach to knowledge production in which the researcher and social actors in the field under investigation co-produce knowledge. Since the co-production of knowledge takes place through the participation of the different actors in the negotiation of knowledges, communication processes are integral to processes of knowledge production. Thus the communication of research undergoes a redefinition: It is not just a question of the transmission of finished research results to the

more or less interested public, as in the dominant view of research communication; rather, the communication of research, dialogically conceived, becomes an integral part of the whole research process, intimately intertwined with processes of knowledge production

Drawing on work in science and technology studies on the negotiation of knowledges in public consultation exercises (eg Irwin, 2001, 2006; Rowe, 2005), my focus is on *what happens* when *different* knowledge forms meet in 'dialogical' communication involving the communication of social scientific research knowledge. Irwin's analysis of the particular social constructions of *scientific citizenship* in relation to the UK's Public Consultation on Developments in the Biosciences (Irwin, 2001) and to the GM Nation? Debate over the commercial growing of GM crops in the UK (Irwin, 2006) focused on questions such as the following: Does 'dialogue' imply that public knowledges are given the same status as scientific understandings, or, are there are strong traces of deficit notions of an uninformed public? Which social actors define what is considered as a legitimate problem for discussion? In my analysis of the communication of social scientific knowledge, I will explore these questions focusing on how different forms of knowledge and expertise are produced, negotiated, challenged and transformed in the meeting between different knowledge forms in communication of social scientific research in media (print, broadcast, new media) and interactive research initiatives (using new media). I will look at what status is ascribed to the different forms of knowledge articulated by the different social actors, at how problems are defined discursively, and at which social actors do the defining.

4. ANALYZING THE NEGOTIATION OF KNOWLEDGES IN DIALOGICAL RESEARCH: A CASE STUDY

My research project consists of two case-studies. One of them concerns the mass mediated communication of social scientific knowledge. The other case-study is the one sketched out below. The focus is how social scientific knowledge is communicated in an interactive, participatory research initiative in Denmark designed to further the production and application of educational knowledge in relation to the adoption of learning-plans in child-care institutions. The task of the research initiative is to support the courses on the learning-plans run by regional university colleges for childcare professionals and, crucially, the application of knowledge communicated on the courses in the implementation of the educational learning-plans in childcare institutions. The analysis

will concentrate on the negotiation between different knowledge forms and the possible clashes of epistemic interests that occur when the social scientific researchers' documents are consumed and used in practice by the researchers, college lecturers and child-care professionals. The aim of the case-study is, through the analysis of processes of dialogical research communication, to develop methods that can be used in order to analyze other cases of dialogical research communication and also in order to contribute to reflection and change within the fields of practice. The case study, then tries out methods for analyzing research communication that draw on approaches to knowledge production, knowledge communication and interactive, participatory research. The research questions are as follows:

1) How do the different participants in interactive social scientific research (in my case, researchers, college lecturers and childcare professionals) transform research knowledge from the perspective of existing forms of knowledge in the field?

2) How is the negotiation between social scientific knowledge and other forms of knowledge in text and talk shaped by the different institutional contexts of the research participants (in my case, respectively, the university, college and child-care institutions) and by the different discursive positionings of the actors?

3) What is the relationship between the *ideals* of interactive research with respect to democracy and dialogue, on the one hand, and the *practice* of negotiation between different knowledge forms, on the other?

Of central interest are the different, and potentially competing, representations of 'knowledge' and 'expertise' in the documents produced by LLD researchers – e.g. print and website descriptions of the objective of the research initiative, guidelines for college lecturers and general correspondence with college lecturers and childcare institutions and – the negotiation between different knowledge forms that takes place when the documents are consumed by participants in the institutional contexts of the colleges and childcare institutions. A key issue is how knowledge-offers that involve suggestions for change in practices put forward by researchers are treated by college-lecturers and child-care professionals and whether and how the knowledge-offers are put into practice in the different institutional contexts. Methods of document analysis in ethnographic organizational research are drawn on to analyze the production, negotiation and practical use of documents produced by LLD researchers (Prior, 2003).

5. HOW TO GROUND SCIENTIFIC TRUTH CLAIMS – TAKING A NORMATIVE POSITION

The research project also makes explicit a normative perspective, working with the question of how to support social scientific truth-claims epistemologically. The starting-point is the following question: If all knowledge is contingent and if truth is a discursive effect rather than the final claim about reality – as post-foundationalism suggests – (how) can and ought we formulate and provide support for contingent knowledge-claims?

I have begun to answer this question by reference to the debate about the emergence of a 'third wave' of social studies of science that aims to produce grounds for the granting of legitimacy to science based on the distinctiveness of the (contingent) knowledge science produces (eg. Collins & Evans, 2002). Collins and Evans take their starting-point in a critical discussion of the development in science studies from its beginnings in what they call the First Wave – in the 1950's and 60's – in which researchers concentrated on understanding the success of science, taking its intrinsic value and hence its unquestionable legitimacy, for granted. In Wave 2 which began in the early 1970's, science is understood and analyzed, from a social constructionist perspective, as a social activity, and scientific knowledge is equated with other forms of knowledge as a social construction like any other. While Collins and Evans recognize the value of Wave 2 research, they argue against its leveling of scientific knowledge and other forms of knowledge:

> By emphasizing the ways in which scientific knowledge is like other forms of knowledge, sociologists have become uncertain about how to speak about what makes it different; in much the same way, they have become unable to distinguish between experts and non-experts. Sociologists have become so successful at dissolving dichotomies and classes that they no longer dare to construct them. (Collins & Evans, 2002: 239).

They argue in their article for a Third Wave that should supplement rather than replace Wave 2 by developing an approach that does not deny the socially constructed, contingent nature of scientific knowledge but, at the same time, argues for the *special* nature of scientific knowledge. Where the Second Wave deconstructs scientific knowledge, the Third Wave reconstructs scientific knowledge by asserting the distinctiveness of scientific knowledge production. The basis for the Third Wave is a normative theory of expertise that views legitimacy and the right to participate in decision-making as a question of expertise and experience.

This has been heavily criticized by central researchers in the field of science studies (eg. for example, Jasanoff, 2003; Wynne, 2003), for, among other things, scienticism. While I position myself in relation to the debate between Collins and Evans in my research and explicitly distance myself for aspects of their thesis, in the present article I limit myself to pointing out specifically what I draw from Collins and Evans with respect to the linkage between the production of scientific knowledge and its communication.

According to Collins and Evans, whereas Wave 1 took for granted the expertise of scientific experts, in the Third Wave only scientists that belong to the core-set of scientific practitioners are entitled to participate in decision-making, and experts can include non-scientists – what they call 'uncertified specialists' – who have a right to expert status and to participation in decision-making *as* experts by virtue of the skills they have acquired through their experience – they are so-called 'experience-based experts'. As an example of uncertified specialists, in possession of expertise, they suggest the sheep-farmers of Wynne's famous study. They argue that experience is only a necessary and not a sufficient criterion for expertise since one can have many experiences without acquiring specific skills. A person can have an extensive experience of lying in bed in the morning, they point out, without that making them into an expert. The question of what exactly *qualifies* as expertise is discussed in their paper, partly on the basis of Turner's categorization of different kinds of expertise (Turner, 2001). They identify three types of expertise: The first is *no expertise* or rather the degree of expertise which the field-worker starts out with and which is insufficient for carrying out a sociological analysis. The second is *interactional expertise* which is expertise that is enough to 'interact interestingly' with participants and carry out a sociological analysis. The third is *contributory expertise* which is enough expertise to contribute to the science of the field of analysis.

However, the issue of how to define and identify different forms of expertise is not resolved adequately. It is not clear how skills specific to an experience can be pinpointed. Nonetheless, the idea of viewing experience as a criterion of expertise and of *grounding* scientific claims in claims to special expertise by virtue of experience – rather than to access to truth as in Wave 1 – seems fruitful to me, and something that I will build on in my project in order to argue *against* the equation or leveling of scientific forms of knowledge and other forms of knowledge and *for* the legitimacy of scientific knowledge-claims as knowledge-offers that can further reflection and change in social practices. I want to resist the equating of scientific and other forms of knowledge, as such a leveling

entails a denial that scientific knowledge represents a specific form of knowledge that, by virtue of its 'scientificity', has qualities distinguishing it from other forms of knowledge, and also masks the authority relations that are unavoidable in research (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Scientific knowledge and other forms of non-certified expert knowledge are not of value because they are more true but because they represent particular forms of knowledge that are produced in particular fields of experience. Like other forms of knowledge, scientific knowledge is a contingent social construction or more specifically a discursive construction that is the product of the application of particular rules.

What makes scientific knowledge *distinctive* is the *explicit* nature of – and the *argumentation* given – for the set of rules on which knowledge production is based. Rules include the general principle that research steps should be made as transparent as possible and that the argumentation should be consistent; and within a given set of rules, all scientific descriptions of reality are *not* equally good but can be evaluated in relation to one another. Specific research results can, and should, be evaluated as better or weaker scientific representations of reality by evaluation of whether the procedure and the results live up to the rules, the research claims to follow (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The researcher has an obligation, as a member of a scientific community, to follow a certain set of rules as systematically as possible, and this opens up for the possibility of producing knowledge which is not normally produced within other forms of discursive practice and gives scientific research legitimacy as a contribution to wider democratic discussions about social practices and change in practices.

On the basis of this view, it is argued in Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) that scientific knowledge should be understood as a *truth that can be discussed*. It is a form of truth because the researcher presents a particular scientific account of reality from the perspective of a particular knowledge interest; but it should be open to discussion and offered as one amongst several possible accounts of reality or knowledge-offers. In the wider democratic discussions, the discursive logic of scientific knowledge may not function as the common platform for discussion and neither I nor Collins and Evans argue that it necessarily ought to: Such a privileging of science would authorize the scientific experts as the only group allowed to make knowledge-claims. Rather, what are considered to be 'scientific questions' in public debate ought to be seen as the product of an ongoing struggle between different forms of knowledge rather than something to be decided once and for all, and the research produced is itself part of this struggle. Collins and Evans recognize the role

of effective communication in this struggle or negotiation between different knowledges, and argue for the use of professional communicators who are able to *translate* expert arguments so that they compete well in the social contestation of knowledge. However, they do not present a systematic analysis of such contestation or negotiation processes as communication processes. And there is, I believe, a need to analyze those processes in order to find out how contingent knowledge-claims can be communicated effectively in dialogical communication – that is, where the knowledge-claims often are not given authority by virtue of their scientific origins but shall battle it out as *truths that can be discussed*. A crucial concept here is the concept of *translation*. As Collins and Evans put it, 'for groups of experts to talk to each other, translation may be necessary. Some people have a special ability to take on the position of the 'other' and to alternate between different social worlds and translate between them. The translation will have to have at least interactional expertise in both areas'. (2002: 258). Collins and Evans go on to suggest that the ability to translate consists of more than having such interactional expertise, speculating that that 'extra something' is connected to the skills of professional communicators such as journalists, novelists and playwright. They assert that such skills are 'notoriously hard to explain'.

The question of how to communicate contingent knowledge-claims in dialogical communication is a central one in my research. And my starting-point is that ways of communicating such claims – involving *translation* between different knowledge forms – need not be treated merely as ephemeral, hard-to-pin-down skills but rather can be subject to systematic empirical analysis, drawing on a combination of approaches developed in science studies, interactive, dialogical research and communication studies. As indicated above, the aim of such empirical analysis is to produce empirically based knowledge of dialogical communication processes that can form the basis for the development of methods both for the analysis of communication forms involving *translation* and for their improved implementation in communication practice.

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BIOGRAPHY

Louise Phillips is Associate Professor in Communication Studies at the University of Roskilde, Denmark. She is the author of the book *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London: Sage, 2002 (co-author Marianne W. Jørgensen) and *Sådan taler medier og borgere om politik: En diskursanalytisk undersøgelse af politik i det medialiserede samfund [How the media and citizens talk about politics: a discourse analytical study of politics in mediatized society]*, Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2004 (co-author Kim Schrøder) and has published articles in, for example, *European Journal of Communication*, *Media, Culture and Society*, *Sociology* and *Discourse and Society*. Her main research interests are the interplay between mass mediated communication and interpersonal communication in everyday life, the dialogical communication of research-based knowledge, and political communication.
Contact: louisep@ruc.dk

SECTION SIX

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Media ethnography: Method, methodology or research philosophy?

Maren Hartmann

1. INTRODUCTION

Our (media) environments are currently involved in a process of change.[1] On the one hand there is a growing diversity in terms of the range of media as such (not necessarily in terms of media content), on the other hand we find an increasing ubiquity – or at least visibility – of media use in everyday life. The two aspects are clearly interrelated, but nonetheless describe different phenomena. Both, however, add to the impression that media appear to be all around. Everyday life can no longer be separated from media use. This impression, however, does not yet say much about the changes in social and cultural live that accompany such media use. Nor does it say much about the media use as such – or people's perceptions thereof. To critically engage with claims about changing media environments, we need to engage with the users themselves and begin to paint a differentiated picture of media use in everyday life.

One tool for painting that picture is media ethnography. It is, however, neither a widely accepted nor an unproblematic tool. And – as many tools – it needs to be rethought in the light of recent developments in the media field. The chapter will briefly reiterate the main concerns around media ethnographies and subsequently reflect on new approaches. It begins with the ongoing debate concerning ethnography's nature and its usefulness with regard to media research. Starting point is the everyday and the search for adequate methods to research this phenomenon. One possible answer to current concerns about media changes is the multi-sited and mobile ethnography. Overall, the question driving this chapter is whether media ethnography is simply a research method, a methodology or rather a research philosophy.

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1   Media are here defined as technical communication devices.

2. EVERYDAY LIFE AND MEDIA USE: ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES

Perhaps then, the everyday is the name that cultural theory might give to a form of attention that attempts to animate the heterogeneity of social life, the name for an activity of finding meaning in an impossible diversity. (Highmore, 2002: 175)

The everyday is where the changes in social life show their most radical consequences. At the same time, the everyday as an analytical concept is problematic. As Highmore (ibid.: 1) points out, the everyday refers not only to the actions that we all perform every day, but it also contains the value judgment thereof. The everyday can be a sanctuary – but it can also be a prison. As Bakardjieva (2005) also points out, the everyday's ambivalence lies in our need for security and stability on the one hand, while it is the arena where relevant social changes take place on the other hand. The everyday is the point, the place and the space where the social and the technological meet. More importantly, it is the place where structure and agency meet, where the micro- and the macro-perspective converge, where this tension between change and stability most clearly finds an expression. To be able to trace this ambivalence, it is argued, researchers need to engage with everyday life *directly*. He or she needs to become part of the everyday that is being researched. This can only be achieved through ethnographic work. This call for ethnographic engagements is by far not new, but it has nonetheless not lost its importance. New media environments with their increasing mobility and ubiquity deliver a new challenge (and a new need) for ethnographic research.

2.1. Ethnography?

Ethnographies stem from anthropology and especially its sub-section socio-cultural anthropology. Anthropology as such began by comparing human societies. Eventually it moved on to regard groups by themselves. The emphasis – at least within socio-cultural anthropology – has been on culture as the overarching feature within humanity. Different strands focused either on social groups and institutions (i.e. on what people do) or on values and symbols (i.e. on what people say). Today, both sides are usually analyzed as part of the same process. Anthropologists nowadays continue to concern themselves with the different ways people in diverse locales create their lives, i.e. the way they experience and understand their everyday lives and themselves. However, the emphasis today is less on the distinct ways of life within local contexts. Instead the new

emphasis is on the contexts of regional and global relations, both political and economic.

Ethnographies are often described as the genre of writing that accompanies anthropological research methods (and their outcomes), especially the writing that presents fieldwork. It is thus part of the method, but also extends beyond it. In the study of foreign cultures and the people therein (next to the study of one's own culture as a separate field), the trend in the twentieth century was a development away from the 'armchair ethnographer'. Only the immersion into the lifeworlds themselves was seen to deliver a thick enough description for the researcher to understand how these cultures functioned. The immersion led to particular research methods, especially participant observation, and the need to stay involved longer-term. Anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski (1984/1922), Clifford Geertz (1973) and others showed that an immersion into everyday life was meant literally and fieldwork meant living with people for some time. Fieldwork is still a core concern in recent debates. Ethnography then centers on a 'holistic' approach in the sense that it attempts to understand people within their own settings, within their life patterns, values, networks, etc. It enters people's lives and does not stay outside and therefore does not aim at a supposedly 'objective' report on behaviors, values, etc.

2.2. Media ethnography?

Within media and communication studies, ethnographic research has by now a long tradition (cf. Hartmann, 2006b). Particularly in relation to television audience research, ethnographic research methods have been used extensively. In what was eventually labeled 'new audience research', the agency of the audience members was stressed. Many researchers went into the homes to watch people watch television and/or interview them extensively about their media use in everyday life and/or use additional methods to engage with their media use (such as time use diaries, photographs, drawings, etc.) (e.g. Silverstone, 1994; Morley, 1986). In the beginning, specific media content was researched in terms of its use by specific groups (for example romance reading by housewives). This was later expanded to wider environments and less focused on specific content. The much-quoted study by Marie Gillespie (1995), for example, dealt with the media appropriation of Punjabi youth in Southall, London. This study (and its researcher) was clearly embedded in the locality, made references thereto and went much further in terms of the linkages between media use, everyday life, identities and

local cultures than many other studies. New studies of a similar kind also exist for digital media (e.g. Berker et al., 2006). Often, however, everyday life rather than media content becomes the core focus. The specificity of each media use is hence lost (Hartmann, 2006a).

Debates on whether the research methods within media studies constituted ethnographies proper have been raging for a long time (e.g. Bakardjieva, 2005). Especially trained anthropologists felt that many of these approaches – while producing interesting and valuable qualitative research – did not live up to what a 'real' ethnography should do: They did not actually do fieldwork. The immersion into audience members' everyday lives was always temporary and limited (often based on interviews rather than participant observation). Thus the question has repeatedly been asked whether these approaches are *'theoretically sophisticated, but empirically thin'* and *'not "ethnographic enough"'* (Murphy & Kraidy, 2003: 3). Another way of putting it is: *'The question has only on been posed whether there is anything very ethnographic about "the new audience ethnography"'* (Moores, 1993: 4).

The constantly debated question is what constitutes participant observation (in what is hence fieldwork and what a field). These questions have not too long ago been revived when so-called *virtual ethnographies* emerged together with the more widespread use of the Internet and similar media (e.g. Hine, 2000; Miller & Slater, 2000). These studies were again accused of not fulfilling ethnographic criteria. The defendants of such approaches, on the other hand, stress the newness and ease of accessibility of the field for fieldwork. Third generation Internet research (cf. Silver, 2000), for which the above-mentioned are fairly typical examples, focused increasingly on the interchange between the virtual and the offline worlds. Hence the call for an embedding of whatever takes place in cyberspace into social, cultural and political phenomena in the 'real world' gained momentum. These questions get even more important in the realm of the other 'new' media: mobile devices. Next to new content, new forms of communication and interaction, these media also enable a mobile lifestyle. They are not, like most media before them, fixed in space (and thus also time), but they can be carried anywhere, anytime. This obviously creates new opportunities for communication and interaction, but also new challenges for research.

If one shifts the emphasis from the differences to the similarities between most audience ethnographies and traditional ethnographies, several aspects emerge. First of all, both approaches consider their research work to be a *process*. It is a process that implies a gradual development of the appropriate research questions and methods. It also includes

continuous reflections about one's role in the field. It should always be open for changes in the research methods, adjusting them according to the initial outcomes. Usually, ethnographies include several research methods. They can be quantitative or qualitative – it is mostly the overall research process that is 'qualitative' or rather that is interested in generating theory rather than test them. Ideally, the methods should include a longer-term involvement with who- and whatever is being researched. This can, for example, simply be a repeated immersion in the field. Most importantly, the researcher becomes a research instrument (Krotz, 2005: 259). One tends to begin by trying to learn whatever 'language' is necessary to move within the field. Overall, there should be a commitment to learning, i.e. to the attempt of trying to understand whatever is being researched *on its own terms*. Next to all these elements, meaning making is a major research focus. How do audiences create meanings from media texts and their media use? How do they embed this in their overall everyday contexts? The emphasis is on the contexts and situations. Particularity rather than generalizations characterize the research: *'What ethnographic work entails is a form of "methodological situationalism," underscoring the thoroughly situated, always context-bound ways in which people encounter, use, interpret, enjoy, think and talk about television and other media in everyday life'* (Ang, 1996: 251). One question, however, that has remained a huge challenge is that of the nature of the media within this ethnography. Does one begin with the ethnography itself or with the media?

If we take Hermann Bausinger's (1984) programmatic text concerning media ethnography as a basis for our approach, we would definitely not begin to research *one* medium. Bausinger instead stressed the need to take the whole media 'menu' into consideration if we wanted to understand media use within everyday life:

> *(1) To make a meaningful study of the use of the media, it is necessary to take different media into consideration. …*
> *(3) The media are an integral part of the way the everyday is conducted. …*
> *(4) It is not a question of an isolated, individual process, but of a collective process. …*
> *(5) Media communication cannot be separated from direct personal communication.* (Bausinger, 1984: 349–350)

However, Bausinger's context – as that of many audience researchers at the time – was the home. As a somewhat contained environment, research is easier in the home than in public spaces (not in terms of privacy though). In the public arena one often misses out on the dynam-

ics that media use is embedded in if one concentrates on the medium as such. In principle, the starting point should be the environment and the people therein, their everyday life. The danger, however, is that media do not feature much in these accounts. The specificity of the *media* ethnography hence should repeatedly be reflected upon.

A sub-problem of this is the fact that media content has often been neglected in those audience ethnographies that took the home as their focus (Hartmann, 2006a). Others, as referred to above, instead focused primarily on the content (such as a specific genre) and did not engage with the context of media use as much. One inclusion idea – that is to say one project where both content and context feature – is Maria Bakardjieva's study of Internet use in everyday life (2005). She introduced the idea of letting people take her through their Internet bookmarks and similar features, explaining at the same time why they visit the particular site or use a certain feature. She adds that an image-capturing device would have been very useful for the later analysis of the spoken material and for making connections between the exact media content and the related remarks. There are clear limits to Bakardjieva's engagement with content. But they are a beginning.

Similarly, the particularities of media use might need to be broadened if we want to hold on to Shaun Moores' claim concerning the purpose of a media ethnography as: '*… a critical ethnographic practice best equips us to map out the media's varied uses and meanings for particular social subjects in particular cultural contexts*' (Moores, 1993: 1). Critical media ethnographies should not simply describe media uses, but locate them within wider social, cultural, political and economic frameworks. The work of George Marcus will be used to emphasize this point.

3. FUTURE WAYS 1: MULTI-SITED MOBILE ETHNOGRAPHIES

The next section primarily presents one well-known and widely used theoretical text to further locate the idea of a more mobile and at the same time critical media ethnography. This text has been chosen because it broadens the idea of media ethnography to the above-mentioned critical engagement with wider phenomena and it does this more explicitly than most approaches. The text is George Marcus' 1995 piece on *multi-sited mobile ethnographies*. Moving away from the idea of a single site of intensive investigation (the traditional ethnography), Marcus stresses instead the need not only for a multi-sited investigation, but also for the inclusion of macro-theoretical work:

> *This mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity that destabilizes the distinction, say, between "lifeworld" and "system" (…) by means of which much ethnography has been conceived. Just as it investigates and ethnographically constructs the lifeworlds of variously situated subjects, it also ethnographically constructs aspects of the system itself through the associations and connections among sites that it posits.* (Marcus, 1995)

Marcus traces the differences to traditional ethnographies via the research methodologies. He stresses the fact that taking mobile positions, i.e. changing viewpoints, is crucial to a critical engagement (he refers here to Donna Haraway and what she calls 'mobile positioning'). He refers to the fact that identity politics, too, are often referring to one clear position only. This, however, is not enough if one wants to include the excluded. A mobile ethnography thus needs to be mobile in the widest sense of the word and examines the circulation of meanings, identities, objects, etc. in diverse time-space constellations. Hence the cultural formation – and not a set of subjects – is the object of study (ibid.).

According to Marcus, media studies has actually been one area where multi-sited ethnographic research has been implemented for quite some time now. Both production and reception of media texts, but also increasingly the combination of the two has been at the forefront of these approaches. Another important area at the forefront of these developments mentioned by Marcus is the social and cultural study of science and technology (and authors such as Latour and Haraway). Marcus stresses that multi-sitedness is as such not a totally new phenomenon, but that the dimensions have changed. Plus he delivers good reasons for considering such a multi-sited ethnography a very appropriate approach for researching the networked communication and interaction flows of today's world:

> *Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography. Indeed, such multi-sited ethnography is a revival of a sophisticated practice of constructivism, ... Constructivists viewed the artist as an engineer whose task was to construct "useful objects," much like a factory worker, while actively participating in the building of a new society. (ibid.)*

Again, there is a hint that a critical and also engaged stance towards society needs to be taken, while one should simultaneously participate in the

construction of society. Hence Marcus' ideas pose important questions concerning the role of the researcher.

The implementation takes place through following different threads. One can follow the people and/or the thing and/or the metaphor and/or the plot/story/allegory and/or the life/biography and/or the conflict. Intertwining different threads helps to produce a thick description. Plus, to return to the beginning of the reference to Marcus, the embedded nature of the single site with the larger system is crucial. Whatever takes place on the micro-level affects our understanding of the macro-level (and vice versa). The true complexity and contingency of the researched site is thus acknowledged. Both the site and the connections between sites need to part of a mobile ethnography. Movement is thus crucial – both for the researcher as well as recognizing it as an object of research. Long-standing assumptions about the connections between space, place and culture are thereby challenged and questioned.

Building on Marcus, then, what would a multi-sited, mobile ethnography look like in the field of mobile media studies? Sadie Plant (2002), for example, conducted work on mobile media use in a set of different countries. Methodologically, Plant 'simply' combined fieldwork that contained extensive observations with many diverse interviews with both individuals and groups and the analysis of photographic and other material. She visited eight locations (Tokyo, Beijing, Hong Kong, Bangkok, Peshawar, Dubai, London, Birmingham and Chicago) and had the possibility to let the interviews develop over time. The research results are indeed continuously related back to wider social and cultural issues, although the overall direction of the research report still remains primarily on the micro-level. It tells stories – as it should – and does not always live up to the analysis of the complexity that a multi-sited ethnography could contain. Equally important is the fact that Plant did not actually move beyond traditional methods. The main difference is that she visited a large number of different sites (and, for example, included email interviews). The standpoint within each site still appears to have been a fairly stable one. Plus she was commissioned to do the work by Motorola. This opens up the well-known question of the limits of 'critical' research within funding constraints. However, the mobility of the researcher is one possible avenue for future media ethnographies. To be more or less constantly on the move while researching a mobile technology adds an additional layer (see also Okabe & Ito, 2005). The mobile user is followed by a mobile researcher.

In another project, *Urban Journeys* (UJ, 2005), the researchers so to say 'doubled the mobility'. They did not only observe mobile media use

from a fairly stable position, but observed it while on the move themselves: To be precise, they originally observed mobile phone use while sitting on the bus No. 73 in London. A mobile researcher and a mobile technology met there (Hermida, 2001).[2] Movement studies, ethnographic sketches and a blog were also used to document the research. Another project of a similar kind, *Urban Tapestries*, used so-called experimental ethnography: *'methodological triangulation of participant observation, phase interviews and experimentation'* (UT, 2005a: 13). The researcher (Zoe Sujon) eventually took the participants to go for a walk in which they used note pads (or rather specially designed notebooks), local maps, stickers and disposable cameras. They were encouraged to capture places and describe their thoughts that were later used as annotated maps (UT, 2005b). They were meant to have 'conversations with the city' (that were later included in technology development). Both projects point to a possible extension of methods within media ethnographies. They are mobile ethnographies with a multi-sited touch. Their engagement with long-term developments, the embedding within wider social processes and/or the analysis of media content, however, remain sketchy. They offer hints for extensions, but are not a full-fledged answer to the question of the future of media ethnographies.

4. FUTURE WAYS 2? PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

This chapter must remain inconclusive. It was meant to point out that media ethnography is a rich, but not unproblematic research area. It most simply offers a set of diverse research methods, some of them somewhat specific to that field (primarily participant observation). These can be used in media ethnographies as well as in related qualitative approaches. Beyond that, the question is whether ethnographies actually provide a methodology as well. The above-implied answer is that they actually *primarily* do that. They are much less methods than always also methodology. This means that they imply an understanding about what is important to research (the everyday; the micro-perspective; detailed stories rather than grand overviews; etc.). The methods are justified through the research questions that are driving the research. Does this then imply that media ethnographies are always also a research philosophy? Here I remain hesitant. The philosophy might be the immersion

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2   According to the BBC report, the most important outcome of the research was the notion that 'new opportunities for the same really important sorts of social relationships' come about through new technologies.

and the researcher's willingness to use him-/herself as a research instrument. It affords a willingness to *become involved* in the research (both in the process as well as with the research object). And maybe this is already a research philosophy. It is, however, not so easily combined with the usual requirements of university jobs, PhDs, etc. Additionally, the question of the role of the media within every media ethnography remains unanswered. But as a hint of where approaches that allow an understanding of people's media use in everyday life (and thus of the consequences of media changes in the long run) can be found, ethnographies might still be the place to look. Or, to say it with Patrick Murphy and Marwan Kraidy's words: *'…we suggest that media ethnography be understood as a research process of forming communities and making conversations that underscore a systematic and long-term investment in form, purpose and practice'* (2001: 4).

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BIOGRAPHY

Maren Hartmann is a lecturer at the University of Bremen in Germany. Her research interests include qualitative research methods, media use in everyday life, cyberculture, mobile media and young people's media use. She has worked at several universities in the UK, Belgium and most recently Germany (Erfurt) in both teaching and research positions. Her PhD, based at the University of Westminster, has been published as *Technologies and Utopias: The cyberflaneur and the experience of 'being online'*. She has recently co-edited a book on *Domestication of media and technology* and another one on *Mobile Communication in Everyday Life*. Maren is also the section head of the 'Digital Communication & Culture' section within ECREA.

Contact: Maren.Hartmann@uni-bremen.de

Only the original will do!
Methodology and media history

Anthony McNicholas

1. INTRODUCTION

What I want to talk about today is the use of sources, both primary and secondary in historical research—how we approach such sources and how we should treat others' use of them. This comes out of work I did for my own PhD on the press of Irish immigrants in nineteenth century Britain, which focused on three newspapers, *The Universal News*, *The Irish Liberator* and *The Irish News* which were published in London in the 1860s. It was an entirely archive-based project, involving a close reading of the newspapers themselves, the wider press of the time, other documentary and manuscript material held in a variety of institutions, and subsequent academic writing.

Now all this material, like the subject matter of most PhDs is very narrowly focused. In fact it is the tight focus of PhD research that is its principle contribution to the academy. Detailed work on discreet areas provides knowledge in depth which can then be built upon by others. PhDs function, if you will, like the building blocks out of which larger structures are made. That is not the only contribution though of projects like my own. Methodologically at least, the problems thrown up are common not only to other postgraduate projects but to academic inquiry in general—namely how to find, evaluate and interpret primary material—and how to do the same with secondary sources. The title of this talk is 'Only the original source will do' and that is because that is the conclusion I have reached over the course of my own research. There are two aspects to this, one concerning accuracy, the other, interpretation. To take the latter first, a colleague of mine at Westminster was working on European Union televisual policy (Ward, 2002). He came to the conclusion that much of the literature on the subject was wrong-headed. He thought that certain influential studies of the area had been accepted as a sort of orthodoxy, (the details of which do not matter here), upon which

much subsequent work was then based. What he did was to go back to the original documents—to discussion and policy documents and to the decisions handed down by the European Commission etc., and reached quite different conclusions. In my own area of study, which is concerned with nineteenth century Irish nationalist movements, particularly what is generally know as Fenianism,[1] I would maintain a similar orthodoxy exists, with which I would disagree on some points. Great detail is again not relevant to our purposes today but it maintains that Fenianism was less a significant political movement than a largely symbolic manifestation of youthful rebelliousness, coupled with a desire to find congenial pastimes, and was characterized by braggadocio, an over-fondness for alcohol and for internal dissent. (That would, on reflection arguably describe most political movements). I hope today to be able to show in a small way how such an orthodoxy could arise, especially concerning a subordinate or subaltern grouping who are likely to be described at the time of their existence (and very often subsequently) by sources which are hostile to them. However, that is my interpretation of others' interpretations, so in keeping with the spirit of this piece readers are invited to go and look for themselves.

One of my central concerns was the desire for accuracy—I wished to map as faithfully as possible the extent and shape of this press, both in terms of the papers themselves and the people who owned, controlled, wrote for and where possible read them. Accuracy, as has often been stated, is not a virtue in a historian but a basic necessity, (Carr, 1961: 10-11) but it must be remembered that writing history is dependent on the evidence bequeathed to us by posterity and the nature, scope and scale of any study will determine how accurate it can be in its particulars. That is, you cannot expect minute detail in writing about life as it was lived in pre-historic times, nor in writing about whole civilizations or of events taking place over long periods.

What methodologies do we apply then? Historians may employ techniques, as in for example how to take and organize accurate notes, but beyond that, what historians do, in the words of Jean Seaton, a Westminster colleague, is 'to rummage about' in the historical record. And this is what we do; we poke our noses into dark corners, open creaking doors, peer under stones, dig up old bones to see what we can learn from these traces of past lives. Analysis and interpretation then follow. What

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[1]   A conspiracy organised on both sides of the Atlantic which sought to break the connection between Britain and Ireland. It was also known in Ireland as the IRB, or Irish Revolutionary (or Republican) Brotherhood.

the historical researcher does is to make connections, uncover relation-ships between individuals, groups, institutions and events and then try to ascertain causes and consequences. We compare conflicting accounts, sift the evidence and make (we hope) informed judgments.

Historical inquiry, like any other, most usually begins with a review of the literature—read in the academic way—first the bibliography, then the index, the references and finally if it seems promising, the text. Here again some fields are richer, others poorer. The literature I was able to find directly on the Irish press in nineteenth century Britain amounted to one published chapter in an edited collection, (Dudley Edwards & Storey, 1985) and two unpublished undergraduate pieces, one of them my own work.[2] The published chapter was in the form of a survey of the field, and was very useful, giving the titles of very many of the journals con-cerned, but in its details on individual papers it was in places inaccurate. I do not mention this here in order to criticize, as in a broad sweep details are bound to be lost, but as a caution to myself and other researchers to accept nothing at face value and where possible to triangulate evidence. That is to use more than one source. What I will now do is to present extracts concerning the newspapers I studied from various sources, both primary and secondary, which I will then discuss.

2. Using primary sources

Here are two examples of errors of fact, relating to the assignation of editorship and ownership of journals. Those of you who have done historical research into journalism will know how hard it is to tell even who a newspaper's editor was, never mind the writers. Until quite late in the nineteenth century it was not usual for journalists to put their names to articles—not least because in most countries to have done so would have been to invite a spell in gaol. The first extract: '*The Universal News is a case in point. It was founded in December 1860 by the Very Rev. Frederick Canon Oakeley out of the British Roman Catholic alienation from British literary support of the Italian Risorgimento*'. And again: '*It is often very diffi-cult to assign authorship to newspaper editorials, but if internal evidence is any guide, the moving spirit behind the Irish Liberator was Thomas Cashen. Secre-tary of the Irish Liberator Newspaper Company limited*'.

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[2] Conway, Linda 'An Analysis of the Irish Immigrant Press, 1831-1981' BA Media Studies 1981 U Westminster; and an undergraduate research report of my own (1995) from the London College of Printing.

Both attributions are based on 'internal evidence' and both are wrong. These two newspapers were founded by limited companies and as such had to be registered. This meant a document (known as a Memorandum of Association) had to be deposited with the authorities, giving various pieces of information such as the paper's objectives, and the names, addresses and occupations of the directors and shareholders.[3] The assertions the authors make in the first instance come from the fact that the first issue of the paper on 31st December 1860, contains an account of a meeting to launch the paper was presided over by the cleric mentioned, Canon Oakeley. A careful look at the Memorandum of Association would have shown that he was not a director of the company and owned no shares. Nor is there any further mention of him in the pages of subsequent issues of the paper, nor any mention of him elsewhere as having a connection with it. The paper was founded by a mixed group of English and Irish Catholics and Oakeley was trusted and respected by both groups, so the likelihood was that as a senior London cleric, he was asked to preside over an important meeting to give the venture his seal of approval, and no more.

In the second example the authors assumed that the secretary of the Irish Liberator Newspaper Company, one Thomas Cashen was the editor. He had also written a leading address in one of the few remaining copies in the British Library. Had they looked elsewhere in the contemporary press they would have found out the identity of the real editor. Had they seen the Memorandum of Association for the *Irish Liberator*, they might have noticed that the witness was one Denis Holland, who was not only a well-known editor, but was associated with the movement launching the paper and he had, furthermore, just been forced to sell his own newspaper in Dublin.[4] It is important to get names right because in order to make connections, establish networks, relationships we have to know who we are talking about—we can be led down false trails on the one hand if we mistakenly attribute editorship and at the same time closing off other possibly fruitful avenues of enquiry.

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[3]   These are available at the National Archive, in Kew in London.

[4]   The file for the Universal News is NA/PRO/ BT 31/ 427/ 1653; for the Irish Liberator it is NA/PRO/ BT31/ 823/ 646c.

3. Selection, omission and relevance

The preceding remarks concerned the mistakes in reading primary material. The following example is about the editing of primary material. The first extract comes from an article about the second editor of *The Irish Liberator*, a former Presbyterian minister called David Bell. The article was written by one of his descendants and the focus therefore is on him—his period at the helm of *The Irish Liberator* being but one episode. The extract is itself an extract from a letter written by the paper's proprietor, a wheelwright by the name of Thomas Hayes, to a revolutionary colleague in Dublin and is about problems they had been having. What is of particular interest here are the four dots indicating something has been left out. The extract follows:

The following week, 7 April, Hayes wrote again to McDonnell :

We are sold this week. Our printer was bribed and he would not print the paper this week. When Mr. Bell went to see the proof-sheets there was not even one line set up. That was yesterday evening so we could not get any person to print it this week . . . . . The priests have done it. I think the printer must have received about £50 or £60 for selling us. We have been all day looking after type. We mean to buy some and print it ourselves, that is, to employ a man or two to do it. (Bell, 1968: 263)

Let us compare it with the original, which is held in the Irish National Archive, Dublin:

I have to Inform you we are sold this week. our printer was bribed and he would not print the paper this week. when Mr. Bell went to see the proof-sheets there was not even one line set up that was yesterday evening so we could not get Any person to print it this week you need not be surprise for not seen it the universal news people and the priests have don it I think the printer must have received About £50 or £60 for selling us we have been all Day Looking After tipe we mane to buy some and print it ourself that is to employ A man or tow to do it (Irish National Archives Fenian papers found at 15, Stafford St. 1866, C6 E20 N69 Hayes to MacDonnell 7/4/1964)

There are several differences. The original is slightly longer, and it is full of spelling and grammatical errors, as are other letters by Hayes. The author of the article on Bell corrected them. I have not. He also left out the phrase 'the universal news people', which came before 'the priests have done it'. One could speculate why he did so. The most likely reason would be the usual one—that it was not relevant to his purposes. We do not quote whole documents, we extract only those parts which are important to us. What was not of interest to the author of the article was most certainly relevant to me—the fact that the proprietor of a news-

paper was not fully literate was very interesting. That he thought his journal had been sabotaged by a rival paper, the *Universal News*, about which I was also writing, was a crucial piece of information. Had I only read the extract rather than the original document, I would have completely misunderstood the significance of the letter.

4. COMPARING DIFFERING ACCOUNTS

The researcher then has to be wary of differences between extracts taken from original sources and the original sources themselves. The researcher will also have to contend with contradictory accounts of the same event given in different primary sources. The following extracts also concern Thomas Hayes of *The Irish Liberator*, who was arrested in 1865 and sentenced to ten years penal servitude for his part in the Fenian conspiracy. The first is a piece of journalism from the London correspondent of a Dublin paper called *The Irishman*, dated 19/12/1868, relating to his arrest. The second comes from a memoir of a fellow prisoner. The first extract:

> *Liberated*
>
> *Many of you readers will remember Thomas Hayes who was convicted of treason felony at the opening of the campaign against the Fenians. Hayes was a wheelwright and was regarded as a sort of political oracle by his fellow workmen. No suspicion of his loyalty crossed the intelligent mind of the police, although they were running on every discoverable trail in that wild period of panic and excitement. Inspector Campbell was a lucky man. He was drinking in a public house one afternoon when Hayes entered. The officer being carefully disguised, the latter never suspected him; And on learning that he was an Irishman the conversation turned on Irish topics, the irrepressible Fenian question taking the lead. There and then Hayes quietly unbosomed himself to the wily detective. He told his companion that he was a head center that he had been entrusted with the preparation of the Cork circles, that the country was preparing to rise, fling out the foreign Garrison and proclaim a Republic. When all this and more had been revealed, Campbell took his confiding dupe into custody. He was tried and sentenced to ten years penal servitude. Last Saturday the government sent down an order for his discharge and after suffering three years punishment he is once more a free man. In a conversation with Campbell at the time of the trial I remarked that he had behaved badly to a countryman. The remark seemed to immensely tickle the inspector. 'Why the ----fool' Said he 'It is not I but himself that's to blame for the trouble he has got into. A nice lot of conspirators you are surely!*

> *But you let this or that donkey into your secrets, he goes in for a glass,*
> *meets with friend or enemy and lets out everything. You call yourselves*
> *conspirators! You be damned!.*
> *Campbell went on to say that by arresting Hayes he had kept 40 other*
> *man out of jail. He praised Hayes sincerity and honesty but lost all*
> *patience when speaking of his 'garrulous bombast', which he declared,*
> *would hang an archangel.*

According to this account, Hayes was arrested because he made indis-
creet remarks while under the influence of alcohol to an out-of-uniform
policeman. This presented me with something of a dilemma. I had read
elsewhere that Hayes was teetotal, meaning he did not drink. This was in
another journalistic account of his arrest. Elsewhere, in another of the
same series of letters quoted above, Hayes criticized the original editor of
The Irish Liberator and asked the same Dublin colleague to look out for
'an honest, sober man' to replace him. (Irish National Archives Fenian
papers found at 15, Stafford St. 1866,C6 E20 N69 Hayes to JP MacDonnell
4/11/1863) However, I knew that to some people of the time, to be teeto-
tal did not necessarily mean total abstinence from alcohol, but from over-
indulgence or from strong spirits. During the course of my PhD
researches no decisive answer could be found, but a subsequent publi-
cation cleared up the matter, at least to my satisfaction. Hayes had been
sent to Ireland from London to stand trial and one of his fellow accused
had been a Cork Fenian, by the name of John Sarsfield Casey. The
following is taken from his account of his arrest, trial and imprisonment
and describes the beginning of their journey from trial in Cork to prison
in England. Note the last sentence:

> *We pass various towns and stations unobserved. As we go north the cold*
> *is intense, snow covers the ground and we begin to feel hungry. We reach*
> *Limerick Junction and walk out to 'pump'; here crowds collect round,*
> *and the police move them off. In fact at every station since we left Cork*
> *till we arrived in Dublin a large force of armed police are keeping guard*
> *dreading I suppose a rescue – poor simple souls. Irish 'patriots' are*
> *fonder of staying in the blanket this bitter Little Christmas morning,*
> *than to take a last look at a few Fenian Convicts. Hamilton treats each of*
> *us to a glass of ale and a small bun at Limerick Junction, Hayes being a*
> *teetotaller takes a cup of coffee.* (Casey, 2005: 130)

Casey's account had been written between 1871 and 1881, and it
remained in the possession of his family, unpublished until 2005. On the
one hand there is a piece of contemporary journalism, on the other a
contemporary memoir. Which are we to trust? Added to what I already

knew, the answer was clear – the account by Casey in which Hayes' refusal of even 'a glass of ale' after he had just been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labor, and which was just a matter-of-fact detail, had the ring of truth. This is a judgment, but I think it a sound one.

5. SOURCES AND INTERPRETATIONS

What might be the significance of this apart from the suggestion of perjury by an agent of the state? To historians, the journalistic record is a primary source of information, 'the first draft of history', we often call it. Coupled with other sources—documents, memoirs, accounts of trials, debates in parliament, official enquiries etc., this is what makes up the historical record. It has to be remembered that for many of the subjects involved, the sources were hostile. For revolutionaries such as the Fenians, but also for many other groups (subordinate, subaltern, subversive, call them what you will) their actions and ambitions were invariably described pejoratively. I said previously that an orthodox way of describing events, processes etc., can become established. Below are two short extracts, one from one of the most influential writers on the subject of Fenianism, the other is taken from the essay on the Irish press in Britain, quoted above. Both are remarkably similar. This is R.V. Comerford in 1980:

> *Indeed most fenian business, especially recruitment and the initiation of new members, appears to have been conducted in public houses. The pub provided excellent cover, but to see fenian recourse to the pub as a merely accidental matter of convenience would be to miss the point: public house conviviality was part of the very fabric of fenianism.* (Comerford, 1980: 247)

Some years later we find others writing in similar vein:

> *But there were more conspiracies afoot than one. The Fenians were notable for working for recruits through public-houses, the drink increasing the potential recruits. And literary Fenianism was also often more concerned with public audience than real private commitment. Local agents wanted to spread revolution; other local agents wished to divert moneys collected to their private use. In Britain all of these factors obtained, as with the National Brotherhood of St. Patrick and its supporting London weekly, the Irish Liberator.* (Dudley Edwards & Storey, 1985: 163)

Now I am not arguing that the single example I have just given overthrows this thesis but what I am doing is tentatively to suggest that this is the kind of material such opinions are based upon, and as such should

not be accepted without question. Depositions at trials form a significant corpus of evidence upon which historians draw—if much of it is as unreliable as that concerning Thomas Hayes, then I am right to be cautious.

These are but a few examples of many which point to the necessity of treating all sources of information, both primary and secondary, with a good deal of care. Archival research is all about the patient sifting of sources, of comparing one with another, of testing assumptions, interpretations and of using the widest possible range of information in order, in the first instance to aid understanding on the part of the researcher and then to enable him/her to create a clear and authoritative account of the subject under discussion. This can only be done by returning to the original source, because only that will do!

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BIOGRAPHY

Anthony McNicholas is a Senior Research Fellow in the Communication and Media Research Institute at the University of Westminster. He completed his PhD 'Faith and Fatherland: The Irish Press in Mid-Victorian England' in 2000. It will be published by Peter Lang AG early next year. He is currently lead researcher of a team form Westminster led by Prof. Jean Seaton, working on Vol. 6 of the official history of the BBC, covering the years 1975–87. He publishes on the Irish migrant press and BBC history.

Contact: mcnichc@wmin.ac.uk

PART THREE

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
STUDENT ABSTRACTS

NEW TERMS FOR THE CLOSE OBSERVATION OF LOCAL POLITICS

Marja Åkerström

Contact: marja.akerstrom@home.se

There is a vision, rendered slightly simplified here, about a growing and evolving participating and/or deliberative democracy that connects to the visions about the New Media, especially Internet´s potential, at least in Western Europe, on the local, national, global and glocal level. The vision is held or expressed by researchers, by politicians on the local, national and international level, by journalists and by citizens as well as by citizens organized in social movements and communities. The starting-point of my PhD project is the Swedish local governmental level, more precisely four medium size towns in the very south district of Sweden (Skåne).

COMMUNICATION, CONTEXTUALIZATION, AND COGNITION IN THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE

Christian Baden

Contact: c.baden@uva.nl

The permissive consensus is dead. People have powerfully claimed their entitlement to be informed, if not involved, in EU politics. Bluntly put, it's as simple as that: If Europe doesn't succeed in enabling people to follow and evaluate European politics, whenever they are asked to vote in a referendum, there will be a likely tendency to say no to the unknown. Still, when asked specifically, people come up with a lot of further information about Europe, they do voice quite specific concerns, views and fears. Yet three things do not happen. People do not feel adequately informed, they don't make (m)any connections between the bits of information they have, and they don't voice their specific concerns.

Public treatments of Europe remain shallow, or elitist. My question is why that is so, and my hunch is that it has to do with the contextualization of knowledge. In this view, knowing that there is a certain European policy is neither necessary nor sufficient to create that political opinion needed for participation in any potential European public sphere. What is lacking, but needed, to come to such a position is context: What's the point of a policy? What problems are addressed? Who supports it? What other options are there? Even at a most basic level, people do not have such cues, which they tend to have regarding national politics. There, people use plenty of cues (party, sympathy, raised objection, issue context etc.) to arrive at often remarkably consistent opinions. Also, they tend to have some idea about whether, and how, they are affected by something. Thus, they contextualize information to draw inferences in relation to themselves, and their social environment. This then forms an opinion, which is both necessary and potentially sufficient to create, join and sustain an exchange of views with others. Also, this enables them to identify (dis)similar positions regarding the issue at hand. A debate can emerge, participation becomes feasible. Without the sketched prerequisites, however, this is largely impossible in Europe, because information is insufficiently contextualized. Contextual cues are derived from media coverage, the more so where experiential knowledge is next-to-nonexistent. Zeroing in on the heavily under-researched perspective of the individual making sense of his or her political environment, my project seeks to understand what contextual information people draw from EU media coverage, and what they make of it in terms of political attitudes and participation. Drawing upon contextual approaches both to media content (framing theory), and cognition (schema theory), and putting the suspected connection into a larger social and political perspective, I thereby try to make a contribution both to the practitioners' debate on inventing new paths of legitimacy for the EU, to the theoretical understanding of homo politicus, and to the renewed emphasis on structural effects within the research tradition of media effects.

TRUST TOWARD INSTITUTIONS IN HUNGARY AFTER THE REGIME CHANGE

Eszter Bakonyi

Contact: bakonya@yahoo.com

In the last one or two decades, the mainstream of theoretical sociology hasn't paid much attention to trust. The empirical, quantitative analyses that dealt with this subject usually used less sophisticated terms for interpreting trust, they mostly measured general attitudes toward the political leaders, participation in the elections and the positive or negative feelings of the public toward the institutions.

There are many different ways of defining the content and functioning of trust. One major approach argues that trust is similar to cooperative actions that it functions well in a well-established institutional environment, the participants share common norms and values, and everybody follows the common rules of the game. The institutions penalize the cheaters and free riders, so the theorists say that the production of trust is in strong connection with the democratic institutional system. This approach often handles the term trust as a special product or a common public good that is produced by and functions in the community in an organized way. Another major trend in this field emphasizes that trust can work well only in chaotic or anarchic circumstances. Their argument is that in fact, trust in a stable institutional framework with common based rules and procedures actually means trust in sanctions and the efficiency of sanctions, but it does not mean that during the interactions we trust the others or the institutions itself, in the name of community ethos. For 'real' trust – these scholars argue – there has to be chaos and the atmosphere of distrust, because this is the situation when the actors really need and attribute much importance to the mechanisms that produce trust.

The difficulty of defining the term of trust is only one question that researchers have to deal with; another one is the problem of measuring trust. We can use indices to measure attitudes that refer to the existence or non-existence of trust in a society, but we cannot really make a scale to measure the extension or the range of it. Another problem can be the interpretation of the results, e.g. if the public trusts the president of the country it means that they believe that s/he wants to do his/ her best, so they have trust in his/ her good intentions or it means that they have

trust in his/ her competence, and that s/he has the required skills for the position of presidency.

REFORMING BROADCASTING IN ITALY'S 'SECOND REPUBLIC': A STUDY OF GOVERNMENT TELEVISION POLICIES 1994–2006

Alessandro D'Arma

Contact: A.DArma01@westminster.ac.uk

This thesis provides an analysis of television policies in Italy's 'Second Republic' from March 1994, with the formation of the first Berlusconi government, to May 2006, with the end of the XIV legislature and the electoral defeat of the center-right coalition. Based on extensive documentary research, the thesis looks at four analytically distinct but closely related areas of television policy: the reform of public service broadcasting, the reform of media ownership rules, the regulation of satellite pay-TV, and plans for digital switchover. Throughout, the focus is on the way the various Italian governments which have ruled the country in the period investigated have approached these four areas, i.e., what they have decided to do or not to do, why they have decided so, and with what degree of success they have pursued their policy goals. The main theoretical question that this thesis engages with is whether or not national governments' agenda can still be regarded as the single most important determinant of policy regime change in broadcasting, at times of technological change and convergence (in the shape of digitalization), regionalization of political authority, and global industry consolidation. The general aim of the thesis therefore is to identify the key underlying forces which have shaped actual policy outcomes in Italian television over the last 12 years and, more specifically, to assess whether or not Italian governments have retained most of their autonomy in the area of broadcasting policy.

'POLITICAL CORRECTNESS' AND 'SAYING IT LIKE IT IS'. AN ANALYSIS OF META-COMMUNICATION IN DISCOURSES ON MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY IN NORTH BELGIUM

Benjamin De Cleen

Contact: benjamin.de.cleen@vub.ac.be

In the past 15 years 'political correctness' has been an issue in cultural, political and economic debates. 'Political correctness' is often related to discussions on the limits of what can be said or done and on the representation of different societal groups. Central to this PhD project is the idea that debates on 'political correctness' are a form of meta-communication – discussing what can be said/done and how this can be said/done – that can play an important part in the setting of discursive boundaries.

'Political correctness' can be considered a 'Plastikwort' (Huhnke, 1997) or 'fluid term' (Feldstein, 1997) that takes up different meanings in different contexts. Nevertheless, 'political correctness' continues to be mainly a way to criticize progressive and emancipatory politics (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998: 2; Fairclough, 2003: 21).

The debate on multicultural society in North Belgium promises to provide fruitful material for looking at the self-reflexive nature of political communication. A quantitative mapping of 'political correctness' in the press shows that in North Belgium, discourses on 'political correctness' have come to be predominantly situated within debates on multicultural society and Islam. The PhD will study discourses on multicultural society in North Belgium and focus on how debates on 'political correctness' and other forms of meta-communication play a role in setting and contesting the boundaries of the debate.

The PhD departs from a social constructionist perspective on knowledge and language stressing the constructed nature and the historical and cultural specificity of any view on reality (Burr, 2003: 1–5). A social constructionist stance allows for the study of 'political correctness' as a construct and, more generally, allows for an analysis of 'new realist' (Prins, 2000, 2004) discourses on multicultural society – that pretend to 'say things like they are' – as constructing a specific version of reality, rather than just talking about reality in a certain fashion.

The analysis will be informed by a discourse-theoretical perspective. Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory – including their concept of antagonism (1985: 135–136) – provides the theoretical tools to study the

setting of discursive boundaries through communicating about these boundaries. It is also suited to study the identity construction that is taking place through reflexive political discourse within the debate on multicultural society. This includes the construction of both ethnic minorities' and Flemish (and Belgian, European, …) identities, as well as the construction of politician's / political parties' identities that takes places simultaneously.

TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THREE CEES STATES AFTER JOINING THE EU

Indira Dupuis

Contact: Indira.Dupuis@rub.de

In 1991, the member states of the European Community agreed in Maastricht to form the European Union, which aimed not only at completing a common market in Europe, but also at laying the foundation of a political union of the European member states. With the resulting Maastricht Treaty, the question has arisen how the political integration in the European Union will develop beyond the basic administrative aspects. Along with this, a broad discussion has waged on a European public sphere as a necessary condition for the viability of a democratic entity. In this discussion, it is agreed upon that mass media take a crucial role in the development of a European public sphere. Based on theories of democracy, media are supposed to inform citizens adequately about political ideas, personalities and programs, to critically highlight and comment on issues and to provide a platform for building political legitimacy in society. So far, studies on the European public sphere mostly measure to which extent the media fulfill this normative duty concerning the EU topics but leave out the question, how far the media are practically capable of doing so taking into account the whole set of editorial responsibilities, the conditions of production and the conventions of political journalism.

My project is supposed to address this question for the EU coverage in three of the EU's accession states: Latvia, Poland and the Czech Republic. The core element of the research project is a set of focused interviews with the journalists which are responsible for EU coverage in

the editorial offices of the main media in each country. The questions will be about working conditions, decision-making processes, available forms of presentation and the aims of the editorial staff and management concerning EU reporting.

RECONCEPTUALIZING THE PERMANENT CAMPAIGN. THE ROLE OF NON-ELECTORAL POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Iñaki Garcia Blanco

Contact: inaki.garcia@uab.es

Permanent campaigning is one of the most distinctive features of contemporary political communication. In fact, there is a sort of consensus among scholars regarding its existence and its importance in nowadays politics (see, for example: Blumler – Kavannagh, 1999; Farrell, 1996; Mancini – Swanson, 1996; Norris, 2000; Schmitt-Beck – Farrell, 2002). However, research has not yet made a decisive attempt to understand the way the permanent campaign is conceived and designed, the impact it has in the political media discourse, and the consequences this particular type of campaign has over policies. This doctoral thesis will reconceptualize the original idea of Sidney Blumenthal (1980), strictly attached to presidential politics, applying it to the parties in office and to the main opposition parties. The main goals are the description and the analysis of the political and media strategies that end up configuring the political landscape in Western European countries. To do so, this research combines content analysis (press and television), and interviews with politicians, political consultants and political journalists. The importance and effectiveness of campaigns in Western societies will only be assessable when research attempts to study how permanent campaigning is currently operating. The works about the official electoral campaign periods take for granted that these days may have a special impact among the electorate. If contemporary campaigns are a sort of continuum, scholars should undertake the challenge to break away from the traditional concept of the campaign if it does not reliably reflect our political reality. The study of permanent campaigning will hopefully offer innovative findings about contemporary politics and political communication. More specifically, it may help us to understand better to

what extent politics is being affected by processes such as homogenization, Americanization or globalization of political communication. It may also offer interesting findings regarding how different political traditions, forms of state, political and media landscapes, and electoral systems affect the daily political communication strategies, and consequently, some political decisions in Western countries.

ICT AND THE COMMUNICATION STRATEGY OF SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPANISH PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE

Xavier Ginesta

Contact: xavier.ginesta@uab.es

Sport contributes to the process of globalization and, at the same time, is affected by the same process (Moragas, et al: 2003). Sport has been important for the economical, political, social, cultural and communication changes that have occurred since the beginning of the 21st Century. For this reason, sport has been an omnipresent phenomenon in contemporary society.

Some authors point to the existence of a global culture (Anderson & Cavanagh, 2000). For this reason, we believe that in this global culture, the sports industry must appear as a new research subject. On the one hand, it is estimated that the sports industry generates $213 to $350 billion per year in revenues (Shank, 2002: 6). On the other hand, clubs use the mass media (television, radio and newspapers) and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), such us Internet and mobile telephone, in their corporate communication strategies (Van Riel, 1995).

The application of ICTs to the sports industry has direct consequences for the communication phenomenon as a whole process. The communication dynamics are different between the clubs and other social institutions (mass media, other industries or political organizations), between clubs and fans and between fans and other fans.

The sports organizations have the possibility to expand a universal culture through the use of ICTs, such as the Internet with all its opportunities and risks. But, above all, we can question if the application of ICTs in the communication department of soccer clubs has been followed by an efficient program for running these organizations, because, nowa-

days, a lot of them have to deal with a series of economic problems. Our research will study this paradox, using the concepts of strategic marketing and ICTs and finally, applying them to the Spanish Professional Soccer League.

The main objective of this research will be to explore the uses of ICTs in communication and marketing strategies of the sports institutions: between them, between the sports industry and other social and political organizations (governments, international federations and sponsoring companies) and between the fans of the soccer clubs. Our research will analyze the communication strategy of the clubs which belong to the Spanish Professional Soccer League (LFP). Although our research will be focused on the Spanish soccer league, we will use a comparative study between the Spanish clubs, the English clubs (as leaders of the European sports industry) and some north-American franchises (MSL), as the leaders of the global sports industry.

MEDIA AND MORALITY. HOW THE SWEDISH PRESS DEALS WITH SOCIAL ORDER WHEN IT COMES TO DRUG ABUSE IN SPORT

Sara Hamqvist

Contact: sara.hamqvist@hik.se

What do the media tell us about norms and morality? What behavior is described as the right way to act and what manner is judged to be totally incorrect? What and how do the media report when it comes to transgressions? Questions like these are at focus in my dissertation project in the area of sports, media and social order.

One occasion when norms and morality are discussed in the media is when somebody has acted in an unaccepted way. In sports it could be cheating against the rules, fighting, economic misconduct of clubs, corruption and so forth. Drug abuse and doping are one of those areas the media nowadays regularly report upon. The purpose of the study is to describe and attain an understanding of how the Swedish press is dealing with social order in relation to doping or drug abuse in competitive sport.

The period of the study is between 1996 and 2004 and includes articles from four Swedish daily newspapers. Nineteen doping cases are

included, some of them have not generated so many articles and some of the cases have been huge media scandals. Articles are collected during a period of two weeks for each doping case, beginning the day when the accusation for doping was officially announced for the first time. The total amount of articles is about 1300.

I am studying the texts in two ways. A content analysis is used to answer questions about the extent and division of the material, the writers, the types of articles, the actors in the texts and so forth. In a more detailed analysis, questions like these are being investigated: How and what does the press write about doping? How does the press deal with borders and transgressions? What characterizes the narrative design of the material? What does the construction of sports reporting tell us about media and society?

The theoretical framework consists of a mix of theories of journalism, norms and aspects of drama.

CREATIVITY: POLICY AND PRACTICE. A STUDY OF FILM AND TV IN SCOTLAND

Lynne Hibberd

Contact: lahibberd@yahoo.co.uk

The study will research how the concept and practice of creativity in Scotland has been affected by UK government policy. It will analyze creative industries policy since New Labour's coming to power in 1997. It will document where ideas about cultural creativity and its economic significance have come from and investigate how policy debate was shaped. The research will also investigate the connections between the UK and Scottish levels of creative industries policy. The project will use two case studies to explore the impact of policy on creative practice, examining BBC Scotland and the moving image agency Scottish Screen. These case studies have been chosen in order to examine how devolution affects policy and practice.

The project will assess the post-devolution role of BBC Scotland's development for the Scottish creative economy, in particular the growth of investment in program production and the thinking that lies behind this. It will be sensitive to the current review of the BBC's royal charter and debate about public service broadcasting.

The project will also address the role of Scottish Screen as a devolved agency and the impact that national lottery funding and other support schemes have on the Scottish film and television industries. The research will be aware of the wider national context in Scotland and in particular of the recommendations of the Cultural Commission and the Scottish Executive's cultural policy framework.

FORGOTTEN DISASTERS? A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF THE FLEMISH NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN CRISES

Stijn Joye

Contact: stijn.joye@ugent.be

Media and in particular news have a vital role to play in our under-standing of the world. In other words news language has a particular signifying power, a power to represent events in particular ways (Fairclough, 1995: 2). However, in our increasingly globalizing society there is a significant decline in international news coverage by the Western media (e.g. Hallin, 1996: 255; Thussu, 2004: 47) accompanied by a drop in the public interest in foreign news. In addition, the amount of foreign news consumed by the audience is (defined by content) as focusing on spectacular events, elite persons, hard facts, violence and conflict, in other words an inadequate, negative, and stereotypical portrayal (Rampal, 2002: 111). It seems that the news media give an incomplete representation of the world.

This PhD project wishes to evaluate some of these news trends within a longitudinal perspective. The focus lies on international humanitarian crises, defined by the United Nations as any situation in which there is an exceptional and widespread threat to human life, health or subsistence (ECP Alert, 2005: 54). We consider a disaster as an unforeseen and often sudden event that causes great damage, destruction and human suffering. Though often caused by nature, humanitarian crises can have human origins, as is the case with wars and civil disturbances. In the literature most attention is paid -disproportionately- to this latter aspect of humanitarian crises.

The project deals with a number of intertwining aspects including the media attention international humanitarian crises receive, the broader

social and political influence of this particular kind of media coverage (hence the concepts 'compassion fatigue' which refers to a diminishing public concern with foreign disasters and the much criticized 'CNN effect' that conceives an influence of the media on the foreign affairs policy) and thirdly the production component by interviewing journalists about their everyday practices and selection criteria. To put the coverage on humanitarian crises into its right perspective, we feel it is necessary to conduct a more contextualizing study on the evolution of the amount of foreign news in the Flemish newspapers during the past 30 years. An analysis of why some crises seem to be neglected and how disasters in general are covered should provide some insights in the approach and position of the news media regarding international humanitarian crises.

THE COMMODIFICATION OF JOURNALISM ETHICS – MEDIA MORALITY, SELF-REGULATION AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CURRENT MEDIASCAPE

Laura Juntunen

Contact: laura.j.juntunen@helsinki.fi

This project studies the social role of Finnish media by researching the changing practices of news production and by analyzing the self-regulation guidelines that have recently been under re-examination. The research interest derives from the accelerated change of the journalistic culture which is approached from a perspective of media ethics. The primary focus is on the processes in which the journalistic values, ideals and norms are being negotiated in connection with recent changes in the media market. The context of this study is the commodification process that many journalism researchers have pointed to.

By analyzing the mechanisms of press self-regulation and the moral ethos of the profession, this project aims to produce new empirical knowledge on the changing environment in which journalists do their work today. The data consists of documents pertaining to the Finnish codes of journalistic ethics as well as interviews with journalists. A case study approach is used to demonstrate ethical concerns in the context of real-life situations.

The goal is to evaluate the value systems and the philosophical-ethical principles that underpin journalism ethics as well as to illustrate problems the media face in practically applying principles and standards. As journalists have a crucial role in implementing the codes of practice, it is essential to study how these are applied. Thus the focus is on the moral dilemmas and tensions facing journalists in their daily lives.

According to a rather preliminary research plan, the research questions to be addressed are: What kind of a 'moralscape' do journalists find themselves today in Finland? What kind of societal relationship is the journalistic professional ethics based on and how do journalists conceive their own role within democracy?

Theoretically the challenge is to discuss whether the social responsibility theory still is a relevant way to describe the relationship between journalism and society. Traditionally it has been thought that the media have an important role in keeping the public informed and facilitating political debate. Therefore, it has been considered that the press is responsible for its actions to the society at large and the self-regulatory system per se is based on the idea that media have a duty to serve community interests and the public good. However, the journalistic culture in whole is unarguably in transition. Lastly, the study also aims to discuss the present and the future of the self-regulatory system on European level.

MEDIATED EXPERIENCE AND DIASPORIC IDENTITY

Richard Kpabi

Contact: richardanang@yahoo.co.uk

The centripetal forces of globalization are increasingly drawing into orbit people groups and their economies and cultures, in a global integration with its concomitant intermixtures, imbalances, and dialectical processes. Tendencies towards homogenization are countered by those of resistance and syncretization. The intensification of global interconnectedness is producing new forms of diasporas as people gravitate towards the centers of economic activity.

This theme assumes added significance in the aftermath of the Madrid train bomb attacks, the 7/7 (2004) bomb blasts in London, and the (2004) Birmingham race riots between Black and Asian communities, which are bound to focus attention on diasporic communities and issues

related to identity, integration, the future of the multicultural society project, nationality, and culture.

This study focuses on a typical post-colonial modern diaspora in London as it is redefined and constructed in new contexts of local and global dimensions. London sets the scene for it because it is multicultural in character, it is one of the nodal points of the international economy and it constitutes a space in which the attempts to articulate a global culture are cited.

The study is also one of spatial encounters; television as a window on the world of ideas and images, provides the provocative spaces that intersect with the diaspora space inhabited by Ghanaian Londoners on the demographic and cultural landscape of London. The intersection of screen cultures and cross-cultural diasporic experiences of this community, would provide useful perspectives and perceptions of cultures in close proximity and interaction, and generate comparative and contrastive reflections across the generational divide.

FRAMING POLITICS

Sophie Lecheler

Contact: s.k.lecheler@uva.nl

The framing of politics by political elites and the media are key resources for citizens' sense-making of political issues and processes. Citizens make use of shortcuts and heuristics when making judgments about politics and these shortcuts are fed by information from political actors and the media. Framing theory is used as a conceptual framework to understand how citizens make sense of politics. In the context of contemporary Dutch and European politics, this project investigates the presence and effects of frames in political news. The proposed research project seeks to a) elaborate on a typology of frames and framing effects, b) test the effects of different frames for different individuals, and c) investigate the longevity and conditionality of framing effects.

In short, a frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic. This project conceptualizes framing as a process that includes production, content, and media use perspectives. This dynamic process involves frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions). In order to synthesize previous research and the different types of news frames

that have been suggested, a more general typology or distinction with reference to the nature and content of the frame is applied. Certain frames are pertinent only to specific topics or events. Such frames may be labeled issue-specific frames. Other frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts. These frames can be labeled generic frames. This typology serves to organize past framing research focusing on differences that help explain the use of the catch-all 'framing' phrase. Effects of frames have been demonstrated for a variety of topics, but research has also shown that the magnitude of framing effects may vary depending on the issue at stakes. Moreover, there is little agreement on how framing effects work. In the present project one of the most contentious issues in framing effects research is addressed; the psychological responses to news frames. Reviewing the existing literature, two strands of research addressing the effects of frames can be distinguished: framing as an accessibility effect and framing as a consideration salience effect. This project elaborates on previous research by assessing the cognitive accessibility of concepts related to the experimentally manipulated news stories as well as assessing the salience attached to considerations emphasized by a particular news framing. Both of these potential routes of influence are assessed as well as the potentially direct, and unmediated influence that frames can have on political attitudes. The literature on framing effects implies that the impact of certain news frames may be persistent, but little prior research has investigated the longevity and robustness of these effects. In short, previous studies investigating the effects of the frames have not been able to address the longevity of such effects. Thus, the longevity of framing effects shall be a third objective of this project. To put the expectations to test this project relies on media content analysis and experimentation. The study will investigate the framing of different political issues.

THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE – A SPHERE WITHOUT AN AUDIENCE? CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION IN THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION DEBATE

Swantje Lingenberg

Contact: swantje.lingenberg@uni-erfurt.de

In the course of the European integration process more and more political power is transferred from the national levels to the European level. As a consequence of and in need of public legitimization the question about a European public space becomes evident. The PhD project focuses on the audience level of a European public sphere. It asks whether, via which media and under which criteria of relevance the EU-citizens participate in European public discourses. This is to be examined within the European Constitutional debate in Germany, France and Italy.

The public sphere is considered a crucial element of democracy. It fulfils certain functions such as enabling mutual observation between policy-makers and citizens, legitimizing political decisions, promoting collective will formation and integrating members of society. At the European level scholars discuss whether a public sphere exists or not, and if so, how it materializes. Considering different theoretical approaches it is argued that a European public sphere has to be thought of as a pluralistic network of transnational publics which exists as soon as the same issues are discussed simultaneously and under the same criteria of relevance. Such a network is tied by transnational discourses and generated by the communicative interactions of speakers, media and audiences. According to John Dewey, public spheres emerge as soon as citizens realize the impact of political decisions on their lives and enter public deliberation. Applied to the European context, it is not only the creation and mass mediated distribution of European issues, but the audience's communicative actions based on the perception of the reporting of EU topics that is fundamental for the establishment of public spheres after all.

The theoretical reflections about the structure and processes of the European public space, as well as the audience's role in constituting it, are exemplified by empirically researching the EU Constitutional debate. The study aims to reconstruct the functioning of this transnational discourse at the audience level, but also at the media and communicator levels. It examines whether a diffusion of arguments and rhetoric references across and between the national public arenas takes place. The

study includes qualitative in-depth interviews with citizens, journalists and political actors as well as analyses of survey data such as Euro-barometer and data about media users. The interviews have been conducted during the ratification process of the EU constitution. Hence, the effects of the negative Referenda in France and the Netherlands have become evident.

SCIENCE, THE MEDIA, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND THE CASE OF GM CROPS AND FOOD

Pieter Maeseele

Contact: Pieter.Maeseele@UGent.be

This PhD project concerns the relationship between science and the media through a media sociological perspective. Science is not happening 'outside society' and inside the closed walls of laboratories, but on the contrary is constituted 'inside society.' This is a substantial starting-point for a media sociological approach to the relationship between science and the media which requires a systematic examination on different levels. We are seeking to explore the particularities of techno-scientific information in a mediatized society – which ensures that science, scientific research & technology are also subjected to mediatization to a high degree – and a transforming public sphere – as a consequence of the transformation of politics in two domains. Through the case study of genetically manipulated crops and food we hope to reveal the specific properties and dynamics of this mediated issue that turned into a genuine scientific controversy in Europe and Flanders, Belgium. Its media representations, the strategic actors driving these, and the reception of the media representations by the different audiences should provide us with a clear insight in the dynamics of a mediated issue as the GMO controversy, the what and how of the role of the media in reflecting and shaping the issue, to what extent the mediated information is used as a resource for political-societal action and intervention, and its contribution to social solidarity and the development of a social identity.

MULTI-ETHNIC YOUTH ONLINE. EXPLORING THE POTENTIAL OF ICTS FOR EMPOWERMENT

Henry Mainsah

Contact: h.n.mainsah@media.uio.no

This study focuses on how ethnic minority youth in Oslo incorporate the Internet in their everyday lives in ways that are meaningful to them, and the extent to which the incorporation of the Internet results in forms of empowerment. New media technologies are rapidly becoming part of the everyday lives of most youth living in western societies today. Will the diffusion of new technologies lead to new forms of social inclusion and social engagement? How have social networks, social support, trust, belonging, and community feeling been affected as young people use the Internet? Will these new technologies encourage new forms of cultural self-expression and creativity? In the literature there is disagreement between those who see the technology as a new basis for democratic communication, social inclusion, social capital and community and others who see it as a threat, leading to new forms of exclusion and social isolation. To explore the empowerment potential of the Internet, this study considers three kinds of changes in the lives of young ethnic minority Internet users; community involvement, knowledge acquisition and literacy, and self-expression. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods will be employed to gather the data for this study.

RELIGIOUS MEDIA CULTURES IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NETHERLANDS: SELF-DEFINITION, GROUP REPRESENTATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF ORALITY, BOOKS AND VISUALS IN THE PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION

Birgitte Martens

Contact: birgitte.martens@vub.ac.be

Throughout history, media have always performed crucial societal func-
tions of all kinds. Within the social and cultural field, historical analyses
and media studies on micro- and macro-level indicate that social and

political claims are being shaped to a large extent by the use of specific types of media, as mechanisms of self-definition and group representation come to the foreground in the elaboration of a 'media culture'. In historical research on communication and media, recent lines of inquiry show great interest in media and communicative cultures.

In my PhD-project, a cultural historical inquiry is set forward, focusing on religious communication in the seventeenth-century in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In general, the seventeenth century is acknowledged to be a turbulent period in European history with continuous religious and political wars. In the former Netherlands, North and South developed highly varying media cultures, the latter being coined as a 'visual culture' opposed to the former being defined as a 'text culture'. Until now, only few systematic historiographical attempts have been undertaken to test existing assumptions about 'Protestant text culture' and 'Catholic visual culture'. As a result, research questions with regard to the underlying convictions about the expressive powers of different media or latent assumptions about the cognitive and affective willingness of the public that was meant to be held in a changing and hostile religious setting, have never been formulated. Several seventeenth-century writers, especially scholars, blamed miscommunication for being the main cause of misery. Language, meaning and interpretation on the one hand, media and knowledge transmission on the other thus became pre-eminent in political, scientific and religious debate. It is my contention to explore widely differing perceptions of religious ministers about the role of orality, visuals and books in the transmission of 'religious knowledge' (translation of the 17th-century term in use) and to point out the ideological assumptions about knowledge acquisition, knowledge transmission and participatory communication which underpin the elaboration and the evolution of a given media culture. In order to respect the variety of existing – conflicting - opinions within one religious group, we departed from the notions 'textual communities' and 'communicative cultures'. With this objective in mind, I chose to study the textual production of two Catholic (Jesuits and Jansenists) and two Protestant (Lutherans and Calvinists) factions by the means of a discourse analysis of polemical texts produced on these matters. The first results of our analysis show that contemporary views on early modern media cultures ought to be adjusted and contextualized to a large extent.

MEDIA, RELIGION AND IDENTITY IN MULTICULTURAL BRITAIN

Caitriona Noonan

Contact: caitriona.noonan@stir.ac.uk

This research will look at how the media in Britain deal with the challenge of representing diverse religious belief. In this thesis the focus will be on the institutional context of how religious ideologies are mediatized in broadcasting and print journalism. It will critically examine how specific groups benefit from the discourse created. The work will address the lack of enquiry made by media scholars into how pluralism shapes media practices and content. Altogether, the research adds to the public discourse on the future of multiculturalism.

It was widely believed by theorists that as society progressed scientifically and technologically, religion would become obsolete. However, the notion of a fully secularized society has itself been superseded by an acceptance that the way in which religion is practiced has evolved. Religious belief, a key source of shared values and identity, is becoming increasingly individualistic for the silent majority and increasingly politicized and fundamental for a vocal minority. This re-emergence of religion as a powerful social force cannot be understood without looking at the role of the media and how it shapes the current debates.

A series of case studies and interviews will be used to analyze the discourse and frame the current problems of editors, journalists and broadcasters in negotiating the tensions that exist between the conflicting religious ideologies. Cases such as the global controversy surrounding the publication of cartoons depicting the prophet Mohammad, the screening of Jerry Springer Opera, which satirizes Jesus and the reaction of religious institutions to the success of the Da Vinci Code, will be considered for inclusion. In each of these cases the media became both an actor and an arena in which the debates took place. The research will look at how the national media in Britain deal with such stories of a religious nature and question their approach to these stories. It will examine how issues are contextualized within the wider debate on multiculturalism; trace the origins of the information and opinion used and question editorial staff on their views on the future coverage of religious pluralism in the media. Any differences in approach between broadcasting and print towards framing the story will also be highlighted. Analysis of the cases and the interviews will then allow the researcher to discuss how the under-

standing of British identity is evolving and what role the media have in shaping this.

MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY SYSTEMS AND BRAZILIAN REALITY

Fernando Paulino

Contact: fopaulino@gmail.com

The main objective of my research is to evaluate and promote the discussion about Media and Social Responsibility in a Brazilian reality, with the European experiences (like press and 'audio-visual' councils in Portugal and Spain) in mind. The intellectual and paradigmatic starting point is the media can make use of Media Accountability Systems, as mainly analyzed by Bertrand (2002) and Pritchard (2001).

The project started with the 'SOS-Imprensa' actions. 'SOS-Imprensa' has a history of 10 years of research and outreach as a not-for-profit academic service, based on the principle that communication institutions must fulfill their social functions, which transcends their commercial interest. Through my main theoretical framework, I am trying rescue some values and questions of the liberal press theories, debated in the forties and fifties. With its liberal presuppositions as a basis, the freedom of speech is considered to be the right to communicate and to be informed, but 'it can not be conceived as a 'laissez faire''. Going beyond these liberal presuppositions, it is contended (by many) that the Press Social Responsibility Theory (SRTP) provides us with a possible basis for establishing an ethical journalism system, based on the central principle that journalists are obliged to be responsible to their readers. This model was already described by the Press Freedom Commission in USA, better known as Hutchins Commission, constituted in 1942.

Their intention was to reorient and transform the performance of the press and the, at the time, recently-established radio stations and televisions. The first Commission publication was the *A Free and Responsible Press report*, released in 1947, proposed a new press agenda and was criticized by most newspapers.

The SRTP sees the press as an institution whose goal it is to safeguard civil rights. The SRTP also attaches value to the way issues are presented to the public opinion, given its (potential) influences and repercussions in society. Today, the SRTP debate -based on the Hutchins Commission-

is still highly relevant, especially when the complexity of large media conglomerates is taken into account.

INTERNET AND DIGITALIZATION: EVOLUTION OF MUSIC LISTENING PRACTICES. WHICH RELATION(S) WITH CREATION? WHICH STATUTE(S) FOR MUSIC?

Lucien Perticoz

Contact: Lucien.Perticoz@u-grenoble3.fr

In the night of May 11th of 2006, the French Senate adopted in first reading the bill on the Royalties and the Related Rights in the Information Society (DADVSI), a project which itself was voted by the French National Assembly on March 21st of the same year. This text wants to incorporate Directive 2001/29/CE, voted on May 22nd of 2001 by the European Parliament, into French Law. The Directive aims to harmonize a number of aspects relating to the management of royalties within the Member States of the Union. This very same directive corresponds with the treaties initiated by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) in 1996.

These various texts have a main objective to make the commercial exchanges of intellectual works in the era of digitalization safe, by proposing a framework that allows reinforcing the prerogatives of the rights holders, on the level of the diffusion, of the valorization and even on the level of the uses which are made of their creation in their numerical form. Here, we will be exclusively interested in the music industry and the current difficulties music industry actors meet. These difficulties mainly concern the illegal exchange of protected musical works, via the peer-to-peer networks.

I aim to clarify the deep shift that exists between, on the one hand, the harmonization attempts of the legislative framework at the European level and, on the other hand, the reality of the consumer practices embedded in everyday life. These difficult harmonization attempts at the European institutional level, were at the same time (and with a record speed) carried out by the users. For instance MP3 file-sharing via the Internet resembles the process of vulgarizing, the last stage of an adaptation process which, according to the French researchers Mallein and Toussaint (1994), can be divided into four phases: discovery, training,

adoption and vulgarization. It appears that these new uses, initiated by the consumers themselves, are actively changing and reconfiguring the music market, by valorizing this type of creation and by expressing the intention and desire to maintain this type of creation.

This raises at least two questions, which I will try to answer. First of all, the question will be whether this attempt at legislative standardization at the European level does not suffer from several time lags caused by another process of standardization, namely the uses of the ICTs by consumers. Secondly, wouldn't it be better that the industrialists' lobbyists, with the majors taking the lead, took these societal changes into account, in stead of trying to convince the authorities to generate a series of laws?

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN MEDIA: THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN PORTUGUESE PRESS

Ana Sofia Pinto

Contact: anasofia.pinto@campus.uab.es

The implementation of equal opportunities between men and women has always been hindered by gender stereotypes that consolidate and sometimes increase the inequality between men and woman in vital aspects of life and which are still being transmitted by the main socialization agents like family, school and mediated communication. This research project is focused on media communication, and aims to detect gender stereotypes in newspapers, in order to reflect on these issues and to develop a new vision that communication professionals need to take into account when producing their articles, news, movies, television, radio or internet programs, publicity, etc.

I want to detect the gender stereotypes in the Portuguese general press, by selecting the three largest reference journals, in order to compare them on a number of categories (the sex of the journalist, the content of news items, the actors in the news items, the differences in different newspaper sections, etc.) These categories enable comparing the newspapers and allow determining trends in each of the newspapers, but will also allow discussing the situation of the Portuguese general press. Apart from describing the gender representations in the press, my

aim is also to explain the this gendered nature of these representations and the differences this brings along.

Originally, the press was dominated by male professionals. Since the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth century, women started to occupy a minority position. Nowadays, the number of female journalists is approximating the number of male journalists, and it is expected to grow further. In Portugal, female journalists now represent 37,2% (Sindicato de Jornalistas, 2000). This percentage may increase in the near future, as the presence of women in the communication department of the universities is increasing.

The question then becomes: If we have almost an equal number of male and female media professionals, why do both groups prefer to produce more news about men? Why are women not considered as an informative source? Why does it still happen that power and rationality are still considered male characteristics? With this project I want to give an answer to this representational imbalance and to contribute to changing the journalistic minds and practices.

BEYOND TRANSMISSION PERSPECTIVES ON RESEARCH COMMUNICATION – ANALYZING THE 'FOOD CHAIN' FROM RESEARCHER TO MEDIA USER

Ursula Plesner

Contact: uplesner@ruc.dk

The present project focuses on the problem of communicating research; in a knowledge society, developments within both communication theory and the political domain have lead to a demand for both more, better, and dialogical research communication. Research must be communicated to a broader audience, both for legitimating purposes and in the name of democratization.

The project will set out to investigate the working hypothesis, that most initiatives launched to improve the quality of research communication still focus on one-way communication via the mass media (e.g. press releases); are not based on new (post-foundationalist) theoretical insights regarding dialogical communication; and do not cater to the different needs of different target groups.

Research knowledge can be communicated in various alternative ways (e.g. science cafés, interactive research, etc.), but my project asks if it makes sense to look at communication via the mass media as a series of interactions between different forms of culturally and socially specific knowledge (inspired by Bruno Latour), and thus as an inherently dialogical practice… To investigate this question, the project follows concrete knowledge claims of the research network 'Civil Society and New Forms of Government in Europe' as they travel through the 'food chain' from researchers over communication professionals and journalists to media users.

Empirical investigations:
1) Review of public debates on knowledge production and – communication
2) Explorative interviews with communication professionals and journalists
3) Detailed study of the production, communication and consumption of research communication related to a work package of the network 'Civil Society and New Forms of Government in Europe'
   a. Interviews with Danish researchers, communication professionals and journalists
   b. Participant observation at meetings and interviews where actors from different domains interact
   c. Focus group interviews with media users (reception studies)

1) and 2) are meant to shed light on present practices and views regarding communication of social scientific knowledge 3) is the 'food chain study'

1) and 2) will form the basis of institutional/organizational analyses, while the concrete interactions in 3) will be analyzed as an interplay between different discourses.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES, GROUPS AND HIERARCHIES IN FINNISH AND DUTCH MAGAZINES

Reeta Pöyhtäri

Contact: reeta.poyhtari@uta.fi

Media and media representations play a significant role, when considering the position of ethnic groups within contemporary societies. Media and discourses in the media form one of those arenas, within which representations, social relationships, identities and roles of people and groups of people are negotiated and constructed. Following the idea of social constructivism, the discourses in the media are not only a reflection of reality, but they also elaborate on the construction of a certain kind of reality.

By studying magazines in the activity of ethnic identity formation, it is then possible to gain information about the relations between ethnic groups in a multicultural society and about the role of the media in reproduction of these relations. The general aim of this doctoral dissertation is to get a closer look at the way in which Finnish and Dutch magazines are representing ethnic group identities and relations (hierarchies) between ethnic groups. By studying the representations and discourses in magazines, research questions concerning the creation and meanings of ethnic group identities and the dynamics between different types of identities – not only ethnic identities, but also different social identities created – will be answered. Also the differences and variations in the representations of ethnic identities in different types of magazines and magazines produced in two different societies will be studied.

The material of the study consists of 'functionally equivalent' magazines from Finland and the Netherlands, which will form pairs for comparison. The current selection includes a pair of news magazines, women's magazines, trade union magazines and university/student magazines. The period of the study includes annual volumes from 2003 to 2006. Primarily texts and secondarily illustrations that present ethnic groups or handle issues concerning ethnic groups will be studied. The study method consists of a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative discourse analysis of selected texts and illustrations, based on sociological, cultural, media, discourse and linguistic theories.

By comparing different types of magazines, the study will contribute to knowledge about the representations of fragmented ethnic group identities that magazines produce for different public groups/audiences.

The comparison of magazines produced in two different societies can help understanding the influence of different society specific factors on the representation of ethnic groups in the media. Finally the results also possibly produce information to media and journalists themselves about how they recognize and treat ethnic groups and how it could be done differently.

PUBLIC JOURNALISM AND PUBLIC SPHERE(S): THREE CASES FROM THE FINNISH PRESS

Laura Ruusunoksa

Contact: laura.ruusunoksa@uta.fi

Public journalism is an everyday research activity in which new forms of journalism are tested. It is originally an American reform movement aimed at getting the press to rethink its commitment to the ideals of democratic participation. This research project aims to frame some of the Finnish public journalism experiments with the evaluative vocabulary they often lack and shed light to further developments of public journalism in Finnish newspapers.

The study takes a detailed look at Finnish newsrooms and analyzes how the call for more participatory forms of journalism have been interpreted and translated into experimental practice. What does the 'civic turn' in journalism mean for professional ideals of journalists? The work focuses on three Finnish newspapers from different levels of media sphere: citizen-oriented election coverage of Helsingin Sanomat [the leading daily], discussion/dialogue-based journalism in Aamulehti [provincial leader with a national ambition] and the civic reporter of Itä-Häme [sub-provincial leader]. This distribution provides rich data concerning the local-national-global-dimension which is one of the main strands of debate in recent public sphere theories.

Methodologically, the study is built of interviews and some interventionist, participant observation. While the main part of the data has been gathered by interviewing journalists who have been part of public journalism experiments, some experiences are also collected through participating in the planning and execution of journalistic experiments. The analysis will combine textual analysis of the news stories with interpretation of the interviews and experiences in the newsroom.

Looking at the participatory innovations in Finnish journalism enables us to see how the traditional modern normative commitments of Finnish newspaper journalism are modified. In doing this, the study also provides vital information on how the cultural influence of ideas and concepts developed in a different kind of setting are translated into experiments of new kinds of journalism. These negotiations between the `old' and `new' virtues of journalism, between `foreign' and `domestic' traditions, between `marketing' and `participatory practices' provide us a vivid picture of the changes in the Finnish journalistic field and the ways in which one tradition with its habits and commitments receives new influences and learns from them.

ELECTRONIC DEMOCRACY: NEW MECHANISMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Paula Segovia

Contact: segoviapaula@yahoo.es

Nowadays the Polis, conceived by Aristotle and seen as a place of direct citizen participation, can transfer, thanks to the technology, certain functions from the real city to cyberspace. This would enable a new civilization, based on the real time, where no time lag exists between the conception of an idea and its accomplishment.

The agora, the public seat, the town council or the ballot box, to mention some, gain another presence trough new technological channels that they enrich these practices or transform them. The Web and television become new mechanisms of participation. The Web has its strong interactive potential and everyday power, but also television breaks with its traditional passivity, and becomes more of an interactive technology through the switch to digital television. The objective of this research project is to define the degrees of citizen participation, as ways to select, transform and construct new citizen proposals through the return channels of these new forms of political electronic communication. The aim also is to elaborate a methodology for the evaluation of citizen participation, measuring the degrees of excellence of televised electronic democracy.

The empirical focus will be on the Catalonian 'Canal Parlament', which was the first parliamentary television channel within the Spanish

state, and the first in Europe created by a non-state parliament. It is conceived as a free service to interactive publics and complements the institutional Website that transmits in real time, which also has links to independent websites that enable direct contract between political elites and citizens

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DIGITAL TERRESTRIAL TELEVISION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC INTERVENTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, SWEDEN AND SPAIN

Roberto Suárez Candel

Contact: roberto.suarez@upf.edu

The migration to digital television is one of the most notable transformation processes that the European Audiovisual sector is facing at this moment. It supposes not only technological innovation but also great changes in the structure of the sector, the need to redefine the regulatory framework and the implementation of new business models; all together in an international scenario of convergence and globalization. But in addition, this migration also raises questions related to the social nature of communication, concerning the needs and rights of citizenship and the role of public institutions in the whole process.

Digitalization of television has already become a research topic but is frequently treated with biased perspectives. Therefore, one of the objectives of this PhD dissertation is to carry out an accurate analysis in order to determine: What is really digitalization? How does it transform the media system? And, which are its main agents and phases? Systematizing digitalization as a transformation process would be useful to understand the changes that it causes, to face its obstacles and to forecast its consequences and benefits in a realistic way.

Within this process, I am especially interested in public intervention. Deregulation is claimed by private agents as a measure to boost development. Public international institutions also seem to feel more comfortable with a 'light-touch' policy style that relies mainly on market competition. However, the implementation of Digital Terrestrial Television is an area where public intervention is specially challenged. The strong links between public service and terrestrial broadcasting create a specific

context where the migration strategies that have already been used by satellite and cable commercial operators cannot be directly applied. Furthermore, the terrestrial broadcasting has a national character, being an important tool to create or shape identities and public opinion. For these reasons, despite the involvement of the European Union and other international political and economic forces, the migration of terrestrial broadcasting towards the digital is an affair that Member States wish and have to deal with by themselves.

Considering this context, my PhD dissertation has as main objective to compare the public strategies in the first three European countries implementing DTT: United Kingdom, Sweden and Spain. The migration process has demonstrated to be quite more complicated than expected. The initial plans of these three states have suffered important modifications. The different backgrounds and policy traditions of these study cases ensure the richness of the comparative analysis and its results. It could be a tool that might allow us to detect which are the main problems of digitalization and to find out possible solutions to improve the migration processes, not only in the analyzed states but also in the rest of EU Members. Therefore, this PhD dissertation might be interesting for public and private agents involved in the ongoing migration process towards digital broadcasting.

AFFINITY AND BATTLEFIELD

Nina Svane-Mikkelsen

Contact: Nina.Svane-Mikkelsen@infomedia.uib.no

The museums of cultural and natural history communicate national and local heritage from a broad range of scientific categories to a public audience. Museums have specific ways of communicating: The exhibition is most often the core of the mediation, the most important tool and characteristic, and can in a direct way show the thoughts and ideas behind what a museum wishes to communicate to its audiences. Museums are media- and learning institutions that to a large degree define what is considered common heritage of the national state and define the values of the community through the stories they present. Thus they have been and still are strong symbols of power.

In the dissertation I investigate institutionalized science – and culture communication seeing it as specific media and communication practices

to be analyzed, discussed and negotiated. A primary focus (a) is on development and implementation of new digital technology for supporting museum and science communication. Other foci are: (b) the cross-disciplinary situation often found in these communication development settings and possible affects on the communication result due to power structures in play, and (c) aesthetic issues – form and genre characteristics, modes of communication and media specificity within digitally supported science- and culture communication.

Both the old museum medium and new digital media can be described as spatial and object-oriented, and thus multi-medial – the museum in a physical sense, new media in a virtual sense. The shared qualities might help us understand forms of communication at museums; how museums communicate best through the physical exhibition space and how new digital media technology (like for instance computer games) can be implemented as part of the communication-landscape. This is an argument of this work and will be further elaborated in the aesthetic analysis with an emphasis on the database versus the narrative as different forms of communication.

Practical development of works of science communication is part of the methodology and provides research data to both (a), (b) and (c). Participation in (1) the development of a computer learning game for children communicating maritime biology and (2) the development of a physical learning installation (comprising digital parts) to a science center on the same theme make up the empirical cornerstone of the project. It provides a cross-disciplinary group work situation that will be approached with different fieldwork methods like participating observation, using video as documentation media, supplemented by qualitative interviews. Furthermore all developed design documents will be available for analysis in all stages of development. Thus both the documentation of the process of aesthetical and technical development AND the final communication results, the computer learning game and the installation, will constitute the pool of research data that make up the basis of the analysis in the dissertation.

NATIONAL FRAMING OF EU-RELATED EVENTS

Indrek Treufeldt

Contact: indrek.treufeldt@etv.ee

This research project examines the construction of reality in different national (public) spaces. It aims to describe the main features of the national framing of social events and to create a model for multidimensional analysis.

It is widely expected that with a common set of events (a true reality) a similar interpretation (or a universal interpretation) should be expected. National differences could namely be justified by communication problems or problems with the journalistic coverage. This is a dominant approach in various EU institutions, strongly promoting a common interest and a common agenda. At the same time, national media institutions tend to cover similar topics that are clearly interpreted in different ways.

The term framing was originally introduced, to theorize the organization of fragmentary items of experience or information (see Goffman, Tuchman). Typically, framing analysis embraces one essential marker (such as a discrimination frame, a Holocaust frame, etc.). According to Entman, framing involves selection and salience. Framing could be first of all handled as a tool for moral evaluation. But there are numerous factors that can determine national framing. National interpretation is a complex multidimensional instrument; among the elements involved are: modality, actors described and quoted, various discursive strategies such as justification, perpetuation or dismantling (Wodak). To a great extent, framing processes mark varying degrees of commitment to truth, necessity or intermediation between categorical assertion and denial i.e. modality, which is defined as a relationship between authors (journalistic coverage) and representations.

There are also various (national) representations of time and space. Hypothetically there are different national public spaces with certain 'sacred areas' of interpretation, that have a small level of dialogicality (limited relations between different approaches) and areas, which are considered as a subject to strong criticism (obvious dialogicality).

My critical qualitative analysis of journalistic texts is based on the media coverage of a EU-summit. In December 2005, heads of state and governments gathered to discuss the future budget of the Union. A draft for the budget was proposed by the British presidency of the EU; it was

vividly criticized by all other member states and clearly different national positions were revealed shortly before the Summit. The cross-national research is carried out on a sample of articles in national newspapers of Germany, France and Great Britain. Those countries are selected as different national spaces, firstly determined by different languages and media cultures.

DIGITAL COMMUNICATION, NEW MEDIA AND PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL POLITICS: PROSPECTS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

Bjarki Valtysson

Contact: bjarki@ruc.dk

My PhD project intends to analyze the impact of digital communication and new media on EU's cultural policy. The aim of my study is on the one hand to apply an extended version of critical theory to construct a theoretical model that is capable of serving as a tool to form and develop modern cultural policy; and on the other hand to use this model on my empirical research, which will outline a possible future cultural policy of the European Union. Recent developments within digital communication and new media have altered the cultural landscape, and the model I intend to construct will react to these changes and propose a possible solution to some challenges that the digitalization of culture has caused. Amongst those challenges is the notion of remixable culture, where new means of digital intervention, participation and distribution have opened up new possibilities and challenges to the field of cultural policy. The culture-political model will especially focus its attention on the notion of digital cultural public spheres, and the future role they can have on EU's cultural policy.

The theoretical model is made up of what I refer to as a Networked Theory of Communicative Action, where Jürgen Habermas' societal distinction between system and life world, with their intermediating public spheres, serves as a foundation. In addition to Habermas' writings, Manuel Castells' notion of the global network of new media, and Lev Manovich's account of culture of remixability, will add a networked, cross-cultural perspective to the theory, as well as to demonstrate the possible culture-political role of digital cultural public spheres.

In order to exemplify the changes digital communication and new media have on cultural policy, I will analyze net-artworks, the Super-channel project of the Danish art group Superflex, and the BBC's Creative Archive project. These three examples are good indicators on how digital communication and new media are capable of forming legal digital cultural public spheres. These public spheres are readily available for the general public, thereby fulfilling EU's objectives of enhancing cultural creativity, diversity, and participation.

THE DISCOURSE ABOUT THE USER OF COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE FLEMISH CATHOLIC AND SOCIALIST PRESS WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF RADIO (1923–1936) AND TELEVISION IN BELGIUM (1947–1960)

Wim Vanobberghen

Contact: wim.vanobberghen@vub.ac.be

The introduction of new communication and information technologies and the Internet in particular was accompanied by utopian (Negroponte, 1996; Gates, 1996; Dyson, 1997; Cairncross, 1997; …) and dystopian visions (Postman, 1996; Rochlin, 1997; …) about their societal impact. Both optimistic and pessimistic discourses make us believe that we enter a new fundamental era in which 'new media' will change every aspect of our political, social, cultural and economical life, resulting finally in the emergence of this so-called Information Society. Some scholars (Flichy, 2001; Mosco, 2004) have stressed the media deterministic and a-historical character of these rhetorics. Although there is ample work on how the introduction of new media in the past was discussed in the United States (Marvin, 1988; Douglas, 1988; Spigel, 1992; Boddy, 2004), in Europe and Belgium this research is only emerging. Moreover this European research has not focused thoroughly on popular accounts about the introduction of 'new' media in the past, but deals mostly with general accounts of the visions articulated by a range of special interest groups as the industrial, professional and political constituencies. The way new media forged their way into the home as well as the 'dream worlds' or 'doom scenarios' which are in this process told to the ordinary consumer are most of the time neglected. These 'vernacular theories' of once new

media can be found in sources such as newspapers, advertisements and popular magazines which have too often been ignored by media historians. This doctoral research project will analyze the debates that accompanied the introduction of radio (1923 – 1936) and television (1953 – 1960) in the Flemish Socialist and Catholic press (popular newspapers, general magazines, magazines for women, television and radio weeklies, technical magazines and advertisements found in those sources) and compare those dreams and fears with the rhetoric's surrounding the introduction of new information and communication technologies. Through this historical analysis, we hope to be able to demystify, falsify and or verify if the current discourses and expectations about the information society are radically different from or on the contrary show similarities with those visions that have been pronounced with the introduction of new communication technologies in the past. Historical analysis may thus in this context provide a better understanding of the information society as a revolution or, on the contrary, an evolution.

RADIO AND THE TENDENCY TO SHAPE MUSICAL DIVERSITY

Amandine Viale

Contact: amandine.viale@free.fr

Today, few analysis or studies regarding the diffusion of music on radio are debated publicly. Radio remains a medium which rarely makes the news, and does not gain much academic attention (in a vulgarized form or not). Although there are specialized think-thanks, its academics condemn the lack of literature focusing on recent evolutions that concern radio. This situation seems to originate from the age of this medium, but also the relatively slow evolution of radio does not attract much attention. Abundantly available in each western country, the strength of this medium seems to be forgotten. Radio indeed accompanies us on a daily basis for several hours, making us forget that we do not have direct access to the actual production.

The program managers of French music radio stations offer a number of carefully selected titles, chosen according to criteria that are specific to the radio industry. This aspect becomes apparent because a few leading titles are often selected, instead of a diversity of artists. In short, artists do not have equal access to FM stations. From a historical, the domination of play-lists, despised by artists, has been on a constant increase

constant. The conception of these play-lists depends on the preferences and strategies of radio program managers and artistic advisers. They can also change according to the results of general surveys, accurately analyzed by radio professionals. The power of these surveys is not to be underestimated. According to Gilles Seydoux, former managing director of Chérie FM, a decrease of 0,3 point of audience represents a loss of 2 286 735.2 millions of euros in advertisement. '*Following a logic based on the audience, we are constantly required to conduct surveys. If somebody was to not take the results into account, it could kill the radio. A radio buys and throws away, it is that simple,*' explains Christophe Sabot, General Director of Europe 2. While there is a debate regarding the necessity to preserve the cultural uniqueness of radio within a competitive market, radio seems to indirectly suggest a restrictive model of music, which is hardly ever contested because of its invisibility. This aspect is all the more embarrassing since today, this medium remains one of the leading means of the music diffusion and an important actor in the music market that allows artists to communicate with their audience.

THE DETERMINANTS OF EASTERN EUROPE COVERAGE IN GERMAN NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

Ines Wolter

Contact: iwolter@uni-leipzig.de

In my PhD project I want to answer the question about the determinants that influence the Eastern European coverage in national German newspapers. The aim will be to overcome the limitations of event-oriented and context-oriented approaches off international news coverage that deal with determinants at different levels. With the aid of the Structuration Theory by Giddens I will integrate both approaches, the analysis of personal decision-making processes in contrast to the appraisal of country traits and their interrelations. This theory combines social structures and human agency. Structures – divided in rules and resources – are produced and reproduced in social action and interaction. This study will examine how structures at different levels enable or constrain the (inter)acting of correspondents. Three levels of structures can be distinguished: cognitive, organizational and interorganizational ones according to the generally understanding of defining levels. Furthermore, the

direction of influences between these levels will be analyzed. The question will be at which level certain determinants start to affect the news content. Concretely, how deal correspondents with sources from different levels and what are their chances to get covered?

A multi-method design will be used to analyze the connection between these several levels of structures affecting foreign news content. A content analysis of specific event types identifies the variations in dealing with an issue in different newspapers. Afterwards the responsible journalists will be confronted with these distinctive results in semi-structured interviews. They will be asked to legitimize their selection news content in comparison to the choices of competing newspapers. Additionally, participant observations in the correspondents' editorial offices, and interviews with the international news editors of home editorial offices will enrich and validate my findings.