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SComS
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Editorial

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Dear SComS readers,

The publication of issue 20(2) of SComS marks an important occasion, namely the 20th anniversary of our journal, which was founded at USI – Università della Svizzera italiana twenty years ago, and consequently published its first issue in early 2001. As you might know, SComS was merged with *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz* (a publication by the SACM – Swiss Association of Communication and Media Research) in 2007, keeping the name *Studies in Communication Sciences*. Seizing the occasion of this achievement, we would like to share some important information with you. First, speaking about the history of our journal, we remind you that the early issues of SComS and of *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz* are fully accessible on our website (section “Archives”), thanks to our collaboration with e-periodica. Second, we are happy to announce that SComS now has an *online first* publishing policy, meaning that articles are quickly made available online. This policy increases the pace and visibility of articles published in SComS, which is a clear advantage for both our authors and readers. Finally, if you wish to receive regular updates on news, thematic sections and articles published, we encourage you to follow SComS on Twitter (@SComS_Journal).

Moving on to discuss the contents of SComS 20(2), we are pleased to announce that this issue contains a variety of topics and perspectives in our field. Alongside a General Section and a Thematic Section, it also contains a Community Section, in which we publish a summary of the PhD thesis that has won the SACM Dissertation Award 2020. Finally, this issue includes a Reviews and Reports Section that com-

prises two book reviews of recent publications in our field and a report on a scientific workshop held in Zurich.

The three articles included in the General Section deal with different spheres and practices in communication. In «Sprachniveau in Online- und TV-Nachrichten: Eine quantitative computergestützte Textanalyse der Online- und TV-Berichterstattung von ARD, ZDF, Sat.1 und RTL», Benjamin P. Lange, Aylin Bayirli and Frank Schwab propose an evaluation of the language level of German online news from public and private sectors comparing them with the language level of original TV news transcriptions. Their analysis is based on quantitative methods, and relies on the program *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count*, which allows a computer-aided text analysis of language level according to different standard parameters (such as vocabulary diversity, word complexity and sentence complexity). The findings of this paper show that online news have a higher language level according to some of the considered parameters, which can be explained due to the differences between written and oral language. This study also shows that online news are more similar among them than TV news are, which is interpreted by Lange and colleagues as a phenomenon of *convergence* of online media versus the *concurrence* of TV systems with different goals and traditions.

The second article of the general section, entitled “How to play... popular music: Didactic action and the display of musical expertise in online tutorials” and written by Christofer Jost, investigates musical practices on social media, examining the display of expertise within the field of popular music-related online tutorials distributed on YouTube. More specifically, Jost

studies how musical knowledge is embodied in performative acts during the tutorials and how this embodiment is processed via audio-visual media. On the basis of the analysis of a sample of YouTube clips, the author discusses current trends in online tutorials of popular music, concluding that the following characteristics are salient: gender-related and national disparities, a tendency to professionalization and emergent recurring didactic patterns, which are partly dependent on the specific YouTube environment.

Finally, in “‘My kid, my rule’: Governing children’s digital footprints as a source of dialectical tensions between mothers and daughters-in-law”, Davide Cino and Chiara Dalledonne Vandini shed light on communication issues emerging from the delicate interaction of the private, “domestic” sphere and the public sphere on social media. They investigate social media dilemmas (SMDs) that mothers experience regarding their children’s social media presence, for example when their mothers-in-law engage in online sharing about their offspring, thus going against mothers’ expectations about their own agency and violating their boundary expectations. Cino and Dalledonne Vandini’s article is based on the analysis of 224 online posts from discussion threads, in which mothers discuss and seek support on this topic. Findings from this study reveal the main boundary issues experienced by mothers in relation to mothers-in-law sharing about their grandchildren. More in general, this paper explores dialectical tensions between the nuclear and the extended family regarding SMDs and opens questions about the inter-generational negotiation of boundaries in family communication.

This issue’s Thematic Section is entitled “The dissolving boundaries of hybrid journalism” and concerned with current transformations of journalism, its shifting boundaries, and the advent of new forms of journalistic work that are often based on collaborations with actors outside the journalistic field, such as activists or hackers, or that use technological innovations such as information security tools, algo-

rithms, artificial intelligence or machine learning. In addition to their introductory guest editorial, the guest editors Colin Porlezza and Philip Di Salvo have collected three papers that focus on “hybrid journalism” from various perspectives and that aim at discerning ongoing transformations of journalism against the background of networked communication and datafication. The examined topics include, e.g., a detailed discussion of the concept and theoretical origin of *hybridity* and the usefulness of this concept for grasping the changing character of (digital) journalism. Furthermore, the approach of practice-theoretical journalism research is presented as one example of theoretical toolboxes that provide alternate and innovative perspectives for analyzing digital journalism. Finally, new and controversial “hybrid players”, such as hackers that become journalistic sources, are examined regarding the implications for the negotiation of journalistic roles, norms and practices. For more information on the Thematic Section, we invite you to read the introduction by our guest editors.

Another feature of this issue is a Community Section, in which SComS provides an arena for current debates and important issues in Swiss Communication and Media Research. As you might know, this section is also used for announcements that are relevant to the field. We are very proud to dedicate the Community Section in SComS 20(2) to a particularly pleasant announcement, as this section contains the summary of Florence Van Hove’s doctoral thesis. In 2020, Florence Van Hove was awarded the SACM Dissertation Award for her thesis entitled «Médias d’actualité, journalistes et publics sur Twitter: vers un renouvellement des relations?». The SACM Dissertation Award annually honors the best PhD thesis in communication and media research completed at a Swiss University, or by researchers of Swiss origin. We congratulate Florence Van Hove on this achievement and invite our audience to read the summary of her innovative and inspiring work that is dedicated to the analysis of transforming relationships between media actors and their audiences

against the background of the increasing relevance of social media for digital journalism.

This issue is concluded by two book reviews and a workshop report. The book reviews discuss work published in the field of communication studies within the last two years. In chronological order, Marcel Verhoeven reviews Ursula Ganz-Blättler's "Signs of time: Cumulative narrative in broadcast television fiction". Sabine Witt reviews the recent edited volume by Adrian Aebi, Susan Göldi, and Mirjam Weder entitled «Schrift – Bild – Ton. Beiträge zum multimodalen Schreiben in Bildung und professioneller Kommunikation». In order to foster scientific dialogue across different languages and communi-

ties, SComS publishes an English translation of this latter review, alongside its original version in German.

In the last contribution, Corinne Schweizer reports on this year's «Zukunftswerkstatt» of the Ulrich Saxer Foundation that took place on 23 October 2020 in hybrid form at the University of Zurich. The participants of the workshop examined the question of whether "Media Labs" were just a fancy label for already existing forms of collaboration or whether they could enable innovative forms of working and conducting research in the field of media and communication research.

We hope our readers will enjoy this issue with its manifold contents and approaches!

Sara Greco & Katharina Lobinger

SComS

General Section

Volume 20 (2020), Issue 2

Sprachniveau in Online- und TV-Nachrichten: Eine quantitative computergestützte Textanalyse der Online- und TV-Berichterstattung von ARD, ZDF, Sat.1 und RTL

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Abstract

Nachrichten stellen ein beliebtes Forschungsfeld der Kommunikationsforschung dar. In der entsprechenden deutschsprachigen Forschung werden vielfach die Hauptnachrichten der beiden deutschen Rundfunksysteme (öffentlich-rechtlich vs. privat) miteinander verglichen – zuletzt z. B. hinsichtlich ihres Sprachniveaus. Allerdings existiert wenig Forschung, die sich dem Online-Nachrichtenangebot widmet. Daher lag unser Ziel in der Analyse des Sprachniveaus von deutschen Online-Nachrichtenangeboten beider Systeme sowie einzelner Sender (ARD, ZDF, RTL SAT.1) mit Hilfe von vier Kategorien des Textanalyseprogramms Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count sowie von zwei weiteren Massen (Umgangssprache, Fleisch-Index), die unterschiedliche Dimensionen des Sprachniveaus erfassen. In Form einer künstlichen Nachrichtenwoche wurden insgesamt 84 Online-Nachrichtentexte hinsichtlich ihres Sprachniveaus analysiert. Online-Nachrichten der Privatsender wiesen durchschnittlich längere Texte und mehr Wörter pro Satz auf. Ein Unterschied hinsichtlich Wortschatzdiversität und Wortkomplexität konnte nicht gefunden werden. Die Ergebnisse zum Fleisch-Index zeigen, dass Online-Nachrichten beider Systeme ähnlich schwer verständlich sind. Diese Ergebnisse wurden aktuellen Daten zum Sprachniveau klassischer TV-Nachrichten gegenübergestellt. Dabei wurde evident, dass Online-Nachrichten höhere Werte bei einigen Markern des Sprachniveaus aufwiesen, was u. a. mit Hilfe des Kontinuums Mündlichkeit-Schriftlichkeit kontextualisierbar ist, und dass sich das Sprachniveau in Online-Nachrichten zwischen den Systemen und Sendern, im Unterschied zu TV-Nachrichten, eher ähnelte, was im ersten Fall als Konvergenz, im zweiten als Konkurrenz interpretiert werden kann.

Keywords

Online-Nachrichten, Sprachniveau, sprachliche Gewandtheit, Eloquenz, quantitative computergestützte Textanalyse

1 Einleitung

Nachrichten erfüllen in modernen Informationsgesellschaften eine zentrale Aufgabe bei der Vermittlung von tagesaktuellen Informationen (z. B. Schwiesau & Ohler, 2016; Unz & Schwab, 2004). Eine spezielle Rolle wird hierbei dem Fernsehen zugeschrieben, da es sich um das am meisten genutzte Medium handelt, durch welches die Mehrheit der Bürger¹

in Deutschland adressiert werden kann (Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Unz & Schwab, 2004; Zubayr & Gerhard, 2018). Das Fernsehen kann damit als zentrale Informationsquelle der Gesellschaft angesehen werden (Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Zubayr & Gerhard, 2018).

Nachrichten, insbesondere TV-Nachrichten, stellen daher einen beliebten und viel untersuchten Gegenstandsbereich

und der einfacheren Lesbarkeit und impliziert gleichermassen die weibliche Form («Bürgerin»). Es sind stets Personen jeden Geschlechts gleichermassen gemeint.

1 Die vorliegende Arbeit verwendet das generische Maskulinum (z. B. «Bürger») aus Gründen der sprachlichen Vereinfachung



der Medien- und Kommunikationsforschung dar (Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Unz & Schwab, 2004; Wittwen, 1995). Vielfach wurden in entsprechenden deutschen Forschungsarbeiten die Nachrichtenformate der beiden deutschen Rundfunksysteme (öffentlich-rechtliche vs. private Sender; im Folgenden meist kurz: System) miteinander verglichen (z. B. Krüger, 1998; Lange, Kouros & Schwab, 2019; Weiss, 2003; Wittwen, 1995).

Unter anderem wurden TV-Nachrichten dabei hinsichtlich ihres Sprachniveaus untersucht (z. B. Krüger, 2009; Lange et al., 2019). Dabei wurde u. a. deutlich, dass sich die TV-Nachrichten der öffentlich-rechtlichen Nachrichtensender (im Folgenden: ÖRS) durch ein in vielerlei Hinsicht höheres Sprachniveau auszeichnen als die der Privatsender (im Folgenden PS), wobei insbesondere die Tagesschau durch ihr hohes Sprachniveau herausstach.

Nachrichten werden mittlerweile und zunehmend aber auch online rezipiert (z. B. Arnold, 2016). Während jedoch Forschung zur sprachlichen Gestaltung klassischer TV-Nachrichten vorliegt (z. B. Lange et al., 2019), mangelt es an derartiger Forschung zu Online-Nachrichten. An dieser Forschungslücke setzt der vorliegende Beitrag an.

Zunächst legen wir den Forschungsstand zu Online- und TV-Nachrichten dar. Diesbezüglich beginnen wir mit einer Darlegung des Selbstverständnisses der öffentlich-rechtlichen verglichen mit dem der privaten Nachrichtensender. Im Anschluss gehen wir detailliert auf bisherige Ansätze und Forschungsergebnisse zur sprachlichen Gestaltung von Nachrichten ein. Daran anknüpfend thematisieren wir den Unterschied zwischen Information und Unterhaltung in Nachrichtenformaten und wie sich dieser Unterschied sprachlich ausdrückt. Schliesslich gehen wir auf Online-Nachrichten ein, um aus dem Dargelegten die Forschungsfrage, ob sich Unterschiede im Sprachniveau zwischen den beiden Rundfunksystemen und zwischen den einzelnen Sendern in Online-Nachrichten finden lassen, sowie eine Hypothese abzuleiten, die dann empirisch untersucht wurden.

2 Forschungsstand zu Online- und TV-Nachrichten

In diesem Kapitel legen wir den für unsere Arbeit relevanten Forschungsstand zu Online- und TV-Nachrichten dar. Schwerpunkte sind dabei grundsätzliche Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Rundfunksystemen und einzelnen Sendern sowie die sprachliche Gestaltung verschiedener Nachrichtenangebote.

2.1 Das Selbstverständnis der öffentlich-rechtlichen und privaten Nachrichtensender

Die TV-Nachrichtenangebote der beiden Systeme können hinsichtlich ihres Selbstverständnisses bezüglich des Informations- und Unterhaltungsgehalts differenziert werden. Die Programmrichtlinien der ÖRS unterliegen in Deutschland, anders als die der PS, dem Rundfunkstaatsvertrag. Ersteren kann deshalb eine gewisse Pflicht unterstellt werden, ihren Zuschauern möglichst neutrale Informationen darzubieten, die einen gleichfalls möglichst objektiven Überblick über das Weltgeschehen vermitteln, zur Meinungsbildung beitragen und damit zur Teilnahme am politischen Geschehen befähigen (Halff, 1998; Unz & Schwab, 2004). Trotz einiger Kritik an den ÖRS haben Zuschauer ein hohes Vertrauen in deren Sendungen und sprechen diesen eine hohe Glaubwürdigkeit zu, was sich u. a. an der gleichbleibend grossen Reichweite dieser Nachrichtenformate zeigt (Krüger & Zampf-Schramm, 2018; Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy & Nielsen, 2018; Unz & Schwab, 2004; Zubayr & Gerhard, 2018).

Demgegenüber steht das Selbstverständnis der PS, das sich vor allem über die Nähe zum Zuschauer definieren lässt (Krüger, 1998); sie zielen eher darauf ab, bestimmte Grundbedürfnisse der Bürger anzusprechen, sowie Nachrichten für alle Zuschauer verständlich zu vermitteln (Krüger, 1998). So stellen PS bewusst Themen aus dem Alltagsgeschehen, von denen Menschen persönlich betroffen sind, sowie zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen in den Mittelpunkt der Berichterstattung (Kamps, 1998; Krüger, 1998;

Krüger & Zampf-Schramm, 2018; Unz & Schwab, 2004). Dies soll den Zuschauern vermutlich ein breites «Empathieangebot» (Kamps, 1998, S. 43) unterbreiten, so dass sie sich leichter mit den gezeigten Inhalten identifizieren können und somit emotional involviert werden (Krüger & Zampf-Schramm, 2018). Unz und Schwab (2004) sprechen in diesem Kontext von einer Einflussnahme auf das Rezeptionserleben durch eine emotionale und moralische Adressierung des Rezipienten. Insgesamt kann insbesondere bei den Nachrichten der PS von einer Unterhaltungsorientierung gesprochen werden, die vielfach mit den Begriffen des Infotainments und der Boulevardisierung in Verbindung gebracht wird (Bartel, 1997; Bruck & Stocker, 1996; Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Wittwen, 1995).

2.2 Nachrichten und ihre sprachliche Gestaltung

Die unterschiedlichen Philosophien der beiden Systeme wirken sich darauf aus, wie versucht wird, auf das Rezeptionserleben der Zuschauer Einfluss zu nehmen, d. h. darauf, wie der Zuschauer adressiert wird (Unz & Schwab, 2004). Dies kann auf visuell-bildlicher, aber auch auf sprachlicher Ebene geschehen (z. B. Brosius, 1998; Burger & Luginbühl, 2014; Machill, Köhler, Waldhauser, 2006; McQuail, 2001; Paetzold, 1973; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; White, 1950).

Hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Ebene hat die vorherige Forschung (Lange et al., 2019) u. a. das sog. Sprachniveau von TV-Nachrichten in den Blick genommen, d. h. die Frage verfolgt, wie sprachlich gewandt bzw. eloquent sich die Nachrichtensprache darstellt. Sprachniveau wird hierbei als wertfreier Begriff verstanden, der sich als (partiell) synonym zu sprachlicher Gewandtheit sowie Eloquenz auffassen und sich u. a. über Wortschatzdiversität (Anteil unterschiedlicher Wörter), Wortkomplexität (grob: Länge der Wörter) und Satzkomplexität (grob: Länge der Sätze) definieren lässt (s. Lange, 2012; Lange, 2016; Lange, Hennighausen, Brill & Schwab, 2016; Lange, Bögemann & Zaretsky, 2017; s. dazu auch weiter u.). Die bei-

den dabei wesentlich verfolgten Fragen lauteten: Ist die Nachrichtensprache eher elaboriert oder eher einfach und schlicht? Und lassen sich diesbezüglich Unterschiede einerseits zwischen den Angeboten der beiden Systeme und andererseits der einzelnen Sender (d. h. ARD, ZDF, RTL und Sat.1; im Folgenden meist kurz: Sender) feststellen?

In der Gesamtschau kann von einem höheren Sprachniveau der ÖRS die Rede sein (Lange et al., 2019; s. auch Wittwen, 1995). Lange et al. (2019) konnten mit einer quantitativen computergestützten Textanalyse der Sprache in den Hauptnachrichtensendungen der vier Sender mittels der Textanalyse-Software Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC; s. Wolf, Horn, Mehl, Haug, Pennebaker & Kordy, 2008) zeigen, dass die ÖRS moderat effektstark komplexere Wörter und hoch effektstark komplexere Sätze verwendeten als die PS. Der erstgenannte Befund kam dabei fast ausschliesslich durch die *Tagesschau* zustande, d. h., dass *heute* diesbezüglich eher auf dem Niveau der PS lag (vgl. Wahdat, 2009). Lediglich bei der Wortschatzdiversität lagen die PS über den ÖRS, wobei dieser Unterschied überwiegend durch die *SAT.1 Nachrichten* zustande zu kommen schien. Die Autoren vermuteten als Erklärung für das höhere Sprachniveau der PS bei diesem speziellen Mass u. a. einen höheren Anteil an Umgangssprache in den *SAT.1 Nachrichten*.

2.3 Information und Unterhaltung in Nachrichtenformaten und ihre sprachlichen Korrelate

In einer sprachlichen Analyse von TV-Nachrichten identifizierte Wittwen (1995) verbal-auditive Unterhaltungselemente des Infotainments, wie z. B. der Einsatz von Umgangssprache (s. dazu auch Mangold, 2004). Damit im Einklang konnte er in den Nachrichtenangeboten der PS einfache Sprache nachweisen, die sich u. a. durch den Einsatz von Umgangssprache und kurzen Sätzen auszeichnet (s. dazu auch Landmeier & Daschmann, 2011). Auch Arnold (2016) zeigte, dass Boulevardmedien einfache Sprache, bis hin zur Umgangssprache, verstärkt einsetzen. Damit

scheint der Einsatz von Umgangssprache ein weiteres untersuchungswürdiges Mass für Sprachniveau in Nachrichten zu sein.

Die bisherigen Befunde zeigen somit, dass das Sprachniveau mit der inhaltlichen Ausrichtung der diversen Formate und ihrer Philosophien nicht unkorreliert zu sein scheint: Die *Tagesschau* als hochseriös und glaubwürdig wahrgenommene Instanz der deutschen Nachrichtenwelt (Bartel, 1997; Matzen, 2009; Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Wahdat, 2009) weist bei zwei zentralen Massen des Sprachniveaus (Wort- und Satzkomplexität) die höchsten Werte auf (Lange et al., 2019). Die Sendung *heute* liegt nur bei der Satzkomplexität auf dem Niveau der *Tagesschau*, ansonsten aber eher auf dem Niveau der PS (Lange et al., 2019). Dies lässt sich damit erklären, dass sich *heute* insofern quasi in einer Zwischenwelt zwischen der *Tagesschau* und den Nachrichten der PS befindet, als sie u. a. auch unterhaltungsorientiert ausgerichtet ist (Bartel, 1997).

2.4 Online-Angebote der Nachrichtensender

Die bisher referierten Befunde beziehen sich allesamt auf klassische TV-Nachrichten. Das Einholen aktueller Informationen erfolgt jedoch mittlerweile in starkem Masse auch Online; Nachrichten werden mittlerweile auch Online «in Echtzeit» (Arnold, 2016, S. 11) rezipiert. Der technische Fortschritt mit dem Entstehen und der Verbreitung des Internets konnte nicht folgenlos für den Nachrichtenjournalismus sein (Arnold, 2016; Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Rankl, 2014; Unz & Schwab, 2004). Neben Herausforderungen bieten sich auch neue Möglichkeiten der Verbreitung von Nachrichten (s. z. B. Arnold, 2016; Hölig & Hasebrink, 2018; Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Neuberger, 2018; Rankl, 2014; Stanyer, 2008).

Der Einfluss des Internets lässt sich in der Tat als ein Wandel in der Nachrichtenlandschaft auffassen (Meckel & Kamps, 1998; Rankl, 2014; Unz & Schwab, 2004). Durch das Internet bieten sich für den Nachrichtenjournalismus neue Möglichkeiten der Veröffentlichung und der Adressierung der Rezipienten (Rankl, 2014). Weiss (2003) konnte etwa zeigen, dass

sich besonders Nachrichtensender die entsprechende Ausweitung der medialen Kanäle zunutze machen, was sich in der Ausdifferenzierung ihres Online-Angebots feststellen liess: TV-Nachrichtenanbieter bieten sowohl auf Senderebene (z. B. ard.de, zdf.de) als auch auf Sendungsebene (z. B. tagesschau.de, heute.de) ein spezifisches Internetangebot zur Informationsvermittlung an. Das Internet stellt somit gerade für Nachrichtensender wie auch rezipienten ein wichtiges Zusatzangebot dar und ist insbesondere für die Adressierung eines jüngeren Publikums der wichtigste Informationskanal (Hölig & Hasebrink, 2018; Schneller, 2017; Weiss, 2003).

2.5 Forschungslücke und vorliegende Studie

Trotz einiger Studien zur Nachrichtensprache lässt sich eine Forschungslücke identifizieren: Erstens liegen zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt kaum quantitativ-empirische Analysen des Online-Informationsangebots von Fernsehnachrichten i.A. vor, die die bereits grosse Zahl an Studien mit qualitativem Ansatz zur Fernsehnachrichtenanalyse (z. B. Bruns & Marcinkowski, 1997; Krüger & Zampf-Schramm, 2018; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Weiss, 2003) sinnvoll ergänzen würden. Das heisst, es besteht insbesondere hinsichtlich des Sprachniveaus des Online-Nachrichtenangebots der beiden Systeme eine Forschungslücke. Unseres Wissens existiert keine empirische Forschung, die die Sprache an sich und das Sprachniveau im Besonderen von Online-Nachrichten quantitativ analysiert und hinsichtlich dieser Analyseebene klassischen Fernsehnachrichten gegenübergestellt hat. Dabei könnte der (crossmediale) Produktionsprozess in Abhängigkeit vom Medium eine unterschiedliche sprachliche Aufbereitung einfordern: Online-Nachrichten könnten – als anderes neues Medium – andere Charakteristika aufweisen und eigenen Regeln folgen als ihre TV-Pendants (vgl. Lange et al., 2019); und dies könnte sich auch auf die sprachliche Gestaltung in Form des Sprachniveaus auswirken.

In Form einer aktuellen Publikation (Lange et al., 2019) liegen aktuelle Da-

ten zum Sprachniveau von klassischen TV-Nachrichten vor, die ein teils deutlich höheres Sprachniveau der Nachrichten der ÖRS dokumentiert (s.o.). Auf Basis dieser Befunde lässt sich fragen, ob sich die teils auffallend grossen Unterschiede im Sprachniveau von TV-Nachrichten zwischen den beiden Systemen bzw. zwischen den einzelnen Sendern auch in den Online-Pendants finden lassen (Lange et al., 2019): Werden die sprachlichen Unterschiede also von der Offline- in die Online-Welt transferiert? Zeigt sich z. B. die Sonderstellung der *Tagesschau* nicht nur Offline, sondern auch Online? Zwar mögen die Online-Redaktionen nicht deckungsgleich mit den Redaktionen sein, die die TV-Inhalte liefern; wenn die sprachliche Gestaltung in Form des Sprachniveaus jedoch als Ausdruck einer bestimmten journalistischen Kultur und Philosophie eines Senders oder als wiedererkennbares Markenmerkmal verstanden wird (vgl. Lange et al., 2019), wäre ein solcher Transfer durchaus denkbar. Ist also die Selbstinszenierung der Anbieter bzgl. des Sprachniveaus crossmedial gleichbleibend?

Oder stellte das Internet sozusagen «Alles auf Null» und hat damit im Zuge des Wandels von «Offline Only» zu «Online Too» zu einer Konvergenz zwischen den beiden Systemen und den verschiedenen Sendern geführt (vgl. Neuberger, 2018; Weiss, 2003)? Werden also aufgrund der relativen Neuartigkeit und der eigenen Regeln der Online-Welt derartige System- und auch Senderunterschiede nivelliert? Die Fragen lauten also, inwiefern sich das Sprachniveau je nach Medium (Online vs. TV) unterscheidet und ob und wenn ja, wie versucht wird, ein bestimmtes Sprachniveau, z. B. als Art Markenmerkmal, beim crossmedialen Produzieren wiedererkennbar zu gestalten.

Beim Vergleich von klassischen TV- mit Online-Nachrichten sticht darüber hinaus eine wesentliche Unterscheidung ins Auge, nämlich die zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985). Zwar liegen nicht nur Online-Nachrichten, sondern auch die Inhalte der TV-Nachrichten zunächst schriftlich vor; diese werden jedoch mündlich vorgetra-

gen. Gleichwohl können diese hinsichtlich des konzeptionellen Aspekts eher der Schriftlichkeit zugeordnet werden, da ihr Duktus einer eher gewählten Ausdrucksweise entspricht: Sie sind zwar mündlich, weisen aber Charakteristika der Schriftlichkeit auf (vgl. Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985, S. 15). Hinsichtlich des medialen Aspekts wird der Unterschied zwischen beiden Nachrichtenformen jedoch deutlich: So sind Online-Nachrichten grafisch, TV-Nachrichten hingegen (überwiegend) phonisch realisiert (vgl. Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985; s. auch Dürscheid, 2003). Dies kann zum Anlass genommen werden, Online-Nachrichten auf dem Kontinuum Mündlichkeit-Schriftlichkeit eher bei Schriftlichkeit, TV-Nachrichten hingegen eher bei Mündlichkeit zu verorten. Wie sehr Online-Nachrichten dabei schriftlich und wie sehr TV-Nachrichten mündlich sind, ist zweitrangig; wichtig ist nicht ihre absolute, sondern ihre »relative Situierung« (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985, S. 18). Und in diesem Sinne lassen sich Online-Nachrichten als eher schriftlich und TV-Nachrichten als eher mündlich auffassen.

Interessant ist nun, dass Hinweise dafür existieren, dass Mündlichkeit mit einem niedrigen Sprachniveau bzw. mit Markern eines niedrigen Sprachniveaus einhergeht (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985; s. auch Dürscheid, 2003; Storrer, 2013).

Zusammenfassend ergibt sich aus den o.g. Ausführungen folgende Forschungsfrage:

Existieren Unterschiede hinsichtlich der verschiedenen Dimensionen des Sprachniveaus von Online-Nachrichten zwischen den beiden Rundfunksystemen sowie – feiner aufgelöst – zwischen verschiedenen Sendern? Anders ausgedrückt: Lassen sich die Unterschiede im Sprachniveau klassischer TV-Nachrichten zwischen den Systemen und zwischen den einzelnen Sendern auch in Online-Nachrichten finden?

Die oben angestellten Überlegungen zur Unterscheidung zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit führten zudem zu folgender Hypothese:

Online-Nachrichten weisen auf den drei wesentlichen Dimensionen des Sprachniveaus (Wortschatzdiversität, Wortkomplexität und Satzkomplexität) höhere Werte sowie auf den zwei Dimensionen Umgangssprache und Verständlichkeit (Flesch-Index) niedrigere Werte auf als klassische TV-Nachrichten.

3 Methode

Zunächst beschreiben wir das analysierte Material (Texte der Nachrichtenbeiträge). Es folgt eine Beschreibung der eingesetzten Instrumente (u. a. LIWC) und die Operationalisierung zentraler Konstrukte (Sprachniveau und dessen einzelne Dimensionen). Schliesslich erläutern wir, wie die statistischen Analysen des Materials erfolgten.

3.1 Material

Unsere Auswahl der Nachrichtensender bzw. -sendungen richtete sich nach den Hauptnachrichtensendern mit der grössten Reichweite der beiden Rundfunksysteme. Nach Zubayr und Gerhard (2018) sind dies bei den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanbietern die *Tagesschau* und *heute* und bei den Privatsendern *RTL aktuell* und die *SAT.1 Nachrichten*. Die Auswahl von je zwei Nachrichtensendungen pro System soll eine Gegenüberstellung der Rundfunk-Nachrichtenangebote dieser beiden Systeme ermöglichen, was ein verbreitetes Vorgehen in der Nachrichtenforschung darstellt (vgl. z. B. Bruns & Marcinkowski, 1997; Krüger, 1998; Lange et al., 2019). Zudem sind vier einzelne Sender miteinander vergleichbar.

Für das Zusammenstellen des Materials der Online-Nachrichten wurde folgendermassen vorgegangen: Über einen Zeitraum von zwei Wochen wurde zunächst eine künstliche Nachrichtenwoche der o.g. Nachrichtensendungen konstruiert. So wurden in der ersten Erhebungswoche Daten der Tage Montag, Mittwoch, Freitag und Sonntag und in der zweiten Woche Daten der Tage Dienstag, Donnerstag und Samstag erhoben. Im Anschluss wurden alle Beiträge einer Nachrichtensendung

hinsichtlich der präsentierten Themen analysiert. Im nächsten Schritt wurde überprüft, ob zum jeweiligen Themenbeitrag der TV-Nachrichtensendung eines jeden Senders ebenfalls ein Online-Beitrag auf der Webseite des entsprechenden Nachrichtensenders verfügbar war. Das Ziel war es, drei Themen pro Tag ausfindig zu machen, die sowohl in den Hauptnachrichtensendungen im Fernsehen ausgestrahlt als auch am selben Tag auf der Webseite veröffentlicht wurden. Insgesamt ergab sich anhand der beschriebenen Vorgehensweise eine Gesamtstichprobe von $N=84$ Online-Texten mit einem Umfang von insgesamt über 7000 Wörtern. Für jeden der vier Sender wurden im Zuge dieser Arbeit somit insgesamt $n=21$ Nachrichtenbeiträge untersucht, wobei die Länge der Texte zwischen 100 und 1122 Wörtern variierte.

Da wir die Werte für die Online-Texte jenen für klassische TV-Nachrichten gegenüberstellen wollten, analysierten wir neben den Online-Texten zusätzlich die Original-Transkriptionen der TV-Nachrichten von Lange, Kouros und Schwab (2019). Hier lagen $N=28$ Transkriptionen vor; das heisst, pro Sender wurden $n=7$ Beiträge untersucht. Die Länge der Transkriptionen variierte zwischen 1411 und 1706 Wörtern (vgl. Lange et al., 2019). Insgesamt analysierten wir Textmaterial (Online und TV) im Gesamtumfang von 112 Beiträgen bzw. 83.281 Wörtern.

3.2 Instrumente und Operationalisierung

Unsere methodische Vorgehensweise orientiert sich weitgehend an der von Lange et al. (2019), die mithilfe des computergestützten quantitativen Textanalyseprogramms Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC; Wolf et al., 2008; s. auch Pennebaker, Francis & Booth, 2001) TV-Nachrichten hinsichtlich ihres Sprachniveaus untersucht haben (s.o.). Wir haben uns zudem an Krüger (2009) orientiert, der den sog. Flesch-Index verwendet hat.

Bei LIWC handelt es sich um ein diktionsbasiertes Computer-Programm, das die automatische quantitative Analyse von natürlicher Sprache ermöglicht,

die bereits geschrieben vorliegt oder aber mündlich vorlag und dann transkribiert wurde. Das Instrument erlaubt eine hohe Abdeckung der Alltagssprache (Wolf et al., 2008). Die Funktionalität von LIWC zielt auf die Ein-Wort-Analyse; es verwendet einen Wortzählalgorithmus, der die gezählten Wörter – die Auftretenshäufigkeit wird i. d. R. prozentual in Relation zur Textlänge dargestellt – bestimmten Kategorien zuordnet (Wolf et al., 2008).

LIWC ist bereits vielfach in der psychologischen, aber auch kommunikationswissenschaftlichen und linguistischen Forschung eingesetzt worden, z. B. zur Analyse von Literatur oder politischer Reden (Überblick bei Wolf et al., 2008). Auch in der aktuellen kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Forschung wird LIWC immer wieder eingesetzt (z. B. Gil-Lopez, Shen, Benefield, Palomares, Kosinski, & Stillwell, 2018; Ho, Hancock, & Miner, 2018). Im Besonderen ist der (potenziell) breite Einsatz bei der Analyse von Mediensprache hervorzuheben (Wolf et al., 2008).

Lange et al. (2019) legen umfassend theoretisch wie empirisch dar, dass LIWC mehrere zentrale Aspekte des Sprachniveaus computergestützt-automatisiert quantitativ valide analysieren kann. Darauf aufbauend präsentierten sie eine umfassende Analyse des Sprachniveaus deutscher TV-Nachrichten mit überwiegend klaren Ergebnissen. Dies war einer der Gründe für uns, das Prozedere dieser Studie weitgehend auf unsere Analyse des Sprachniveaus von Online-Nachrichten zu übertragen. Dies hat den weiteren Vorteil, dass die Sprachniveau-Ergebnisse für TV-Nachrichten (Lange et al., 2019) unseren Sprachniveau-Ergebnissen für Online-Nachrichten direkt gegenübergestellt werden können.

Allerdings wollten wir das Vorgehen von Lange et al. (2019) erweitern. Dies betraf erstens den Aspekt der Umgangssprache, da Lange et al. (2019) diesen Aspekt selbst diskutieren, ohne ihn allerdings empirisch zu erfassen. Auch andere Arbeiten haben den Einsatz von Umgangssprache in den Nachrichten thematisiert (z. B. Arnold, 2016; Wittwen, 1995). Zweitens wollten wir mit dem oben bereits genannten

Flesch-Index einen weiteren Marker der Leichtigkeit bzw. Schwierigkeit der Sprache mitberücksichtigen, da auch dieser in der empirischen Forschung zur Nachrichtensprache bereits zum Einsatz kam (Krüger, 2009). Im Folgenden soll nochmals kurz elaboriert werden, wie Sprachniveau definiert ist und mittels der oben bereits kurz genannten linguistischen Marker operationalisiert werden kann.

Sprachniveau (Synonym: sprachliche Gewandtheit; Lange, 2012; Lange et al., 2016, 2017, 2019) ist grob u. a. mittels Wortschatzdiversität (Anteil unterschiedlicher Wörter), Wortkomplexität (Länge der Wörter) und Satzkomplexität (Länge der Sätze) definier- und operationalisierbar. Mehrere Rezeptionsstudien (Lange, 2012; Lange, Zaretsky, Schwarz & Euler, 2014; Lange et al., 2016) bestätigen die Validität dieses Ansatzes: Unterschiedlich sprachlich gewandte Stimuli (Text, Audio, Video), die auf Basis dieser Definition erstellt wurden, wurden von Probanden mit hoher Effektstärke als unterschiedlich sprachlich gewandt bewertet. Die Probanden zeigten dabei gute Inter-Rater-Reliabilitäten, waren sich in ihren Bewertungen also weitgehend einig. Die besagten Bewertungen korrelierten zudem hoch mit den Werten für die einzelnen sprachlichen Marker der verschiedenen Dimensionen des Konstrukts. Damit kann aufgrund guter Reliabilität und gegebener Validität von der Güte dieses so operationalisierten Konstrukts ausgegangen werden, auf dessen einzelne Dimensionen im Folgenden näher eingegangen wird.

Wortschatzdiversität ist über das sog. Type-Token-Verhältnis (TTR; LIWC-Variable «Unique») bestimmbar, d. h. über die Anzahl unterschiedlicher Wörter im Verhältnis zur Gesamtwortzahl (Wimmer, 2005). TTR ist ein in der Linguistik (s. z. B. Jarvis, 2013; Wimmer, 2005), aber auch in der Psychologie (s. z. B. Kemper & Sumner, 2001) etabliertes lexikalisches Diversitätsmass (Überblick bei Lange, 2012). Pennebaker, Chung, Ireland, Gonzales und Booth (2007) konnten einen starken negativen Zusammenhang zwischen dem «TTR» und der Textlänge (Gesamtwortzahl, LIWC-Va-

riable «WC») feststellen ($r = -.8$): Je länger ein Text ist, desto weniger unterschiedliche Wörter lassen sich im Text finden. Dieser Umstand sollte daher – so könnte jedenfalls argumentiert werden – entweder bei der statistischen Auswertung oder – falls dies dort nicht geschieht – bei der Interpretation der Ergebnisse berücksichtigt werden (s. u.).²

Wortkomplexität lässt sich mittels LIWC insofern erfassen, als dass das Programm den Anteil der Wörter, die länger als sechs Buchstaben sind, ausgibt (LIWC-Variable «Sixltr»). Dieses Mass ist fast identisch mit dem der mittleren Wortlänge (Lange et al., 2019; s. auch Lange, 2012).

Zur Operationalisierung der Satzkomplexität kann das Mass der Satzlänge herangezogen werden. Diese wird von LIWC in Form der mittleren Wortzahl pro Satz ausgegeben (LIWC-Variable «WPS»). Dieses Mass ist annähernd identisch mit dem sonst in der Psycholinguistik geläufigen Mass «mean length of utterance» (MLU), bei dem die Äusserungslänge nicht in Wörtern, sondern in Morphemen angegeben wird (Aitchison, 2008; Überblick bei Lange, 2012). MLU kommt vor allem in der Diagnostik des kindlichen Sprachstandes zum Einsatz, kann aber auch für die Analyse von Erwachsenensprache verwendet werden (Nippold, Ward-Lonergan, & Fanning, 2005).

In Anlehnung an Lange (2012) und Lange et al. (2019) kann damit das Sprachniveau in der vorliegenden Arbeit über Wortschatzdiversität, Wortkomplexität und Satzkomplexität bzw. über die LIWC-Variable operationalisiert werden (Wolf et al., 2008). Auf weitere potenzielle Charakteristika sprachlicher Gewandtheit, wie etwa ein hoher Anteil an hypotaktischen Satzstrukturen (s. dazu Lange et al., 2019)

oder an Passivkonstruktionen, wurde verzichtet, und zwar aus im Wesentlichen zwei Gründen: Erstens liegt empirische Evidenz für die Annahme vor, dass mit der o. g. Operationalisierung sprachliche Gewandtheit valide erfasst wird (s. z. B. Lange et al., 2016). Zweitens kann LIWC weder hypotaktische noch Passivstrukturen detektieren. Wir werden diesen Aspekt in der Diskussion wieder aufgreifen.

Allerdings versuchten wir, wie weiter oben bereits angesprochen, LIWC sinnvoll zu ergänzen, und zwar erstens durch die Zusatzkategorie der Umgangssprache und zweitens durch die Bestimmung des Fleisch-Indexes. Auf diese beiden Marker wird im Folgenden detailliert eingegangen.

Lange et al. (2019) stellten die Vermutung auf, dass die PS, insbesondere Sat.1, mehr Umgangssprache verwendeten, was mit einer höheren Wortschatzdiversität einhergehen könnte. Sie lieferten zudem einige exemplarische Belege für einen höheren Gehalt an Umgangssprache in den Nachrichten von Sat.1, quantifizierten den Anteil an Umgangssprache allerdings nicht; LIWC bietet hierfür auch keine eigene Kategorie an. Daher erweiterten wir das deutsche LIWC-Diktionär mit seinen 68 Kategorien um die Kategorie Umgangssprache (US). Dies geschah einerseits induktiv, d. h. entlang des Untersuchungsmaterials, welches sowohl aus den Online-Texten, als auch aus den Original-Transkriptionen der TV-Nachrichten von Lange et al. (2019) bestand, andererseits deduktiv auf Basis von Arbeiten zur Umgangssprache (Bernhard, 2012; Wittwen, 1995).

Die neue Kategorie der Umgangssprache («US») umfasste Wörter, die nicht einer formal gehobenen Sprache entsprechen, sondern sich in salopp und/oder alltagssprachlich formulierten Wörtern (Begriffen, Bezeichnungen) und Sätzen (Aussagen) äussern (vgl. Bernhard, 2012; Wittwen, 1995), z. B. «Ausrutscher», «Bauchplatscher», «cool», «Happening» und «Kerl» (Beispiele aus unserem Textkorpus der Online-Texte) sowie «Boom», «happy», «Job», «Promi» und «tja» (Beispiele aus dem Textkorpus der TV-Transkripte

2 Die starke Abhängigkeit der Variable «Unique» von der Textlänge kann zu Fehlgebrauch und -interpretationen der Ergebnisse führen; diese LIWC-Funktion ist schlicht sehr sensibel gegenüber der Wortzahl. Dies ist einer der Gründe, warum «Unique» aus der neueren Version von LIWC (vgl. z. B. LIWC 2015 Version 1.3.1. von 2016 mit Version LIWC 2001 Version 1.82 von 2001) entfernt wurde (Wolf, 2016, persönliche Mitteilung; vgl. Wolf et al., 2008).

onen; Lange et al., 2019). Diese neue Kategorie entstand konkret folgendermassen: Die Zweitautorin erstellte für das Material der Online-Nachrichten eine Liste an möglichen umgangssprachlichen Wörtern. Was als umgangssprachlich aufgefasst wurde und was nicht, folgte dabei den Kriterien, die in der entsprechenden Literatur genannt werden (Bernhard, 2012; Wittwen, 1995; s. o.). Es wurden nur solche Wörter aufgenommen, die im tatsächlichen Material vorkamen. Der Erstautor erstellte analog dazu für das Material der TV-Nachrichten eine ähnliche Liste. Beide Listen zusammen sollten umgangssprachliche Wörter des gesamten analysierten Materials (Online und TV) enthalten. Erst- und Senior-Autor bestimmten dann gemeinsam, welche Wörter Teil der finalen Kategorie sein sollten. Dabei wurden nur solche Wörter aufgenommen, über die die beiden letztgenannten Autoren Konsens erzielten. Es wurden zudem nur diejenigen Wörter für die Konstruktion der Kategorie berücksichtigt, die insgesamt mehr als einmal in den Texten vorkamen. Insgesamt konnten durch diese (qualitative) Zuordnung unter Berücksichtigung der Kategoriendefinition (vgl. Bernhard, 2012; Wittwen, 1995) 155 umgangssprachliche Wörter aus der Worthäufigkeitsliste für die Erweiterung des Diktionärs gewonnen werden.

Auf Basis des LIWC-Diktionärs von Wolf et al. (2008) erstellten wir somit ein erweitertes Diktionär. Davon wurden die folgenden fünf Kategorien verwendet: «WC» (Wortzahl), «Unique» (Type-Token-Ratio; misst Wortschatzdiversität), «Sixltr» (Anteil an Wörtern, die mehr als sechs Zeichen lang sind; misst Wortkomplexität) und «WPS» (Wörter pro Satz; misst Satzkomplexität); ausserdem die eigens erstellte Kategorie «US» (Anteil an Umgangssprache).³

Schliesslich wurde der Flesch-Index für alle Beiträge auf Basis der vorliegenden Texte bestimmt. Dieser Index wird auch «Lesbarkeitsindex» oder «Reading-Ease-Index» genannt und besteht aus den quantitativen Massen der durchschnittli-

chen Wortlänge in Silben und der durchschnittlichen Satzlänge in Wörtern (s. z. B. Ballstaedt, 2019; Immel, 2014). Er scheint damit zwei wesentliche Dimensionen des o. g. Konstrukts des Sprachniveaus ebenfalls zu erfassen, nämlich Wortkomplexität (vgl. «Sixltr») und Satzkomplexität (vgl. «WPS»).

Für die Bestimmung des Flesch-Indexes kam die für deutsches Sprachmaterial entwickelte Formel zum Einsatz: $180 - ASL - (58,5 * ASW)$. «ASL» steht für «Average Sentence Length», womit die durchschnittliche Satzlänge in Wörtern gemeint ist. «ASW» steht für «Average Number of Syllables per Word», d. h. für die durchschnittliche Wortlänge in Silben (s. z. B. Ballstaedt, 2019; Immel, 2014). Für die inhaltliche Interpretation der so errechneten Werte griffen wir auf die bestehende Literatur zum Flesch-Index zurück (Aziz, Fook & Alsree, 2010; Ballstaedt, 2019; Flesch, 1948; Immel, 2014; Krüger, 2009; Merten, 1995, S. 179). Die entsprechend der genannten Formel errechneten Werte drücken demnach je unterschiedlich gute Verständlichkeits- bzw. Schwierigkeitsgrade aus, nämlich (Personen, für die ein entsprechender Text verständlich ist, in Klammern): 0 bis 30: sehr schwer verständlich bzw. sehr schwierig (Akademiker / Hochschulabsolventen), 30 bis 50: schwer verständlich bzw. schwierig (Studierende), 50 bis 60: schwer bis mittelschwer verständlich bzw. ziemlich schwierig (10. bis 12. Schulklasse), 60 bis 70: mittelschwer verständlich bzw. normal (8. und 9. Schulklasse / Alter: 13–15 Jahre), 70 bis 80: mittelschwer bis leicht verständlich bzw. ziemlich leicht (7. Schulklasse), 80 bis 90: leicht verständlich (6. Schulklasse), 90 bis 100: sehr leicht verständlich (5. Schulklasse / Alter: 11 Jahre) (vgl. Aziz et al., 2010; Immel, 2014; Krüger, 2009; Merten, 1995, S. 179). Dies stellt das Standardvorgehen für den Einsatz des Flesch-Indexes dar (Aziz et al., 2010; Ballstaedt, 2019; Flesch, 1948; Immel, 2014; Krüger, 2009; Merten, 1995, S. 179). Uns war und ist allerdings die Problematik bewusst, dass an den in der besagten Literatur zum Flesch-Index genannten Kategoriengrenzen (z. B. 0–30 vs.

3 Das erweiterte Diktionär ist (im Format «*.dic») als e-appendix verfügbar.

30–50) in Form doppelter Vergaben ein Zuordnungsproblem entstehen kann, nämlich dann, wenn ein empirisch ermittelter Flesch-Index-Wert genau auf der Grenze liegt (z. B. 30). Aus unserer Sicht wäre ein solcher Flesch-Index-Wert notgedrungen als zwischen zwei Kategorien liegend zu interpretieren (z. B. sehr schwierig bis schwierig).

Der in der Analyse von Nachrichtensprache bereits eingesetzte Flesch-Index demonstrierte eine schwere Verständlichkeit für die *Tagesschau* (Krüger, 2009), was als hohes Sprachniveau interpretierbar ist. Konkret wird für die *Tagesschau* der Wert 39 (schwer verständlich) berichtet, während die Kindernachrichtensendung *logo!* einen Wert von 65 (mittelschwer verständlich) aufweist (Krüger, 2009).

3.3 Statistische Analysen

Um Unterschiede hinsichtlich des Sprachniveaus zwischen Online- und TV-Berichterstattung und zwischen den beiden Rundfunksystemen statistisch zu untersuchen, wurde zunächst für verschiedene Untersuchungskriterien (konkret: «Sixltr», «WPS», «US» und Flesch-Index) und für jedes Medium (d. h. Online und TV) ein t-Test für unabhängige Stichproben berechnet. Um Aussagen über die Grösse der ermittelten Unterschiede treffen zu können, wurde mittels Mittelwerten und Standardabweichungen jeweils die Effektstärke Cohens d berechnet. Für «Unique» wurde, wegen der Wortzahlabhängigkeit dieses Masses (s. o.), eine Varianzanalyse mit Kovariate «WC» gerechnet, da t-Tests die Berücksichtigung von Kovariaten nicht ermöglichen. Da Varianzanalysen das partielle Eta-Quadrat (η^2) als Effektstärke ausgeben, wurde diese in d umgerechnet. Nach Cohen (1988) sind η^2 -Werte von .01 gering, solche von .06 moderat und solche von .14 hoch. Die übliche Klassifikation der d -Werte spricht bei einem Wert von 0.2 von einem geringen, bei einem Wert von 0.5 von einem mittleren Effekt und bei einem Wert von 0.8 oder höher von einem hohen Effekt (s. jedoch Gignac & Szodorai, 2016 für eine weniger konservative Klassifikation). Für alle d -Werte wird zusätzlich das 95-prozentige Konfidenzintervall an-

gegeben, d. h. der Wertebereich, in den der wahre d -Wert mit 95-prozentiger Wahrscheinlichkeit fällt.

Wir entschieden uns dafür, weniger über statistische Signifikanz als vielmehr über Effektstärken zu argumentieren, da erstere zu sehr von Stichprobengrössen abhängt, während zweite ein besseres Bild der tatsächlichen praktischen Relevanz zeichnen.

Für Textlänge wurden zwei (einmal für Online, einmal für TV) einfaktorielle Varianzanalysen mit Sender als Faktor und «WC» als Kriterium gerechnet. Um mögliche Unterschiede im Sprachniveau je nach Medium (Online/TV) nicht nur auf System-, sondern auch auf Senderebene feststellen zu können und um des Weiteren auch mögliche statistische Interaktionen zwischen Medium einerseits und System oder Sender andererseits prüfen zu können, wurden zusätzlich zweifaktorielle univariate Varianzanalysen durchgeführt. Die beiden Faktoren (d. h. Gruppenvariablen / unabhängige Variablen) waren (1) Medium (Online/TV) und (2) entweder Rundfunksystem oder Sender (in dieser Reihenfolge). Das Untersuchungskriterium (d. h. die abhängige Variable) war das jeweilige linguistische Merkmal (neben «WC» noch «Sixltr», «WPS», «US» und Flesch-Index). Bei den Analysen von «Unique» entschieden wir, Analysen durchzuführen, die «WC» als Kovariate berücksichtigen (s. Abschnitt 3.2 und Fussnote 2). Um die Ergebnisse aber mit der Vorgängerforschung vergleichbarer zu machen, präsentieren wir ausserdem «Unique»-Auswertungen ohne diese Kovariate. Zur Quantifizierung der Unterschiede diente als Effektstärke jeweils das besagte partielle Eta-Quadrat (η^2). Um etwaige Interaktionen zwischen Medium und Sender besser zu elaborieren, wurden zusätzlich jeweils zwei (einmal für Online, einmal für TV) einfaktorielle Varianzanalysen mit Sender als Faktor und dem jeweiligen linguistischen Mass als Kriterium gerechnet.

Dieses Vorgehen führte zu einer relativ hohen Zahl an einzelnen statistischen Analysen. Dies erhöht die Gefahr, falsch-positiver Befunde (Alpha-Fehler).

In Ermangelung an bisheriger Forschung zu unserer Thematik erschien uns allerdings die Gefahr falsch-negativer Befunde (Beta-Fehler) schwerwiegender. Um keine bedeutsamen Befunde zu übersehen, wurde daher auf Alpha-Fehler-Adjustierung verzichtet (s. dazu Rothman, 1990; Perneger, 1998). Aufgrund dieser und anderer Probleme, die mit statistischer Signifikanz verbunden sind (s. o.), fokussieren wir auf das Berichten von Effektstärken; *p*-Werte zur statistischen Signifikanz (Alpha-Fehler-Niveau .05) werden nur zwecks Vollständigkeit mit berichtet (s. o.).

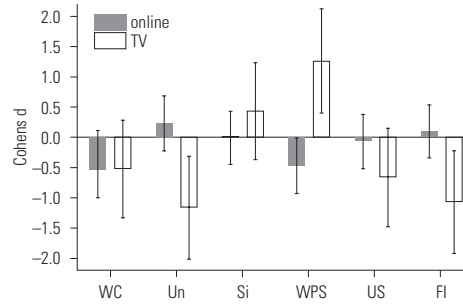
4 Ergebnisse

Die Darstellung der Ergebnisse folgt der oben bereits angesprochenen Struktur. Entsprechend orientiert sie sich am jeweiligen linguistischen Merkmal (beginnend mit Textlänge und schliessend mit dem Flesch-Index). Für jedes Merkmal wird nach Medium (Online vs. TV) und System (ÖRS vs. PS; für eine visuelle Übersicht über die wesentlichen Ergebnisse s. Abb. 1) sowie nach Sender (ARD, ZDF, SAT.1, RTL) analysiert. Statistische Masszahlen der inferenzstatistischen Auswertung, wie *p*-, *t*- und *d*-Werte, finden sich im Fliesstext; deskriptive Ergebnisse bzw. Rohwerte – konkret: (nicht adjustierte) Mittelwerte und Standardabweichungen – finden sich in Tabelle 1 als Online Supplement.

4.1 Textlänge

Zunächst wurde untersucht, ob sich die Texte in ihrer Länge («WC») unterscheiden. Bei der Textlänge handelt es sich zwar nicht um ein prototypisches Mass für Sprachniveau; dennoch war diese Analyse bedeutsam, da das TTR (s. Abschnitt 4.2 und 4.3) textlängenabhängig ist. Es zeigte sich, dass Online-Nachrichtenartikel der PS signifikant und mit moderater Effektstärke länger waren als die der ÖRS, $t(82) = -2.45$, $p = .009$, $d = -0.54$ (95%-KI[-0.98; -0.10]). Bei den TV-Nachrichten lagen die PS ähnlich deutlich über den ÖRS (s. Tab. 1), $t(26) = -1.38$, $p = .181$, $d = -0.52$ (95%-KI[-1.31; 0.27]) (s. Abb. 1).

Abb. 1: Unterschiede (nach Effektstärke Cohens *d*) zwischen ÖRS und PS nach linguistischem Merkmal sowie nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkungen: Positive *d*-Werte stehen jeweils für höhere Werte der ÖRS. Die linguistischen Merkmale sind: «WC» = Wortzahl; «Un» = Type-Token-Verhältnis (LIWC-Variable «Unique»); «Si» = Anteil der Wörter, die länger als sechs Buchstaben sind (LIWC-Variable «Sixltr»); «WPS» = Wörter pro Satz; «US» = Anteil an Umgangssprache; «FI» = Flesch-Index. Beim Mass «Unique» der Online-Texte sowie der Transkriptionen von Lange et al. (2019) wurde statistisch für «WC» kontrolliert. Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen *d*-Wertes.

Auf Senderebene waren die Online-Nachrichtenbeiträge von *RTL aktuell* durchschnittlich am längsten gefolgt von der *Tagesschau*, den *SAT.1 Nachrichten* und *heute* (s. Tab. 1). Die Berechnung der einfaktorischen Varianzanalyse zeigte einen hoch signifikanten und hoch effektstarken Unterschied zwischen den vier Sendern hinsichtlich der Textlänge der Online-Berichte, $F(3, 80) = 12.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .324$. Die sehr grossen Unterschiede lassen sich vor allem auf das Angebot von *heute* zurückführen (s. Tab. 1). Auch die TV-Transkriptionen waren auf Senderebene effektstark verschieden hinsichtlich der Wortzahl, obwohl die Signifikanz verfehlt wurde (s. Lange et al., 2019), $F(3, 24) = 1.59$, $p = .219$, $\eta^2 = .165$. Die Reihenfolge war: RTL, ZDF, Sat.1, ARD (s. Tab. 1). In der Gesamtschau lag damit ein Grund dafür vor, bei den Analysen für Wortschatzdiversität (s. Abschnitt 4.2) zusätzlich für «WC» statistisch zu kontrollieren.

Ein weiterer Grund, bei den Analysen der Wortschatzdiversität für «WC» zu kontrollieren, liegt in der hohen Korreliertheit von «WC» mit «Unique» in unserem Material: In den Transkriptionen der TV-Nachrichten (Lange et al., 2019) waren «Unique» und «WC» hoch negativ miteinander korreliert ($r = -.59$, $p = .001$); auch in der Stichprobe aus Online-Nachrichten war dies der Fall, sogar in stärkerem Masse ($r = -.91$, $p < .001$). Damit lagen mehrere Gründe dafür vor, bei der Wortschatzdiversität die Wortzahl statistisch zu kontrollieren.⁴

4.2 Wortschatzdiversität (mit Kovariate)

Als nächstes Mass wurde das der Wortschatzdiversität, und zwar zunächst mit der Kovariate Textlänge, analysiert – erneut beginnend mit der Systemebene und gefolgt von der Senderebene.

Zunächst wurden die Werte für Wortschatzdiversität (Type-Token-Verhältnis; LIWC-Variable «Unique»; mit Kovariate «WC») für jedes Medium getrennt für ÖRS und PS miteinander verglichen. Für Online war das Ergebnis nicht signifikant und wies nur eine geringe Effektstärke auf, $F(1, 81) = 1.09$, $p = .300$, $\eta^2 = .013$, $d = 0.23$ (95%-KI[-0.21; 0.67]). Die ÖRS ($M_{\text{adj}} = 59.45$, $SE = 0.43$) lagen hier nur leicht über den PS ($M_{\text{adj}} = 58.81$, $SE = 0.43$). Für TV hingegen ergab sich ein signifikanter und hoch effektstarker Unterschied zwischen den beiden Systemen, $F(1, 25) = 8.54$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2 = .255$, $d = -1.17$ (95%-KI[-2.01; -0.33]). Die PS ($M_{\text{adj}} = 49.68$, $SE = 0.52$) lagen hier deutlich über den ÖRS ($M_{\text{adj}} = 47.51$, $SE = 0.52$) (s. Abb. 1).

Die zweifaktorielle Varianzanalyse ergab einen hoch signifikanten und hoch effektstarken Effekt für Medium, $F(1, 107) = 138.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .565$. TV ($M_{\text{adj}} = 69.79$, $SE = 1.15$) lag hier deutlich

über Online ($M_{\text{adj}} = 52.07$, $SE = 0.45$). Der Haupteffekt für System wurde nicht signifikant, $F(1, 107) = 1.68$, $p = .197$, $\eta^2 = .015$, allerdings der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und System, $F(1, 107) = 6.01$, $p = .016$, $\eta^2 = .053$. Dieser kam dadurch zustande, dass bei TV die PS über den ÖRS lagen, während sich bei Online das Muster umdrehte (s. o.; vgl. Abb. 1).

Die Varianzanalyse mit Sender statt System als Faktor ergab wieder einen hoch signifikanten und hoch effektstarken Effekt für Medium, $F(1, 103) = 94.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .478$. Der Haupteffekt für Sender wurde nicht signifikant, $F(3, 103) = 0.50$, $p = .681$, $\eta^2 = .014$. Der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und Sender wurde knapp nicht signifikant, $F(3, 103) = 2.45$, $p = .068$, $\eta^2 = .014$. Bei TV hatten die *SAT.1 Nachrichten* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 49.83$, $SE = 0.74$) den höchsten Wert gefolgt von *RTL aktuell* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 49.49$, $SE = 0.79$), der *Tagesschau* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 47.82$, $SE = 0.76$) und *heute* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 47.24$, $SE = 0.74$). Bei Online drehte sich, ähnlich wie bei Betrachtung auf Systemebene, das Muster (überwiegend) um: Den höchsten Wert hatte *heute* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 60.04$, $SE = 0.68$) gefolgt von *RTL aktuell* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 58.98$, $SE = 0.63$), der *Tagesschau* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 58.95$, $SE = 0.61$) und den *SAT.1 Nachrichten* ($M_{\text{adj}} = 58.56$, $SE = 0.60$) (s. Abb. 2, oben).

Der besagte Interaktionseffekt ist in Abbildung 2 (oben) visuell erkennbar. Er kommt, wie zwei weitere je einfaktorische Varianzanalysen zeigten, dadurch zustande, dass bei TV ein hoch effektstarker Unterschied zwischen den Sendern besteht, $F(3, 23) = 2.79$, $p = .063$, $\eta^2 = .267$, während der Unterschied zwischen den Sendern Online nur sehr gering war, $F(3, 79) = 0.90$, $p = .445$, $\eta^2 = .033$. Die Forschungsfragen lassen sich für Wortschatzdiversität somit wie folgt beantworten: TV-Nachrichten sind zwischen den Sendern verschieden, Online-Nachrichten hingegen sind einander eher ähnlich.

4.3 Wortschatzdiversität (ohne Kovariate)

Unter anderem, um zu verdeutlichen, wie anfällig TTR für Unterschiede in der Wortzahl ist, führten wir sämtliche Analysen für Wortschatzdiversität erneut durch, al-

4 Lange et al. (2019) hatten in keiner ihrer Analysen für «WC» kontrolliert. Dort wurde mit Transkriptionen von stets ca. 10 Min. an TV-Nachrichten-Material gearbeitet, was ähnliche «WC»-Werte nahelegte. Die Ergebnisse unserer Re-Analysen des Materials und der Ergebnisse dieser früheren Studie fallen daher teilweise anders aus. Wir greifen diesen Aspekt in der Diskussion auf.

lerdings ohne für «WC» statistisch zu kontrollieren.

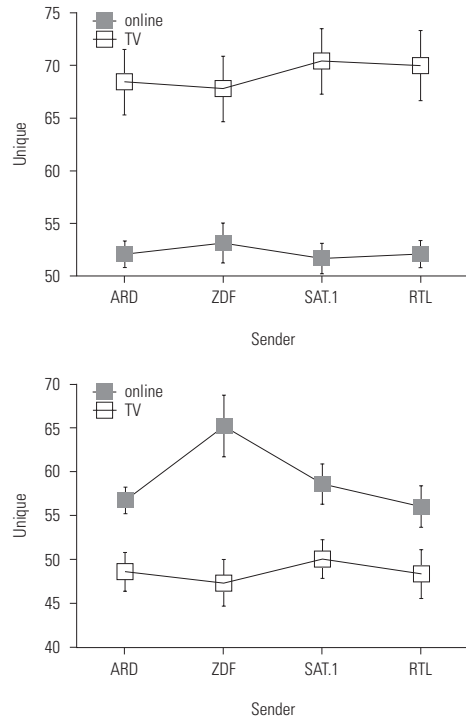
Es wurden also zunächst erneut die Werte für Wortschatzdiversität für jedes Medium getrennt für ÖRS und PS analysiert. Für Online lagen die ÖRS über den PS (s. Tab. 1), $t(82)=2.68, p=.009, d=0.59$ (95%-KI[0.147; 1.033]). Für TV lagen die PS über den ÖRS (s. Tab. 1), $t(26)=-1.26; d=-0.48$ (95%-KI[-1.268; 0.308]).

Die zweifaktorielle Varianzanalyse (mit Medium und System als Faktoren) ergab einen hoch signifikanten und hoch effektstarken Effekt für Medium, $F(1, 108)=75.71, p<.001, \eta^2=.412$. TV und Online unterschieden sich deutlich (s. Tab. 1), $d=2.33$ (95%-KI[1.799; 2.861])). Der Haupteffekt für System wurde nicht signifikant, $F(1, 107)<1, p=.325$, allerdings der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und System, $F(1, 108)=4.02, p=.048, \eta^2=.036$. Dieser kam dadurch zustande, dass bei TV die PS über den ÖRS lagen, während sich bei Online das Muster umdrehte (s. o.).

Die Varianzanalyse mit Sender statt System als Faktor ergab wieder einen hoch signifikanten und hoch effektstarken Effekt für Medium, $F(1, 104)=97.22, p<.001, \eta^2=.483$. Der Haupteffekt für Sender wurde ebenfalls signifikant, $F(3, 104)=2.95, p=.036, \eta^2=.078$. Auch der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und Sender wurde signifikant, $F(3, 104)=5.19, p=.002, \eta^2=.130$. Bei TV waren die Werte untereinander recht ähnlich (s. Tab. 1). Bei Online fanden sich deutlichere Unterschiede: Den höchsten Wert hatte heute gefolgt von den SAT.1 Nachrichten, der Tagesschau und RTL aktuell (s. Tab. 1 und Abb. 2, unten).

Der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Sender und Medium ist in Abbildung 2 (unten) visuell gut erkennbar. Er kommt, wie zwei weitere je einfaktorielle Varianzanalysen zeigten, dadurch zustande, dass bei Online ein effektstarker Unterschied zwischen den Sendern bestand, $F(3, 80)=12.46, p<.001, \eta^2=.318$, während der Unterschied zwischen den Sendern bei TV nicht signifikant wurde, $F(3, 24)=1.34, p=.286, \eta^2=.143$. Die Forschungsfrage lässt sich für Wortschatzdiversität, wenn auf statistische Kontrolle von «WC» verzichtet wird, somit wie folgt beantworten: Online-Nachrichten

Abb. 2: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den vier Sendern beim linguistischen Merkmal «Unique» (Type-Token-Verhältnis; TTR) als Mass für Wortschatzdiversität nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online (oben: mit «WC» als Kontrollvariable, unten: ohne)



Anmerkungen: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes. Für Online und TV wurde einmal statistisch für «WC» kontrolliert (vgl. Lange et al., 2019; s. dazu Fussnote 2) und einmal nicht (vgl. Abb. oben mit Abb. unten).

sind zwischen den Sendern verschieden, TV-Nachrichten hingegen sind diesbezüglich einander eher ähnlich.

4.4 Wortkomplexität

Bei Online wiesen beide Systeme fast identische Werte auf (s. Tab. 1), $t(82)=-0.05, p=.963, d=-0.01$ (95%-KI[-0.44; 0.42]). Für TV war der Unterschied zwar ebenfalls nicht signifikant, aber fast moderat effektstark, $t(26)=1.15, p=.260, d=0.44$

(95%-KI[-0.35; 1.23]). Die ÖRS lagen hier über den PS (s. Tab. 1 und Abb. 1).

In der zweifaktoriellen Varianzanalyse wurde nur der Haupteffekt für Medium signifikant, $F(1, 108) = 178.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .622$: Online lag hier deutlich über TV (s. Tab. 1). Der Haupteffekt für System wurde nicht signifikant, $F(1, 108) = 0.27$, $p = .606$, $\eta^2 < .002$.

Bei Sender statt System als Faktor war der Befund sehr ähnlich: Medium wies einen sehr starken Effekt auf, $F(1, 104) = 177.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .630$. Auch hier wurden also über 60 Prozent der Varianz im Mass für Wortkomplexität durch Medium (s. o.) erklärt.

Der Haupteffekt für Sender wurde nicht signifikant, $F(3, 104) = .81$, $p = .492$, $\eta^2 = .021$. Abbildung 3 fasst die Befunde grafisch zusammen. Hier deutet sich ein Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und Sender an, der durch ein positives Herausstechen der *Tagesschau* (bei TV) zustande zu kommen scheint. Der Interaktionseffekt wurde aber statistisch nicht signifikant und erklärte nur 2 Prozent Varianz, $F(3, 104) = .73$, $p = .538$, $\eta^2 = .021$. Je eine weitere einfaktorielle Varianzanalyse für beide Me-

dien konnte hier für mehr Klarheit sorgen. Für Online gab es keinen signifikanten Effekt, $F(3, 80) = .20$, $p = .894$, $\eta^2 = .008$, allerdings einen signifikanten und effektstarken Effekt für TV, $F(3, 244) = 4.31$, $p = .014$, $\eta^2 = .350$. Somit lässt sich bezüglich der Forschungsfrage Folgendes festhalten: eher Gleichheit bei Online-Nachrichten zwischen den Sendern, jedoch Unterschiede zwischen ihnen bei TV-Nachrichten.

4.5 Satzkomplexität

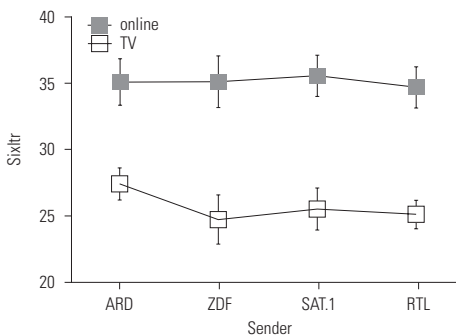
Die Online-Texte der PS enthielten mehr Wörter pro Satz als die der ÖRS (s. Tab. 1), $t(82) = -2.22$, $p = .029$, $d = -0.48$ (95%-KI[-0.92; -0.04]). Bei TV-Nachrichten war das Muster umgekehrt: Die ÖRS wiesen hier substantiell höhere Werte auf als die PS (s. Tab. 1), $t(26) = 2.31$, $p = .029$, $d = 1.27$ (95%-KI[0.42; 2.12]).

In der zweifaktoriellen Varianzanalyse wurde der Haupteffekt für Medium nicht signifikant ($p = .948$, $\eta^2 < .001$), allerdings der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und System, $F(1, 108) = 4.65$, $p = .033$, $\eta^2 = .041$. Dieser kam dadurch zustande, dass Online die PS über den ÖRS lagen, während bei TV genau das umgekehrte Muster beobachtet werden konnte (s. o.).

Bei der gleichen Analyse mit Sender statt System fand sich ebenfalls kein Haupteffekt für Medium ($p = .947$, $\eta^2 < .001$); allerdings zeigte sich ebenfalls der besagte Interaktionseffekt, der allerdings knapp nicht mehr signifikant wurde ($F(3, 104) = 2.49$, $p = .064$, $\eta^2 = .067$), bei visueller Inspektion von Abbildung 4 allerdings vergleichsweise klar zu erkennen und mit 7 Prozent erklärter Varianz auch moderat stark ist. Demnach sackt das ZDF bei Online ab, Sat.1 und etwas schwächer RTL dafür bei TV. Die ARD hat praktisch identische Werte bei Online und TV. Die Reihenfolge für Online war: RTL gefolgt von Sat.1, der ARD und schliesslich dem ZDF. Die Reihenfolge für TV war: ARD gefolgt von ZDF, RTL und schliesslich Sat.1 (s. Tab. 1 und Abb. 4).

In beiden Medien existierten nennenswerte Unterschiede zwischen den Sendern, d. h. sowohl bei Online, $F(3, 80) = 4.63$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .148$, als auch bei TV, $F(3, 244) = 2.12$, $p = .124$, $\eta^2 = .209$. Anhand

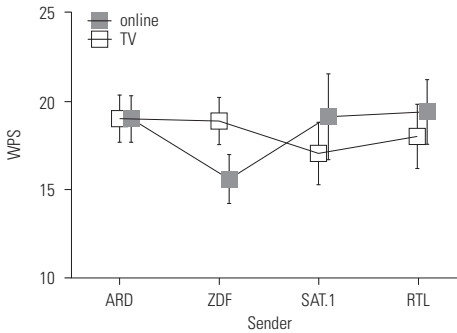
Abb. 3: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den vier Sendern beim linguistischen Merkmal «Sixltr» (Anteil der Wörter, die länger als sechs Buchstaben sind) als Mass für Wortkomplexität nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkung: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes.

der Effektstärken (15 % erklärte Varianz bei Online, 21 % erklärte Varianz bei TV) liesse sich mit Blick auf die Forschungsfrage von einer leicht stärkeren Senderähnlichkeit bei Online als bei TV sprechen.

Abb. 4: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den vier Sendern beim linguistischen Merkmal «WPS» (Wörter pro Satz) als Mass für Satzkomplexität nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkungen: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes. Die Datenpunkte sind horizontal verschoben, um Überlappungen zu verringern.

4.6 Umgangssprache

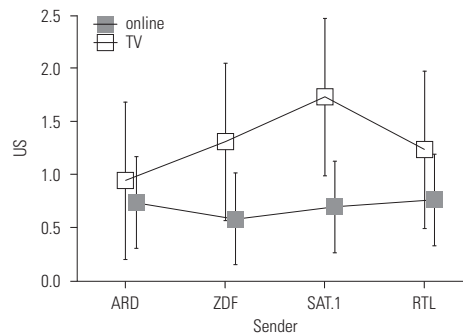
Die Online-Texte der PS enthielten nicht nennenswert mehr Umgangssprache als die der ÖRS. Der Unterschied war nicht nur nicht signifikant, sondern auch hinsichtlich der Effektstärke nahe Null, $t(82) = -0.32$, $p = .754$, $d = -0.07$ (95%-KI[-0.50; 0.36]). Bei TV-Nachrichten deutete sich hingegen ein Systemunterschied an, $t(26) = -1.78$, $p = .087$, $d = -0.66$ (95%-KI[-1.46; 0.14]) (s. Tab. 1 und Abb. 1).

In der zweifaktoriellen Varianzanalyse wurde der Haupteffekt für Medium signifikant, $F(1, 108) = 8.39$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .072$: TV war durch mehr Umgangssprache charakterisiert als Online (s. Tab. 1). Weder der Haupteffekt für System noch der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und System wurden signifikant ($p > .3$, $\eta^2 < .01$).

Bei Sender statt System als Faktor war das Ergebnis ähnlich: Medium wurde signifikant, $F(3, 104) = 8.21$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .073$, jedoch nicht der Haupteffekt für Sender

($p > .6$, $\eta^2 < .02$). Abbildung 5 legt nahe, dass die Sender in ihren Online-Nachrichten eher ähnlich wenig Umgangssprache verwenden, während bei TV Sat.1 nach oben heraussticht, ZDF und RTL in etwa ähnlich hohe Werte haben und die ARD relativ wenig Umgangssprache verwendet (s. Tab. 1). Dieser sich visuell in der Abbildung andeutende Interaktionseffekt wurde allerdings nicht signifikant und war mit 2 % erklärter Varianz gering, $F(3, 104) = 0.69$, $p = .563$, $\eta^2 = .019$.

Abb. 5: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den vier Sendern beim linguistischen Merkmal «US» (Umgangssprache) nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkungen: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes. Die Datenpunkte sind horizontal verschoben, um Überlappungen zu verringern.

Mit erneut zwei separaten je einfaktoriellen Varianzanalysen liess sich der Forschungsfrage näher auf den Grund gehen: So waren die Senderunterschiede bei TV effektstark verschieden, $F(3, 24) = 3.01$, $p = .050$, $\eta^2 = .273$, bei Online hingegen nahe Null, $F(3, 80) = 0.12$, $p = .950$, $\eta^2 = .004$. Das bedeutet erneut: deutliche Unterschiedlichkeit bei TV, hingegen eher Gleichheit bei Online.

Lange et al. (2019) diskutierten ihren Befund, dass die PS in ihren TV-Nachrichten eine höhere Wortschatzdiversität aufwiesen, indem sie einen Zusammenhang zwischen Wortschatzdiversität und Um-

gangssprache vermuteten. Auf Basis der nun vorliegenden Daten lässt sich diese Vermutung empirisch überprüfen: Für TV-Nachrichten war die Korrelation zwischen den beiden Massen nahe Null und deutlich nicht signifikant ($r=.07$, $p=.74$); für Online-Nachrichten war sie vergleichsweise klein und knapp nicht signifikant ($r=-.20$, $p=.06$), allerdings negativ, was der besagten Vermutung von Lange et al. (2019) widerspricht.

Abschliessend wurde für die neue Kategorie der Umgangssprache ermittelt, wie hoch sie in unserer Gesamtstichprobe mit den anderen Markern korreliert. Diese Analyse wurde durchgeführt, um erstens einen besseren Eindruck davon zu ermitteln, was sich hinter Umgangssprache verbirgt, d. h. für welche anderen sprachlichen Muster sie indikativ ist, und zweitens, da diese Kategorie in der Vorgängerpublikation (Lange et al., 2019) fehlte. Demnach korrelierte «Umgangssprache» signifikant mit (r -/ p -Werte in Klammern): «WC» (.308 / .001), «Unique» (-.307 / .001), «Sixltr» (-.358 / <.001) und «Flesch» (.312 / .001). Die Korrelation mit «WPS» war positiv, aber nicht signifikant (.126 / .186).

4.7 Flesch-Index

Die Online-Texte beider Systeme wiesen ähnliche Flesch-Werte auf, $t(82)=0.46$, $p=.643$, $d=0.07$ (95%-KI[-0.36; 0.50]). Für TV-Nachrichten hingegen fand sich in Form eines höheren Flesch-Index eine deutlich leichtere Verständlichkeit der PS, $t(26)=-2.75$, $p=.011$, $d=-1.07$ (95%-KI[-1.90; -0.24]) (s. Tab. 1 und Abb. 1).

Die zweifaktorielle Varianzanalyse mit System als einem der Faktoren bestätigte dies, da der Haupteffekt für Medium signifikant wurde, $F(1, 108)=44.18$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.290$: TV wies einen höheren Flesch-Index auf als Online (s. Tab. 1), war also leichter verständlich. Der Haupteffekt für System wurde nicht signifikant, $F(1, 108)=1.12$, $p=.293$, $\eta^2=.010$. Auch der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und System verfehlte in der Varianzanalyse die Signifikanz, $F(1, 108)=2.47$, $p=.119$, $\eta^2=.022$.

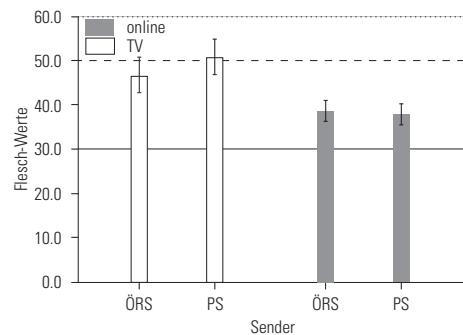
In der zweifaktoriellen Varianzanalyse mit Sender (statt System) war das Ergebnis ähnlich. So wurde wieder der Haupteffekt

für Medium signifikant, $F(1, 104)=43.69$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.296$. Der Haupteffekt für Sender wurde nicht signifikant, $F(3, 104)=1.21$, $p=.310$, $\eta^2=.034$. Auch der Interaktionseffekt zwischen Medium und Sender verfehlte in der Varianzanalyse die Signifikanz, $F(3, 104)=1.25$, $p=.295$, $\eta^2=.035$. In Tabelle 1 finden sich alle Flesch-Werte nach Sender und Medium (Online vs. TV).

Abschliessend wurden erneut zwei separate je einfaktorische Varianzanalysen gerechnet: Demnach waren die Senderunterschiede bei TV hoch effektstark verschieden, $F(3, 24)=7.01$, $p=.002$, $\eta^2=.467$, bei Online hingegen nahe Null, $F(3, 80)=0.17$, $p=.917$, $\eta^2=.006$ (s. Tab. 1). Demnach ergibt sich auch für die Analyse des Flesch-Indexes eine deutliche Unterschiedlichkeit bei TV, hingegen eher Gleichheit bei Online.

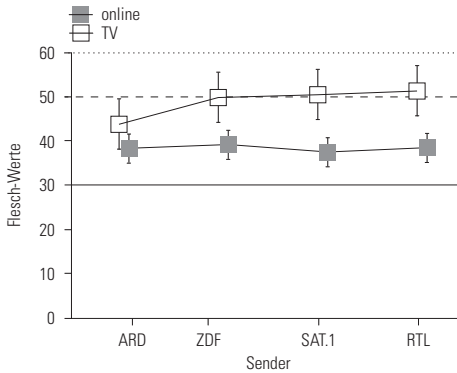
Konkret waren unsere Flesch-Indexwerte nach System für TV/Online diese: 46.71 / 38.71 (ÖRS) und 50.86 / 37.90 (PS) und nach Sender für TV/Online diese: 43.71 / 38.29 (ARD), 49.71 / 39.14 (ZDF), 50.43 / 37.38 (SAT.1) und 51.29 / 38.43 (RTL). Abbildungen 6 (Systemvergleich) und 7 (Sendervergleich) geben einen grafischen Überblick.

Abb. 6: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den Systemen beim Flesch-Index nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkungen: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes. Unterschiedliche horizontale Linien markieren unterschiedliche Verständlichkeitsgrade: 0–30 = sehr schwer, 30–50 = schwer, 50–60 = schwer bis mittelschwer. ÖRS = Öffentlich-rechtliche Sender; PS = Privatsender.

Abb. 7: Unterschiede (Rohwerte) zwischen den vier Sendern beim Flesch-Index nach Medium: TV (Lange et al., 2019) vs. Online



Anmerkungen: Fehlerbalken zeigen das 95%-Konfidenzintervall des jeweiligen Mittelwertes. Unterschiedliche horizontale Linien markieren unterschiedliche Verständlichkeitsgrade: 0–30=sehr schwer, 30–50=schwer, 50–60=schwer bis mittelschwer.

Hinsichtlich der Forschungsfrage kann auch beim Flesch-Index von einer leicht stärkeren Senderähnlichkeit bei Online als bei TV gesprochen werden (vgl. Abb. 7).

Abschliessend wurde auch für den Flesch-Index ermittelt, wie hoch er in unserer Gesamtstichprobe mit den anderen Markern korreliert (vgl. Abschnitt 4.6). Demnach korrelierte der Flesch-Index signifikant mit (r - / p -Werte in Klammern): «WC» (.501 / <.001), «Unique» (-.371 / <.001), «Sixltr» (-.776 / <.001), «WPS» (-.264 / .005) und Umgangssprache (.312 / .001).

5 Diskussion und Fazit

Zunächst fassen wir die wesentlichen Befunde zusammen und interpretieren sie vor dem Hintergrund unserer Forschungsfrage und unserer Hypothese. Wir schließen mit Limitationen unserer Studie und einem Ausblick auf potenziell zukünftige Forschung.

5.1 Zusammenfassung und Interpretation der Befunde

Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit war die Analyse des Sprachniveaus der Online-Nachrichten nach Rundfunksystem bzw. Sender. Weiterhin sollten diese Ergebnisse jenen für klassische TV-Nachrichten gegenübergestellt werden. Die hierbei zu beantwortende Forschungsfrage war, ob Unterschiede im Sprachniveau von Online-Nachrichten zwischen den beiden Systemen sowie auf Senderebene existieren und ob sich hierbei ähnliche Muster wie in TV-Nachrichten (Lange et al., 2019) zeigen. Es fand sich, dass Online eher Gleichheit über Systeme und Sender hinweg herrschte, bei TV-Nachrichten hingegen eher Unterschiedlichkeit.

Basierend auf der etablierten Unterscheidung zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985) wurde weiterhin die Hypothese aufgestellt, dass Online-Nachrichten (da stärker der Schriftlichkeit zuzuordnen) ein höheres Sprachniveau aufweisen sollten als klassische TV-Nachrichten. Für drei («Sixltr», «US» und Flesch-Index) der fünf Masse konnte die entsprechende Hypothese bestätigt werden: Online-Nachrichten sind wortkomplexer, enthalten weniger Umgangssprache und weisen einen niedrigeren Flesch-Index auf als TV-Nachrichten. Dies könnte tatsächlich daran liegen, dass erstere eher der Schriftlichkeit (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985) entsprechen als letztere. Für diese drei Masse existieren zudem bei TV-Nachrichten teils sehr deutliche Unterschiede zwischen ÖRS und PS und zwischen den einzelnen Sendern, während Online-Nachrichten bei diesen Massen für beide Systeme und die einzelnen Sender recht ähnlich waren.

Hinsichtlich der Gründe für die relative Gleichheit bei Online- und die relative Unterschiedlichkeit bei TV-Nachrichten (deren Validität vorausgesetzt, s.u.) kann Folgendes vermutet werden: Die TV-Nachrichten der ARD haben ihren Ursprung in den frühen 1950er Jahren; die des ZDF folgten Mitte der 1960er Jahre, die von Sat.1 und RTL schliesslich Mitte bzw. Ende der 1980er Jahre. Damit entstanden die unterschiedlichen Sendungen zu deut-

lich unterschiedlichen Zeiten, und es ist naheliegend, dass diesen Unterschieden auch unterschiedliche Philosophien entsprechen (vgl. Bartel, 1997; Matzen, 2009; Wahdat, 2009), die sich dann auch sprachlich niederschlagen, und zwar – sozusagen der jeweiligen Tradition folgend – bis in die Gegenwart hinein. Die jeweiligen Online-Nachrichten hingegen entstanden allesamt etwa in den 1990er Jahren, d. h. unter ähnlichen Bedingungen und – so darf vermutet werden – unter etwa gleicher Berücksichtigung der «Regeln» der (für alle) neuen Online-Welt. Für Online-Nachrichten könnte also von Konvergenz, für TV-Nachrichten von Konkurrenz der Systeme und Sender die Rede sein (vgl. Krüger, 1998; Weiss, 2003).

Einige der Befunde weisen interessanterweise auf die Sonderstellung von *heute* hin: So kann *heute* bei TV weder bei Wort- oder Satzkomplexität noch bei Umgangssprache mit dem hohen Niveau der *Tagesschau* mithalten. Bei Online fällt *heute* insbesondere bei Satzkomplexität wiederum gegenüber der *Tagesschau* stark ab. Die Sonderstellung von *heute* lässt sich gut mit der Zielsetzung dieser Sendung erklären, einen Kompromiss zwischen Seriosität einerseits und Unterhaltungsorientierung andererseits darzustellen (Bartel, 1997; vgl. dazu Lange et al., 2019). Hinsichtlich der nach Rundfunksystem unterschiedlichen Unterhaltungsorientierung, wie einleitend dargelegt, lässt sich schlussfolgern: Für TV-Nachrichten existieren klare Sprachniveau-Korrelate dieser Orientierung, die grob betrachtet tatsächlich einen Unterschied zwischen ÖRS und PS aufzeigen, feiner betrachtet aber vor allem die Ausnahmestellung der *Tagesschau* gegenüber anderen Sendungen dokumentieren. Für Online-Nachrichten sind die entsprechenden Befunde, vor allem durch die relative Gleichheit der Systeme und Sender hinsichtlich des Sprachniveaus, weniger klar.

Gegenüber Lange et al. (2019) berücksichtigte unsere Studie auch Umgangssprache, die ebenfalls als Korrelat der Unterhaltungsorientierung angesehen werden kann (z. B. Arnold, 2016; Wittwen, 1995). Im Einklang mit den sonstigen Befunden wiesen die TV-Nachrichten der

PS (aber auch des ZDF) verglichen mit den ÖRS (bzw. der ARD) vergleichsweise hohe Werte bei diesem Mass auf. Für Online-Nachrichten konnten, erneut wegen starker Ähnlichkeit, auch hier keine klaren Unterschiede gefunden werden. Da Online-Nachrichten weniger Umgangssprache enthielten als TV-Nachrichten, könnten letztere als unterhaltungsorientierter eingestuft werden. Inwiefern diese stärkere Unterhaltungsorientierung von TV-Nachrichten tatsächlich der Fall ist und sich auch unabhängig vom Phänomen des Sprachniveaus zeigt, sollte weiter erforscht werden.

Wiederum über die Untersuchung von Lange et al. (2019) hinausgehend ermittelten wir für das gesamte Material den Flesch-Index. Dabei fand sich vor allem, dass Online-Nachrichten als schwerer verständlich einzustufen sind als TV-Nachrichten, was mit dem Rezeptionsmodus erklärt werden kann (Lesen im erstgenannten, Zuhören im letztgenannten Fall). Erstaunlich war, dass selbst die höchsten von uns gefundenen Flesch-Werte (also die mit der höchsten Verständlichkeit) immer noch im Bereich schwerer bis mittelschwerer Verständlichkeit lagen. Dies steht im Widerspruch zu dem Ziel, möglichst breite Teile der Bevölkerung mit Nachrichtenangeboten zu erreichen.

Bezüglich des Flesch-Indexes ist noch zu betonen, dass, wie in Abschnitt 3.2 erläutert, ein potenzielles Problem an den Kategoriengrenzen besteht, nämlich für den Fall, dass ein empirischer Flesch-Index-Wert genau auf der Grenze zwischen zwei Kategorien liegt. Da die Literatur zum Flesch-Index (z. B. Aziz et al., 2010) in diesem Punkt leider eine Schwachstelle aufweist, wir aber keine andere Möglichkeit hatten, als uns auf die Literatur zu berufen, die es zu dem Thema gibt, und diese die Kategorien eben genauso definiert, mussten wir notgedrungen diese potenzielle Schwachstelle mit in Kauf nehmen. In unserem Fall entstand jedoch konkret kein solches Problem, da keiner unserer Flesch-Index-Werte (s. Abschnitt 4.7) genau auf einer der Grenzen lag. Damit sind sämtliche von uns empirisch ermittelten

Flesch-Werte eindeutig einer Kategorie zuzuordnen.

Ein Befund, der weder Teil der Forschungsfrage noch der Hypothese war und sich somit zusätzlich ergeben hat, soll abschliessend kurz Erwähnung finden, da er interessant erscheint: Die Sprachniveau-Werte der verschiedenen Online-Nachrichten scheinen heterogener zu sein als die entsprechenden Werte für TV-Nachrichten. So finden sich in Tabelle 1 (siehe Online Supplement) deskriptiv-nummerisch durchweg höhere Standardabweichungen für Online- verglichen mit TV-Nachrichten. Als potenzielle Erklärung kommen aus unserer Sicht Unterschiede in der Rezeption der verschiedenen Nachrichten in Frage: Nachrichten im (linearen) TV erfordern eine eher passive Rezeption; der Rezipient kann praktisch keinen aktiven Einfluss nehmen. Bei Online-Nachrichten hingegen ist stärkere Selektion seitens des Rezipienten möglich: Was dem einen nicht gefällt oder aber zu schwer verständlich ist, kann dieser wegklicken und stattdessen ein anderes Angebot aufrufen; dem anderen ist ein hohes Sprachniveau möglicherweise gerade recht.

5.2 Limitationen der Studie

Eine Einschränkung dieser Studie ist, dass wir die Themen der Online- und der TV-Nachrichten nicht aneinander angehängt haben; es wurde zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten über jeweils künstliche Wochen Nachrichtenmaterial gesammelt. Dieses bestand aus 21 Beiträgen aus TV-Nachrichten (Lange et al., 2019) und aus – zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt gesammelten – 84 Beiträgen aus Online-Nachrichten. Denkbar wäre, dass thematische Unterschiede zwischen den Beiträgen der beiden Medienbereiche mit Unterschieden im Sprachniveau konfundiert waren. Allerdings liesse sich dem entgegenhalten, dass erstens die Hauptnachrichten ganz grundsätzlich betrachtet immer wieder ähnliche Themen behandeln (z. B. wichtige Neuigkeiten aus den Bereichen Politik und Wirtschaft) und dass zweitens einzelne thematisch bedingte sprachliche Abweichungen in irgendeiner

Richtung (sofern sie existieren) durch die vergleichsweise hohe Zahl an Beiträgen nicht übermässig ins Gewicht fallen. Dabei kann allerdings kritisch gesehen werden, dass insgesamt nur 105 Texte in die Analyse eingingen, wobei die Zahl der Texte, die das TV-Material (Lange et al., 2019) betrafen, besonders niedrig war; entsprechend gross waren die Konfidenzintervalle. Nachfolgende Forschung sollte diesen Kritikpunkt von vornherein adressieren, indem erstens eine grössere Stichprobe an Untersuchungsmaterial gewählt und zweitens ein Matching der Inhalte durchgeführt wird.

Ebenfalls in Zukunft untersucht werden sollte die Interaktion zwischen dem Sprachniveau und der visuellen Gestaltung von TV- und Online-Nachrichten. Wie in der Einleitung erwähnt, findet die Übermittlung von Nachrichten auf sprachlicher und visueller Ebene statt; Nachrichten stellen multimodale Medienprodukte dar (Brosius, 1998; Holly, 2004; Lobinger, 2012). Ob bei klassischen audiovisuellen Nachrichten im TV, bei denen u. a. (Bewegt-)Bild und Ton (inklusive gesprochener Sprache) zusammenwirken, oder bei Online-Nachrichten, die neben geschriebenem Text oftmals aus zusätzlichen Grafiken und sonstigen Bildern bestehen – Nachrichten werden meist über mehr als einen Kanal kommuniziert, wobei die Kanäle komplementär zusammenspielen (Brosius, 1998; Burger, 2005; Holly, 2004; Lobinger, 2012). Die vorliegende Arbeit hat sich auf sprachliche Aspekte von Nachrichten beschränkt – ähnlich, wie frühere Forschung u. a. deren visuelle Gestaltung fokussiert hat (z. B. Winterhoff-Spurk, Unz & Schwab, 2005). Idealerweise werden alle Kanäle zusammen adressiert, was jedoch in einem Aufsatz wie dem vorliegenden nicht möglich ist. Zudem funktioniert der sprachliche Kanal von Nachrichten bereits für sich, bedarf also nicht zwingend immer (bewegt-)bildlicher Aspekte: Das Radio-Programm von *hr-info* etwa sendet jeden Abend einen Audio-Stream der 20-Uhr-Ausgabe der *Tageschau*. Und *Die Welt*, die Nachrichten klassisch als Print-Produkt, aber auch Online verbreitet, bietet Rezipienten die Möglich-

keit, sich die Nachrichten per App vorlesen zu lassen. Zudem dienen Text und Bild teils unterschiedlichen Zwecken (Brosius, 1998; Lobinger, 2012). Gleichwohl könnte die vorliegende Forschung in Zukunft um Aspekte der visuellen Gestaltung erweitert werden.

Die Operationalisierung sprachlicher Gewandtheit fand unter Rückgriff auf aktuelle sprachpsychologische Studien statt, die ihrerseits auf etablierte Masse aus der Psycholinguistik und besonders der Sprachdiagnostik fussten. Dennoch könnte kritisiert werden, dass Sprachniveau auch anders hätte operationalisiert werden können (z. B. u. a. über den Anteil von Passivsätzen). Dem lässt sich allerdings entgegenhalten, dass neben der Berücksichtigung der entsprechenden Fachliteratur bei der Operationalisierung des Konstrukts auch Rezeptionsstudien durchgeführt wurden, die die Validität dieser Operationalisierung bestätigten (Überblick bei Lange, 2012). Gleichwohl beinhaltet diese nicht alle denkbaren Facetten sprachlicher Gewandtheit, sondern vor allem solche, die computergestützt durch LIWC erfasst werden können (s. dazu die nachfolgenden Ausführungen).

Als allgemeine Kritik an der vorliegenden Studie und ihrer Verwendung von LIWC lässt sich u. a. nennen, dass wir «blind» auf die Kategorien von LIWC vertraut haben, weil vertrauen mussten. LIWC verwendet jedoch lediglich einen Ein-Wort-Zähl-Algorithmus und kann daher komplexe Sinnzusammenhänge nicht erfassen. Mit unserer selbst erstellten Kategorie der Umgangssprache haben wir versucht, die eigentlichen Möglichkeiten von LIWC zu erweitern; doch auch hier trifft prinzipiell die gleiche Kritik zu. Zudem mag unser Vorgehen bei der Aufnahme eines Wortes in die Kategorienbildung kritikwürdig erscheinen. Was umgangssprachlich ist (und was nicht), ist weniger trennscharf bestimmbar, als dies bei anderen sprachlichen Dimensionen (z. B. Wortkomplexität) der Fall war. Wir haben uns zwar an verfügbarer Literatur zur Thematik (Bernhard, 2012; Wittwen, 1995) orientiert; letztlich basieren die Zuordnungen von Wörtern zur entsprechenden Kategorie

«US» allerdings auf Plausibilität, waren also lediglich augenscheinvalide. Andere Autoren wären vermutlich mitunter zu einer leicht anderen Kategorienbildung gekommen. Dennoch sind die Ergebnisse in sich schlüssig und bestätigen die entsprechenden Annahmen. Gleichwohl ist bei der Interpretation insbesondere unserer Ergebnisse zu Unterschieden in der Umgangssprache Vorsicht geboten. Es handelt sich bei der Kategorie «Umgangssprache» um keine etablierte LIWC-Kategorie, sondern um eine, die wir selbst für unsere Textkorpora entwickelt haben und die auch nur für unsere Korpora an Texten passte und daher nicht generalisierbar ist.

Konkreter lässt sich an der Verwendung von LIWC weiterhin folgendes kritisieren: Bei der LIWC-Variable «Unique», als Mass für TTR (Wortschatzdiversität), ist deren Textlängenabhängigkeit als Problem zu nennen, das in der vorliegenden Arbeit allerdings durch statistisches Herauspartialisieren von «WC» kontrolliert wurde. Was passiert, wenn auf eine solche statistische Kontrolle verzichtet wird, wollten wir explizit zeigen, indem wir zusätzlich ohne statistische Kontrolle ausgewertet haben. Wie aus Abbildung 2 (vgl. oben mit unten) hervorgeht, sind die Ergebnisse praktisch gegenläufig – je nachdem, ob für «WC» statistisch kontrolliert wurde oder nicht. Das verdeutlicht nochmals die Problematik dieses Masses und unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit, hier besonders sorgfältig vorzugehen (vgl. Fussnote 2).

Bei der LIWC-Variable «WPS», als Mass für Satzkomplexität, wäre als Problem denkbar, dass Satzkomplexität neben der blossen Wortzahl auch von der Satzstruktur beeinflusst wird: Zwei Sätze gleichen Inhalts können aus der gleichen Anzahl an Wörtern bestehen, aber während der eine parataktisch schlicht aneinanderreihet, besteht der andere aus hypotaktischen Verschachtelungen. Etwas Ähnliches würde für zwei Sätze gleichen Inhalts mit etwa gleicher Anzahl an Wörtern gelten, wenn der eine im Aktiv, der andere aber im Passiv steht. LIWC, das in der linguistischen und kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Forschung vielfach eingesetzt wurde und wird (s. Einleitung), kann derlei Unterschiede

allerdings nicht erfassen. Gleichwohl kann «WPS», da es hoch mit dem etablierten Satzkomplexitätsmass «MLU» korreliert, als valides Mass für Satzkomplexität gelten (Lange et al., 2019). Dennoch könnten zusätzliche Aspekte sprachlicher Gewandtheit, etwa die Satzstruktur betreffend oder hinsichtlich des Sprachstils (vgl. Pennebaker & King, 1999), weitere Varianz z. B. in der Wahrnehmung von sprachlicher Gewandtheit durch Rezipienten erklären und in zukünftiger Forschung daher mitberücksichtigt werden.

Einen ersten Schritt weg davon, sich zu sehr auf LIWC zu verlassen, das neben den bereits genannten Problemen noch jenes hat, nicht 100 Prozent der Sprache abzudecken (vgl. Wolf et al., 2008), haben wir in der vorliegenden Arbeit bereits getan, indem wir nicht nur zusätzlich Umgangssprache untersuchten, sondern für das gesamte Material den etablierten Flesch-Index berechneten. Die Korrelation der Flesch-Werte mit den Werten der anderen Sprachniveau-Marker bestätigt dessen Brauchbarkeit.

5.3 Fazit und Ausblick

Hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Gestaltung von Online-Nachrichtenberichten der Rundfunkanstalten scheint eine Unterscheidung der Anbieter hinsichtlich des Sprachniveaus des Online-Angebots weniger eindeutig, als dies bei klassischen Fernsehnachrichten der Fall ist (Lange et al., 2019). Zwar zeigen sich einige Unterschiede im Sprachniveau der Online-Berichterstattung der ÖRS verglichen mit jener der PS, jedoch scheinen sich Nachrichten in der Online-Welt im System- und Sendervergleich eher zu ähneln (Konvergenz) als sich zu unterscheiden (Konkurrenz). Teils ergab sich ein höheres Sprachniveau der Online-Nachrichten im Vergleich zu ihren TV-Pendants. Dies war bei Wortkomplexität und bei Umgangssprache der Fall, was daran liegen könnte, dass Online-Nachrichten eher der Schriftlichkeit, TV-Nachrichten eher der Mündlichkeit (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985) zuzuordnen sind. Aufgrund einiger Limitationen unserer Forschung (z. B. nur 84 Online-Texte bei nur 21 TV-Texten, deren Themen zum Teil

nicht übereinstimmen) sollte zukünftige Forschung evaluieren, inwiefern die hier präsentierten Befunde tatsächlich robust sind.

Als Konsequenz aus unseren Ergebnissen könnte in zukünftiger Forschung der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie Unterschiede im Sprachniveau klassischer TV-Nachrichten auf Rezipienten wirken, etwa bezüglich der Informationsvermittlung oder darauf, als wie angenehm die Nachrichtenrezeption empfunden wird (Lange et al., 2019). Unsere Befunde zu Online-Nachrichten legen also nahe, in einem nächsten Schritt die Wirkung von TV- aber auch von Online-Nachrichten in experimentellen Rezeptionsstudien in den Blick zu nehmen. Damit könnte u. a. die Frage nach der optimalen sprachlichen Gestaltung crossmedialer Informationsvermittlung beantwortet werden.

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Supplementary Material

Zu diesem Beitrag ist ein von den AutorInnen erstelltes Online Supplement verfügbar.

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How to play ... popular music: Didactic action and the display of musical expertise in online tutorials

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Abstract

Based on sample evaluation, this article investigates didactic actions and the display of expertise within the field of popular music-related online tutorials distributed on YouTube. In a first step, didactic activity and musical expertise are discussed with reference to institutional, interactional and media aspects in order to gain a comprehensive image of what influences the teaching of popular music. By means of the sample evaluation – the sample concentrates on highly-requested YouTube channels – basic insights into the specificity of the didactic situation induced by popular music-related online tutorials are to be provided. The analysis pays particular attention to the interlacing of knowledge organization, performance and audio-visual production. Overall, it can be shown how specific rules regarding the representation and gratification of expertise emerge in the YouTube media environment, examples of which are the “professional” appearance of the instructors and the compartmentalization of popular music-related cultural knowledge.

Keywords

online tutorials, popular music, knowledge organization, teaching, social media, YouTube

1 Introduction

The Internet and especially social media have created new spaces for teaching popular music, with the audio-visual tutorial being one of the most prominent examples of this development. The relevance of this observation discloses itself against the background that popular music still represents a relatively young didactic field of activity in which there is a lively struggle to find the ‘right’ approaches. This means that the circle of actors involved in designing concepts and methods of teaching popular music and in structuring popular music-related knowledge has expanded, which, in turn, requires answers to the pivotal question of what makes people trustworthy popular music instructors.

The media products that fuel this transformative process have not been adequately investigated so far. Hence, the article aims at identifying the basic characteristics of popular music-related online tutorials, with the focus being on those artefacts that are released on the currently most popular video sharing platform,

YouTube. The theoretical framework used herein unfolds from the understanding of media as media environments, which implies that the media shape socio-cultural territories in which behavior follows specific rules – a rationale that can be assigned to both constructivist media theory and media-ecological thinking. According to Meyrowitz (1990, p. 67), communication in and by the use of the media can be understood as a “larger system of behavior and response” whose coming into being and molding are determined by a variety of factors, for example, the sensory modalities, the symbolic systems used (e.g., image, text, sound), the direction of communication (one-sided or reciprocal), the temporal structure of the communicative process (synchronous or asynchronous), the technical or physical means of communication or the range of the communicative act (technically and socially) (Meyrowitz, 1990, pp. 77–78).

Meyrowitz’s model can generally be assigned to constructivist epistemology, which is important for media theory in that it has led, among other things, to the



realization that the social effects of media are not limited to the (neutral) transmission of information and the enabling of communication. Rather, it is the media technologies themselves that induce certain courses of actions, shaping people's perceptions, values, symbolic orders etc. in the long term (Schmidt, 1994, pp. 287–292). Media-ecological thinking shares the fundamental assumption with constructivist epistemology that everything that seems real to humans is a result of mental “construction” efforts. With the nature analogy, which is implied with the concept of ecology, however, a quite distinct theoretical path is taken. According to Ruotsalainen and Heinonen (2015, pp. 2–3), media ecology “sees media as social environments, analogous to physical social environments.” For the authors, this again means that media can be described “as a structure in which society and culture evolve – as an environment where people act and live their lives, and through which reality is perceived” (Ruotsalainen & Heinonen, 2015, p. 3). However, it must be critically added that this argumentation implies a rather naturalistic explanatory model with respect to the impact of the media on society at large. As a matter of fact, media environments such as YouTube also need to be scrutinized as the outcome of entrepreneurial procedures, which means that media-induced actions are ultimately to be read as economically determined actions (Vonderau, 2016).

Despite this criticism, the present paper essentially shares the premise of the media's formative potentials expressed in media ecology (and in constructivist media theory) and examines at a micro level (YouTube clips) how media properties influence communicative endeavors and thereby take part in the creation of images of “successful” teaching, which potentially have an impact on traditional educational institutions.

The findings this article presents are based on the evaluation of a sample consisting of seventy clips and a close reading of seven clips. Conceptually, as the subtitle of this paper suggests, the focus is on didactic activity and expertise. The former

shall refer here to forms of organized action aimed at imparting knowledge and skills, the latter to specialized knowledge that is needed to execute, analyze or evaluate a certain type of activity in a manner which is generally considered skillful and sophisticated. The conceptual distinction seems necessary because, first, it must be assumed that the people displayed in the clips intend to act in a didactic manner, meaning that they seek to initiate learning processes on the part of the audience (which does not deny further intentions, such as making money with the help of Youtube's monetization program). The study aims to uncover the logic underlying these people's doing (and not doing) in order to ascertain whether online tutorials reveal a specific didactic conceptuality related to popular music. Second, the didactic framework in which teachers operate is determined by the societal discussion about the elements of knowledge that are adopted in subject-specific expertise (Ben-Peretz, 2011; Broudy, 1977; Kennedy, 1998). Thus, the study asks for bodies of knowledge that allow conclusions to be drawn about collectively shared ideas of the “eminently important” in popular music. With the insight into the latter, it is possible to uncover which elements of popular music are commonly regarded as culturally significant, in the sense of worth being passed on.

2 Teaching popular music: Institutions, interaction, and the media

Today, most people, regardless of age, gender, educational status or social status surely apprehend popular music as “their” music (at least, this is the case in Western societies). However, until this broad recognition, a great deal of ground had to be covered, which can be reconstructed by reference to school education. School, understood as a social institution, has always been of central importance for the reproduction of social structures (see Collins, 2009). What a society negotiates as the basis for its own existence – in political, eco-

nomic and cultural terms – is brought to the attention of every individual student as a more or less binding horizon for future action (see Wentzel & Looney, 2007). In its actual effect on the acquisition of vocal or playing techniques, schooling is certainly not to be assessed as too strong – music is learned and practiced at music colleges, music schools, in private music lessons, in bands or in choirs.¹ However, music teaching at school is of great importance regarding the structuring of knowledge and the imparting of aesthetic values.

After a long history of rejecting and ignoring popular music, affirmation is now the norm. For quite some time, concepts of cultural diversity and aesthetic equivalence set the pedagogical standard (Jost, 2016), but there is no consensus on where the didactic priorities for popular music are.² One group of scholars recognizes action-oriented teaching as essential (see Bicknell, 2019; Gulish, 2019; Rolle, 2010). On the one hand, this approach is linked to general premises from the field of learning psychology, which emphasize the processuality of learning itself and, in particular, the importance of somatic processes for learning success. On the other hand, the activity focus is aesthetically justified. According to this, the nature of music, its laws and also its pleasures literally need

to be experienced, namely by playing and singing or, in general terms, by acting in a creative manner. In relation to popular music, a number of aesthetic and didactic specifics are brought into play, such as audio design, equipment, and authentic performance settings. Another group of scholars advocates an interdisciplinary approach that emphasizes socio-cultural aspects of music (see Howard, 2019; McArton & Niknafs, 2019; Przybylski & Niknafs, 2015), which means that the extra-musical aspects of popular music culture are given more attention. This can relate to ethics, ideology and cultural identity formation, as well as political objectives and attitudes; the latter refers to popular music's capacity to both channel and fuel political protest and subversive action. And yet another group focuses on music analysis (Dunbar-Hall, 1999; Incze, 2019; Oberschmidt, 2017), which, at first glance, could be interpreted as a concession to traditional musicological means of conceptualizing music, but which, on closer inspection, has a more complex background. Since the very beginnings of popular music studies researchers have been confronted with the related questions of what is meaningful about this kind of music and how to analyze its artefacts. Among the various respondents to these problems are scholars who have focused, *inter alia*, on structural music analysis, style analysis, and spectral analysis of sound textures. Accordingly, the field of music analysis stands for the fundamental question of how to cognitively approach popular music as sounding object in school, college or university. This polyphony of didactic approaches can of course be interpreted positively, namely as a manifestation of multiperspectivity, but this cannot hide the fact that knowledge about popular music is still, to large extents, in the process of being formalized. The lack of formalization in institutional contexts (such as school education) poses a problem because options for future action are obscured (see Berger & Luckmann, 1966, pp. 161–163).

In addition to school education, instrumental teaching plays an important role in the transfer of musical competenc-

1 For some time, so-called string, brass and choir classes have been used to focus on active music-making (at least in case of the German educational system to which the author mainly refers in this section). Nevertheless, it should be noted that most of the music lessons are still based on the traditional pattern of emphasizing cognitive learning.

2 Between individual countries, educational traditions may diverge considerably. For this reason, it would be a demanding undertaking to determine transnational approaches regarding the teaching of popular music (such an undertaking is more likely to be accomplished by bringing together country-specific studies, as in the special edition of the IASPM Journal, entitled "Popular Music and Education" and published in 2015). In addition to the focus on the German educational system (see above), this section tries to also map global trends in teaching popular music.

es – perhaps, as indicated above, a more important one. Until today, the majority of private teachers or of those at music schools is trained at colleges and conservatories, where the orientation towards the classical repertoire and the corresponding expressive styles for a long time allowed little or no alternative approaches. Compared to the broad social recognition of popular music today, the conservatoires appear as a refuge for a conservative understanding of music, as Thom (2019, pp. 9–11) points out with regard to the situation in German-speaking countries.³ For a long time, most conservatoires have included institutes and / or curricula in jazz and pop music, but these rank well below the traditional classical training in terms of material resources and staffing as well as public perception (Jørgensen, 2016, p. 4). Leaving this bias aside and looking at the jazz and pop training itself, it shows that these formulate binding content and objectives (as it is characteristic of educational institutions), which affect the symbolic orders of popular music culture. By way of example, a learning content such as vocal or instrumental skillfulness by no means reflects popular music in its entirety. The aesthetics of punk, for example, denies the principle of musical mastery and in the field of electronic dance music there may be several actors who cannot play or sing at all.

In addition to the cultural-symbolic level, interaction structures are an essential component in understanding how (popular) music culture is reproduced via the imparting of knowledge and skills. Teaching creates a face-to-face situation that not only allows space for an informal exchange between the teacher and the student, but actually demands it. Having been the subject of theoretical reflections over the epochs of intellectual history and charged with the values of the respective

time, the teacher-student relationship undoubtedly constitutes an interesting relational structure (Winnerling, 2005), characterized on the one hand by ideas of professionalism (including distinct role structure, different horizons of knowledge, clear objective [which is improving the student's skills]) and on the other hand by, at least, two individuals being reciprocally related to one another in a series of contingent situational arrangements (Schmidt, 2008). Aspects of trust, sympathy and empathy play a constitutive role in this relationship and can affect it in both a positive or – in case they are missing – negative manner. The learning success depends to a certain degree on the attitude and beliefs of the teacher, which he or she reveals wittingly or unwittingly (Schwer & Solzbacher, 2014). Eventually, this is where habitus theory has come to the fore, which, with reference to the triumph of popular culture in the second half of the 20th century, refers to new patterns of behavior, lifestyles and body politics, such as those reflected in the concept of coolness, which can be read both as a strategy of refusal (of bourgeois body domestication) and as an aesthetic code within the then newly forming community of the young (see Dinerstein, 2017). Consequently, anyone who aspired to make a credible appearance as a popular music expert faced a changed horizon of expectations.

Another innovation is that popular music has been learned by many fans around the world on a self-taught basis, namely by means of media representations: the recordings (see Bennett, 1980; with regard to digital media see Michielse, 2016; Zimmermann, 2015). As a result, both scripturality and the intermediary agency of the teacher have lost the status of the indispensable which they held – and still hold – in Western art music (scores are elementary for all kinds of performances of Western art music, whereas songbooks function as a lucrative business targeting of the fan and amateur music scene). In any case, this facet of learning music should be taken into consideration when uncovering – in Section 4 – the inventory of communicative tools that is utilized in

3 However, there are differences from country to country or region to region. In the Scandinavian countries, for example, there has been a longstanding appreciation of popular music in higher education (Dyndahl, Karlsen, Graabræk Nielsen, & Skårberg, 2017).

line with the online-based imparting of musical knowledge and skills. Because a simple question arises: why make use of a “mediated” instructor when in the past it was possible to learn popular music without intermediary instances?

However, it must be pointed out here that “mediated” instructors have played a role in teaching popular music in the past. Since the 1980s, tutorial videos have been produced that show popular musicians who reveal their personal playing techniques and give an insight into what they played on famous recordings.⁴ In contrast to the online tutorials, the appeal of these videos is evident: the stars themselves disclose their knowledge (or they pretend to disclose it). In pre-social media times, this enabled a truly special form of parasocial encounter. As a matter of fact, this media genre of popular music is more or less unexplored territory, so that no in-depth information can be given about its status in the cultural reproduction of popular music.

Finally, the state of research on the music-related online tutorial shall be discussed. On a larger scale, online tutorials (without musical content) have been investigated so far in library science (Lemke, 2014; Schröder, 2013), media didactics (Bornemann, 2013; DeVaney, 2009) and educational research (Valentin, 2018; Wolf, 2015). In media and communication science, the interest in them has so far been limited to their role in socio-cultural developments and other media phenomena, such as tagging processes (Munk & Mørk, 2007), science communication (Geipel, 2018), and in the collaborative interconnectedness of web users (Reichert, 2013).

Musicological research more or less ignores the tutorial as a subject-matter; at most, it is indirectly addressed, for example in Herzberg (2012) in connection with the so-called production videos on YouTube, in Kruse and Veblen (2012) with regard to the imparting of genre-specific music practices, or in Bechtel (2017) with reference to its value for training at conservatoires. Waldron (2013), in turn, provides an overview of music-related online learning options by looking at the various clip types that enable informal music learning; based on a “cyber ethnographic field study” (Waldron, 2013, p. 93), she highlights issues of learner agency as well as discourse formation. Elsewhere she outlines the theoretical and methodological framework relevant to music education research and the development of didactic approaches, stressing, for example, the importance of community building and, in this context, the interconnectivity of online and offline activities (Waldron, 2012). Cayari (2011) discusses the didactic value of YouTube stars and their clips for classroom activities, focusing on the conditions in which the clips are produced as well as the forms of self-presentation. Thanks to a comprehensive case study of the YouTube star Wade Johnston (including an interview with him and some of his fans), Cayari is capable of providing sound insights into the goals, interests, expectations, attitudes, etc. that accompany personal popularity in the YouTube universe.

Perhaps the most comprehensive study on music education through YouTube is presented in Whitaker, Orman and Yarbrough (2014). Based on a content analysis of 1761 objects, the study provides fundamental insights into the practice of the “music education” YouTube clip. This means that, firstly, a broad transnational public interest in such clips is documented, secondly, the main topics and their percentage distribution are shown (e.g., performance, teaching, public relations; teaching videos form the largest group) and thirdly, characteristics of the people involved are determined (university-age adults appear to be most active). However,

4 One of the leading production companies in this segment was Star Licks Productions. Starring musicians include, amongst many others, Brian May (Queen), Tony Iommi (Black Sabbath), and Steve Lukather (Toto) (see http://robertdecker.com/starlicks_references/#masterseries, 15 February 2020). A large number of these videos are available on YouTube (search item: star licks). My thanks go to Knut Holtsträter for pointing me to this little-known media genre of popular music.

the design of these clips (in terms of filmic production and didactic conceptuality) is not addressed.

Despite this study and the other studies mentioned, it shows that there is a notable research gap regarding the way music-related online tutorials are structured. In order to understand the extent to which media products pass on knowledge, it seems necessary to get an overview of what they literally contain and to detect the inherent logics that make them a coherent whole that people may perceive as relevant and appealing.

3 Method

The study underlying this article is based on the author's ongoing research into musical practices in social media (see Jost, 2017, 2018; Jost & Gratwohl, 2012). In the course of the examination of YouTube, the author made two observations that should prove to be decisive for the study: firstly, in the past decade the quality standards of user-generated content – which is frequently analyzed under the terminological umbrella of DIY culture (see Roig, 2020; Schäfer, 2011) – seemed to have risen (the newer videos, also the tutorials, looked “more professional” than the early social media videos); secondly, many of the newer tutorials had relatively high view numbers compared to the numbers the early tutorials produced with cell phones or digital camera achieved. These observations prompted the author to ask about the production logics that are relevant to this “new generation” of tutorials that obviously enjoy great popularity.

3.1 Sampling

A sample-based approach seemed profitable, as this could provide insight into the basic orientations within the music tutorial sector while taking thematic and production-related varieties into account. In addition, for reasons of feasibility, it was necessary to limit the addressed area of investigation, which was specifically done by focusing on highly requested tutorials. As a result, trends that play a dominant role

in the YouTube universe were uncovered, the tutorial mainstream, as it were. In light of the quantitative aspect, it can also be argued that the people involved are indeed widely recognized as musical authorities (see Section 1).

The formation of the actual sample was preceded by the rather unsystematic examination of the “field”,⁵ which involved determining the top values in reception; initially, criteria such as mother tongue and nationality of the clip producers played no role. However, in the further course, it became apparent that the most viewed clips were produced by people from Anglophone countries. This discovery was surprising, since it can generally be assumed that people from non-English speaking countries also have excellent knowledge of English, which enables them to reach an international audience. Be that as it may, this discovery has given a first glimpse into the communicative mechanisms associated with the popular music-related tutorial genre, making it clear that the spoken language and the nationality of the people involved must somehow be taken into account when evaluating the sample. As a matter of principle, the mother tongue and nationality/ethnicity of the clip producers could have been used as guiding criteria for sampling, too. This would have made it possible to reveal national and/or regional peculiarities in the appropriation and cultural reproduction of the global phenomenon of popular music – which in the light of the concept of glocalization (Robertson, 1995) can be regarded as desirable. However, the study did not address such nuances, but raised the fundamental question of how these tutorials are structured and what type of teaching they promote (see Section 1 and 2).

After having determined a quantitative reference for highly requested tutorials, specific search was made for tutorial channels that are devoted to the means of producing sound that have shaped pop-

⁵ The decision to consider a segment of the World Wide Web as a “field” corresponds to ethnographic approaches in online research; see, for example, Kozinets (2010) outlining the concept of “netnography”.

Table 1: Sample of YouTube clips selected for detailed analysis

Channel	Real name	Age	Sex	Language	Nationality	Most watched clip	First access	Put online	Views (at date of first access)
acoustic guitar									
Guitar Jamz	Marty Schwartz	30–40	male	English	presumably USA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llNuwhZWXKA&t=12s	11.05.17	22.05.13	7 443 458
electric guitar									
rockn-goodpeople	David Taub	35–45	male	English	presumably USA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TTzdcOcpyuE	11.05.17	06.09.07	2 475 136
electric bass									
Scott's Bass Lessons	Scott Devine	30–40	male	English	not specified (presumably UK, see website https://scottsbasslessons.com)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W70XkdHSQPA	11.05.17	17.10.12	1 825 938
drums									
Drumeo	Jered Falk	30–40	male	English	not specified (presumably Canada, see website https://www.drumeo.com)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=et9hU7QMDYU&t=29s	12.05.17	24.12.13	2 596 144
piano / keyboard									
Lypur	Andrew Furmanczyk	25–35	male	English	presumably Canada	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vphWgqbF-AM&t=119s	12.05.17	10.07.08	16 488 087
computer									
howto make emusic	not specified	non-determinable	non-determinable	English	presumably Finland	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtUjHi-e8lk	12.05.17	20.12.11	2 305 600
voice									
Eric Arceneaux	Eric Arceneaux	30–40	male	English	presumably USA	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q5hS7eukUbQ&t=221s	19.05.17	15.07.13	7 542 548

ular music culture, with the latter being: acoustic guitar, electric guitar, electric bass, drums, piano / keyboard, voice and computer. Finally, ten YouTube channels were selected for each means of producing sound, which should ensure a certain variance of the cases, but at the same time corresponded to the practical desire to implement the study.

3.2 Sample evaluation

As a first step, each channel was scrutinized with the help of the following categories: channel owner (username), real name, persons involved, age, gender, language, nationality, number of subscribers,

link to the channel, first view of the channel during the research process, number of views, date of joining YouTube.⁶ From the ten channels per sample group, the clip with the highest number of views was identified, which included recording the date of first access, the actual number of views at the time of first access, and the

⁶ The nationality was determined on the basis of the YouTube category “location”, biographical information on the website of the relevant person and his or her pronunciation. Since there is no information that has been verified by the persons concerned, the corresponding table entry includes the supplement “presumably” (see Table 1).

date of uploading the clip. From the most successful channel in each sample group,⁷ the clip with the highest view rate was then subjected to detailed analysis. This resulted in a focus sample consisting of seven clips (see Table 1).

The analysis was based on the following categories: musical reference (What is the subject of teaching? Are certain songs selected? A certain style?); setting (Where was the tutorial recorded? What can be seen?); performance (How does the instructor behave? What is noticeable about his or her behavior, especially with regard to didactic decisions? Is there a certain manner of speaking? Or are there certain gestures?); inserts (Are textual messages used? If so, how are they used?); camera and cutting (How does the camera operate? Are there certain patterns of filmic composition?); sound (What conclusions can be drawn with reference to miking and post-production?). The answers to these questions were initially given in a table and aimed to provide a thorough description of the cases. The completed table then formed the basis for the actual analytical-interpretative work.⁸

4 Filming, performing, teaching: Research findings

In the course of the sample evaluation, individual sequences of the clips were examined more closely, recurring elements within a single clip, but also among the seven focus clips were determined, cross-connections between the clips were drawn and symbolic meanings and socio-cultural determinations of the behavior shown were discussed. This was put into relation to the peculiarities (regarding age, sex, language and nationality) revealed by the initial sample consisting of

70 objects.⁹ Subsequently, thematic fields emerged that illuminated how the single “ingredients” of the popular music-related tutorial interact. The following sections illustrate these thematic fields.

4.1 Channel structure

First of all, the YouTube profiles and clips examined are characterized by the high degree of differentiation in relation to the challenges associated with playing an instrument or using the voice in a skillful manner. There are tips for the beginner (“how to hold a guitar”) as well as instructions on how to play a specific piece or solo accurately.¹⁰ This range may not be entirely coincidental, as teachers are generally expected to be specialists in a particular field of knowledge (Metzler & Woessmann, 2010). Being able to answer as many questions as possible is – among other skills, of course – essential to the authority of a teacher. Therefore, there are no math teachers who are only responsible for fractions, as there are no music teachers who only teach good timing.

However, the accurate segmentation according to levels of difficulty and topics can also be interpreted in such a way that online tutorials create a space in which cultural knowledge is particularized and brought into the logics of seriality. As a result, the genuine intertwining of knowledge elements – Deleuze and Guattari (1977) use the term rhizome as a metaphor for the organization of knowledge – is counteracted. It is essential for the understanding of the rhizome metaphor that the

⁹ The statistical data collected underline the exploratory nature of the study. As the handling of age and nationality (see Table 1) shows, the data only vaguely indicate certain manifestations, which is why their actual function can be seen in drawing attention to potentially relevant topics. Consequently, numeric values are not given in the following.

¹⁰ This is particularly impressive in the case of the “Guitar Jamz” channel, which contains a vast ensemble of clips on music-theoretical aspects, individual songs, musical styles, artist-related playing techniques and much more (see <https://www.youtube.com/user/martyzsongs/videos> [24.07.2020]).

⁷ The channel owner ranking complies with the number of subscribers.

⁸ Future studies based on a larger corpus may expand the spectrum of insights. The descriptions and interpretations in the following chapter can therefore be understood as exploratory measurements of a widely ramified phenomenal domain.

individual knowledge elements are conceived as non-hierarchical, that is, they are not assigned to particular areas or levels of knowledge (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977, pp. 13–16). Rather, a reference structure is assumed in which an unimaginable number of cross-connections and intersections between the individual knowledge elements is possible.

Needless to say that it would be an exceedingly challenging, if not hopeless venture to depict the elements of a knowledge domain in a single YouTube channel (or even a single clip) in their rhizome-like interlacing. Nevertheless, the interlacing aspect implied by the rhizome metaphor brings into focus the specifics (or specific limitations) of individual media and media applications with regard to the organization and representation of knowledge (see also Veltman, 2006). Furthermore, the rhizome metaphor allows reference to the specificity (or, again, the specific limitations) of one's own research design. As a reminder, in this study, aspects of knowledge organization have been addressed by means of a product analytical approach (with a focus on audio-visual composition). However, studies that take into account the participatory or communal elements of social media, e.g. social tagging (see Park, 2019; Weller, 2010), can be profitable, too. Such analytical procedures are capable of disclosing knowledge practices that, due to strong collaborative dynamics, produce a particularly tight network of knowledge representations and evaluations, which corresponds much more closely to the theoretical model outlined by Deleuze and Guattari (1977).

Regarding the channel management, the regular emission of clips is noticeable. The users in question upload new tutorials over longer periods with certain regularity (in some cases every few days). Occasionally, longer breaks can be detected (over a year or more), which are again followed by a regular or at least longer lasting clip production. The aspect of regularity may be owed primarily to the action and perception patterns of the social web. Attention and recognition are expressed in traffic, which in turn only gets started if new

information is constantly being provided (Faucher, 2018, pp. 14–15). In this respect, the clips are subject to the same logic of action as in social media-based peer communication and identity management (Neumann-Braun & Autenrieth, 2011).

It should also not be noted that the creators of the tutorials are not just pursuing altruistic goals. On the one hand, some YouTube profiles refer to paid content on other websites, and on the other hand, YouTube's monetization strategies have created a market, which promises a certain income after a certain number of views (Burgess & Green, 2018, p. 55). This is only possible due to advertisers who are given the opportunity to place ads in front of a YouTube clip. It cannot be ruled out that one or the other tutorial producer has become a professional or semi-professional "YouTuber", meaning he or she uploads clips to earn money with them. Another tool that underlines the need for an economic reading is "YouTube analytics". By this means the channel owner gains access to statistics concerning the reception of his or her clips. This includes data on the number of views in the course of time, the average play-back duration or on subscriber characteristics, for instance sex or nationality. In a sense, the user / instructor can take over the role of a market researcher. Altogether, he or she may operate as a one-man production and business unit.

4.2 Personal features

The sample on which the analysis was based has brought a specific group of people into focus: males, around 30 to 50 years old, mostly from the United States or the United Kingdom. Of course, it should be stressed that the size of the sample does not aim at representativity. Furthermore, it needs to be mentioned that it was not possible to identify the nationality of the users based on the information in the profile in each and every case; it also had to be assigned on the basis of linguistic capacities and characteristics, which is why it is generally advisable to locate the countries of origin in the "anglophone" world.

On the whole, of course, there is a considerable number of older and younger people acting as music instructors on YouTube. Likewise, many women produce tutorials. It was not intended to exclude these groups from the analysis. However, the crucial criteria for selection was the purely quantitative response by the viewers (that is, the number of views and subscribers), which ought to be as high as possible. The aim was to identify the peaks of popularity, and in this regard, a male Anglo-American dominance has come to light, which, given its relation to the history of western popular music, is not overly surprising. Most of the international superstars and cultural icons come from English-speaking countries, and while recent developments show a slight preponderance of female stars (see Beyoncé, Rihanna, Adele, or Lady Gaga), the history of popular music tells a different story (see Elvis Presley, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Who, Jimi Hendrix, Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin, and many more). The past, in a nutshell, is reconstructed in the social memories of the present generation, and central to the remembering of popular music are popular musicians and their oeuvres. In this regard, it can be hypothesized that the collective ideas of how an electric guitar or drums should sound like are largely coupled with masculine agency (see also Clawson, 1999; Leonard, 2007, pp. 23–42). It seems as if male online instructors still benefit today from the downright staggering dominance of male actors in the history of popular music (with the exception of singing). Against this background, it is almost surprising that female musicians, especially young women, achieve a high level of visibility on YouTube (predominantly as performers), even though they are struggling with the sexist hostility of male users (Schauberger, 2012).

The sample indicates that middle-aged men from Anglophone countries are credited with authority when it comes to teaching instruments that are characteristic of popular music. The high level of resonance can certainly also be explained by the status of English as a “universal language”. However, it can be countered that

non-native speakers also provide tutorials in English, but the response to their clips tends to be lower. Eventually, it cannot be denied that the tutorials confirm and reproduce a specific cultural orientation pattern in popular music, namely male, Anglo-American rock music. Regarding the notion of the Anglo-American, Regev (1997, pp. 131–132) points out that the impact of rock music from the USA and UK once was far-reaching and went beyond the aesthetic. In the late 1950s to early 1970s, the music also stood for modernity and social liberalization. In the course of the following decades, rock music and the experiences connected with it have become part of the collective memory work worldwide, participating in the formation of cultural identities (Regev, 1997, p. 132). Regev’s considerations suggest that there is a topos of the “Anglo-American” in contemporary popular music culture, a topos that, due to its position in identity-building processes, can be considered exceedingly powerful.

4.3 Self-presentation

In the majority of the tutorials studied, an informal tone prevails that somehow makes the filmed event appear spontaneous. A formalized manner of speaking as well as formalized facial and gestural expressions, as in the performances of the mass media (see, for example, the performance of talk show hosts or anchormen), are avoided. In social media, this is a familiar, globally accepted mode of communication; people swap ideas, on equal terms. The narrative of accessibility and mutual relatedness is prevalent in the field of social media communication (Boyd, 2010) and thus remains valid with regard to online tutorials. At the same time, reference can be made here to the habitual aspect and the aesthetic concept of coolness, which were mentioned in Section 2. Many of the body practices of popular music known today developed in the youth and countercultural environments of the 1960s that stood in opposition to existing ideas of morality and decency or at least sought to articulate an alternative to them (Bennett, 2012; Siegfried, 2006). One could

say that the pop performance became an independent art form, and an essential element of this development was that the performers overcame the restrictions that mainstream society had imposed on the body (Watermeyer, 2008). This means that it was important to appear as casual, relaxed, spontaneous and approachable as possible. It can be argued with Singer (1972) that these properties have merged, forming the core of a collective, i.e. cultural performance of ease and informality (or coolness).¹¹ Apparently, this performance paradigm also applies to the teaching situation, and one reason for that may be the audience's wish for authentic appearances. The latter implies that recognition is given primarily to those who, in simple terms, know what they are talking about, meaning to those who, by their performance, satisfy the audience that they are "real" pop musicians. In music education research, the need to incorporate popular music culture into the teaching process in an authentic manner has been repeatedly emphasized (Green, 2008; Terhag, 1989; Woody, 2007). It can be seen from the various studies that the impression of authenticity results from the way things are done, which points to the *practices* in which popular music is maintained as a symbolic system. It seems, firstly, that the "authentic performance" helps create musical authority and that, secondly, this authority compensates – at least to a certain extent – the lack of formalized educational knowledge of popular music culture (see Section 2).

Moreover, the sample evaluation shed light on moments of slightly increased excitement, especially when playing techniques that can be considered difficult are discussed. The performers then, in contrast to their otherwise mundane style of speech, seem particularly emphatic for

a brief moment. It can be assumed that here an important element of the "natural" teaching situation, that is, the face-to-face situation, is taken up or used in a dramaturgical way. There are likely to be moments in any lesson – whether in school or instrumental training – when the instructor presents a fact as "particularly important" for the understanding of the addressed topic. Then, an important structuring takes place with regard to the student's knowledge horizons that are still being formed – in other words: orientation is offered in the infinite expanses of world knowledge.

Face-to-face communication offers a variety of options for placing utterances that suggest certain emotionality, but this is not true for factual media products. In the case of the latter, the emphatic behavior is not verifiable (by queries, feedback, etc.), which is why it inheres the potential to confuse or annoy the viewer. With regard to reality TV, the extra-emphatic behavior may have a special charm, but in tutorials or other factual formats (e.g., news programs) this charm evaporates. Here, utterances of this kind rather have the function of the "joker", which means that they should be deployed only with great restraint.

It is striking that some instructors (the most successful among them) are very confident or, one could say, masterly in incorporating moments of emphasis into their performance. They seem to have the ability, typical of actors, to control their own behavior and to use it in a methodical manner, which leads to the general assumption that (broad) public recognition as an expert in the field of popular music is facilitated by adept self-presentation.

The category of self-presentation also includes the use of humor. In order to understand the function of the latter, the first question to ask is: in which social relationships do people normally act (or try to act) in a humorous way? The answer to that includes that humorous interludes are most likely to occur in the context of (media) entertainment as well as in everyday informal gatherings of people in pri-

¹¹ This is also evident on a textual level, as the channel name "Guitar Jamz" (<https://www.youtube.com/user/martyzsongs/videos> [24.07.2020]) makes clear, which firstly refers to the colloquial short form of the term jam session. Secondly, the regular plural morpheme -s is replaced by -z, which is a practice rooted in urban slang.

vate settings (especially among befriended persons). Humor manifests itself much less often in the broad field of work-related presentations (speech, lecture, meeting), since an overly humorous appearance involves the danger of undermining the professional role, which is based primarily on factual knowledge. Consequently, the same applies to the category of humor as to emphatic behavior: it should only be used in small doses. With regard to the examined sample it can be said that humorous interludes are even rarer than moments of emphasis. It seems that the authors of the clips are aware of the ambiguity of humor, proving once again that they are highly skilled at performing in front of the camera.¹²

The ongoing aesthetic elaboration of social media content has been the subject of research for some time, with “professionalization” being the conceptual heading in many cases. Various aspects are discussed in this context: the impact of big media corporations (see Kim, 2012), the changing technological means (cameras, microphones, music software etc.) and the falling acquisition costs, respectively (see Foster & Ocejo, 2015, p. 413), the importance of social media for corporate action (see Tsimonis & Dimitriadis, 2014), the emergence of new business models, as illustrated by the “influencer” (see Giles, 2018), or the role of social media in the distribution of artistic products (see Salo, Lankinen, & Mäntymäki, 2013). It therefore seems that these self-confident and accomplished instructors are part of a broad transformation process within participatory media culture, a process in which

the orientation towards the production standards in mass media (in which usually “professionals” set the agenda) seems to be a rather dominant action pattern.

4.4 Production style

In most clips the quality of image is compelling and meets pretty much the requirements that are imposed by a popular culture sensitive audience. This is also the case with the quality of sound, which indicates that in the vast majority of cases the performance was not recorded with the internal microphone of the camera, but with a common studio microphone. Both aspects, sound and moving image, show that the production of online tutorial is oriented towards the quality standards in traditional mass media. Together with the above-mentioned aspect of avoiding the mass media at the level of parlance, this results in an interesting tension that is constitutive of the aesthetic structure of online tutorials.

The following elements are featured in the examined clips on a regular basis, illustrating that tutorials have reached a level of sophistication that goes far beyond the do-it-yourself aesthetics of early cellphone YouTube clips.

i. Short introduction. The online instructors frame the following presentation by welcoming the audience (“Hi everybody”) and briefly explaining what will follow and what problems will be dealt with. In a few cases, the teaching content is also placed in a music-theoretical, music-historical or stylistic context. And finally, it can be observed that some use the introduction to hint at other (fee-based) learning opportunities.

ii. The recording studio as a setting. Many instructors present themselves in a studio setting, which in most cases is likely to be their own home studio. Due to the studio setting the performers are able to present themselves as virtually professional working pop musicians; in fact, they present themselves as working people. So the underlying message might be: I produce music with considerable effort. I am a serious musician and therefore exceed-

12 For instance, in the examined clip by “Scott’s Bass Lessons” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W70XkdHSQPA> [24.07.2020]), the instructor uses a swear word for the purpose of reinforcing his statement (at 00:02:25), notices this immediately and adds *en passant* that he should not do this because the clip is a PG (parental guidance) release. In post-production, he (or another person) overlaid the word with a short cartoon-like sound, which intensifies the comic lightness of the situation. After this, he skillfully switches back to the explanatory mode without any transition.

ingly reliable when it comes to teaching popular music (see Section 4.3).

iii. Advanced camera operation and cutting. The creators of the clips use the possibilities of audio-visual media in a nuanced but noticeable way. Camera perspectives alternate and crossfade, effects and inserts are used (in some cases, the opening titles are purely graphical). It is striking that tutorials that are based on simple cell phone clips (so to speak, the starting point of user-generated content on YouTube), today no longer achieve high numbers of views.

iv. Screencast. The sample indicates that tutorials on computer-based production of electronic dance music may step out of line, since they make use of screencast and voiceover. The decision in favor of this presentation mode seems natural, since the musical actions in an electronic dance music production setting usually materialize on the screen (as tracks, patterns, midi events, etc.). Nevertheless, screencast and voiceover can be interpreted as further evidence that the technical options in the field of amateur film production are largely applied in popular music-related online tutorials.

Taken together, the creators of the examined clips work diligently with the repertoire of audio-visual presentation options that are available in the age of digital media. They are competent musicians who also have internalized a set of skills in audio-visual media production. Generally speaking, it seems that the elaborate audio-visual performance has become a prerequisite for being credited – at a broad level – as musical expert on YouTube (see also Section 4.3).¹³

¹³ The introduction sequence of the examined clip by “Scott’s Bass Lessons” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W70XkdHSQPA> [24.07.2020]) corresponds in an almost paradigmatic manner to the features mentioned in this section. In the first shot, the URL of a website (www.scottsbasslessons.com) is shown (white writing on a black background); the URL fades in, which is accompanied with a sound effect. With a trick aperture, the next shot commences; this process is repeated four times in short frequen-

4.5 Embodied knowledge and didactic trends

The overall design of the tutorials with the instructor, in most cases, being at the center of the image composition and the addressed *modus operandi*, which is making music, suggest a theoretical focus on the incorporation of knowledge in individual people’s actions. The main question in this regard is: which of the skills and knowledge stocks or elements that emerge and circulate in the institutions, technical infrastructures and practices of popular music (see Le Marec & Ribac, 2019) are represented in the didactic actions? On the one hand, this results in the task of identifying what the instructors know about a phenomenon (declarative knowledge) and which knowledge elements they actually pass on verbally. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to think of the tutorial-based transfer of knowledge as a process that depends very much on the way things are executed (procedural knowledge). Now, the concept of embodied knowledge, starting from the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, implies that certain segments of knowledge have, as it were, become second nature to the executing persons and are activated more or less unconsciously; this primarily applies to pro-

cy (two to four seconds). The instructor can be seen in a home studio setting, at work, so to speak, which means that he demonstrates fingering or styles of playing and addresses the camera or another person (outside the frame) by explaining something (which is supported by vivid gestures). The shots are mostly filmed from an uninvolved observer perspective and are accompanied by a fusion jazz-like piece in which the electric bass obviously plays a key role. The intro shots are in black and white, the actual instructions, starting at 00:00:37, are in color. Also, three inserts are displayed during the intro (“Cutting Edge Tutorials...”, “For Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced.”, “With Scott Devine”); in two shots there is an extra window that shows the actions of the fretting hand in the zoom. A transition section between the intro and the actual tutorial part (00:00:24 to 00:00:37), depicting the instructor playing slap bass (the topic of the present clip), completes the advanced compositional structure of the clip’s opening.

cedural knowledge (see Tanaka, 2011). The reflections in this paragraph posit that the instructors present knowledge elements in their actions that they take for granted as a result of their own music-related learning biography, knowledge elements that have somehow become part of their physical constitution.

A pointed formulation at the beginning: after sighting the clips one might think that the entire cultural field of popular music is based on a single aesthetic principle, namely the combination of musical units of meaning nested in repetitive structures. Of course, this cannot be the only result of the evaluation of the sample – the different instruments alone induce different didactic approaches – and yet this is an important point addressed. The historical perspective makes this clear: essential for the production and cultural diffusion of popular music are on the one hand the song form and on the other hand the electronic mass media, above all the acoustic media (phonography, radio) (Wicke, 2001). In the interplay of both factors, musical practices could emerge which were firstly based on the principle of brevity (only concept albums and electronic dance music with their focus on the production of song cycles and tracks, respectively, could oppose this) and secondly interspersed with pattern formations at all compositional levels (grooves, riffs, licks, verse / chorus, etc.).

At the same time, the production of popular music has been largely determined by elaborating the specific skills and expressive qualities of the performer and presenting it as the actual attraction of the recording. A listener socialized by popular music not only knows that songs have an individual touch, but rather expects this touch to come out clearly (“to the face”, so to say). Highlighting the idiosyncratic modes of expression of a performer within a song or an album is an integral part of the production process in popular music, none more so than in rock-centered music genres (see Cohen, 1991, pp. 182–190). This phenomenon is taken up in the aesthetic category of the authentic, which, among other things, emphasizes that as-

pects of the personality of a performer somehow manifest themselves on a recording or in a stage performance (Barker & Taylor, 2007, p. x).¹⁴ Of course, picking up this aspect in the course of teaching is a particularly demanding endeavor. In face-to-face learning (instrumental lessons) this may be achieved by continuous feedback and extensive explanations and personal reports from the teacher. In contrast to this, tutorials do not allow for feedback by the teaching person, and lengthy testimonials may be a bit strange to the viewer, as expectations are oriented towards the action modes of demonstration and instruction. It is therefore not surprising that in the sample no passages could be found in which the category of the authentic is discussed.

When it comes to demonstrating exercises, online instructors rely almost exclusively on the principle of pattern formation.¹⁵ By doing so, they pre-structure music-related knowledge, thus introducing viewers into historically grown structures of producing popular music. At the same time, they ensure that the principle of pattern formation come to the fore.¹⁶

14 “Authenticity” here refers to artistry and expressiveness (whereas Section 4.3 touches on the craft aspect). However, it is critical to add that in practice the assessments regarding the artistic authenticity of a performance can be very different. The likelihood that people will classify and recognize something as authentic will increase if they are part of a specific producer-recipient constellation (as in the case of a star-fan relationship or a music scene).

15 One exception seem to be vocal tutorials with their focus on warm-up exercises and exercises to improve vocal technique.

16 In its pure form, so to speak, the principle of pattern formation is revealed in the examined clip of the drum channel “Drumeo” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=et9hU7QMDYU&t=29s>). Here, the classic backbeat pattern consisting of hi-hat, snare and bass drum is explained. The instructor demonstrates how a drum beat takes shape by playing at different beats. In an insert, notes are shown in sync with what the teacher is playing. However, these notes are not organized within a classical score consisting of several bars, instead, only one

Thus, a series of normative subtexts can be read out of the tutorials: popular music cannot be played by notes! Improvisation precedes composition! Learn to think in patterns! From an educational science perspective, this is interesting in that practical knowledge is given the status of teaching content without the intermediate stage of discursive theory formation. Normally, in popular music, practical knowledge is discussed and made explicit in an informal exchange between musicians (during a recording session or in online forums) or in special-interest magazines addressing single instrument groups, such as electric guitar, drums, or bass (see Herbst, 2019). As a result, it seems reasonable to conclude that the music-related online tutorial has grown into a high-reach media genre that is able to take up, bundle and condense existing assumptions about the “correct” playing of popular music and to transform them into some sort of unofficial curriculum. A characteristic of this “curriculum” is that its coming into being is more or less opaque.

The aspect of opacity also relates to the fact that the online instructors’ conceptual premises are not made the content of the learning process, which ultimately makes them appear as exclusive knowledge that is reserved for the instructor (this actually makes these premises “subtexts”, see above). It seems that a more traditional, if not antiquated form of knowledge transfer is used, which could best be characterized by the concept of the “master” (see Potter, 2013). For comparison: modern school didactics is based on showing students what to expect at the beginning of the learning

bar is shown. A bouncing ball icon and a bar that moves evenly from left to right indicate which tone is currently being played; this is repeated several times, like in a loop. Hence, the didactic focus is clearly on teaching the viewer how to play a one-bar figure fluently. At the end of the clip, the instructor signifies, by suggesting to increase the tempo, that this is exactly what he is aiming at (00:05:01 to 00:05:11). The mode of demonstration that had prevailed until then, manifesting itself in the rather slow tempo, disappears and the simple one-bar pattern turns into a proper rock beat.

process, which may include switching to a meta level and discussing why the selected subject is being treated. That means the didactic and methodical steps are made transparent (Huit & Monetti, 2017). Regarding the tutorials’ didactic constitution, it becomes apparent that in the guise of the modern (“social media”) a rather traditional knowledge practice (“masterliness”) is preserved.

Finally, with regard to the embodiment and structuring of knowledge, another point worth mentioning is the significance of equipment. Through their setup, the instructors indicate that making popular music actually means producing sound textures with the means of various technical objects (amplifiers, microphones, sound effects, etc.) (see Zagorski-Thomas, 2014). In this respect, the tutorials confirm the expanded understanding of musical aesthetics that emerged in the second half of the 20th century against the background of popular music and the musical avant-garde and the important role technology and mediatization played in both (see Braun, 2002). However, the same applies here as for pattern formation: the understanding of popular music as technically induced sound texture is not addressed as such and therefore accompanies the teaching / learning process in a rather diffuse and subtle way. One reason for this is surely that the tutorials show “authentic” practitioners, i.e. pop musicians (see Section 4.3), whose didactic actions – mainly demonstrations and instructions – largely feed on embodied knowledge, meaning knowledge that “is not distinctly explicit, conscious, mentally representative, or articulated” (Tanaka, 2011, p. 149).

5 Conclusions

Music-related online tutorials provide an insight into the communicative processes in which didactic methods and musical expertise consolidate and take effect as socially binding knowledge structure. Beyond school and private lessons, they create a specialized media environment in which to learn about popular music in

general and pieces of music and artists in particular.

A central aspect of this study was the question of how knowledge is embodied in performative acts and how this embodiment is processed via audio-visual media. This is based on the assumption that only by reference to the performance of the instructor role and the media storage and transmission of this performance, the attractions that make the single clip a legitimate didactic offer can be fully revealed. This implies that non-musical elements (such as the texture of the clip image) “rub off” on the perception of musically and didactically skilled persons. In the materiality of the YouTube clip, cultural knowledge, aesthetic values, expectations of appropriate behavior and much more merge into a meaningful whole, concretely: into a cultural conception of the popular music instructor. This conception combines and structures collectively shared ideas of the “eminently important” in popular music (see Section 1). Due to the limited scope of a journal article, various aspects could not be dealt with: regional or national differences in the production of tutorials, user feedback (comment section) or the actual use of the clips in everyday life. These aspects are certainly to be assessed as highly relevant, but ultimately the research gap regarding the composition of music tutorials was the decisive factor in the conception of this study (see Section 2).

The research findings reveal four main tendencies: Firstly, the tutorials seem to reproduce gender-related and national disparities. There is a high demand for clips made by men between the ages of 30 and 50 from anglophone countries. This prolongs, if you will, the symbolic leadership of male musicians from the USA and UK in the consolidation phase of western popular culture in the second half of the 20th century. However, it cannot be ruled out that this widespread approval also traces back to the comprehensibility of the verbalized contents. Users may perceive a non-English accent as an unnecessary distraction from the actual content of the tutorial, or even as a potential disruption to the process of acquiring knowledge.

It would be up to further research in this field to scrutinize the specific attractions of these persons from the perspective of the recipient, for example on the basis of interviews and / or group discussions.

Secondly, the examined tutorials show the general trend on YouTube for the professionalization of user-generated content; here, professionalization references primarily the characteristics of the product and the gradual adaptation to the quality standards in mass media. As indicated above, the image of musical and pedagogical authority generated by the tutorials cannot be attributed solely to the displayed instructions, but is ultimately the result of the overall appearance on YouTube, which also relates to the channel design and the amount of clips provided. It seems that only those people are widely recognized as pop instructors and experts who also know how to present themselves as “social media professionals”.

Thirdly, the examined clips reveal similar didactic strategies and conceptual premises; these relate to the fabrication of playing patterns, the primacy of improvisation, and the use of technical devices to produce distinct sound textures. On the one hand, these strategies and premises generally correspond to ideas and concepts that are discussed in school didactics and higher education. On the other hand, there are two differences that are rather far-reaching: The strategies and premises mentioned have a certain exclusivity (and consequently disregard some popular music-related knowledge stores) and they are not addressed as such, meaning they are not made explicit as elements of knowledge. As has been shown, this certainly has to do with the embodiment of knowledge, but besides, the constitution of the involved media environment plays a crucial role. There are no institutions or actors on YouTube who combine the authority to somehow monitor the tutorial output with regard to scientific profoundness or the compliance of educational ideals such as transparency; no matter how you look at it, YouTube essentially follows the plain libertarian market rule of supply and demand, with the innovation that no

specially trained people, as in the case of mass media, channel what is supplied. Of course, in view of the eventuality that some instructors were trained at music colleges (or experienced postgraduate training), the tutorials may also reflect formalized institutional knowledge to a certain extent. However, this cannot hide the fact that the viewer, in the end, witnesses professional, semi-professional or amateur pop musicians who, for a variety of reasons, make an appearance as instructors, handing down knowledge that has become an element of their recording and performing routines.

Fourthly, the YouTube environment induces specific perceptions and patterns of behavior that challenge traditional expectation structures arising from the face-to-face learning situation. This includes in particular the fact that online instructors need to be persuasive every single second; the level of relationship building and the possibility of a trust-based interaction cease to apply due to mediatization of the communication process. The knowledge element that is actually treated is presented in a concise and dense manner. Explanations that deviate from the actual topic or problem – which is quite common in the face-to-face situation (because students usually ask questions) – are rather rare. The tutorials are on the whole problem-centered. At the beginning of each tutorial the instructor will explain which hurdle to take. Admittedly, learning an instrument can be interpreted as a repeated occurrence of problematic situations, but in face-to-face interaction the teacher has several options to circumvent the learner's fixation on the problematic. For example, the student may be instructed to play things that he or she already masters or the teacher acknowledges his or her performance. Accordingly, in online tutorials, didactic action and musical expertise are ingrained in a simple causal relationship: the user identifies a lack of competence – this can range from the beginner's nescience to the clearly defined knowledge gap of the accomplished instrumentalist – and seeks to overcome this state of deficiency

by watching the tutorial and implementing the instructions given there.

In conclusion, it can be said that online tutorials make music-related knowledge accessible in a wide range and for a broad public, respectively, while at the same time restricting the transfer of knowledge through the compartmentalized concentration on individual topics or problems and by focusing on a few conceptual premises. In the end, this is not detrimental to their popularity, because they implicate quite an attractive promise, namely quick solutions.

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“My kid, my rule”: Governing children’s digital footprints as a source of dialectical tensions between mothers and daughters-in-law

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Abstract

This paper reports on findings from an exploratory study on social media dilemmas (SMDs) mothers experience about their children’s social media presence when their mothers-in-law share about their offspring online, violating their boundaries expectations. The work is theoretically informed by systems theory and communication privacy management theory. A parenting forum was researched to investigate how mothers themselves frame these dilemmatic situations through a thematic analysis of a sample of 1224 posts from 38 discussion threads focusing on these issues. This work shows the disorienting nature of SMDs leading mothers to seek support through online communication. Findings from this study further suggest that sharing about minors on social media can cause dialectical tensions between interacting systems (i. e. the nuclear and the extended family), with mothers claiming and expecting first-level agency in managing their children’s digital footprints to foster systemic differentiation in the digital home.

Keywords

sharenting, social media, privacy boundaries, MIL-DIL dialectical tensions, digital parenting, grandsharenting, datafication of childhood

1 Introduction

In the contemporary digital age, social media use is embedded in family life in the global North (Lupton, Pedersen, & Thomas, 2016). Through a circular process of media domestication by which family and the media shape each other (Silverstone, 2005), families incorporate social media sharing in their daily routines by posting representations of their members on the Web (Holloway & Green, 2017). In this context, *Sharenting*, or the act of “sharing representations about one’s parenting or children online” (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017, p. 110), has become a usual habit for families (Livingstone, Blum-Ross, & Zhang, 2018). A growing body of research on the topic has developed in the past few years, focusing mostly on mothers sharing photos of the offspring on social media (Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). While the literature on the topic highlighted benefits associated with this practice in terms of increased sense of

connectedness with important people in one’s life (Bartholomew, Schoppe-Sullivan, Glassman, Kamp Dush, & Sullivan, 2012), scholars have also considered the lack of children’s agency in managing their digital footprints (Supple Bartels, 2015). In this sense, it has been stressed the role of parents as children’s personal information gatekeepers (Steinberg, 2016) who play an agentive role in deciding about their offspring’s online privacy. Ammari, Kumar, Lampe and Schoenebeck (2015) found that within the nuclear family, mothers do most of the online disclosure management work, by setting explicit and implicit rules for relatives and friends – especially grandparents – on whether and what to share online about their children, with the aim of defining boundaries between interacting systems. Thus, although Sharenting seems to be motivated by the desire to stay in touch with other family members, parents do care about being the ones in control of this practice. Such an endeavor is in line with communication privacy manage-



ment theory (Petronio, 2002), according to which families erect metaphorical privacy boundaries to draw a line with the outside world. According to systems theory, then, different degrees of boundaries can result in different levels of systemic differentiations (Minuchin, 1974). When parents guard their children's online presence, *privacy stewardship* is enacted as the responsibility they “take on when deciding what is appropriate to share about their children online and ensuring that family and friends respect and maintain the integrity of those rules” (Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015, p. 1310). As children get in touch with other people from different systems who may have different photo-sharing preferences compared to the family (Autenrieth, 2018), such a negotiation becomes pivotal to guarantee parents an appropriate level of control. This may be the case of grandparents sharing about their grandchildren online without parents' consent, engaging in “grand-sharenting” (Damkjaer, 2018). The emotional valence of grandparents using social media to see photos of their grandchildren has been documented in the literature (Ivan & Hebblethwaite, 2016). Little research, though, has investigated dilemmatic situations stemming from boundary crossing having to do with grandparents themselves sharing about grandchildren online.

In the realm of family dilemmas, research supports that violating boundaries is a main source of dialectical tensions between the nuclear and the extended family, especially with the in-laws (Danielsbacka, Tanskanen, & Rotkirch 2017). In particular, it has been sustained that when it comes to poor boundary regulations, the most difficult in-law relationship is the one between daughters- and mothers-in-law (henceforth DILs and MILs; see Fischer, 1983).

This paper builds on a broader project studying digital dilemmas parents experience concerning their children's digital footprints, focusing on the dialectical tensions experienced by DILs and MILs when the latter violates mothers' expectations about their offspring's online presence. To this end, a parenting forum was used as a

site of research to investigate how parents themselves define and describe these dilemmatic situations, *in their own words*. A purposive sample of 38 discussion threads and 1224 comments, specifically focusing on tensions between DILs and MILs concerning children's social media presence, was thematically analyzed. The original contribution of this work rests on its understanding social media quandaries as a potential source of family communication issues to be considered by communication, child and family studies scholars when investigating contemporary families and their systemic relationships.

2 Literature review

This section reports on relevant literature to frame our work. First, a review of studies on the governance of children's social media presence is provided. Following, pertinent frameworks concerning systems theory (Minuchin, 1974) and communication privacy management theory (Petronio, 2002) will be briefly explained. Finally, the rationale behind our choice to focus on dialectical tensions between DILs and MILs will be supported reporting on related empirical studies.

2.1 *Managing children's social media presence: A matter of agency*

Children's social media presence starts well before they are born, with ultrasound sharing marking the first step in the construction of a child's online identity (Leaver, 2018). Bartholomew et. al (2012) found that 79 % of new mothers and 76 % of new fathers had uploaded photos of the offspring on Facebook in the U.S., mostly on a monthly basis. A large-scale quantitative study in the U.K. found that three in four parents who access the internet monthly share photos or videos of their children, with little gender differences (Livingstone et al., 2018). According to the same study, parents' photo-sharing frequency about the offspring with close family and friends has an inverse relationship with the child's age, reaching a peak with children under four. Sharing tend to decrease as a

child grows into adolescence, possibly as a request from the child himself / herself (Livingstone et al., 2018). In this regard, scholars have argued that early childhood, in particular, is a critical site of *datafication* for children (Mascheroni, 2018a), which is “the ability to transform almost every aspect of social life into online data” (Mascheroni, 2018b, p. 517). Taken together, these data support that sharing pictures of children on social media is a common habit for parents today in the global North.

Sharenting, however, comes less light-heartedly than what it seems, as parents reported grappling with digital dilemmas concerning their children’s privacy online (Chalklen & Anderson, 2017). This suggests that mothers and fathers are not naïve about their children’s online presence, which in turn becomes an issue to deal with in the digital home, where sometimes “anti-sharenting” positions are taken (Autenrieth, 2018). Ammari et al. (2015) found that, while both fathers and mothers are involved in curating their children’s online presence, mothers take the lead “in doing the work of posting content online, as well as managing disclosure about their children” (p. 1902), which also involves setting boundaries with third parties in the form of photo-sharing rules. The authors conceptualize this responsibility as a new gendered domestic labor for mothers. In this case, managing boundaries means assuring parents’ agentic role.

Agency has been conceptualized in terms of “people’s beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives” (Bandura, 1989, p. 1175). This concept is particularly appropriate here, as adults sharing representations of children online who are too young to consent themselves do, de facto, act as children’s proxy even when they have not a say in, nor sometimes an understanding of the process. While many actors can record details of children online (Lupton & Williamson, 2017), parents play, to different extents, the dual role of not only narrators of their children’s lives, but also personal information gatekeepers (Steinberg, 2016). As Leaver states, when posting online “the shared presumption [...] is that the agency

of the user is central. There is a presumption that identity should be controlled, curated and managed by the self in question” (Leaver, 2015, p. 151). As the boundaries between the parents’ and the child’s self can blur when sharing about the offspring (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017), parents end up becoming agents of their children’s social media presence. Thus, up to the point where children’s themselves can start to express their opinions about Sharenting (Ouvrein & Verswijvel, 2019), it’s parents who control the child’s self and its extension online.

Governing the child’s relationship with media, however, is not new. In turn, the idea of a “good enough parent” who pays attention to the child’s experience of media and technology in the household continues to function as a cultural model, defining specific parenting roles and moral identities (Caronia, 2010). The history of parents’ concerns over the use of new technology and media is a long one in family life (Wartella & Jennings, 2001). As technology and media are rooted in the lives of contemporary families (Wartella, Rideout, Lauricella, & Connell, 2014) the expectations for parents to be involved in their children’s media consumption continue to be high (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2016). Such an effort, we argue, can be understood within the intensive parenting ideology (Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart, 2012), a Western childrearing philosophy holding parents – especially mothers (Hays, 1998) – accountable for their children’s lives, including their relationship with technology.

In the realm of social media, all of this translates in new efforts parents are expected to make to protect their children’s data and privacy online (Livingstone, Stoilova, & Nandagiri, 2018). Having adults as third-parties sharing about children online, though, represents a peculiar case per se. When it is other people who share about children, their online presence becomes passive, calling for the responsibility of the adults who are doing the sharing to manage possible risks and safeguard their privacy online. Not only, though, is the current generation of parents probably

the last one who stepped into the online realm autonomously (Autenrieth, 2018), but this also means that when it comes to children's social media presence contemporary parents cannot rely on their own experiences with traditional media, nor on their own parents' knowledge (Leaver, 2015). In turn, new *cultural models* (Holland & Quinn, 1987) are currently in the making, stemming from dilemmatic experiences where parents do, indeed, question their online sharing habits (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017). As an example of that is the *privacy/openness paradox*, where mothers who share about their children on Facebook are happy to do so, but also worried as they recognize potential hazards caused by their sharing behavior and tend to rely on a risk-benefit ratio evaluation to regulate their photo-sharing experience (Chalken & Anderson, 2017). However, this assessment still implies the agency of the parent in deciding what kind of behavior can be considered acceptable or not online. It follows from here that other sources of dilemmas can generate from members of systems external to the nuclear family, like grandparents, posting about grandchildren online. Even if well intentioned, occurrences like this can collide with parents' expectations about social media privacy, causing boundary violations and asking for reparative courses of action to be taken.

2.2 Managing family's privacy boundaries: Lessons from systems theory and communication privacy management theory

According to Webb and colleagues (2015) a peculiar characteristic of social media is that they afford boundary crossing in their own design for the opportunity offered to users to share contents not only about themselves but also others. In the realm of family relations, new media contributes to "a redefinition of rules in relationships, particularly with whom we share particular information and manage emerging boundary issues" (Hertlein, 2012, p. 377). When using social media, families try to preserve clear boundaries between themselves and the world outside, conversa-

tionally setting rules about what to share online and who can access their accounts (Sharaievska & Stodolska, 2015). When it is other people who share contents about their children online without consent, most parents get frustrated because of this boundary crossing (Smith, 2014).

The extended family – including both the family of origins and in-laws – represents an important system connected to the nuclear family (Fingerman & Hay, 2002). At the same time, building on the concept of *family boundaries ambiguity* (Boss & Greenberg, 1984) – or a state of non-clarity about who belongs to the family system – the extended family has been considered part of an external system due to different patterns of interaction between members (Sharaievska & Stodolska, 2015). On this basis, while we do recognize the extended family – specifically here, the mother-in-law of the child's mother – as being part of a circle close to the nuclear family, we refer in this study to the figure of the MIL as a member of a system that, although expected to be part of a child's life, is external to the nuclear family.

Systems theory (Minuchin, 1974) posits that *clear* boundaries function as rules aimed at fostering a neat systemic differentiation by defining who, and to what extent, participates in a system. *Diffuse* boundaries, in turn, can cause a situation of enmeshment where systems tend to tangle up and the different needs and values of different members are difficult to distinguish (e.g. online privacy orientations). When it comes to making decisions about children's social media presence, parents may want to be the ones setting rules for members of other systems surrounding the child to respect (Ammari et al., 2015), marking clear boundaries that, if crossed, could cause systemic enmeshment and relational tensions. This could be the case when a MIL shares about one's grandchild online without parents' consent.

Communication privacy management theory (CPM; Petronio, 2002) provides a good framework to further conceptualize boundary violations when it comes to social media privacy. To this respect, three main CPM's tenets well explain the way

people manage boundaries of personal information between interacting systems. *Privacy ownership*, according to which people believe they own their personal information and think they are the ones who can decide to grant access to selected “co-owners”. *Privacy control*, which further indicates that even when granting access to third parties, people still feel they are the ones regulating their privacy. Finally, when boundary conflicts take place – intended as situations where there is a discrepant coordination of privacy ideals between parties – *privacy turbulence* occurs, where people feel co-owners have violated their boundary expectations. Turbulence, in turn, calls for solutions to be taken on the part of the owner to claim first-level ownership, leading either to relational damage or improvement (Steuber & McLaren, 2015).

Several studies have used CPM stressing the fuzzy dimension of online privacy as known and unknown users may have access to the posted contents (Child & Starcher, 2016). For the purpose of this study we will focus on circumstances where third-parties share about other people’s children online, making privacy decisions that collide with their own agency causing privacy ownership violations (Degroot & Vik, 2017). We interpret these predicaments as an extension of family privacy dilemmas which “call into question the way boundaries are usually regulated both within the family and to outsiders”, asking families “to cope with situations where there may be too much permeability” (Petronio, Jones, & Morr, 2003, pp. 24, 29) and systems can get enmeshed in terms of privacy values and expectations. The next section will look at how such a state of boundary entanglement can occur within the MIL-DIL systemic relationship.

2.3 The specificity of dialectical tensions between mothers- and daughters-in-law

The focus of this paper on the relationship between DILs and MILs is motivated by the fact that it can be one of the most problematic in family life. According to Rittenour (2012) this is evident not only in

the more diffused *Gerede* (i.e. “idle talk”, Heidegger, 1996) as narrated in cultural and media representations, but also in empirical literature. Studies support that the likelihood for dialectical tensions over boundary issues are higher with parents-in-law than parents of origins, especially between DILs and MILs (Danielsbacka et al., 2017). Scholars claim that this may be due to different family cultures / history and because of MILs’ higher involvement than other in-laws with their sons’ families (Fingerman & Hay, 2002). According to the triangular theory of in-law relationships (Duck & Kirkpatrick, 2006), these connections are characterized by the presence of a linchpin (i.e. the family member creating the in-law relationship), the spouse of the linchpin (e.g. the DIL), and the relative of the linchpin (e.g. the MIL). The in-law relationship is probably the weakest link of the triad due to its involuntary nature (Morr Serewicz, 2008). Several factors have been linked to relational issues between DILs and MILs, such as an intrusive behavior of MILs in DILs’ family life and their criticizing DILs’ childrearing practices, which can result in more boundary violations (Fischer, 1983). Issues managing intergroup boundaries are at the heart of in-law relationships (Rittenour & Soliz, 2009), with implications on marital satisfaction concerning the way these matters are addressed (Bryant, Conger, & Meehan, 2001). In fact, agreement between DILs and husbands in managing boundaries with the MIL is linked to successful relationships, while having the husband siding with the MIL or not taking a position can cause tension (Rittenour & Kellas, 2015).

Little is known, though, about predicaments stemming from cases of boundary violations due to MILs posting about grandchildren online, nor how they can impact the relationships between parents as members of the nuclear family supposed to cohesively set boundaries with interacting systems. Also, mothers play the role of gatekeepers in regulating not only their children’s social media presence (Ammari et al., 2015) but also the relationship of the child with extended family / in-laws (Fagan & Barnett, 2003). As such, this

contribution looks at the dialectical tensions experienced by DILs and MILs when the latter violates mothers' boundaries of their offspring's online presence, and how these dilemmas impact family relationships.

3 Studying social media dilemmas online

The broader ongoing project this paper is part of explores social media dilemmas (SMDs) parents experience about their children's social media presence and privacy (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2007; Chalklen & Anderson, 2017). As Petronio et al. (2003) claim, the peculiarity of dilemmas is that, unlike issues, they do not rely on a binary choice between right and wrong, but reflect "*situations in which there are conflicts between multiple values and interests, in which actors are uncertain about appropriate courses of action to take*" (Petronio et al., 2003, p. 29). A specific characteristic of SMDs associated with children's online presence is that they are brand new, thus parents may find themselves disoriented when dealing with them and look for advice.

In today's family life the Web plays an important role to support parents in the global North – especially mothers – via online communities of advice (Lupton et al., 2016). Advice, "by its very nature, responds to some kind of dilemma" (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2016, p. 12). In this regard, scholars have been studying parenting forums as sites where parents can find / provide social and emotional support, normalize their experience and address questions they would not address elsewhere thanks to an environment affording anonymity (Brady & Guerin, 2010). This is in line with the hyper-personal model of interpersonal communication (Walther, 1996, 2007), according to which Computer Mediated Communication may allow people to engage in more meaningful interactions than those occurring Face to Face.

Data for this project were collected from the United States-based Baby-Center community, as one of the most

popular parenting forum online (Lupton et al., 2016). According to the website information page, it reaches over 50 million parents all over the world, with seven in ten new and expectant mothers using it monthly in the United States.¹ A content analysis of the website (Jang & Dworkin, 2012) found that most members are mothers of 20–30 years of age, and that conversations concern areas such as pregnancy and labor, issues related to the baby, and personal and common problems concerning parenting challenges.

The choice of using a parenting forum as a site of research was motivated by three main assumptions. First, the literature supports that these platforms can be good sources of data collection with respect to several topics, like pregnancy (Cappellini & Yen, 2016), birth (Das, 2017), or health choices (Hookway, Elmer, & Frandsen, 2017). Second, online discussion sites have been shown to generate good quality natural data (Smith, Bulbul, & Jones, 2017). Third, they build on other users' responsiveness to engender rich discussions (Holtz, Kronberger, & Wagner, 2012). Given the exploratory nature of this study, this approach was considered appropriate, as it allowed us to investigate dilemmas that parents deemed *disorienting* (see Mezirow, 1991) in terms of possible courses of action, and thus worth discussing. Also, by studying natural data on a parenting forum we were able to see how SMDs are experienced, understood, and co-constructed not only by the original posters, but also recipients taking part in the conversation.

In an age where social media and digital technology are embedded in family life, scholars have called for more evidence to explore "how boundaries around technology are formed, maintained, and adjusted" (Sun & McMillan, 2018, p. 182). The present contribution seeks to investigate how boundaries of children's social media presence are understood and experienced within interacting systems, with regard to the relationship between MILs and DILs.

1 Available at: <https://www.babycenter.com/about>.

As such, this study is guided by the following exploratory research questions:

- › RQ1: How do mothers frame *dilemmas* with MILs concerning their children's social media presence?
- › RQ2: What *solutions* to these dilemmas are discursively proposed and co-constructed?
- › RQ3: What impact can SMDs have on family *systemic relationships*, with particular regard to the DIL-MIL-Husband triad?

3.1 Data sampling and analysis

Data for this project were collected from the BabyCenter-Community forum, a public area of the website. Being our focus on mothers talking about posting photos or information of children on social media, the forum was searched for instances of threads related to our topic of inquiry using a string of keyword search terms. A sequentially top-down data collection method followed (Eriksson & Salzmann-Erikson, 2013), where the first 150 pages of results were screened for considerations (1500 threads). Thus, we filtered all the discussions to select those in line with our study, dealing with sharing about children on social media. We found many threads dealing with questions about sharing not only pictures of children themselves, but also sonograms, status updates on pregnancy, labor, etc. Because these types of postings constitute the online “social worlds of the unborn” marking the beginning of his / her online presence (Lupton, 2013), we decided to include them in our sample, expanding our focus toward a holistic investigation of children's social media presence as it evolves over time. The final broader sample of threads concerned either mothers' *own* sharing behavior or *other people* sharing about the original poster's child (e.g. grandparents, relatives, etc.). The latter is the focus of this contribution. For the purpose of *this* paper, a purposive *sub-sample* of threads was selected from the main sample (Palys, 2008), concerning cases of boundary predicaments where the original poster (i.e. the DIL) would complain about MIL posting pictures / information

of her born / unborn child / children on social media. Although several threads concerned even other in-laws and members of the extended family sharing about the child, informed by the literature on MIL-DIL's dialectical tensions (Rittenour, 2012) and consistently with this paper's research questions, we narrowed our focus to discussions *exclusively* focusing on MILs. This led to a final sub-sample of 38 threads and a total of 1224 comments, posted between 2014 and 2018. The number of comments per thread ranged from 5 to 95 ($M=32.21$; $SD=21.98$). Mothers dealt with these dilemmas either during pregnancy or after the child was born. When children's age was reported, this was in the early childhood stage. All the posters self-identified as women either with usernames or in the comments.

In line with *perspectivism* (Cornish, Gillespie, & Zittoun, 2013) we tried to bring a diversity of outlooks to the analysis by iteratively coding the data with the help of a research assistant. Also, we have tried to constructively discuss our interpretative biases, while seeking to embrace a “hermeneutic of suspicion” (Ricoeur, 1970). Given the exploratory nature of this study, we opted for an inductive coding approach to investigate common themes among discussion threads and comments (Boyatzis, 1998). The units of analysis were the single posts within the threads, while keeping track of their conversational evolution. First, the principal investigator and the research assistant read through threads independently applying initial codes to the data (Saldaña, 2009). The resulting list of codes was revised comparing same units of analysis to look for correspondences and resolve discrepancies (Campbell, Quincy, Osserman, & Pedersen, 2013). Following, the initial codes were organized into a smaller, patterned number of categories (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The developing codebook (containing definitions, examples, and instructions) was iteratively discussed to resolve disagreements. The codebook was then tested by the second author, first independently writing analytic memos, then further revising it with the

first author. Finally, the first and second authors completed a third pass to review all the threads and make adjustments to the codebook as needed. While our analysis was exploratory in nature, inductive findings were further conceptualized, developed and organized with respect to our theoretical frameworks.

In analyzing these interactions, we looked at how actors-in-conversation framed both the stories being told and discussed and the characters of these stories (i.e. mothers themselves, other actors involved in the stories like children, partners, relatives, etc.). According to Goffman (1974) frames are schemata of interpretation helping people understand, organize, and give meaning to experiences. Frames are not given once and for all but are, in turn, re-organized and re-constructed through social interaction (Bercelli, 1999). Online interpersonal communication fosters the production of mediated frameworks of reference (Das, 2017) as lenses through which looking at and (re)interpreting the social world and one's personal life. Through the meso-level of interaction (see Formenti, 2012) taking place on parenting forums, people can communally make sense of and interpret their experiences, while constructing and attaching meaning to them. In this sense, this work looks at the discursive products of online conversations between parents as a form of social construction where not only dilemmatic events are discussed, but the social and moral identities of the "characters" of these events are also constructed (Orletti, 2000).

In reporting our findings we recognize that being this an exploratory study where researchers worked with a non-probabilistic sample of natural data and had no involvement in their production, and given the anonymous nature of these interactions not allowing to get more contextual information about these posters than those already shared, our approach was limited. These limitations can be tackled by adopting different methodologies in future research, as will be discussed in the conclusions. Also, in interpreting these results it is important to recognize

the female-dominated nature of parenting forums (Dworkin, Connell, & Doty, 2013) and the gendered dimension of these interactions.

3.2 Ethical considerations

Online data collection rises ethical concerns. Many scholars who employed similar approaches did not seek consent when data were publicly available, not protected by password / forum registration, and posters used usernames, as reported in the debate about ethical use of online data (Roberts, 2015). In their guidelines on analyzing Internet Forums, Holtz and colleagues refer to open forums claiming that "usually, the postings in these forums can be read by everybody. In our view, this justifies the consideration of communication within such forums as 'public behavior'" (2012, p. 57). Further evaluating privacy concerns, though, was pivotal to us.

The legitimacy for researchers to collect public data on online forums, in fact, has been questioned since the very beginning of the World Wide Web. King (1996) stressed the importance of reflecting on the ethics of online research thoroughly in order to do no harm to posters, problematizing the opportunity for researchers to just collect and analyze data without giving ethics some serious thoughts. In an effort to offer scholars in the late 1990s guidelines to orient themselves, the author focused on two broad dimensions to take into account when evaluating whether and how collecting data online: *group accessibility* and *perceived privacy*. According to the author, researchers need to evaluate whether the group is accessible (e.g. with no registration) and to what extent posters perceive their conversations as private (possibly by asking them directly). Such an approach was later supported by Marx (1998) who stressed the need for informed consent when using natural online data. In his "netnography" framework for online research, Kozinets (2002) claims that researchers should always disclose their presence when studying online interactions. While such a framework can certainly be appropriate when studying private online communication (where one

can assume there is a high expectation of privacy), some scholars state it is too strict if applied to public communication as well. As an example, Sugiura, Wiles, and Pope (2017) report on their experience where trying to contact posters to ask for consent was extremely challenging, leading them to claim that “the convention that all research participants should give full and free consent to participating in research is, in the online context, neither possible nor necessary” (p. 195). People conversating online have been reported to react badly when researchers disclosed their presence, as it was the case for Hudson and Bruckman (2004) in their observation of chatroom conversations. It is however important to stress that archived asynchronous conversation on public forums and synchronous interaction in a chatroom cannot be easily compared: according to the AoIR (2002), the former is more public than the latter. When working with archived and no longer active conversations as we did, we argue, researchers are not really taking part in the interaction, nor really “lurking” or acting in disguise, as the conversation has in fact already taken place in a moment in time that does not coincide with the one when data are being collected and analyzed (like it may very well be the case when recording live chatrooms).

The debate on ethical use of online data is currently open and no agreement has been reached. As such, researchers may face dilemmas in deciding whether and how – if at all – treating such data. A choice needed to be made on our part as well.

According to the Association of Internet Researchers scholars should make situational decisions and not along binary lines (Markham & Buchanan, 2012). As such, we thoroughly looked at published scholarship focusing on the same or similar forums. While studying the BabyCenter forum following the steps listed in Brady and Guerin (2010) and Reid (1996), Jang and Dworkin (2012) did not seek consent. Neither did Milne, Weijs, Haines-Saah and McLaren (2017), Pedersen and Smithson (2013), Pedersen and Lupton (2018), Das (2017), Whiteman (2012), Appleton,

Hons, Fowler, Brown and Hons (2014), or Hine (2014). Informed by these scholars and the abovementioned guidelines, we only studied already existing discussions, publicly accessible (i.e. no needing registration / password / authorization to be retrieved), asynchronous, and archived as no longer active at the time of collection. As other researchers make the case for (see Das, 2017; Whiteman, 2012) this made getting in touch with posters virtually impracticable.

Evaluating posters’ perceived privacy was challenging. While, on the one hand, Eysenbach and Till (2001) argue that posting publicly doesn’t necessarily mean that posters are consenting to their statements being collected, on the other, when focusing on public communication occurring in public areas of a forum “the multiparty and anonymous nature of Internet forums means that contributors can expect their posts to be read by strangers. In fact [...] when reading Internet posts, it becomes clear that contributors orient toward addressing a group of strangers” (Jowett, 2015, p. 289). As such, we decided to collect and analyze these data, checking all the excerpts we used on the Google search engine to control their traceability as a further step to safeguard anonymity (Smedley & Coulson, 2018).

4 Findings and discussions

In order to address our research questions, we organize our findings as follow: first, we describe what type of SMDs mothers experience and how they feel about it. Then, we describe how posters conceptualize the roles of: the *MIL* as the subject of the in-laws triad causing the *boundary crossing* and dialectical tensions; the *mother* as the one looking for a *solution* to get back control and protect her child’s online presence; the *husband* as a third party whose behavior can foster or hinder systemic differentiation and define or not the nuclear family as a higher level system when it comes to choosing about children’s social media presence.

4.1 “How on earth does one manage this?” – The disorienting nature of social media dilemmas

The overarching characteristic of the *opening posts* in all the 38 threads was the presence of a SMD caused by a boundary crossing perpetuated by the MIL, which would cause the mother to lose agency in controlling the digital narrative about her child online. We classified these violations as either *pre-* or *post-birth*. *Pre-birth violations* (n=16) encompass occurrences where MILs shared about the unborn, by disclosing information concerning either the pregnancy status of the mother, gender reveal, and / or the labor. This pregnant mother’s narrative is an example of that:

I’m due April 22, and in the past 24 hours, MIL has posted four different statuses or comments referring to the fact that she has ‘less than 22 days’ to meet her grandson. This irritates me to no end because I’ve told her so many times that the 22 is my due date and going over is not just a possibility, but very likely. [...] She doesn’t listen and continues posting about meeting him in less than 22 days.

Post-birth violations (n=22), in turn, involve sharing pictures of grandchildren online after they are born and during their daily life, which were either sent to the MILs by parents privately, captured with a screenshot from parents’ social media, or snapped by MILs themselves. As these mothers state:

My MIL is obsessed with Facebook. When she was here for a week after he was born she took a million pictures and posted ALL of them.

My MIL’s pic is currently a picture of my daughter that has never been on social media. It is one of her monthly milestone photos sent to family because they asked. I just find it weird and it bugs me because it is not something I have posted.

In line with CPM (Petronio, 2002) either parents established boundaries preventively by setting *explicit* rules, or they

relied on *implicit* rules thinking that knowing not to post about other people’s children “should be common knowledge to everyone regarding kid photos.” Consistent with previous studies, such occurrences show that sometimes people lean on a dimension of *common sense* when not stating clear privacy boundaries with family and friends (Steuber & McLaren, 2015). Additionally, both pre- and post-birth violations were in the forms of what Degroot and Vik (2017) defined as *pre-emptive disclosure violations* – where MILs shared something mothers would have posted later – or *discrepancy breaches of privacy* – where contents that were not supposed to end up online were shared.

Associated with these types of violations are the respective dilemmas stemming from mothers not knowing how to address these predicaments. This was evident in their words indicating doubts on appropriate steps to take, as these posters stressed:

I wanted to pick others’ brains and see if I’m just overreacting and should just grin and bear it or if it’s something that needs another conversation.

I keep questioning what the right course of action is.

In this regard, several mothers stressed how “Social media is a blessing and a curse” because of a set of new potential issues parents are not properly equipped to face. As this poster states, “the world is so different from when I was a kid, it’s hard to know what the new norm is and what is safe,” stressing the brand-new peculiar dimension of SMDs for contemporary families.

4.2 “Why is it always MILs?” – Constructing the “boundary stomper”

Both original posters and commenters identified the MIL as the *source* of the turbulence (Petronio, 2002) causing the dilemma. One peculiar characteristic across posts was a differentiation between the

members of the family of origin and the MIL, as these excerpts exemplify:

As soon as my MIL gets a photo of her grandchildren she posts it on Facebook and I just feel offended that she didn't give us a chance to post our own child. My own mom is the complete opposite she hates nosy people so she won't post anything for a while herself.

My parents also ask us to send them photos we would be comfortable being included [on online photo-albums] vs. MIL who just does whatever she wants.

Marking this difference discursively framed the MIL as a “*boundary stomper*”, whose nature was recurrently reinforced by other posters taking part in the conversation to stress this commonality of experience. As these mothers state:

Is your Mil my Mil?? I literally had this same exact issue with mine. She was always sharing my posts, and even started tagging herself in pictures of my son.

[...] do we have the same mother in law?

Consistently with the literature on dialectical tensions between DILs and MILs, posters tried to make sense of the boundary crossing by relying on a set of attributions that would explain MIL's behavior (Rittenour & Kellas, 2015). We found that MILs' social media conduct was framed as either naïve, malicious, or pathological, following a *differential degree of problematization*.

The less problematic figure was the *naïve Mil*. These occurrences show posters making sense of the boundary crossing referring to affective reasons and lack of digital skills. Despite being bothered, DILs would explain MIL's posting behavior as motivated by a desire to show her excitement for the grandchild, without though being able to recognize / understand potential harms or parents' desire of agency. As these posters stressed:

She's thrilled, and maybe she doesn't realize how upset you are. Does she know how to use privacy settings? [...] go easy when you talk to her, but do clarify your concerns, she may not be aware!

She might not even get why you feel this way or the dangers of social media. Can't blame her if she doesn't know I guess.

A common idea was that such a naivety was due to generational reasons, like this DIL who describes her MIL as “an older over-sharer (i. e. not digital native who understands how the internet is forever and not the same as real life) who has no understanding of online safety.” Such an idea recalls that older generations can actually experience more privacy predicaments due to less knowledge and skills (Child & Petronio, 2011).

The *malicious MIL* was the most recurring frame and defines a figure who wittingly violates boundaries and whose behavior can be anticipated due to a commonality of traits and previous experiences of boundary stomping. She is described as someone who “has zero respect”, “likes to test boundaries” and “wants to feel like she has power” even when it comes to children's social media presence, as an extension of other dialectical issues. The interactional patterns that discursively constructed this figure were marked by their strong realism: for their very nature, MILs are defined as figures who *will* cross (social media) boundaries. As an example of that, let us focus on a mother's *pre-birth violation* experience, whose MIL shared the baby's gender reveal on Facebook. The DIL is now afraid she is going to do the same with birth announcement, stealing her the opportunity to be the one to do it in her own terms (i. e. sharing the news only with close friends a couple of days after the birth to take time to bond with the child). As in other occurrences, posters anticipated MIL's behavior calling for specific courses of actions on the part of the DIL to tackle the issue:

She WILL post on Facebook whether you want her to or not. As soon as she finds out it will be on Facebook. Talk to her now. She WILL steal your announcement. She WILL argue with you that it was her right as the grandmother to do so.

Saying that the MIL “WILL” post on Facebook deterministically typifies her behavior as something predictable, by using language as a means to discursively construct a problematic figure. Thus, the *malicious MIL* was framed as fully responsible for the boundary violations, with posters attributing this to selfish motivations that are linearly explained, in their words, by MIL’s attitude to cross boundaries.

Finally, the *pathological MIL* was a borderline figure who – despite being rare – represents the most problematized one. She was defined as “crazy” and “in need of mental help” and emerged in discussions where MILs were framed as too involved in parents’ family life. As this poster claims:

She’s harvesting photos so she can feed her emotional dysfunction. This enmeshment and obsession is not normal or okay.

For example, after being asked to remove pictures of her granddaughter from Facebook, a MIL refused because sharing would cause her joy and such a behavior was framed by posters as deranged due to her inability to control herself:

She’s basically saying that sharing your kid’s photos is an addiction she can’t control.

While these figures are socially and interactively constructed (and not necessarily describe the actual MIL behind posters’ words), framing the MIL as a boundary stomper called for some tangible solutions for the DIL to take in order to tackle the dilemma and restore agency.

4.3 Being a Good mother, safeguarding the Child: solutions to restore agency

According to Petronio (2002), when faced with privacy predicaments people react to get back control. Experiencing a SMD, though, entails that there are doubts on appropriate courses of action to take, which led these mothers to ask for advice on how to restore parental agency. A common premise throughout all of the threads was a superiority of the mother over the MIL justifying her desire to control, which was exemplified by the overly recurrent expression “*Your kid, your rule*”. As this poster claims:

You’re the mom, you get to say what about your child is shared on social media, nobody else!

Such a position was also supported by those who did not agree with mothers’ apprehensions, as this poster stressing that:

Even if I don’t share your worries, you’re definitely not wrong for feeling the way you do. You’re the mom, you make the decisions.

The agentive role mothers want to play, and their emotional reactions of anger and distrust were normalized, as in the words of this poster:

No, you’re not overacting. While it’s not a matter of national security for the country, it’s an extremely violating feeling.

To some extent, then, such an agentive role was also expected by posters. Such an expectation is in line with the idea that governing the child’s experience with (social) media is proper of a “responsible” parent (Caronia, 2010), who in this case needs to clearly set and reinforce boundaries: “Big girl panties! Firm! Draw the lines and stick to it.” Framing the “good mother” identity on parenting forum with respect to how to raise a child is not new (Pedersen, 2016). These threads, though, add to the literature the figure of the good mother who

actively seeks to manage her child's digital footprints on social media as a new pressure on contemporary motherhood, as indicated in this poster's words:

I feel that it is my job as little guy's mom to look out for his wellbeing, and I personally feel that this include protecting his privacy and identity. When he is old enough to make social media decisions for himself, then so be it.

In terms of solutions to take, mothers provided a set of advice ranging from more dialogical and open to radical ones. We found three main courses of action mothers were advised to take, sometimes based on analogous experiences commenters had themselves: *educating the MIL*, *controlling access to photos and information*, and *relational cut off*.

Educating the MIL entailed opening a conversation where the MIL would explain her reasons for wanting to have control of her child's social media presence, setting boundaries upfront or remarking and clarify them if violated. Such a solution aims at safeguarding the relationship without diminishing the role of the mother. This position recurred when the MIL was framed as "*trainable*". In order to help mothers educate their MILs, commenters recounted personal experiences, provided them with possible statements to use to ease the process, and indicated several online supporting documents (like articles on the importance of privacy and social media rules) to back their claims. As this mother states:

There are tons of articles about "Facebook Etiquette" if you google. I'd find one that talks about how sharing pics that aren't yours is rude and send it to MIL. Maybe she'll get it if she realizes it's not a you thing, but a fairly common etiquette rule.

Controlling access to photos and information was a common solution to adopt in case educating the MIL was not effective. When MIL was seen as intentionally vio-

lating boundaries, commenters suggested several actions to take. These ranged from reporting the posts (e.g. to Facebook) and have them taken down, to stop sending her information (concerning the unborn) and photos (about the born child) or block her access to the mother's social media where she could get photos and re-post them. Blocking, though, was not always perceived as wise, because it would not allow the mother to *monitor* the MIL's account, as this poster claims:

I wouldn't block her. That would only make it harder for OP (original poster) to see and report any inappropriate photos she uploads to Facebook from her own camera.

Another suggested solution was to "*watermark*" the photo to control their spreading online and hold the violators accountable. The general idea here was that the mom had to step up and set clear online boundaries, regardless of what the MIL would think about it:

She doesn't have to realize your reasons or even understand them. She just has to follow them or face the consequence of never having any photos of your children.

Finally, the *relational cut off* was a desperate-times-call-for-desperate-measures kind of solution, indicated when the MIL was deemed to be "*untamable*" and no other actions could be effective. In these cases, according to the posters, the best move for the mother to make was to erect *rigid* boundaries (Minuchin, 1974) by cutting off the MIL from family life. Such a solution was adopted by several mothers who reported to have MILs blatantly ignoring and repeatedly challenging their rules. As this mother advised:

If someone is going to be so bold to TELL you that they'll do something when they know you don't want it, you should feel no guilt in cutting them off.

4.4 The role of the husband toward a systemic differentiation

Whatever the solution, an overarching theme concerned the role of the husband in dealing with these predicaments. While the mother was always framed as responsible for her child, posters collectively stressed the importance of “being on the same page” with the husband when it comes to set boundaries about children’s social media presence. Such an agreement was conceptualized in the “two Yes, one No rule” indicating that “both parents have to agree to something for the baby or it doesn’t happen.” Further, the husband was held accountable to face the predicaments with MIL and implement solutions that could restore parental agency and mark what the MIL, as member of an external system, could do or not. Depending on the way the father would deal with these situations, posters conceptualized three figures which can be positioned on a different gradient of systemic differentiation: the *supportive husband*, the *disengaged husband*, and the *mom-enmeshed husband*.

The *supportive husband* was the one who agreed with the mother in terms of online boundaries between systems, ready to set and enforce rules as needed. One of the commenters pointed the role played by her partner when, during pregnancy, she feared her MIL could post something:

My MIL is ALWAYS on FB and that made me worried she would share something. So my husband and I sat her down to discuss this before she was born.

In line with previous literature, being on the same page when it comes to face (online) boundary predicaments was related to marital satisfaction (Bryant et al., 2001). Indeed, this type of husband was described as “amazing” and “always ready to stand up to MIL”, helping to draw a clear line with the MIL in case of a boundary crossing and affirming the nuclear family as a first-level system in terms of social media decisions. Mothers recognized that

such a clear stance could cause tensions between the husband and his own mother and were appreciative of this gesture. One poster who had a fight with her MIL sharing pictures of her son without consent recounted how her husband was “at the forefront in putting her in her place”, recognizing how difficult this could be for him but still praising his commitment:

It breaks my heart for him, but I love that he is not running to appease mommy. He has been absolutely phenomenal, and I have never been more in love with him than I am right now.

The supportive and collaborator husband, then, was framed as the one who fosters clear boundaries and neat systemic differentiation.

The *disengaged husband*, in turn, minimizes mother’s worries and acts inconsistently with the rules she sets. As this mother who solicited her husband to tell MIL not to post about their child reports:

I have tried talking through it multiple times but he doesn’t see the problem. He believes because it’s her first grandchild it’s normal.

Another mom had her partner make fun of her, underestimating her concerns: “He just chuckled and when I asked him why he smiled he said I’m making a big deal out of nothing.” Several mothers lamented that while they tried to control MILs’ posting about their children online by, for example, not providing pictures, the husbands would send them regardless because they saw nothing wrong with it. This caused feelings of frustration, not only because their perspectives were devalued, but also because this inconsistency would cause their efforts to be useless and their positions to be taken less seriously. Such behavior would send a contradictory message in terms of what the nuclear family’s social media expectations were, as this poster stressed:

You both know who she is and yet your husband continues to feed her pictures knowing she's going to share them far and wide with who even knows who. Stop doing that. It sends her a very mixed message. You're telling her to stop but you're still giving her access to what causes the problems.

Having the husband not taking the need for social media rules seriously, then, would cause a situation where boundaries between systems concerning this issue could generate confusion and enhance tensions, not only inter- but also intra-systemically. This behavior was firmly and harshly condemned by several posters, according to which the husband was being too disrespectful, as this mom claims:

You, the mother, have certain reservations regarding social media and your kids, and he's letting these people shit all over your limits and you.

Lastly, the *mom-enmeshed husband* was defined as a partner unable not to mark per se, but mostly to maintain clear boundaries with the MIL, because of a too intense relationship with her causing a systemic enmeshment. While these occurrences were rare, they were intense in terms of posters reactions. As an example of that, here is a suggestive case of a mom whose husband she had established clear social media rules with had “a weakness for his mother”, not allowing him to reinforce these rules with MIL. While the mother didn't want him to interrupt relationships with his mom because of this, she cared about having him back her when reinforcing the social media family's expectations after the MIL violated them:

I don't expect him nor do I want him to completely cut her out from his life. I just want there to be boundaries.

This occurrence was overly problematized by other posters who suggested that the source of the dilemma was not the MIL but

the husband himself. As these commentators state:

You have a dumb-husband problem not a MIL problem. Does he ignore and dismiss you, and your concerns all the time? Or just when it comes to his mommy? Are you always deprioritized?

Why is it more important for your husband to kiss his mom's ass when she DELIBERATELY broke a clearly stated parenting rule than to protect his son and stand by his wife?

Following along this problematization trajectory, mothers stressed the need for the husband to actively support his wife, considering social media dilemmas as one of the many cases where members of the nuclear family had to establish clear lines of demarcation with other systems. As exemplified by these excerpts:

Now that he has a baby he has to accelerate the timeline for separating from his parents and building adult relationships with boundaries and mutual respect.

Relationships with other people – particularly his mother – need to evolve into a new pattern.

Conclusions

This paper has investigated SMDs associated with sharing about children online as a source of dialectical tensions between DILs and MILs. In doing so, our findings suggest that SMDs can be an extension of other previous dialectical issues among family members, as a new possibility of boundary predicaments. Livingstone (2006) points out that in the Western culture privacy definitions concern keeping info out of the public domain or controlling which personal info is available to who, with particular anxieties surrounding children and the Internet. Questions of children's privacy and parental agency were, in fact, recurrent in our corpus of data, stressing the role of the MIL as a boundary crosser and of the

“good” mother trying to restore her agency rights. Boundary predicaments, however, don’t happen in a vacuum. While mothers’ work to manage their children’s online presence was almost taken for granted, an active role of the husband was expected and sometimes required to maintain relational satisfaction and to more vigorously enforce rules concerning the whole nuclear family as a higher-level system compared to other figures – in this case the MIL – from external interacting systems surrounding the child.

As posting about children on social media is a normalized practice (Leaver, 2018), managing children’s digital footprints can be a complicated effort, where matters of agency and privacy intertwine: it is not only about preventing something from being shared, but being in control of that content. This is all the more true when making decisions about third parties. Indeed, when parents share about their children online, and they are too young to give their consent, this can be conceptualized as a *first-level loss of agency*, with respect to the subject whose photo/information is shared about. Because parents play the agentic role of making decisions for their children’s online presence (Ammari et al., 2015), a *second-level loss of agency* occurs when people external to the nuclear family (e.g. the MIL) share about the child without parents’ consent. We conceptualize this occurrence as indicative of a *double loss of agency*, where both the child and the parents lose control of the process (for other examples of such an occurrence see Cino & Dalledonne Vandini, 2020).

By offering accounts of daily lives, these natural occurring data allowed us to explore how social media is so integrated in family life to the extent where new dilemmatic situations can arise from their use not only by members of the nuclear family, but also other figures who make decisions about children’s digital footprints. As Pedersen and Lupton (2018) make the case for, investigating online threads on parenting forums helps researchers to focus on predicaments that posters felt a need to discuss strong enough “to initiate such a thread, in the knowledge that it may be read by thousands of other people” (p. 59).

As these threads focus on social media, we can get a sense of how their use can be a new source of parental worries, along with more “traditional” ones that have already been studied on parenting forums, such as pregnancy, diet, health, upbringing etc. (see Cappellini & Yen, 2016; Das, 2017; Hookway et al., 2017). SMDs, though, are brand new. As such, the plethora of challenges stemming from them can disorient parents who cannot rely on their own experiences with traditional media, nor on their own parents’ knowledge (Leaver, 2015). Discussing these quandaries with peers represents one of the ways parents can make sense of and overcome them, with online communication fostering the potential activation of hermeneutic circles (Gadamer, 1975) and the progressive construction of new cultural models (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Which is to say that through the collective construction of these “mediated frameworks of reference” (Das, 2017) posters, as laypeople, are reinforcing and (de)constructing models of conduct concerning social media privacy and boundaries, sharing problems for which solutions and courses of actions are sought and discussed, and moral identities are framed (e.g. the “good” mother in a social media age). Not only can these frameworks of reference be of help for those parents who actually took part in the conversations, but also for those who lurked (i. e. read without taking part) or will read them in the future because they’re facing similar dilemmas. As cultural models are realized through pattern of daily behavior and expressed through language and communication (Holland & Quinn, 1987), this *storage of daily experiences* can function as a potential resource for parents to use when trying to make sense of SMDs.

As every source of data, though, this one as well comes with several limitations that need to be addressed. While analyzing online interactions occurring between users allowed us to take a close look at their meaning-making processes, background information was hard to identify, as well as the broader context of these posters. Still, given its qualitative nature, we looked at and were more concerned with *particu-*

larity rather than generalizability of findings (Creswell, 2014). Future research can build on these findings and put them into context with self-report methods. Qualitative studies could help to explore more in-depth how parents deal with these and similar predicaments with other family members. As posters may reveal partial or inaccurate information about themselves or their children online, the nature of online data can pose challenges in terms of reaching a broader understanding of this phenomenon. This makes the effort to expand these findings with other qualitative approaches relevant to allow for a deeper interaction between researchers and interviewees. Facilitating rapport during in-depth interviews, in fact, may foster a relationship of trust and thus truthfulness of the findings (Duncombe & Jessop, 2012).

Quantitative analysis would provide an estimate of the breadth of this phenomenon. Also, in the realm of family communication issues, several variables could be taken into account to better understand these predicaments, such as the quality and characteristics of the relationship between MILs and DILs, the number of years of relationship, the age of the child, as well as that of parents and grandparents. In this sense, future research may want to investigate whether these experiences are more common with younger or older children, and if the age of the MILs and the parents contributes to them. As it is the case when working with natural data on online forums, we were not able to know demographics characteristics of the actors. The “generation” of the MILs, though, was reported several times by posters as something that may cause a lack of familiarity with social media privacy and “etiquette” (see the “Naïve MIL”), and possibly explain their photo-sharing behavior.

Additionally, while most of the posters in these threads reported to have children in the early childhood stage, it will be important to more accurately consider the age of the child. Research shows that when old enough to have a say in their social media presence, children lament their parents’ photo-sharing habits when challenging the impression of themselves they

want to leave online (Ouvrein & Verswijvel, 2019). Future investigations, though, could expand these findings by also considering children’s perspectives on grandparents and other adults posting about them on social media.

Finally, because we focused on the United States section of BabyCenter, this dataset is more likely to reflect North American perspectives and experiences, which should not be generalized to other cultures and geographical areas. According to CPM, in fact, *culture* is a staple variable to consider when studying experiences of boundary turbulence (Petronio, 2002).

In spite of their limitations, our findings can inform communication, child and family studies scholars as well as practitioners concerned with more general family communication issues families can face in their everyday life. To this end, it is pivotal to keep in mind that parents may want to be the ones making decisions about whether and how to represent their children on social media. When addressing SMDs it is also important to recognize their potential disorienting nature, and that no easy solutions exist, especially when dealing with other family members. SMDs can constitute a new extension of previous family privacy predicaments, expanding the realm of potential dialectical tensions within the family. As such, new forms of communication and online sharing represents a new arena to study in the realm of family communication. Clear boundaries between systems, agreement between parents, mutual understanding and respect of these boundaries seem then to be pivotal for family relations to tackle these dilemmas and maintain systemic differentiation in the digital home.

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SComS

Thematic Section

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Introduction: Hybrid journalism? Making sense of the field's dissolving boundaries

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In the last couple of years, hybridity has become a buzzword in journalism studies. Hybridity has often been used to describe ongoing transformations in journalism. In this sense, the increasing use of hybridity in the discipline can be seen as an answer, as Witschge, Anderson, Domingo and Hermita (2019, p. 652) declare, “to rising complexity in both journalism practice and scholarship”. At the same time, however, the use of the concept has itself become an object of scholarly debate: while some reject the notion as an undercomplex “catch-all” concept, others believe in its heuristic and analytical prowess. This debate is reinforced by the multiple connotations attributed to the notion, and how the term is used in positive (“a capacity for growth”; Stross, 1999, p. 257) or negative (“diluted version of [the] antecedents”; Chadwick, 2013, p. 14) senses. Either way, hybridity's success in journalism studies certainly reflects an emancipation from conventional journalism theory, and as a call to develop “new conceptualizations, terminology, and vocabulary” (Witschge et al., 2019, p. 652) in order to grasp the current transformations in journalism – and the different forms of journalism that go beyond traditional understandings and definitions of journalism.

The proliferation of the hybridity notion within journalism studies is also mirrored by the different academic events and scholarly publications. There were several symposia dealing with the topic, for instance the ECREA pre-conference entitled “Dissolving Boundaries of Hybrid Journalism”, which was held at the Università della Svizzera italiana in Lugano, Switzerland, on October 31st 2018. This Themat-

ic Section contains a selection of papers presented at this specific pre-conference, where Adrienne Russell (University of Washington, USA) was the keynote speaker. In addition to such specific events, hybridity has also been discussed in a special issue of the scholarly journal “Journalism” (Mast, Coesemanns, & Temmermann, 2017). Moreover, several articles (e.g., Deuze & Witschge, 2018; Mellado et al., 2017; Papacharissi, 2015; Ruotsalainen, Hujanen, & Villi, 2019; Witschge et al., 2019) as well as books (e.g., Chadwick, 2013; Deuze & Witschge, 2020) have been published that discussed the topic from many different perspectives and contributed significantly to push the concept to the core of scholarly debates.

The concept of hybridity understands journalism as part of a wider network, in which different fields, actors, genres, and values come together, blend, and affect each other (Chadwick, 2013; Witschge et al., 2019). In addition, the datafication of journalism – the fact that journalism is increasingly produced by different actors with different backgrounds, intentions and norms such as hackers, activists or even by artificial intelligence-led tools – shows that journalism often transcends traditional conceptions of journalism. Speaking with Latour (1993), hybridity can help us to place journalism in a larger socio-technical environment and to better understand how new and complex patterns are formed. However, there are several open questions with regard to the concept of hybridity and to its use in journalism research, which led Baym (2017) to conclude that hybridity is an under-researched and under-explored topic.



First, is the concept heuristically and analytically robust enough to be applied in the investigation of ongoing changes in journalism? As Witschge et al. (2019, p. 654) state, we need to evaluate hybridity's "explanatory value and take the next step to not only name but also describe and theorize the complexity of the field" of journalism. Hybridity entails the risk that it can be used as a shortcut to describe and analyze convoluted transformations in news production, distribution, and consumption. As a consequence, the same authors who proposed hybridity as a viable analytical concept, later on calling to deal "with the mess we made" (Witschge et al., 2019). Instead, they suggested to go beyond hybridity and to understand it not as a simple absence of order, as a chaotic mashup of different things, but rather as a *dynamic* order that is more liquid, fragile, and unstable, and thus more in line with how journalism actually presents itself today. Nevertheless, the main goal is to understand "how that order is constructed, given the complex set of relations in any given context" (Witschge et al., 2019, p. 656). Hybridity can thus be understood as a viable starting point to overcome a simple "either/or" thinking (Chadwick, 2013, p. 4), and allows us to move more closely towards a "both" option.

Second, even if we argue that the main advantage of the concept of hybridity is to allow us to move beyond simplistic and dichotomic notions of what journalism is and what it is not, approaching hybridity as "a particularly rich site for the analysis of forms and processes of experimentation, innovation, deviation and transition in contemporary journalism" (Mast et al., 2017, p. 3) would alter it into a one-size-fits-all concept used to explain what we are unable to grasp. Nonetheless, the "hybrid turn" was a refreshing – and necessary – transformation in the way journalism scholars understood journalism, which in the past has far too often focused "on a stabilized and homogeneous understanding of the field" (Witschge et al., 2019, p. 652). As the journalism field changes not only at its peripheries, but increasingly also at its core, the concept of hybridity is able to

push the field forward. As Zelizer (2009, p. 1) wrote way before the hybridity concept became widely used in journalism studies, news and journalism have always been "multiple, multi-dimensional, multi-directional and multi-faceted". Hybridity is thus able to depict "the development of journalism towards a networked, de-bounded and de-institutionalized future" (Ruotsalainen et al., 2019, p. 2).

Third, the notion of hybridity presumes a logical dependence that there was something "pure" before (Chadwick, 2013, pp. 14–15) that needs to be combined in a new blend, from which, in turn, a new hybrid would emerge. However, there has never been something like "pure journalism". This can be seen in the relation between journalism and business practices that are often more complex than theoretical principles of newswork and pure logics might suppose (Raviola, 2014). Similar phenomena can be observed when it comes to promotional news discourses (Erjavec, 2004), different values and norms (Porlezza & Splendore, 2019), or different cultures (Mellado et al., 2017).

The notion of hybridity has been applied – although not exclusively – to various areas of contemporary journalism characterized by a strong reliance on digital technologies and practices or where forms of innovation take place on the terrain of "new" technologies entering the journalistic field. In particular, this has happened, in relation to data journalism, interactive journalism, forms of reporting influenced by either activist, hacktivist or hacker stances and automation and artificial intelligence. All these forms of journalism, although different in various regards, are characterized by an interplay between pure journalistic elements and others, non-journalistic ones. This introduction certainly doesn't aim at providing a full literature review about how the notion of "hybridity" has been used to analyze and define crossover typologies of journalism. Thus, the four aforementioned macro-areas appear to be the most fruitful ones in terms of making sense of innovation and change in contemporary journalism.

Starting from data journalism, Mark Coddington (2014, p. 337), in one of the most influential papers about computational journalism, pointed to this form of reporting's "cross-field hybridity" to highlight its relationships with the coding world and the open source culture in particular. Drawing on Chadwick's notion of "hybrid media system" (2013), instead, Alfred Hermida and Mary Lynn Young (2016, p. 59) have proposed a "hierarchy of hybrid" culture for Canadian journalism based on the encounters between older media logics and newer "data" logics. Their results show the existence of a "hierarchy of hybridity" among different media and based on the agency / power acquired thanks to the presence of technologists in the newsroom and the overall blending of journalism and technology.

The idea of blending between journalism and tech is at the core of various forms of reporting where hacker-journalists and their computational backgrounds play a major part in shaping new journalistic cultures and practices. Without explicitly referring to hybridity, Seth C. Lewis and Nikki Usher have explored an array of the areas where the encounter of journalists and technologists has brought to crossover forms of journalism: they indicated the "fusion of computer science and journalism", for instance, as the core of technology-focused journalism innovation based on open source culture (Lewis & Usher, 2013, p. 603) and have looked at the "Hacks/Hackers" conference series as a case study to see how "the journalism and technology worlds came together" (Lewis & Usher, 2014, p. 384). Usher, instead, has looked at "interactive journalism" – a broader category that includes multimedia, immersive storytelling, data visualization, data-driven stories, explanatory graphics or other interactive features – as a terrain to look at in order to understand how practitioners with a coding background contribute in bringing new knowledge to the practice of journalism (Usher, 2016).

When it comes to activist, hacktivist or hacker stances influencing the journalistic field, instead, forms of hybridity – again in Chadwick's terms (2013) – have emerged

in various contexts and Adrienne Russell (2016, p. 12) has offered some insights about how "hacker-activist or hacktivist sensibilities are gaining increased media capital across fields, including journalism, activism and government". This has been visible, in the journalistic field, especially on the level of the adoption of tools and software that are common among hackers and hacktivists for communication, security and organizing. Hackers, in particular, as it will be discussed in one of the articles included in this Thematic Section, have gained increased prominence in the journalistic field, as providers of technological solutions for information security or as sources.

"Combining human knowledge and expertise with the capabilities of machines to cope with an immense scale of data" is instead one of the instances where "hybridity" emerges in the relationship between journalism and artificial intelligence, according to Nicholas Diakopoulos (2019, p. 245). According to Diakopoulos, human-machine hybrid systems, such as those created by the interplay between algorithms or bots and human journalists, will have a decisive role in shaping journalism in the future, as more and more forms of artificial intelligence and machine learning come to support, enhance or even substitute human journalists in the making of various journalistic tasks.

This brief overview of how various interpretations of the notion of "hybridity" has been used in research about new forms of crossover journalism sets the stage for the contributions included in this Thematic Section of *Studies in Communication Sciences (SComS)*. The Section aims at contributing to the analysis of the phenomenon of hybridity in journalism both by providing theoretical reflections about the conceptualization of "hybridity", and some case studies that look at particular aspects of hybridity. On the theoretical side, an interview with Andrew Chadwick, authored by Adrienne Russell, opens the Thematic Section and brings new insights about the evolution of the "hybrid media system" (Chadwick, 2013), particularly in light of recent global political turmoil

and uncertainty. Christopher Buschow, instead, discusses practice theories as innovative ways of looking at empirical challenges in journalism studies, especially in regard to the journalistic production. Finally, Di Salvo and Porlezza, who are also the editors of this Thematic Section, discuss how hackers can become journalistic sources, forcing reporters to re-discuss their role, professional norms and practices, while dealing with controversial hybrid players.

As both this Introduction as well as the three papers in the Thematic Section show, hybridity is more than just a heuristic notion that allow us to go beyond a binary understanding of journalism. It goes beyond re-mixing genres, new blends of journalism and entertainment or activism, and collaborations between journalists, hackers, computer scientists, or even AI-driven tools. As Mast et al. (2017, p. 9) declare, hybridity “can be a fruitful concept to study from an interdisciplinary perspective the creative transformations, productive collaborations and innovative developments, witnessed in contemporary journalism, which is always ‘in progress’ or ‘under construction’”. However, while the notion’s deployment remains problematic given its multiple connotations, often loose meanings, and manifold normative associations, it definitely holds the power to challenge traditional understandings of journalism – which may be necessary if we want to capture and understand the increasing complexity of the journalistic field.

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Coming to terms with dysfunctional hybridity: A conversation with Andrew Chadwick on the challenges to liberal democracy in the second-wave networked era

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Abstract

Andrew Chadwick's view of today's "hybrid media system," as outlined first in his 2013 book of the same name, has moved scholars to understand how changes in politics are linked to changes in communication infrastructures and tools and to the ways people negotiate power in the networked media environment. His work has provided readers with a blueprint to follow that moves focus beyond the usual categories of media and the usual sites of power. In this interview, conducted in November, 2019, Chadwick discusses what he calls "dysfunctional hybridity" and the urgency that kind of hybridity brings to the need to update our thinking about media, power and society.

Keywords

dysfunctional hybridity, networked journalism, online civic culture, disinformation

Andrew Chadwick's view of today's "hybrid media system," as outlined first in his 2013 book of the same name, has moved scholars to understand how changes in politics are linked to changes in communication infrastructures and tools and to the ways people negotiate power in the networked media environment. His work has provided readers with a blueprint to follow that moves focus beyond the usual categories of media and the usual sites of power. In the fall of 2018, just after the publication of the updated second edition of *The Hybrid Media System*, in which Chadwick responds to Trump-Brexit-era developments, Colin Porlezza and Philip Di Salvo, the editors of this Thematic Section, convened an ECREA pre-conference in Lugano, Switzerland, titled *Dissolving Boundaries of Hybrid Journalism*, where I saw firsthand the impact of Chadwick's work on the field. Scholars there presented work exploring the role played by bots, whistleblowers, activists, entrepreneurs, among other actors in shaping the structure and content of journalism work. I opened the event with a talk about my 2016 book, *Journalism as Activism*, which highlights some of the ways media activists adept at using and creating new communication tools are taking up

the work of journalists, expanding the field in significant ways and shaping on a new level traditional news stories and genres. I could sense there at the conference a shift in thinking among the participants, away from old categories and assumptions about topics worth studying and where power resides. I also saw the way many of the participating scholars, myself included, are struggling with how to make sense of the darker side of hybridity that has become apparent in recent years. In the interview below, conducted in November, 2019, Chadwick discusses his recent preoccupation with what he calls "dysfunctional hybridity" and about the urgency that kind of hybridity brings to the need to update our thinking about media, power and society.

This conversation has been lightly edited and condensed for publication.

Adrienne Russell: *The second edition of "The Hybrid Media System" (2017), your influential book, includes a new chapter on the election of Donald Trump and a compelling discussion of what you call "dysfunctional hybridity," in which the networked media landscape plays host to practices and technologies – fake news, bots,*



hacking, and so on – that contribute to the erosion of democratic norms. Yours is one of the best updates to a lot of frankly very optimistic research and writing, including my own, that emphasized the democratic potential of the networked environment. How did you get there?

Andrew Chadwick: Well, yes, one of the challenges of the hybrid media system framework is that it celebrates and describes the increasing diversity of media-related practices. We can talk about how people share information and about their interventions in the public sphere. We can see how digital media enabled a whole range of different activities that previously weren't possible in the broadcast-dominated media system. But a lot of us missed what I call the *dysfunctional* aspects of hybridity. The same technological elements of social media platforms, including the way journalists use digital sources for their stories – those elements also newly empower actors whose ideologies conflict with what we understand as the core of liberal democratic societies.

The big dilemma, really, is how to start thinking about the problematic things we've seen over the last three or four years – that I would add were always there – but are now surfacing in such concentrated and visible forms. How can we understand, for instance, the role of the hybrid media system in empowering white supremacists, networked misogynists, or racist xenophobes? I think that's what we in the field have missed. We've underplayed the spread of these digitally enabled pathologies. And maybe that's because most researchers, generally speaking, work from a liberal or leftist perspective, which shapes the kinds of things we've looked for. A lot of the literature on social movements and protest using digital media has – not all of it but most of it – cherry-picked examples that are innately progressive. It has tended to ignore examples of activity that aren't progressive. The bigger picture question is: What kind of media system do we really want to put in place to serve liberal democratic societies?

Russell: Which raises many more questions, made more urgent by developments over the past three years. Like, what does the term *liberal democracy* mean today, given an environment where political institutions are openly laced with corruption and political processes in many cases are breaking down?

Chadwick: I appreciate that the term *liberal democracy* is deeply problematic, because there are all kinds of arguments about the limitations of that particular model of politics. But I think we need to take a step back and consider that there are certain groups with ideologies that seek to undermine the values of tolerance, of mutual understanding, respect, civility – dare I even use that term? – and that we're living in a time when these kinds of forces are probably more powerful than ever in influencing the public circulation of symbols in politics. I can't remember a time – perhaps the late 1970s when I was only eight or nine years old – when the far right was as active as it is in contemporary British society, and I think much the same could be said about the United States as well as Europe, particularly Eastern Europe.

Equally, I think we've seen, when it comes to the antifeminist movement – the “manosphere,” or the various manifestations of networked misogyny online – we've witnessed an incredible amount of visibility for these ideas. We always knew they were there, but it's the visibility and the regularity with which they appear in the kinds of networked forms of participation that we now know are hugely important for all types of political activity.

Where I'm coming at this from, really, is to say that, if we look at what we mean by media hybridity, we've got to open up and recognize that many of our theoretical perspectives were hatched only in relation to progressive examples. Think of Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg's work in *The Logic of Connective Action* (2013) or some of my work before *The Hybrid Media System*, in which I examined forms of activism largely involving progressive actors trying to contest news frames that were portraying their side in the worst light.

We didn't train as much attention on the way these dynamics also work to empower forces destructive to liberal democratic norms.

Russell: *In addition to playing catch-up on that score, though, there's also a tendency to think and talk and write as if we're in a constant state of change – which is true, we are in a constant state of change – but I'm wondering about how these trends you're talking about, the ones we missed and that we're living with as a powerful force in our lives now, are creating lasting impacts.*

Chadwick: I've become increasingly interested in long-term change and how we can get beyond the idea that everything is always and forever in a state of chaos, transition, and turbulence, and start to focus on how norms become embedded. You and I have talked before about how people's expectations about acceptable behavior start to change, in a rather complex and dynamic relationship with technological shifts. We have also talked about the kinds of social cues people now encounter in the media environment. You and I have been researching this field for quite a long time now – 20 years in my case – and I think we've got to start pointing to some of the longer-term shifts in people's norms – what I'm calling *online civic culture*.

Russell: *Okay, right, so can you talk a little about online civic culture in relation to Trump and the various cultural and political streams that came together to secure his election. I thought you very effectively took that up in the second edition of "The Hybrid Media System".*

Chadwick: Yes, thanks. When it came to the new chapter in the second edition, it took me a long time, and I became obsessed with it, really going into as much depth as I could, within the constraints of a book chapter, albeit a rather long one. I found that one of the most interesting elements of online civic culture in relation to Trump is that it formed through a combination of the activity of both elite actors and ordinary members of the pub-

lic. If you think about the role of misinformation and disinformation in our politics now, I think we've got to acknowledge the role played by ordinary social media users, non-elites, in spreading problematic information. But we've also got to be acutely aware of the role elites play in introducing that information into the media environment. And, of course, we have to also be aware of efforts to document and call out such activity.

One example of the latter is Glenn Kessler, who has been the editor and chief writer of *The Washington Post's* "The Fact Checker"¹ since 2011. He's produced extraordinary catalogs of the number of interventions that Donald Trump has made just based on lies. Trump made more than 6,000 false and misleading statements in the first two years of his presidency. We've always had partisan bias in media, of course, but if Glenn Kessler and his fact-checking team is saying on the record that they have a catalog of several thousand false utterances, I think we're in a different kind of environment than where we were even ten years ago.

I think there's also something of a broader cultural shift going on, which I'm calling the *culture of indeterminacy*, which empowers and disempowers people in different ways in different settings. It's become part of the fabric of our politics in a way that I don't think we could have predicted even a short time ago. Whether or not that's likely to change when, if, Trump doesn't win next year, I'm not so sure.

Russell: *And it's not an isolated example, of course. How is the culture of indeterminacy playing out in British politics?*

Chadwick: Recently, we've seen various manifestations. From the Remain side of the Brexit debate we've had bizarre statements about the amounts of money that supposedly will be available to reinvest in public services and the National Health Service should the UK not leave the EU.

1 Glenn Kessler, Fact Checker: The Truth Behind the Rhetoric, *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/category/donald-trump/>

This is a mirror image of the lies that were told by the Leave campaign during the Brexit referendum. None of these numbers is based in any kind of objective reality.

At the same time, we've also seen an extraordinary BBC investigation into supporters of the Conservative Party behaving in ways that make their social media posts – Facebook posts on Boris Johnson's public page – appear as if they are automated, bot like responses.² The story emerged about three weeks ago. Observers started suspecting that posts appearing on Boris Johnson's page – very short bursts of commentary saying things like “100 percent agree” or “I'm with you, Boris” – were generated by bots. It was a rush to judgment. Fragments of code also started to appear in the messages. So it looked as if it was an automated, scripted intervention that had gone wrong. But it transpired that real people were pretending to be bots. They were deliberately acting like bots to troll critics of Boris Johnson.

Russell: *So, the advantage of pretending you're a bot is, like, next level agitation? Bots exacerbate polarization, so humans behaving in bot-like ways is meant to just further piss off the opposition?*

Chadwick: This is the thing, right? To goad the other side, to, yes, have a sense of mischief, to irritate the opponents. Looking at the code that was supposed to have been mistakenly introduced, looking at it now, it does look like it has just been pasted in by somebody, because it doesn't look like any code that would be involved in an automated campaign. That struck me as just extraordinary. I've never come across anything like that.

Russell: *But it's recognizable now for what it is – a contemporary media practice. But it's also the kind of thing that points to a broader cultural shift in how politics is playing out, among elites, among everyday people, right? What's it telling us?*

2 Joey D'Urso, “The real people pretending to be ‘Boris bots’ on Facebook,” *BBC*, 1 November, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-50218615>

Chadwick: It's obviously an extreme example, but what this brings home is the unexpected affordances that social media environments now provide for inauthentic behavior. The game isn't just about automated, inauthentic accounts. That whole scene has become implicated in a much broader scene of trolling and of so-called “playfulness.” Not the kind of playfulness that people were celebrating in the early days of social media, or, going back even further, the idea of playfulness around digital identity in the late 1990s – not that – but a disruptive, chaotic, destabilizing impulse.

There's this 2018 American Political Science Association conference paper by political psychologists Michael Bang Petersen, Mathias Osmundsen, and Kevin Arceneaux, where they talk about the need for chaos as a motivator for people who spread false information, conspiracy theories and rumors on social media. I think that there's something in that. They did surveys in the US and Denmark. There is a group – it's a minority, but it's a substantial minority of people (they estimated these attitudes are present in up to 40 percent of the US population) – that now see the media environment as an opportunity to destabilize and to behave in ways that amount to giving the finger-stick to political elites of various kinds – and indeed to the whole rationality of the political process. To some extent it's a manifestation of the way the hybrid media system can enable these very rapid, real-time interventions in political discourse in ways that weren't possible before.

Russell: *So, what are the implications of these interventions – sometimes carefully orchestrated but other times spontaneous and grassroots?*

Chadwick: Mass publics now use social media to send signals to others who might think “I wouldn't mind doing some of that. I'm on the side of people who want to cause a bit of trouble, a bit of mischief, and I've got reasons for doing it and opportunities too”. The reasons people have for doing it – that's the hard part. How we

dig into those motivations – and they're likely to be extremely complicated – that's a big challenge for researchers. But if we think about the mere existence of the need for chaos, in days gone by, we might have said, "Well, it's great. It's playfulness. There's too much constraint in the public sphere" because we'd look at the broadcast media system and think ordinary people don't have a say and it's top-down and controlled. Think about when TV became really important in politics from the 1960s onwards. Well, by the late 1990s, the literature in political communication was full of pessimistic assessments of alienation from the media, alienation from the political process, apathy, disengagement, as a result of the broadcast media system.

But then the Internet comes along and everybody thinks "Oh, it's going to be so different. People will get empowered. We're going to see voices in the public sphere. We're going to see pluralism on a scale that we haven't seen before."

All of that happened, but what we underestimated was that this pluralism also enables these kinds of democratically dysfunctional behaviors that we need to keep an eye on. That's been the agenda since 2016. There's a whole range of interesting research coming out now and a lot of younger scholars are fired up by this agenda as well.

Russell: *There are all kinds of related implications. At the level of online civic culture, norms are changing, and there is an expansion of ways for people who are disgruntled to express themselves, in playful ways and in frightening ways, and so on. Meantime, at the level of elite strategizing, we have seen an industry emerge around developing purposeful interventions into the system to disrupt, misinform, and create chaos. Given that it may not be a characteristic confined in the media system to a moment of transition, but rather one that might already be embedded, how do scholars approach these shifted practices?*

Chadwick: On the level of documenting it, I don't have any kind of huge methodological plan that I want to lay out and say that

that's the correct way. There's some excellent work emerging. Kate Starbird and Emma Spiro, for instance, at the University of Washington, are doing some interesting big data-driven analysis.³ There's been some great experimental literature in the field driven by political psychology and political communication researchers such as Jason Reifler, Adam Berinsky, and Brendan Nyhan. That's useful, in part, because it's very controlled and strict in its models of causality, but it doesn't say a great deal about the specifics of social media environments and the particular technological designs that shape and constrain the ways people behave. I would also say that science and technology studies has been a bit slow to react to the post-2016 shift.

Surveys are also useful. That's something we've focused on at the Online Civic Culture Centre (O3C)⁴ at my university (Loughborough) because we were lucky enough to partner with a survey company, Opinium Research. What was notable about the data we found in a nationally-representative survey from late 2018, which we published in our report in the spring of 2019, is that 43 percent of news sharers on UK social media share inaccurate or false news. Seventeen percent *knowingly* share news they thought was made up when they shared it. It's not a nuanced or complex finding, but it does help establish just how prevalent and widespread is the behavior. We received quite a lot of feedback on that finding – "Are you sure?" "Yes, we're sure," we said.

Russell: *That's a standout statistic, especially because it's difficult for many of us to imagine being part of that particular problem.*

3 See, for example, Kate Starbird, Dharma Dailley, Owla Mohamed, Gina Lee, and Emma S. Spiro, "Engage Early, Correct More: How Journalists Participate in False Rumors Online during Crisis Events." In *Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, p. 105. ACM, 2018.

4 Online Civic Culture Centre. <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/research/online-civic-culture-centre/>

Chadwick: The underlying reasons for these numbers are very, very difficult to identify, but just as a simple description, it helps put the problem on the agenda. I'm currently working on designing a more in-depth, longitudinal, qualitative, interview-based study. It's to try to understand in a much more contextual and relational way why it is that false and misleading information has come to have the kind of social and political utility it does, both online and in local communities.

The media literacy debate went a little stale, but it's reemerging powerfully. The number of events that I've been to over the last three years where media literacy has been raised as a panacea for all of the world's ills, I can't tell you – but then little gets done about it in relation to online misinformation. One of the interesting things with the media literacy debate is that, as computers became more important and digital media became more important, the debate became much narrower. It often became a debate about digital skills and how to teach people how to use websites, how to buy stuff online, and how to apply for a passport or Medicare or whatever. I know critics such as danah boyd have argued that media literacy may have backfired because it fostered a culture of cynicism toward media.⁵ But I'm not so sure about whether that applies in all contexts. One thing that certainly has happened is that *digital* literacy has become very narrowly defined. There are people who have continuously pushed against this, such as Sonia Livingstone (2004), for instance.

I think there's something in the idea that we can go into people's socially situated daily lives and find out a lot more about their motivations for sharing problematic information. What is missing at this point is a richer, more contextual understanding of the role that information plays in people's everyday lives and how it gains and loses social utility for specific groups of people. That process is also tied to the question of identity. We already know that

5 See, for example, danah boyd, "Did Media Literacy Backfire?" *Data & Society*, 5 January, 2017. <https://points.datasociety.net/did-media-literacy-backfire-7418c084d88d>

strong partisans tend to believe information that presents their side in a good light. We know about motivated reasoning, whereby people justify to themselves, often using very elaborate methods, their pre-existing prejudices and false beliefs. They will have those in mind as they are exposed to media content. But we know much less about what goes into the decision to *share* content. That's what we've tried to focus on here at O3C – the ingredients that go into the share. But we know very little right now, and I don't think we're likely to learn everything about the ingredients that make the share from large-N studies and descriptive, big data studies.

One way we plan instead to study this is by asking subjects to take out their phones and talk through the problematic pieces of information that figure in their everyday lives in a detailed, contextual way, where one recognizes that there's reflexivity in the interview process. We won't be able to generalize to the population, but then we might have much more refined and interesting variables to explore in broader survey-based studies. This is not to say that qualitative work is superior to general survey-based research; they complement each other.

Russell: *Right, getting a closeup view of how people are actually engaging with the material can help know what questions to ask. It's interesting that you're focusing on the media habits of individuals. Can you elaborate? Why might it be more interesting to look at individual practices rather than at things like the kind of technology people are using or technology policy?*

Chadwick: On the issue of people-versus-technologies, I've just never seen it like that. I'm heavily influenced by Latour and the ideas of actor-network theory. I'm not the only one, of course. There was a whole wave in that late-2000s moment, lots of interesting ideas floating around about the interactions between technologies and humans and their mutually constitutive roles as actants. I've always been influenced by that particular perspective. When I talk about the hybrid media sys-

tem, that does include technologies and people and all of the interactions between them. What I don't subscribe to, though, is the idea that it necessarily means that you're being technologically determinist. I dislike that term, and it's become a lazy critique of a lot of work, including Latour's as well. The reality is that we are shaped by our interactions with technologies. We're not fully determined by them. The technological environments within which we behave play a role in shaping our behavior, and I'm completely unashamed about saying that. That's not to say that they determine everything in the first or last instance, but they play a role.

When I'm talking about individuals, I'm talking about the need to understand how individuals are socially situated, but also technologically situated as well. Again, I'm not the only person. Look at the new outpouring of work on algorithms, such as Taina Bucher's great book *If... Then*, which came out last year. (Disclosure: the book is published in the Oxford University Press series I edit). It's this idea that it's not a binary either/or when it comes to media technologies and social practices. You've got to look at people in their socially situated context. Part of that socially situated context is a technological context. When people are interacting online, the news feed, it's the ways that's algorithmically curated – ways that, as we know from surveys, many members of the public just don't fully understand. Of course, academic researchers don't fully understand it either, because we don't have access to whatever "secret sauce" makes the algorithms.

When I'm talking about these long-term shifts in online civic culture, those are partly technologically shaped, and they're about the moments of interaction between humans and technologies. It's that dialectic that drives the whole process forward. I'm not saying that there's something called culture, which is innate and intrinsic in human brains, if you will, that then acts as a force in the world. What I'm saying is that these complex social and technological variables, and the ways humans behave over time, lead to changes in expectations about what's seen as ac-

ceptable and not acceptable in the public sphere. That's the biggest normative concern I've got with online civic culture – that there are large numbers of people now who are seen as willing to engage in behaviors that are problematic for liberal democratic societies. Does that answer your question about a system-versus-individual focus?

Russell: *It does. What about the part about the elite forces, not the everyday people, that are shaping the system in "democratically dysfunctional" ways? How do we deal with that?*

Chadwick: That is, in some ways, a more tractable problem than the problem of digital literacies. That said, it requires some kind of political intervention.

We're now in a situation where the idea of the social media company as platform, if you start deconstructing it, it's more and more bizarre. I think Tarleton Gillespie's work has been very valuable on this. You've got these metaphors used by Google, Facebook, Twitter of providing a stage on which others act. The original model is that they don't take much responsibility for the ways in which people act, that they're just providing a stage, a platform. That model is now almost dead. We're actually seeing the dying days of it play out. It won't be as quick a death or even the same kind of death, maybe, in the United States as it will in, say, Western Europe. For example, we've seen the signs of that just this week, with scholars having a real argument on Twitter about freedom of speech and "freedom of reach" after Facebook began insisting that it won't regulate political ads the way that Twitter has said it will.

There's a peculiarly US perspective on these things. Liberal-left US scholars are arguing that it's wrong to outlaw political advertising on Twitter because that will create jurisdictional problems and erode the anti-Trump movement. Also, that it will deny speech and reach to progressive movements as well because they want to advertise online and inform the public.

It's really hard to decide what's political, and what isn't, and of course, that problem is not going to go away. The Brit-

ish perspective on these things is very different because historically, we've long had regulation of advertising in elections. We don't have political advertising on broadcast media. That's why, when we in the UK see so much campaign advertising on UK social media, it looks like a crazy Wild West scenario. British scholars have been far more reticent about participating in the debate about Twitter's banning of political ads because we recognize that there are many, many reasons why you would want to regulate political advertising, not least because there are inequalities between different providers of ads. If you go back to the early 2000s and the McCain-Feingold Act on campaign finance in the United States, one of the Democrats' major concerns was that the Republicans would always outspend them using soft money, because wealthy donors would always tend to favor the Republicans.

It is strange that we're seeing these kinds of ideas recur, but the current changes in the media environment are challenging us all. The established terms of debate have quickly started to dissolve.

Coming back to your original question about what kinds of interventions are required, I think that it's always going to be a mix of government regulation and self-regulation by the platform companies themselves. But that self-regulation doesn't come about by accident or just out of the goodness of their hearts; it comes from real political pressure, including from policymakers, to clean up the Internet. If we've got an environment where it's easy for political elites to circulate prejudice, falsehoods, all kinds of inaccurate information strategically released to divide communities and to pit one community against another, whether it's religious or racial, we need to tackle the problem. We have to take sides and say, "There are things we need to do to make sure that social media environments are making good contributions to civic culture rather than eroding or undermining our civic culture."

I think that that's where we are right now, though I recognize that is a bizarre generalization because there are countries where there is no genuine freedom

of speech on social media. But thinking about the US and the European context, that's where the debate is happening. This means regulation. It will be different in different countries, but I can't see any reason why we shouldn't look at some form of regulation as a positive outcome.

Russell: *Yes, I agree. On that score, how do you perceive the news coverage of the dysfunctions we've been discussing? Even as recently as 2016, there was very little mainstream coverage of technology's role in politics and strategic political communication, the relationship between the data industries and democracy, of micro-targeting publics and misinformation – on so many of the things academics have been studying. Cambridge Analytica was a shock to the press and to the public, but not so much to academics. Now the coverage seems to be getting more thorough. The BBC investigation into the fake bot posts, you just mentioned, the recent investigative section of the New York Times performing a data analysis of Trump's tweets.⁶ Some journalism outlets are recognizing how central the story of technology is to politics and public life. But this is of course complicated by the fact that there's a decrease in trust in these press outlets. What's the proper role for journalism and a realistic expectation of how effective journalism can be in exposing and educating people about "dysfunctional hybridity"?*

Chadwick: The first thing I'd like to say is that the ways in which journalism has evolved means journalists are implicated in the current crisis on a number of levels. Some of it is just part of the pressure of having to adapt to a hyper-competitive media environment where the number of new actors – not all of them survived but still, if you think about the likes of *BuzzFeed*, the likes of *Vice* – it's just a much more complicated environment in which to be a professional elite journalist now than it was even ten years ago. If you think

6 See "The Twitter Presidency," *New York Times*, 2 Nov. 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/02/us/politics/trump-twitter-presidency.html>

back twenty years, it's a *completely* different situation. A lot of the pressure is being created by the need to compete.

The reality is that journalists themselves are implicated in the obsession with breaking news, the obsession with social media metrics, the obsession with Trump's latest tweets at what time of the day or night and how many likes or retweets they get.

As I've shown in *The Hybrid Media System*, journalists have embedded social media into their working practices, not just at the level of sourcing. In other words, there are literally journalists, and you know this, of course, whose beat is to sit and look at social media screens, dashboards unfolding all day long. It's not just about that. It's also that the texture of news stories and the actual presentation of facts in the world now relies upon social media discourse. This is what Trump recognized in 2015, actually, long before the election campaign properly got underway. He recognized it really early on.

There were a few people who pointed this out, but few were paying attention. Then all of a sudden, as soon as he was elected, it was, "Let's go back and look at Donald Trump's tweets," and, "Oh, yes, we saw it all along."

Quite a few saw it happening during the campaign and thought, *What's going on here?* One of the longstanding arguments about political campaigns is that they can use social media to bypass traditional media. This was said in the days back in 2004, 2006, and 2008, when we saw email come into its own as a campaign medium. The argument was, "They're going to bypass traditional media and reach the public. They're going to reach their partners and supporters and we won't know anything about it." What we didn't understand back then (and this is part of the hybrid media system framework) is that it's not just about bypassing; it's about influencing. Trump's approach was not about bypassing mainstream media; it was about using social media to influence mainstream media. That's become almost a truism in the last couple of years, but in 2016, there weren't many people saying that. In the book, I tried to show how this

happened. One fascinating thing here is how social media have enabled the signaling of transgression. Trump was, and still is, "good" at transgressing norms. By that I mean the traditional norms that we would expect presidential candidates to adhere to, he just deliberately rips those up in order to generate attention. Boris Johnson in the 2019 UK campaign has used the same strategy.

It's almost like the old cliché, "There's no such thing as negative publicity." In the second edition of *The Hybrid Media System*, I noted that we're now in a media system where attention is such a valuable resource, that there are so many opportunities for you as an individual to devote your attention to so many different types of content, that actually grabbing attention in that old way, but with new methods, has become much more important. Distortion in the economy of attention in the public sphere is something we're only just really coming to grips with.

This is an important part of what Trump was doing in 2016. It's become a characteristic in general of strategic campaigners who want to try and grab attention, even if only very fleetingly, for their particular cause. There's this mythology that built up in the 2016 campaign about whether or not journalists were taking Trump seriously enough and the pitfalls of doing so. They face a similar issue when it comes to ideas that are destructive of liberal democracy as well. Extreme misogyny, white supremacy, misinformation – how do you report these things while drawing attention to them in a way that shows that they are transgressions of norms that ought not to be transgressed in a liberal democratic society? How do you do that in a way that doesn't risk you just simply spreading the word? This is a major problem.

One of the things that's become fascinating again is thinking about norms and the long-term reshaping of people's behavior. We know, going back to social psychology studies of the diffusion of rumors, for instance, all the way back to the Second World War, is that what the social psychologists call *fluency* is an important

determinant of how people come to hold false beliefs.

The disturbing thing about fluency – and again, this rests on all of the repetition and circulation affordances that we’ve all celebrated as being so beneficial about social media – the reality is that simple repetition and recirculation exposes larger numbers of people to problematic information. Even if that information is deeply false, it still enhances a sense of ease or fluency with the information. Fluency leads to credulity. The more fluent you are, in other words, the more you’ve been exposed to a particular piece of information, even if it’s false, the more likely you are to believe it.

It’s a major problem for how journalists report. Perhaps we’re now seeing journalists fighting back and coming out the other side, certainly in the big professional media organizations, such as *The Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. We’re starting to see signs now of a much more savvy approach to social media as a source for stories. I’ll just park this thought for now, but what we also need to recognize is that there are many, many cash-strapped news organizations that don’t get the chance to make this decision. They are, by necessity, deeply implicated in writing and thus amplifying stories about viral YouTube videos, or outrageous tweets. There’s some interesting research now coming out in journalism studies that speaks to the new reality of the local newsroom. When I say that some news organizations are getting more savvy, I think that’s the elite-of-the-elite organizations, and also the well-funded ones, as well. We mustn’t forget the political economy of this, because the *Washington Post* is now far better resourced than it was before Jeff Bezos bought it.

So, yes, journalists are implicated in the current crisis, but I also think that it’s not just about the structure of the news industry. It’s a deeper problem of the social psychology of behavior online. I’ve become more and more interested in the individual, psychological roots of people’s behavior, the behavioral tradition in psychology: flocking behavior, herding be-

havior, cueing, fluency, why people come to act on informational cues in ways that don’t seem to be perfectly rational. Well, they’re partly explained by the social-cueing contexts of our behavior. When you throw technological affordances into that mix as well, that makes it even more complicated.

When journalists produce news, part of the problem is that they’re now in an environment where other people’s behavior and the likelihood of recirculation of a story is important and plays a role in what gets written about. Journalists might not have a full awareness of the limitations on the rationality of that environment. We need to understand far more about what shapes and constrains rationality in the public sphere, not least because social media discourse goes constantly circuits back into professional journalism. This is a hybrid media system problem, but I didn’t have anything to say about rationality in the book.

Russell: *It makes a lot of sense to think about the social psychology aspect given the issues about which people have very different perceptions – the seemingly increasing areas of irreconcilable differences. I’ve been thinking a lot, for example, about climate communication and about why there is so much discussion and effort around getting the right information or the right amount of information, even though people who doubt and deny climate change continue to do so despite the flow of excellent reporting. The idea of fluency, that’s actually very helpful in thinking about these matters. Couldn’t the solution to disinformation be simply working to interrupt fluency?*

Chadwick: Yes, the solution is to interrupt fluency. But then there’s also motivated reasoning. Therefore, even if you’re interrupting the environment in which fluency can occur, you’re never fully going to get beyond people’s prejudices and pre-conceived biases. My problem with all of this, as a communication and media scholar, is where did these biases come from in the first place? This is one of the things that’s bedeviled our field, hasn’t it? You look at

the historical debates: strong effects versus weak effects. There's been a real reluctance on the part of many communication and media researchers to talk about media effects. There has to be a renewed conversation now about where norms and behavior actually derive from in the first place and how they become embedded over time.

I'm a fan of Mark Deuze's idea in his book *Media Life*, that we live *in* media, as fish live in water. There's a lot to be said for that perspective. Of course, the mechanistic traditions of some quantitative social science finds that difficult to fathom, because information is theorized as something that is fully exogenous and operates as a force upon us.

We need to understand that people's perceptions of the world are built up through many complex but often very short-term interactions that accrete over time. I think *accretion* is a good word in this regard. As things accrete over time, you can see that it's phony, in a way, to say, "If only we could introduce, in a one-off setting, correct information about how to see climate change."

I keep coming back to this idea of a relational perspective on digital literacies, and I deliberately use the plural term, literacies, because I don't think we'll reach a stage where there is a singular, universal state of being digitally literate. We need to understand how different types of information have different forms of social utility in specific community, familial, social, and cultural contexts. This is the lesson of some of the qualitative work that's emerging. Think about Arlie Russell Hochschild's book, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, Kathy Cramer's work on rural politics in Wisconsin, which both show how people develop narratives of how to make sense of the world. For them, these narratives, or deep stories as Hochschild calls them, have real purpose, and it's about getting into those moments, trying to develop long-term educational interventions that make a difference to how people see others who are unlike themselves.

It's not simply about balancing opinion as well. That's been a trend in the media literacy literature going back thirty years –

if only we could get people to weigh up the arguments on both sides, the argument runs. I'm not sure that that's going to work. We have plenty of opportunities for people to learn online about different perspectives on the world, but do these have utility for people in their everyday lives in their communities? For many people, it's not a simple question of saying, "I'm going to go online and learn about all of the different sides of the story" – not least because it becomes really exhausting to do that.

To come back to the role of news, journalists might need a much richer understanding of the kinds of information that people find useful in their communities and how they can intervene in those contexts to create information that empowers people with the truth. I don't think journalists should just give up and say, "Everything's post truth. There's indeterminacy everywhere. We can't make a difference. Let's just follow the dollars." There are some newsrooms that may think like that, but journalism must retain its public mission to enlighten citizens. It's a question of finding the truthful information that citizens need in order to become empowered.

Russell: *Conversely, what sorts of information is disempowering, not only for the individual but for various groups?*

Chadwick: Good question. Take, for example, Urban Dictionary, which has been a fascination of mine for a long time now. I spoke about this at some length in a talk I gave at the Reuters Institute at Oxford in 2018. My 11 year old daughter sometimes searches Google for stuff like language use, special terms, definitions, all sorts of slang, so I see this on a personal level. Now, I know that street slang evolves very quickly – absolutely. But Urban Dictionary is bizarre. It's mixture of misogyny, racism, casual insults against all sorts of different religious communities, stuff that's just made up, stuff that has no basis and terms that are clearly not used by people in everyday life. But this great piece just came out in *New Media & Society* by communication and media scholars Debbie Ging, Theodore Lynn, and Pierangelo Ro-

sati at Dublin City University. It just hit on the head what I was struggling with when trying to present last year at Reuters (to frowning faces) about why I think Urban Dictionary is a problem. (Incidentally, I dug into the economics of the site and how it's funded through ads it sells through the Google Ad Exchange network and how it makes its money. It's quite a lucrative website, often in the top-500 Alexa rankings in the world. It's seriously big, with 180 million monthly page views, mostly clicked via Google search.)

Interestingly, given the mixed economy or the division of labor, however we might want to describe it, in content creation and linking in the online space, what Ging and her colleagues argue is that Urban Dictionary entries are hijacked by the manosphere online, who, after all, have their own mixed economy of content based around their own wikis and forums. Again, these are things that we used to celebrate about Web 2.0. We thought, *It's good. It's empowering lots of people.* Well, yes, it's empowering extreme misogynists as well. So the lexicon of the manosphere gets encoded into the entries in Urban Dictionary, and then people do searches on Google, and the economy of attention has already been hijacked because Google is prioritizing Urban Dictionary in its search results. The implication of Ging's and her colleagues' article is that we need to be much more strategic about examining these interconnections between online content – the divisions of labor between news and journalism, search engines and rankings, retweets, shares, likes, how all of that goes together in ways that can skew the information environment for people who are looking for particular types of information at particular moments.

Recently, Michael Golebiewski and danah boyd at *Data & Society* released a new report about data voids. I don't know if you've seen this – ?

Russell: *Yes, it's about how data voids, or searches that turn up little to no results, are seen as opportunities by people looking to manipulate the information environment and so fill those voids with misinformation.*

Chadwick: Right. That really struck a chord. This is something we need to pay much more attention to – and I think journalists in particular should be aware of how this works. Journalists can make a difference because many have the power to introduce information into the public sphere, which will get highly ranked by Google, and prioritized in search. It may also get prioritized in social media feeds if what the social media companies say about prioritizing reputable sources and curating feeds with human intervention actually happens and makes a difference. Facebook's record has been patchy in that regard, lately.

Take, for example, the issue of climate change or science communication more broadly: these areas are problematic as well because much of the scientific literature doesn't get returned in regular Google searches. Even if it did, would it be accessible to the average member of the public? Probably not. Again, that places a huge responsibility on journalists to introduce high-quality information into the public realm, in the knowledge (or perhaps hope) that, in turn, it will have an influence on search rankings and ultimately determine people's ability to find good information. It's probably time we moved away from this notion that the Internet is all about social media news feeds or all about news organizations' websites, and toward the assumption that there's actually a complicated division of labor when it comes to the production and consumption of online information.

Russell: *Point well taken – and I'm not sure how Google has managed to sidestep so many of these debates. It's a messy complicated set of realities, and one that's only going to grow more complicated. But if we start taking a more holistic view of the problems and of the solutions, along the lines that you're talking about, we'll be better prepared. I keep thinking the main institutions of democratic society have just been so reactive, or less than reactive – which I think is what has people terrified about the era of widespread deepfakes, which seems like it's days away at this point.*

Chadwick: Yes, Cristian Vaccari and I have a project underway here at O3C on deepfakes, on which Cristian is leading. The first disturbing thing about deepfake video comes from what we know about individuals and how they process information. We know from experimental research that individuals are more likely to recall video and image content than they are textual content. That was demonstrated in experimental settings long before digital media emerged.

On the other hand, we spend a long time in communication and media research examining the active audience and in understanding how people make sense and interrogate the nature of media content. People adapt their expectations over time to what's factual and what's fictional. It's really fascinating. Take, for example, early cinema. When cinema was introduced in the 1890s, people would go into movie theaters and be astonished and sometimes scared out of their wits. Some people were terrorized by images they'd never seen before. A good example is when, in 1895, the Lumière brothers screened their short film «L'Arrivée d'un Train en Gare de La Ciotat» ("Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station"). But people soon adapt. Special effects in Hollywood, the line between fact and fiction: humans are really good at making that distinction.

The problem with deepfake video is that it's fabricated nonfiction. It's not fictional content and it's not wholly about entertainment. Imagine a viral video deepfake of, say, a politician or perhaps more likely, a newsreader or a reporter that isn't particularly well known, speaking in a mocked-up studio news environment. The problem is that it's so perfectly executed and the representation is so convincing. If we think about this, it throws into jeopardy some of these preconceived ideas we have about the active audience and our ability to decode political bias.

Add into that mix the rapid-fire nature of exposure to these videos and the ways people seem to be very comfortable now in spreading information (in ways that researchers didn't foresee) very, very quickly, even if they haven't interrogated it. Shar-

ing without adequately reflecting upon the content or checking it, the desire to fit in, the excitement, the thrill of participating in the news cycle. All of these things are important and need to be brought into the analytical mix as well. That's the problem of deepfake video: it speaks to an environment where the kinds of expectations that we used to have about how audiences critically interrogate content become somewhat unsettled. How can audiences contextualize a deepfake video of a politician or a journalist when the deepfake has been created by deep learning AI scripts that actually draw upon the other publicly available representations of that person that are online?

It's a dystopian version of intertextuality, in which the deepfake video is itself fabricated from existing publicly available video, audio, and still images of a person that already exist in the public realm. The idea that we can get to the bottom of it is problematic ... You see what I'm saying?

Russell: *Yeah, it's sort of, for now, not really fiction; it's fabricated reality. It's the real person in a real setting that that real person really exists in a lot of the time – a news-show set, a stump speech stage, on the floor of Congress, whatever. So it demands a new digital literacy to detect it as quickly – or more quickly – than the time it would take your impulse to share to spur you to act! The mechanisms are so sophisticated that you can't anticipate that they would be factoring into what you're witnessing. At least at first, in the first-wave deepfake era, you're not properly, instinctively on guard.*

Chadwick: Logically, it's problematic because there's no obviously discernible *underneath*, below the surface, due to how the technology seems to be developing. I don't really have any good answers to this one. That's why I think regulation is actually really important in the sphere of deepfakes, and I think the platforms themselves have started to realize this as well. I mean, Zuckerberg came out with it last week, where he said, "Deepfakes are a problem." Jack Dorsey, one of the founders of Twitter, explicitly mentioned the

problem of deepfakes in his tweets when he was talking about Twitter's decision to ban political advertising. It's that sense of not being able to get beyond the surface to, I don't know, factcheck. It is more difficult to factcheck a deepfake when the deepfake itself has been made from resources in the public domain.

This presents liberal democracies with a major challenge. The biggest long-term problem with a culture of indeterminacy is the lack of trust that emerges from it. If it becomes hugely exhausting trying to make sense of this environment, and if there's a realization that the old tools of fact-checking and responsible journalism will work only some of the time and a lot of the time will be compromised, then we could be in trouble. One of the problems is that it opens up space for authoritarian leaders to say, "I'm going to restore order," and we could then end up with regulation of media that is draconian.

On the other hand, the other problem is that people withdraw into the private sphere and they think, "Politics is not for me. That's the public realm. It's crazy." Then I think we could be in trouble.

Russell: *That's a very optimistic statement you just made, I think. "We could be in trouble" you said. That means we could not be in trouble, too! I'm pretty sure we're in trouble.*

Chadwick: If we just let these forces have free rein, then liberal democracies could be in trouble in the longer term, because the cultural effects over time could be damaging. It's not just a question of people actively participating in spreading illiberal ideas. It's also that people will withdraw into their private sphere and say, "This isn't for me." Dissident critiques of propaganda in the Soviet Union and the former Eastern Bloc states discussed this. Much of the emphasis in propaganda studies has been on persuasion, influence, and deception, or how it leads people to adopt false beliefs. But one of the real problems of propaganda in the Eastern European context – if you read dissident-turned president Vaclav Havel on Czechoslovakia in the 1970s –

one of the problems was withdrawal. People just think, *Well, I'm going to stay out of public life and I'm not going to get involved.* It just becomes too difficult and I think that's a real problem that we might face if indeterminacy becomes widespread. Hannah Arendt, in her writing about the nature of totalitarianism also raised this problem. This is much more damaging, and just as damaging as the argument that harassment and intimidation silences people. It's related. The alt-right are very aware, when they organize concerted harassment attacks on feminists or people of color, they know what they're doing. It's not just that they're trying to spread the word about their ideas. They're also trying to silence their targets, get them to withdraw into the private sphere.

Russell: *Whitney Phillips (2019) recently wrote a fascinating piece published in Social Media+ Society that interrogates the influence of subcultural trolling and what she calls exclusionary laughter. In it she argues that mainstream culture has played a key role in normalizing cultures of hate by allowing their expressions to be amplified under the guise of humor without considering the impact that amplification has on groups who are their direct targets. Relatedly, Mike Ananny (2017, 2018) has been writing about listening and the role networked press systems can and ought to play in ensuring certain stories, groups, voices don't become eclipsed by all of the noise. It's really key for us to be paying attention to what kind of people are most likely to withdraw and based on what kind of factors. And what kind of changes would prevent that kind of exodus? You can imagine the network splitting into neighborhoods, some clean and neat, more civil, more informed, but also more constrained and expensive, others more expressive but also cluttered with ads and hateful trolling. On some level you can see the momentum for that kind of thing already building.*

Chadwick: I agree. Again, it comes back to this idea that the media environment now is very different from the one that prevailed 20 years ago. Media today are not

just about communication; they're about organization. If you think back to the early debates about digital media and politics in the 2000s when Bruce Bimber, Lance Bennett, Dave Karpf, myself and others were theorizing how digital media may spur organizational change – one of the strands of the hybrid media system framework. You can also apply these ideas now to the issue of silencing and marginalization online. When white supremacists and misogynists mobilize harassment in a distributed network environment, they are using media as a means to force organizational change upon their opponents. The organizational outcome in this case is silencing and demobilization of those opponents. When women see other women being harassed online they are more likely to think “I’m a woman. I’m a feminist but I don’t want to be out there in the public realm because I don’t want to be attacked. I don’t want to be doxed. I don’t want my personal data put all over the Internet. I don’t want people creating pornographic deepfake videos of me.”

This, again, is a democratically dysfunctional outcome of the communication-as-organization idea that was so important when social media were new, a decade ago. And now, more than ever, we can learn from the insights of that work but recalibrate them for a new era. We again need to go beyond the idea that digital media are solely about the transmission of messages or representations, and instead focus on how they have become central to all types of formal and informal organizational power.

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Practice-driven journalism research: Impulses for a dynamic understanding of journalism in the context of its reorganization¹

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Abstract

This paper proposes a practice-theoretical journalism research approach for an alternate and innovative perspective of digital journalism's current empirical challenges. The practice-theoretical approach is introduced by demonstrating its explanatory power in relation to demarcation problems, technological changes, economic challenges and challenges to journalism's legitimacy. Its respective advantages in dealing with these problems are explained and then compared to established journalism theories. The particular relevance of the theoretical perspective is due to (1) its central decision to observe journalistic practices, (2) the transgression of conventional journalistic boundaries, (3) the denaturalization of journalistic norms and laws, (4) the explicit consideration of a material, socio-technical dimension of journalism, (5) a focus on the conflicting relationship between journalistic practices and media management practices, and (6) prioritizing order generation over stability.

Keywords

journalism, journalism theories, practice theory, theory development, digitization

1 Introduction¹

Theory development is typically regarded as an essential driving force for the progress of scientific knowledge. It is primarily comprised of the construction of approaches for responding to newly emerging theoretical and practical problems – to empirical challenges – in a certain field of research (Morrison, 2018). Altered or new theories should help to describe, understand, explain and, if possible, forecast such empirical challenges and propose solutions. In contrast to the natural sciences, theory development in media and communication studies apparently results less from fundamental anomalies in empirical research than from relevant aspects of a research object be-

ing overlooked or even suppressed, from the viewpoint of traditional approaches. Today, against the background of advancing digitization, the question arises as to whether the current changes in the media environment can still be adequately addressed within the range of established theories. This is especially relevant to journalism, since its traditional mass media structures are collapsing over the course of economic, technological and societal changes (Alexander, 2015; Deuze & Witschge, 2018).

In this paper, I will highlight certain processes of journalism's current reorganization and the empirical challenges they pose, which I aim to address from an alternative theoretical angle. In doing so, I will refer to the family of practice theories that connect to ongoing renewals in journalism studies (Ahva, 2017; Ryfe, 2018; Witschge & Harbers, 2018), as well as media and communication studies (Couldry, 2004; Pentzold, 2020). These theories have gained popularity in numerous fields of the social sciences, especially because they promise

¹ This is a slightly updated and translated version of the German article: Buschow, C. (2018). Journalistik praxistheoretisch betreiben: Impulse für ein dynamisches Verständnis des Journalismus im Kontext seiner Neuordnung. *Publizistik*, 63(4), 513–534. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11616-018-0458-5>.



innovative perspectives and new conceptualizations of problems. Unlike middle range theories (Merton, 1968), practice theories are not clearly structured, falsifiable systems of hypotheses. In the empirical-pragmatic interpretation I present in this paper, they act more as a ‘theoretical toolbox’ that enables new types of questions, perspectives and forms of empirical research (Nicolini, 2012, pp. 216–219; Reckwitz, 2002, p. 257). With this, I aim to provide a practice-driven journalism research approach that allows for the reinterpretation of current empirical challenges, especially in journalistic production (Ryfe, 2018). However, I do not explicitly seek to present practice theories in their entirety, deconstruct them critically, conceptually enhance them, or compare different streams of literature.

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2, central empirical challenges of journalism are briefly summarized, which are primarily initiated by digitization and interpreted as building blocks of its current reorganization. Section 3 drafts an empirical-pragmatic interpretation of practice theories and illustrates their (exemplary) potential for the observation and reinterpretation of the challenges described. Thus, as summarized in Section 4, a promising perspective on journalism is proposed, one which can provide innovative impulses for the progress of scientific knowledge in the field. This does not mean, however, that established theories should be discarded. Nevertheless, a critical revision seems to be necessary (especially given developments in the field), so that theories of journalism studies do not become an “obstacle to knowledge” (Rühl, 2011, p. 11, my translation).

2 Empirical challenges: The reorganization of journalism under digitization

At least four intertwined, partly global problems pose empirical challenges to journalism (Neuberger, 2018; Siles & Boczkowski, 2012): (1) increasing problems of definition and demarcation in digital

media, (2) the rapid development of new technology, (3) difficulties in financing journalism, and (4) a widely-reported crisis of its legitimacy and authority. These empirical challenges have been, as I will illustrate in the following, essentially initiated or advanced by the digitization of today’s media environment.

2.1 Demarcation

In a media landscape characterized by print and broadcasting, definitional questions of journalism have been primarily a matter of academic controversy. To the extent that the emergence of digital media today enables the participation of every user, with new voices gaining publicity and communication power (Castells, 2009), the formerly academic discussion about journalism’s boundaries is becoming increasingly relevant in praxis: who can be considered a journalist today if everyone can publish, and at any time? What distinguishes journalistic actors from other speakers in digital media? What relationship should journalism have with these communicators? The variety of answers to these questions reflects a growing uncertainty on all sides – journalistic profession, users, scholarship – about the phenomena that can still be classified as ‘journalistic’ (Loosen, 2015, p. 77; Neuberger, 2018, pp. 36–38).

This “identity crisis” (Neuberger, 2018, p. 36, my translation) provokes active boundary work on the part of journalists (Carlson & Lewis, 2015). Today, the differences between journalism and the forms of public communication that have mostly emerged under conditions of digitization and compete for users’ attention are being consciously stressed. For instance, differences between individuals with high levels of publicity and reach (so-called ‘influencers’), social networks and their algorithms, citizen journalism, advertising, and corporate communication.

2.2 Technology

Due to the rapid development of new (internet) technologies, which are reaching market maturity in increasingly shorter intervals, and due to the growing relevance

of data and networks in a digitalized media environment, journalism seems to be caught up in a technology race that takes on crisis-like characteristics. Enormous pressure to change and great uncertainties are evident in at least three areas: (1) working methods, (2) products and genres, and (3) (editorial) organization and forms of cooperation.

1. As new technologies make their way into the core of journalism, established ways of working are changed and questioned, while new ones are created (Anderson & De Maeyer, 2015; Lewis & Westlund, 2015). Datafication has opened up innovative research and verification possibilities, as well as completely new data journalistic activities (Hermida & Young, 2019). User data, such as that generated when sharing or commenting on news, also has a great influence when the data traces generated become the basis of journalistic work and control its activities (Tandoc, 2019). Non-human actors are becoming increasingly important for the execution of journalistic activities, such as when computer systems select, present or even generate news (so-called 'automated journalism') (Hermida & Young, 2019).
2. "Virtual reality", "augmented reality", "speech recognition" and other technologies have opened up potential for modified modes of presentation, genres and completely new media products in digital journalism (Godulla & Wolf, 2017). Each time, the question arises as to whether journalism should make use of a new technology/platform for the circulation of news, because it has the potential to develop into a new mass medium, or whether it is just hype.
3. As "post-industrial means of production" (Alexander, 2015, p. 17), hardware and software technologies create the basis for new forms of networked cooperation in journalism, which are no longer necessarily bound to traditional workplaces like the newsroom (Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2012).

2.3 Economy

The current financial difficulties of journalism have arisen under a digital media economy in which competition for attention has become much fiercer, unlike print and broadcast media (Nielsen, 2016). The long-established business model of the daily newspaper is barely functional under these conditions. Journalistic media products currently only generate small profits, both on the digital advertising and reader markets (Buschow & Wellbrock, 2019; Picard, 2014).

Since no economically sustainable alternatives to the traditional revenue streams have yet been developed, journalism faces great economic uncertainty. A large number of press publishers are reacting to the economic challenges brought about by digitization by consolidating and reducing costs, and in some cases entire newspapers have been discontinued. Between 2006 and 2013, 40,000 jobs were cut across all the publishers in Germany (Seufert, 2013). In some cases, this has led to atypical employment relationships (Deuze & Witschge, 2018) and the emergence of new companies and start-ups outside established media structures (Buschow, 2020; Küng, 2015). In this increasingly precarious economic environment, journalism can hardly take place under comparable working conditions to those possible in the mass media structures of the 20th century (Anderson et al., 2012; Deuze & Witschge, 2018).

2.4 Legitimacy

Journalism has recently become the focus of heated controversy about its privileged social position, following (political) attacks. Some parts of the population are questioning its legitimacy, authority and truthfulness, and claiming that there has been a stark drop in quality (Quandt, 2018). Debate is emerging about echo chambers and filter bubbles, which are supposed to be created by communication and datafication on platforms and presumably lead to a fragmentation of audiences and increasing polarization on the spectrum of opinions (Pariser, 2011).

The empirical data on alleged quality losses is as ambiguous as that on the widely-reported loss of trust and echo chambers / filter bubbles (Neuberger, 2018). At the same time, these debates about legitimacy affect journalism in the already-volatile times that digitization has created. Legitimacy debates are a plausible consequence of new forms of public communication in digital media, which, as indicated in Section 2.1, now fundamentally enable all kinds of ‘media critique’ (Jarren, 2016).

3 Theoretical reactions: A practice-driven approach to addressing the empirical challenges of journalism

The crisis-like developments identified in the previous section can be interpreted as the expression of a reorganization of journalism under the conditions of its digitization (Buschow, 2018). They pose empirical challenges that are acknowledged as relevant both within and outside the academic world. The extent to which a theory can grasp these challenges and deal with them productively is an important criterion for evaluating its performance.

Are established theoretical approaches capable of adequately focusing on the challenges outlined above and proposing productive solutions to them? A substantial number of the approaches still applied in journalism studies today have been developed in the light of historical conditions. Modern research on journalism emerged when many of its research objects (media organizations, newsrooms, employed journalists) were quite homogeneous and distinct. Against this background, empirical research on the professional field of journalism and its actors in particular has been accused of a certain “abstinence from theory”, as it takes concepts and categories for granted and applies them without sufficient theoretical reflection (Raabe, 2005, p. 19; Rühl, 2011, pp. 11–12). In a simplified form, the theoretical field of journalism studies can be categorized as follows: on the one hand, theories of middle or small range focus on explaining the emergence of journalistic

output by considering influencing factors on different levels or to focus on journalistic mechanisms of content presentation (e.g. news values research, gatekeeping approach, agenda-setting theory). On the other hand, attempts were made – at least in the German-speaking scientific community – to embed research in the so-called ‘grand social theories’, e.g. in the social systems theory with reference to Niklas Luhmann or in Marx’s historical materialism (Loeffelholz & Quandt, 2005). The epistemological interests of these journalism theories and their mechanisms in the conceptualization of empirical problems are mainly based on the questions and answers of pre-digital journalism, in which its order seemed to be taken for granted, and remained largely unquestioned.

There have thus been increasing signs of a “next generation of journalism theory” (the title of an edited book by Altmeppen, Hanitzsch, & Schlüter, 2007, my translation). Several authors are concerned that researching journalism with entrenched concepts, traditional terminology and middle range theories based on principles of falsification could suppress novelty in the research area (Ahva, 2017; Deuze & Witschge, 2018; Ryfe, 2018; Witschge & Harbers, 2018). Deuze and Witschge (2018, p. 177) have called for “a toolkit that looks at the field as a moving object and as a dynamic set of practices and expectations – a profession in a permanent process of becoming”. Such a theoretical toolbox can be developed, as I will illustrate in the following, based on the family of practice theories.

3.1 Background: An empirical-pragmatic interpretation of practice theories

Although several heterogeneous approaches are regarded as practice theories, which can be traced back to different fields of origin (sociology, social philosophy, sociology of science, science and technology studies, etc.) and which are clearly distinctive in detail, they are nevertheless connected by a certain “family resemblance” (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 244).²

2 Due to the limited scope of this paper and its aim of proposing an ‘ideal type’ of prac-

What practice theories have in common is that they develop a novel kind of social ontology through which the world can be experienced in a specific way: their attention is on *social practices* as fundamental units of analysis, which (from this point of view) form the relevant constituents of everyday human life and the social world (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011; Giddens, 1976; Giddens, 1984; Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & von Savigny, 2001; Schatzki, 2002; Schatzki, 2016; Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). In essence, social practices can be understood as typical patterns of action, which are enacted regularly, across contexts, at different times and in different places. Although this definition highlights a certain routinization, regularity and stability of social practices, the transformative potential of practices must always be taken into account. Anthony Giddens (1976, p. 102) emphasizes that social practices carry both continuity and renewal: “All reproduction is necessarily production, however, and the seed of change is there in every act which contributes towards the reproduction of any ‘ordered’ form of social life.” Social practices constitute broader social phenomena, the so-called practice constellations (such as organizations, networks or markets) which indicate a certain orderliness of the social (Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 2016, pp. 5–7).

Even if practice theories always take social practices as their starting point, they by no means only focus on the local, situational actions of actors – unlike classical theories of action or interpretative phenomenological approaches (Giddens, 1976). In addition to an in-depth analysis of individual practices, the aim is to reflect on their structural embedding, on their interweaving and interdependence with other practices, their effects and social consequences in the constitution of wider-reaching phenomena (cf. Bus-

chow, 2018, pp. 233–235; Nicolini, 2012, pp. 228–235; Schatzki, 2016, pp. 16–23). Social practices thus always remain tied to a trans-situational structure, which provides a backdrop for analysis and can be refocused on again at any time.

Due to their focus, practice theories cannot be meaningfully classified either as action or structural theories: they do not begin with superordinate structures or with the single actions of individuals, but focus on typical patterns of action in a research area and link these with structural conditions and consequences (Giddens, 1984). However, it is the constant, repetitive interaction of action and structure in and through social practices that (re-) produces social order, whose continuous production, perpetuation and eventual disruption are the programmatic core of practice-theoretical research interest. In the understanding of practice theories, social phenomena – including subjects, their mental characteristics and structures – are not axiomatically presupposed by theory but are first and foremost shaped and (re-) produced by social practices (cf. Schatzki 2002, pp. 89–105). To this end, practices ‘choose’ various (possibly also non-human) actors as carriers and, thus, (re-)producers (cf. Shove et al. 2012, pp. 63–66). The focus of the approaches considered here is therefore less on fixed entities, but rather on fluid processes and the mechanisms through which order is generated. At the same time, theories of practice bear critical potential, such as when they reveal the inequalities and power differences reproduced in praxis and when they question their “reification” – an assumed non-human facticity of human phenomena (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 88).

In recent years, practice theories have sparked a broad spectrum of novel research in numerous social science disciplines. They are particularly stimulating where traditional theories, categorizations and terminology have reached the limits of dynamic fields of investigation and empirical challenges. This is because practice theories denaturalize the theoretical entities derived from previous research, the seemingly self-evident definitional

tion theories for use in journalism research, the theoretical and methodological differences between these individual approaches cannot be discussed in detail in the following (for an introduction, see Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012).

instruments and their established (actor) categories which have been consolidated over longer periods. These can, therefore, suppress the observation of changes in journalism (Domingo, Masip, & Costera Meijer, 2015, p. 64).

Practice theories should thus not be understood as permanent knowledge, from which hypotheses can be empirically derived, tested and possibly falsified. They are more of a theoretical point of departure from which an altered understanding of the current challenges facing journalism is possible, and from which innovative research can be initiated. Nicolini (2012) showed that such an empirical-pragmatic interpretation of practice theories is practicable when he proposed a “toolkit approach” (pp. 213–241) that allows for new questions and the reinterpretation of empirical challenges (also see Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 257–259). Such a toolbox includes the characteristics of the practice theories outlined in this section: a specific conceptual instrument, basic units of analysis, and assumptions about processes and mechanisms in the constitution of social order.

3.2 The performance of practice theories in conceptualizing the reorganization of journalism

It is apparent that the interpretation of practice theories I have developed here is capable of conceptualizing the current reorganization of journalism. A primacy of the empirical, a focus on the accomplishment of typical patterns of action, and a processual, dynamic understanding of a constantly evolving order (instead of fundamental stability) are the important advantages of an analytical perspective that seeks to grasp the increasingly fluid institutional context of journalism.³

In terms of practice theories, journalism is always ‘in the making’. It is con-

stituted, perpetuated and changed as a practice constellation solely through the enactment of social practices. What is considered journalism is taken from the ongoing praxis itself – from what the actors regularly do across contexts, and themselves define as journalism. At the same time, it is newly empiricized: journalism is what is established as ‘journalism’ both in and through social practices (Ahva, 2017; Buschow, 2018; Raabe, 2005; Ryfe, 2018; Witschge & Harbers, 2018). The question of which social practices to focus on is an empirical one, which does not necessarily have to be decided before the start of the research process. With such an open and exploratory procedure, unexpected findings that have not been specifically looked for beforehand can be captured.

In the following, the potential of a practice-driven journalism research approach will be explained, with reference to central problems of journalism’s reorganization, as outlined in Section 2. The main focus will be on demonstrating the extent to which a practice-theoretical approach proves to be useful and innovative, in order to productively address the four empirical challenges. Does the practice-theoretical perspective provide alternative perspectives that stand out from the established approaches of journalism studies? Does it open up promising starting points for new questions and empirical investigations?

3.2.1 Demarcation: Capturing new practices and actors by deliberately crossing borders

How can the proposed perspective help to overcome the identity crisis of journalism outlined in Section 2.1? The answer to this question is sobering: practice theories are quite unsuitable for making a tangible distinction between media contexts that could support journalists in drawing boundaries with neighboring communication phenomena, such as PR or propaganda. The expectation is already at the core of the idea that practice constellations have blurred often precarious boundar-

3 These characteristics prove to be advantages with regard to the specific objectives of this paper – to provide a new research perspective for the empirical challenges of journalism outlined above. Other characteristics of practice theories, which could not be discussed here, may be considered advantages for other objectives (see also Section 4).

ies.⁴ Anthony Giddens (1984, p. 165), for instance, highlights that “it is important to re-emphasise that the term ‘social system’ should not be understood to designate only clusters of social relations whose boundaries are clearly set off from others. The degree of ‘systemness’ is very variable...”. The proposed approach hence stands in stark contrast to system-theoretical principles, which intend to clearly delineate the journalistic system by means of specific functional attributions (cf. Raabe, 2005, pp. 48–75). This results in at least four promising research perspectives that hold potential for conceptual innovations and impulses in journalism studies.

As outlined above, all practice theories start with a focus on social practices, i.e. the typical patterns of action in a research area. From a research strategic point of view, normative classifications such as “journalistic programs” that are grounded in past studies do not a priori prescribe the aspects to be examined (Buschow, 2018, pp. 119–121). Instead, it is primarily through empirical research that the practices that produce the social phenomenon of ‘journalism’ are exposed. Therefore, even in established work environments like the newsroom, the established social praxis of everyday news work becomes visible, along with the (possible new) activities that were not dealt with by previous research, or only very marginally (Ahva, 2017). Through the practice-theoretical lens, ‘boundary management’ (the distinction between and drawing of boundaries; see Section 2.1) becomes recognizable as a journalistic practice that exerts a decisive influence on the emergence of journalism as a practice constellation, just like

the well-established practices of investigating or selecting in newsrooms that were usually examined in journalism studies (Buschow, 2018, p. 120; Lewis & Westlund, 2015, pp. 28–33). The example emphasizes the extent to which the practice-driven research approach can identify new or previously marginalized patterns of action in the traditional work environment.

Furthermore, practice theories open up an innovative perspective, because they do not adopt the often value-laden debates of demarcation, but quite deliberately exceed the boundaries of the established set of actors in journalism. Past and empirical studies on the professional field of journalism, which are mainly informed by systems theory, usually start with a few narrowly-focused categories of actors, such as ‘press publishers’, ‘broadcasters’ or ‘full-time journalists’. Practice theories are not based on these traditional categories. Thus, in principle, a greater variety of actors as carriers of journalistic practices can be examined: journalism research can then be applied to organizations such as start-ups or research networks, as well as to non-human, sociotechnical actors (algorithms, robots or code), which now carry out activities previously performed by humans (Buschow, 2018, pp. 330–335).

Seen through the lens of practice theories, the normative premises or laws of journalism also appear in a different light. They are often interpreted as preceding or superordinate to social praxis, and demarcations are thus established on their basis, for instance in media systems research or media law (cf. Witschge & Harbers, 2018, p. 107). From the perspective followed here, however, these norms and laws, which are in a certain respect ‘reified’ (see Section 3.1), must be understood as social constructions and as condensed, codified results of previous social praxis.

Practice theories can be applied in order to explore the mobility and strategic transportation of journalistic practices into new contexts – together with the consequences for the practices concerned, the practice constellations and their boundaries. They promise insights into the way in which practices are ‘re-localized’ beyond

4 From my point of view, a practice-driven journalism research approach does not intend to completely ‘erode’ the limits of its research object (Ahva, 2017; Ryfe, 2018). It is rather about breaking with what I call ‘definitional orthodoxy’: Practice-driven journalism research differs from such approaches that in a traditional (“orthodox”) way very narrowly define the spectrum of journalistic actors and thus exclude important research objects from whose investigation these approaches would have empirically benefited.

pre-defined borders. In doing so, it is possible to trace the extent to which journalistic practices are removed from their original (organizational) contexts and copied or imitated in new environments, such as in corporate publishing or in the so-called 'newsrooms' of political parties, with the aim of legitimizing the activities undertaken there, or creating brand value (Neuberger, 2018, pp. 37–38).

Since established practices, traditional actors and reified norms do not mark the boundaries of the research area, the practice-theoretical conceptualization remains open to grey areas and niches which can anticipate future steps in the development of journalism, and showcase possible futures (Strippel et al., 2018, p. 12–13). With reference to practice theories, a much wider spectrum of journalistic activities and actors can be registered when compared to the established theories, which often start 'top-down' from existing organizations, individuals or activities. Practice theories' sensitivity to variety and diversity promises to tie journalism studies closer to its research object, which in its richness is experienced in a new, empirical-explorative way (Couldry 2004; Deuze & Witschge, 2020; Witschge & Harbers, 2018). In practice-driven journalism research, the empirical challenges of demarcating journalism are therefore to be reinterpreted as a promising starting point for empirical research to transgress certain, supposedly solid boundaries of journalism.

3.2.2 *Technology: Understanding technology as a constitutive element of social practices*

There is no agreement within the family of practice theories as to whether social practices are the basic building blocks of social life, or whether practices are to be traced back to other components. If the latter view is held, then interpretative, normative and material components of social practices are usually differentiated between (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012). Since the practice-theoretical approach takes all three analytical dimensions into account, it integrates previously separate social-the-

oretical perspectives. It not only allows individual rules of journalism (professional and legal norms, quality standards, role attributions, public image, etc.) or isolated resources (tools, technologies and infrastructure, business models, etc.) to be examined selectively, but also focuses on the interaction of all these components in and through the journalistic practices that integrate them (Buschow, 2018, pp. 121–125). Such an integrative, anti-reductionist approach clearly distinguishes practice theories from classical social theories, which often focus on a single social dimension, such as economic resources or cultural discourse (cf. Giddens, 1981, p. 26).

The material world (bodies, natural things, artifacts, etc.) and technology are seen to have an essential meaning in the constitution of social practices.⁵ Nevertheless, practice theories do not understand technology as a seemingly autonomous, natural resource that, once invented, suddenly creates upheavals in journalism. The appropriation and application of technologies within social practices (such as the journalistic practices of investigating, selecting, and producing) is only possible and meaningful because of the carrier's knowledge of these practices. Actors must take possession of technology by 'putting it into practice', and institutionalize its use before it can actually lead to renewal in a practice constellation (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011, pp. 1247–1249).

The conceptualization of technology as a resource to be integrated within journalistic practices demystifies, to a certain extent, claims of the technology-induced pressure for change presented in Section 2.2. It avoids two fundamental theoretical problems (Alexander, 2015): a deterministic understanding of technology as an external, largely independent force that quasi-automatically triggers change, and a voluntaristic perspective of technology as a genuine positive tool that en-

⁵ Controversies within the family of practice theories arise from the question whether objects and things can be understood as independent agents ("actants") (e.g. Schatzki, 2002, pp. 190-210).

ables journalists to work more freely and self-determinedly. From the perspective of practice theories, both approaches, some of which are represented in established research (cf. Witschge & Harbers, 2018, p. 109), must be rejected as reductionist. The perspective proposed here thus differs clearly from a technology-dependent or a technology-skeptical journalism research approach.

From the perspective of practice theories, specific questions can then be raised: what significance do individual technologies have as resources within the accomplishment of a specific journalistic practice? With new technologies, how does this practice differ from its past conditions? How do the new technologies find their way into journalistic practices, and what other components (e.g. discourses on their usage) do they carry into the practice constellation of journalism (cf. Shove et al., 2012, pp. 21–41)? An exemplary result of the influx of technology is the phenomenon of data journalism, understood from a practice-theoretical perspective as an integration of resources and discourses from data analytics, statistics, computer and hacker culture in journalistic praxis. The same applies to drone or sensor journalism, by means of which previously separate practice constellations (aviation, computer science, robotics) are finding their way into journalism.

The analytical gain of this perspective is also visible in the influence of technology on news production structures and organizational forms of journalism. New software and hardware technologies, as components of journalistic practices, allow for the joint management of these practices as virtually mediated, without necessarily presupposing the same physical location or simultaneous activities on the part of their carriers (Knorr-Cetina & Bruegger, 2002). Based on the introduction of the telegraph in the 19th century, Anthony Giddens addressed this phenomenon with reference to the concept of “time-space distanciation” (Giddens, 1991, pp. 23–27). Today, however, technologies in social practices become even more decisive for the constitution of de-

localized, disintegrated and networked forms of journalistic work (Buschow, 2018, pp. 335–341). The analytical focus on the procedural nature of technology and on its role as a component of social practices provides an enriching perspective for contemporary journalism research.

3.2.3 *Economics: Unbundling the tense interrelationship between journalism and media management*

Unsurprisingly, practice theories do not succeed in formulating prescriptive recommendations for the development of financing alternatives in journalism that could be used to solve the economic difficulties outlined in Section 2.3. Rather, the approach advocated here presents economic problems in a new light. They are taken as opportunities to unravel the significant and tense interrelationship between journalism and media management (e.g. Altmeyden, 2006; Bachmann, 2017). In this way, practice theories sensitize us to the fact that economic conditions always have both a restrictive and an enabling influence on journalism. This distinguishes them explicitly from system theories, in which it is sometimes argued that journalism has ‘built its organizations’. The fact that clearly economically-motivated media companies (cf. Ludwig, 1999) created these organizations under specific conditions is neglected here. From a practice-theoretical point of view, the disciplinary separation of ‘journalism’ and ‘media management’ is recognizable as an artificial juxtaposition (especially under current market conditions and the competition for attention) which sometimes conceals certain power relations (Knoche, 2014). Unlike approaches based on Marx, however, in theories of practice, economic conditions are not understood as inescapable constraints, but as media management practices that are an integral part of journalism and which should not have been given conceptual precedence from the very beginning.

From a practice-theoretical perspective, the mutual influence of management practices and journalistic practices, their concatenation and interdependence, and

the social effects associated with them can be seen very clearly (Winter & Buschow, 2017). Media management practices determine the respective business models for financing journalism. Just like technology (see Section 3.2.2), business models are presented as components of journalistic practices. In this context, advertising financing has different effects on the implementation of journalistic practices to financing primarily through subscriptions. As practice-theoretical research on newly founded organizations in journalism shows, the coupling of these start-ups with new sources of financing and with changed business models has a decisive influence on the type of journalism produced (Buschow, 2018, pp. 344–346). In order to attract venture capital financing, for instance, start-ups must align their journalistic practices with the expectations of their investors (Buschow, 2018, pp. 272–275). The practice constellations, which emerge through the interlocking of journalistic practices and media management practices, influence the function and the goals that start-ups combine with their journalistic products, as well as, presumably, the image of their social role and journalistic output (Buschow, 2018, p. 357).

The consideration of media management practices in general and of business models as components of journalistic practices appears, then, to be a promising undertaking for journalism that wants to take appropriate account of the economic upheavals in its subject area, without necessarily assuming a primacy of the economic realm.

3.2.4 *Legitimacy: Applying controversies as episodes of journalism's permanent becoming*

Practice theories alter perspectives on the frequently discussed crisis of journalism's legitimacy (see Section 2.4). From a practice-driven viewpoint, these discourses underline the fact that journalism is not a fixed, reified entity, but rather constantly 'in the making' through the enactment of social practices (Deuze & Witschge, 2018, p. 169). Numerous individual and corporate actors participate (more or less con-

sciously) in the constitution of journalism, such as journalists, media managers, users, companies and political parties. The social praxis of journalism is neither the result of the efforts of certain individuals or partial groups nor the result of some anonymous force which works behind the backs of the actors ('invisible hand', historical laws, etc., as assumed in some grandiose social theories). Neither is journalism a "rational product" (Park, 1923, p. 273) which is planned or determined by these mechanisms. This is particularly evident today under the conditions of digital, networked media, and was already a topic of the sociological Chicago school around Robert E. Park, who emphasized:

The press, as it exists, is not, as our moralists sometimes seem to assume, the wilful product of any little group of living men. On the contrary, it is the outcome of an historic process in which many individuals participated without foreseeing what the ultimate product of their labors was to be. The newspaper [...] is not wholly a rational product. No one sought to make it just what it is. In spite of all the efforts of individual men and generations of men to control it and to make it something after their own heart, it has continued to grow and change in its own incalculable ways. (Park, 1923, p. 273).

Against the backdrop of fierce media critique (which may be based on false empirical assumptions, see Section 2.4, but exemplarily illustrates the influence of numerous actors in the constitution of journalism), the practice-theoretical perspective proves useful for grasping episodes of continuous generation, stabilization and disruption of journalism's order.

From this, the following research opportunities arise (among others): by specifically focusing on the emergence of order, practice-driven journalism research can observe how new concepts of journalism are developed in response to debates on its legitimacy and quality. It can also understand these new concepts as the results of power struggles between actors. In doing so, it investigates the actors'

vested interests, means of power and (material) resources, as I have shown in a reconstruction of the debate on an ancillary copyright for press publishers in Germany (Buschow, 2012). Finally, the perspective allows for the reconstruction of the extent to which (individual and corporate) actors are ‘manufactured’ into a specific role – e. g. as a journalist or journalistic organization – through their enactment of certain practices in the first place.

4 Conclusion

Practice theories understand journalism as a social phenomenon that can be grasped by means of the social practices that are recursively (re-)produced in their enactment over time and space. In this paper, I have argued that the definitional, technological, economic and legitimation-related empirical challenges of journalism, which arose primarily in the context of its digitization, appear in a new light from such a perspective and can thus be dealt with more productively. On this basis, the previous chapters outlined points of departure for alternative questions and empirical perspectives. The particular relevance and specific advantages of a theoretical perspective that understands journalism as social praxis primarily result from the following characteristics:

1. *Central decision to observe journalistic practices:* A relatively impartial, inductive empirical approach to journalistic practices can also capture such patterns of action that – unlike the ‘standard practices’ described in traditional journalism studies – have not been the focus of previous research.
2. *Transgression of conventional boundaries of journalism:* An initial focus on journalistic practices decentralizes established sets of actors, so that even marginal actors, niche phenomena and contexts formerly regarded as distant from journalism attract research attention – in the sense of “theorizing journalism from the ground up” (Deuze & Witschge, 2018, p. 169).
3. *Denaturalization of journalistic norms and laws:* The constitution of social praxis through constant (re-)production explains apparently reified norms and laws of journalism as the results of previous social practices, which, as Rühl (1980) states, are not “[categories] for the essence of journalism that [are] fixed forever, unchangeable” (p. 327, my translation).
4. *Consideration of a material, sociotechnical dimension of journalism:* Practice theories also emphasize the material dimension of social life. They emphasize the fundamental intertwining of technology with journalistic practices, and refer to the possible agency of technology in journalism.
5. *Conflicting relationship between journalistic practices and media management practices:* By researching the interconnectedness of social practices, the collision of practices – for instance, between journalism and media management – can be grasped and examined with regard to their (intended and unintended) effects.
6. *Prioritizing order generation over stability:* By taking into account the constitutional mechanisms of order generation in journalism, practice theories sensitize us to the fact that work on journalism is always carried out by numerous heterogeneous actors, who have often been given insufficient consideration in research.

Despite these strengths, the application of practice theories will hardly solve all the challenges of contemporary journalism (research). Above all, practice theories do not make prescriptive recommendations that would offer clear solutions to concrete problems (see Shove et al., 2012, pp. 162–164). In the interpretation presented here, they form an alternative perspective for the exploration of journalism, from which its problems and challenges appear in a different light and can be reflected upon in a new way (Nicolini, 2012; Shove et al., 2012).

Practice theories have been criticized on various occasions. Among the prob-

lems identified are an investigation of social practices that mostly relies on enactment in the field itself, the risk of following a definitional relativism that puts the normative foundations of journalism at stake, and a theoretical bias that could underestimate the stability of order. Anderson (2020) has recently criticized how practice-driven journalism studies “does not do enough to explain how media actually matter for culture and politics in the early 21st century” (p. 349), particularly as it does not take sufficient account of media content. This criticism must be adequately reflected upon in practice-driven journalism research. It points to the fact that the field needs a rich pluralism of theories, so that the blind spots of practice theories become visible and can be addressed with alternative approaches (Anderson, 2020; Steensen & Ahva, 2015).

In this paper, I have developed a simplified understanding of practice theories as a theoretical toolbox for new perspectives and alternate conceptualizations of problems in journalism studies. Further accentuations (e.g. the body-bound nature of social praxis, or the tacit knowledge inscribed in practices) and controversies within the family of practice theories could not be taken up from the empirical-pragmatic understanding presented here. With few exceptions, there was no occasion in this paper for a systematic comparison of practice theories in relation to more established social theories.

Where can practice-driven journalism research start in empirical investigations? Several points of departure are conceivable: it can start out from a single journalistic practice, which is captured in depth, followed over space and time, and examined with regard to changes of (several of) its components (“follow the elements of practice”; Shove et al., 2012, p. 22). It can focus on concrete ‘sites of the social’ (Schatzki, 2002), for instance on established newsrooms or news start-ups, which, of course, always have to be regarded as provisional products of social praxis (Ahva, 2017).⁶ Fi-

nally, it can analyze the linkage of practices into broader practice constellations, and thus trace the genesis of newly-emerging production networks that have so far played only a minor role in (German) journalism studies (Buschow, 2018). As social science methods, primarily qualitative (participant) observations and news work ethnographies prove to be adequate, since they allow for the following of social practices in their actual enactment (Ryfe, 2018). Nevertheless, their application is always limited when journalistic practices, as virtually mediated practices, are carried out neither at the same time nor in the same place, something which seems increasingly to be the case (Anderson, 2011). Here, approaches of “multi-sited ethnography” (Marcus, 1995) can be considered. For special research contexts (e.g. media companies where the implementation of (some) practices is the subject of in-depth discursive reflection), non-observational, verbal methods such as survey studies (with ‘practitioners’ or in ‘communities of practice’) and document analyses may also be viable (Hitchings, 2012).⁷

It was the German journalism scholar Manfred Rühl who emphasized that scholars alone are in the position “to enter new territory that is difficult to access, i.e. to think about journalism other than only in terms of the categories and concepts that have been handed down through history” (Rühl, 1980, p. 13, my translation). Today’s research cannot fall behind this conviction: it will be of vital importance for future-oriented journalism studies. The practice-driven approach outlined in this paper proposes a fertile point of departure to address Manfred Rühl’s call under the current dynamics of digitization.

theoretical sense: Practices always cross the boundaries of organizations; a too narrow perspective fails to reveal this interwovenness.

7 For an overview of practice-theoretical research strategies, see Bueger & Gadinger (2018, pp. 131–161), Jonas, Littig & Wroblewski (2017), Nicolini (2012, pp. 213–242) and Ryfe (2018).

6 Here, however, there is a risk of defining and ‘cutting’ practices in a classical social

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Hybrid professionalism in journalism: Opportunities and risks of hacker sources

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Abstract

Hackers have a double relevance with regard to the transformation of the journalistic field: first, they have established themselves as journalistic actors, even if their work may sometimes seem unfamiliar. Second, hackers have not only become important sources for information but they are also a topic of public interest in a data-driven society increasingly threatened by surveillance capitalism. This paper critically discusses the role of hackers as news sources by analyzing the “stalkerware” investigation carried out by the online news magazine *Motherboard*. Drawing from field theory and boundary work, the article sheds light on how hackers exert an increasing influence on journalism, its practices, epistemologies, and ethics, resulting in an increasing hybridization of journalism. Journalism has become a dynamic space, in which hackers are not only becoming relevant actors in the journalism field, but they often represent the only sources journalists have to shed light on wrongdoings. Hence, hackers are increasingly defining the conditions under which journalism is carried out, both in terms of its practices as well as in its normative framework.

Keywords

boundary work, field theory, hackers, hacking, hybridity, journalism ethics, news sources

1 Introduction

The past 10 years have seen a progressively more extended presence of hackers in the journalistic field. Hackers have become, on different levels, active journalistic players: they have brought topics and themes on top of journalists’ and policy makers’ agendas; they have contributed to journalistic practices by providing new tools and technology and, in certain instances, they have become sources providing first-hand source material to investigative reporters (Di Salvo, 2017). News about state-sponsored hacking attacks in the context of political elections, such as those that occurred during the 2016 US Presidential election campaigns, have made the news worldwide and sparked a wide debate around politically motivated hacking and information warfare. At the same time, hacking topics such as cybersecurity, encryption, online privacy, state hacking powers, online surveillance or data breaches and theft are now regularly mak-

ing the news (Thorsen, 2017). In addition, some data journalists have adopted *de facto* hacking practices for data scraping, data sourcing and have integrated coding as a regular component into their reporting (Usher, 2016). The “Panama Papers” investigation, for instance, has shown the computational element of data-driven reporting at its best (Cabra & Kissane, 2016). Furthermore, hacking-related issues such as information security and the use of encryption software for source protection have also become a topic in particular for investigative journalists, particularly if they work with whistleblowers and other sensible sources (Posetti, 2017). Safer communication tools such as Signal, the Tor Browser, or whistleblowing platforms based on open source software GlobaLeaks and SecureDrop are also progressively becoming routinized in newsrooms (Di Salvo, 2020). And also WikiLeaks, as controversial as it may be as an actor in the media landscape, continues to exert its



influence on journalism, its practices and epistemologies (Brevini, 2017).

Moreover, some investigations published in the past few years have been based on source materials released by hackers as a result of cyberattacks against institutions or individuals. Gabriella Coleman defines these practices as “public interest hacks” (PIH) (2017a) and has traced their origins back to 2008, when hackers orchestrated the first attack of this kind against the US white supremacist radio host Hal Turner. In Coleman’s view, PIHs consist of two separate elements: the “hack” and the “leak” of digital documents. When conducting PIHs, hackers attack servers and communication networks with the aim of extracting otherwise private information with the final purpose of leaking it via different strategies, including dumping or providing it to journalists via encrypted communication channels. Hackers have targeted very different organizations and individuals with PIHs in the past ten years (Coleman, 2017a): politicians or former politicians such as Sarah Palin, Colin Powell and Emmanuel Macron; the Syrian and Peruvian governments; companies such as Sony Pictures and political parties such as the US Democrats and the Turkish AKP, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s party. In most of these instances, the stolen and leaked materials have been private emails extracted from organizations’ servers. Hackers responsible for these PIHs have been affiliated with hacktivist groups such as Anonymous or RevoluSec. Some of them acted on their own, as it is in the case of Phineas Phisher. Others, instead, were under the control of state actors or intelligence agencies, as it is for the infamous Fancy Bear group or the Guccifer 2.0 persona that hacked the US Democratic National Committee in 2016 and released the material using different channels, including WikiLeaks. In some other instances, instead, PIHs have interested private companies operating in the surveillance market, such as the Anglo-German Gamma Group, the Italian Hacking Team, or the Israeli Cellebrite. In these instances, companies have been targeted by hacktivist hackers whose aims have been exposing those firms making

their business with non-democratic governments (Citizen Lab, 2013, 2014, 2015; Coleman, 2017a).

This paper will look at a particular case study, the “stalkerware” investigation published by the online magazine *Motherboard*, as an example of how hackers may become journalistic sources. In this particular case, *Motherboard* journalists conducted an investigation into the so-called “stalkerware” software market, based on illegally obtained documents and provided by hackers. Specifically, the documents contained evidence about two firms that produce surveillance software, their distribution and technical details. By asking the question “how are hacker sources changing journalism?”, we specifically look at the epistemological and ethical implications such collaborations with hacker sources might entail, particularly when materials obtained from hackers may have been gathered illegally. In particular, we look at whether hackers are accepted as sources within the boundaries of the journalistic field and how this is at the core of the establishment of new professional norms in regards of sourcing.

First, we will offer a description of the specific case discussed in *Motherboard* as it represents the basis of our reflections. We then take a step back and turn to a macro-level perspective in order to analyze how such specific cases are challenging and questioning the boundaries of journalism (Carlson and Lewis, 2015). The use of hacker sources in journalism represents a professional and normative challenge for reporters and journalism and results in a negotiation processes revolving around topics such as hacking, security, journalism ethics and the public interest. In addition, these developments create issues for journalism ethics: while the question of whether and how to use illegally obtained information is all but new, the changing media ecosystem does indeed raise new dilemmas as actors such as WikiLeaks now occupy “the space between publishers, sources and journalists” (Owen, 2016, p. 27) and can, on their own, release information as they see fit or without necessarily involving traditional news

organizations. However, the publication of illegally obtained information can, for instance, entail legal consequences, albeit most often the source – and not the publisher – risks being prosecuted. In addition, there is always the question about the tendency – or (hidden) agenda – of the source. By using one specific case study, this paper offers a theoretical reflection on how hacker sources challenge journalistic boundary maintenance, how they create new moral dilemmas, and how they contribute to the continuous hybridization of journalism and the emergence of new professional norms regarding hackers.

2 The “stalkerware” surveillance market *Motherboard* investigation

In April 2017, *VICE*'s technology channel *Motherboard* published an investigation titled “Inside the ‘Stalkerware’ Surveillance Market, Where Ordinary People Tap Each Other’s Phones,” authored by Lorenzo Franceschi-Bicchierai and Joseph Cox (2017), two widely known journalists in the field of technology and information security reporting. The story was based on a cache of hacked documents coming from two US-based companies, Retina-X and FlexiSpy that both specialize in coding and selling “stalkerware”, malware software engineered to remotely monitor mobile phones or computers. The peculiarity of the software commercialized by the two companies was their domestic use: in fact, *Motherboard* journalists were able to publish details about a growing market demand from private citizens who use “stalkerware” to monitor their loved ones’, employees’ or other common people’s private communications. As the two journalists wrote in their story, the data for the investigation was provided by two hackers, independent of each other, in part via *Motherboard*'s whistleblowing platform, based on the SecureDrop software.¹ The

identities of the hackers responsible for the Retina-X and FlexiSpy leak has not been disclosed and only the nickname of one of the two – Leopard Boy – has been revealed. In their reporting, Franceschi-Bicchierai and Cox included some quotes coming from the communication exchanges occurred between them and their sources via online chats. Hackers have explained on the record their motivations and rationales about hacking the two companies and releasing the information to the press (Franceschi-Bicchierai & Cox, 2017). According to Franceschi-Bicchierai and Cox, hackers targeted Retina-X and FlexiSpy to send a message to the industry as a whole. In particular, Leopard Boy, quoted Phineas Fisher, the hacker or group of hackers responsible for the PIHs against surveillance firms Gamma Group and Hacking Team, to explain their motivations: “leaking isn’t an end in itself; it’s all about the message,” said the hacker (Franceschi-Bicchierai & Cox, 2017). For their part, the unnamed hacker added instead more details about what motivated them: “99% of the people being spied on with these things don’t deserve to have their lives invaded so much” (Franceschi-Bicchierai & Cox, 2017). In an interview with Leopard Boy, published a few days after the publication of the investigation, Cox and Franceschi-Bicchierai referred to their sources as “hacktivists” (2017).

Joseph Cox has also reflected on the implications of using hacked materials and hackers as sources for journalistic investigation in two different background articles published on *Motherboard* (2016, 2017). In his stories, Cox discusses some of the most pressing ethical and practical issues involved in these reporting scenar-

submit documents anonymously and safely over the Internet. When sources approach a SecureDrop on the Internet, their identities are masked by the Tor Browser and other encryption standards to the point that, without any further explicit inquiring, sources’ identities are masked even to the receiving journalists. In principle, SecureDrop – as the other available whistleblowing software, GlobalLeaks – is based on the technical approach that WikiLeaks pioneered since 2006.

¹ SecureDrop is a technical solution made available by the Freedom of the Press Foundation that enables journalists and news organizations to create an online dropbox whistleblowers and other sources can use to

ios. Interviewing scholar Paul Bradshaw, for instance, Cox discussed the points of contact between whistleblowing-led reporting and reporting on leaks originated from cyberattacks (2016). In the second piece, instead, Cox discussed agenda issues highlighting journalists' need to clarify hackers' motivations for leaking information and consequently take transparency steps to inform readers about the potential controversial origins of the materials used as evidence in the reporting (Franceschi-Bicchierai & Cox, 2017). As Cox (2017) argues, the risk to be primarily avoided from a journalist's perspective is becoming a "puppet" by simply amplifying hackers' agendas or aims for leaking information. Cox's self-reflection about doing journalism with hacker sources offers the possibility to dig into a journalist's reasoning about ethical issues involved in news work and, at the same time, are an occasion to look at how journalists reflect about their roles and how controversial practices, such as reporting on hacks, are negotiated within the journalistic field, and how they contribute to the emergence of new forms of professionalism.

3 Hackers knocking at the door

The participation of hackers into the journalistic field is a sign of how porous the boundaries of the field have become to the influence of new actors who are claiming participation among the journalism realm. In sociology, the notion of "boundary work" has been used to identify and explain instances of different social fields – or fields of knowledge – finding common grounds, developing interconnections and debating proximity and cultural mutual acceptance (Gieryn, 1983). When it comes to journalism, the notion has lately been used as a theoretical framework to discuss the expansion of what is normally conceived and accepted as "journalism" and is thus legitimized and accepted in the journalistic field and within the corpus of professional norms and practices that define journalism as an identifiable activity (Carlson, 2016). Although there is

no systematic body of knowledge when it comes to the universally accepted norms, values and routines, formal and on-the-job-training often help defining the profession. Historically, journalists belonging to a legacy news media confirm their acceptance of a specific set of ethical norms and standards, which is essential for offering credible information to the public, but also, in turn, for the audience to believe the journalists' work (Gans, 2003). In particular, as Becker (1967) and Cook (1998) have shown, journalists' legitimacy as servants of the public good stems from their relationship to authoritative and credible sources. At the same time, sources need journalists in order to gain attention, and access to the public (Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999).

Leaks and "irregular" journalistic sources, such as WikiLeaks, not only show that the question of credible sources is paramount for the professionalism and the legitimacy of journalism. It also shows that the question of boundaries is relevant when it comes to discourses of acceptance or exclusion from the journalistic field generated by the pressing of newcomers or new practices at the most peripheral areas of it (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2014).

Bourdieu's "Field Theory" is an often-used theoretical background on which discourses about the expansion of the boundaries of journalism and the incorporation of newcomers or the establishment of new practices have been grounded (Bourdieu, 1993, 2005). Following this approach, Eldridge (2014, 2017), for instance, has analyzed how "interlopers" or peripheral players come to terms with the journalistic field and how, despite their irregular traits, their practices can be embraced by more traditional actors, who sit in more established positions within the field. In Eldridge's view (2017), "interlopers" are newcomers to the journalistic field that claim residency in the field despite being non-traditional or irregular players. In *Bourdieuian* terms, fields find their structures and equilibrium when put in relation to the influence expressed by other fields gravitating around them and by demarcating social space in terms of distinction, by

setting boundaries. The journalistic field is among the most exposed to the influence of external factors (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 33), which is why Bourdieu has defined it as a relatively weak field, caught and pressured between politics on the one hand, and economics on the other. In the theoretical debates revolving around journalism as a field, it has traditionally been understood as a heteronomous field and a “site of struggle”, where different actors “compete for authority through defining – and contesting – its cultural boundaries” (Carlson and Lewis, 2015, p. 7). Technological shifts, and the way journalism is increasingly impacted by data, algorithms and code (Pavlik, 2016), have also reshaped the relation between journalists and sources, in other words: its internal structure. The integration of “boundary work” and field theory offer a useful lens to analyze ongoing changes in journalism and how these “external changes are ‘refracted’ at the field’s boundaries” (Lowrey, 2018, p. 138). The refraction, and therefore the re-positioning of the boundaries, can be observed in the case of joint ventures between journalists, activists, coders, or hacktivists (Russell, 2016, pp. 68–108; see also Lewis & Usher, 2014).

But technology is not the only terrain on which boundaries get discussed and set: norms, participants and practices are also topics around which “boundary battles” (Russell, 2016, p. 37) are waged along the boundaries of journalism. Following Gieryn’s (1983) outline of “boundary work”, Carlson and Lewis (2015, pp. 9–12) have produced a framework for analyzing the various forms of “boundary work” in journalism. In their view, “boundary work” in the context of news making can happen on the levels of “participants”, “practices” and “professionalism” and follow patterns of “expansion”, “expulsion” or “protection of autonomy.” The notion is thought to be applied to “who” and “what” is to be considered by journalists as “appropriate” to the field and to establish “journalism” as a distinct community with specialized knowledge (Carlson & Lewis, 2015, pp. 10–11). The typology goes in the direction of defin-

ing “boundary work” that is prone to “expand” the limits of what counts as journalism, “expel” those elements that have no legitimate residence in the field or to “protect” journalism from incursions from outside the field that may compromise the autonomy of the field itself. The constant need for journalism to engage in boundary maintenance is due to the fact that journalism does not match the requirements of sociological definitions of professionalism (Eide & Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 4). Independently of the outside pressures applied to the field, the redrawing of the borders of journalism is a constant process that crystallizes those norms, values and myths that ensure stability in the journalism profession. This is also the reason why even traditional professional norms of journalism, such as verification and news gathering have been going through processes of “boundary work” in recent times (Hermida, 2015; Wahl-Jørgensen, 2015). Particularly in the online realm, professional norms are in fact changing as new technologies are adapted into existing newsroom practices and environments (Agarwal & Barthel, 2015). This paper locates the use of hackers as sources within this same contexts of boundaries negotiation, discussing how irregular “interloper” players (Eldridge, 2017) become accepted sources of news, passing through the gates of contemporary journalism. Digitalization has fundamentally changed the way that journalism as a profession relates to its environment: Particularly, the “networked” paradigm of the contemporary news ecosystem has forced journalists to “open the gates for new stakeholders” also in regards of who becomes an accepted source for news (Raeymaeckers, Deprez, De Vuyst, & De Dobbelaer, 2015, pp. 105–107), as it is for hackers, the topic at the core of this paper. This leads to what Eide and Sjøvaag (2016, p. 5) describe as both an ambiguous and a flexible situation, “as journalistic boundary maintenance also implies a challenging and questioning of the borders of the profession”. As a consequence, journalism’s professionalism is confronted with an interesting paradox at its core

that Anderson (2006) pointed out: while the challenge to strengthen journalism's professionalism through "boundary work" implies a clear demarcation against other professions, journalism also needs to keep its borders open for relevant input, for instance when audience members or experts are asked to contribute to the journalistic practice. Particularly in the current digital environment, van der Haak, Parks and Castells (2012) envision the emergence of a networked journalist, that is "driven by a networked practice dependent on sources, commentaries, and feedback, some of which are constantly accessible online". Such a networked notion of journalism has also led to more dynamic, but also unstable forms of journalism, as journalism startups or collectives have entered the field (Deuze & Witschge, 2020).

Therefore, source materials delivered by hackers might well undergo a similar process of acceptance as it happened with user-generated content. However, hackers remain a controversial news source, as some of them may act on and be motivated by criminal intent, even when they communicate with journalists. These challenges do not only entail questions of "boundary work", but they also force journalists to make the "biases", that is the potentially hidden agenda and motives behind the sources' information, transparent to the audience.

3.1 A hybrid constellation: Between identity reinforcement and openness

The approximation of the journalistic field and the hacking one takes place in a media system whose dynamics and structures are increasingly "hybrid". Chadwick has defined the contemporary "hybrid media system" as built upon "interactions among older and newer media logics" (2017, p. 4) and in his view, media logics can be technologies, genres, norms, behaviors and organizational structures defined in the reflexivity of different fields – intended again in *Bourdieuian* terms – that can relate to each other by process of mutual adaptation or interdependence.

Examples of these hybrid interactions between different – older and newer – logics have been visible on various levels, especially with the adoption of digital technology for reporting. For Chadwick (2017, pp. 103–129), WikiLeaks – a contested journalistic institution with profound hacker roots and practices – has represented one of the most powerful examples of how players embodying stances from different fields may position themselves between sources and publishers, and therefore along the boundaries of journalism, constantly acting as bridges between the two sides of the spectrum. The "boundary work" between hacker sources and journalists in the Retina-X and FlexiSpy investigation bears more nuanced interpretations. In fact, although there is no doubt that conducting cyberattacks against companies' servers is an illegal act, the agenda and motivations of the hackers who shared the hacked information with the journalists clearly had a political and hacktivist nature of the kind which would fit under the "data activism" label (Milan and van der Velden, 2016). Data activism, in this sense, can be understood as a social practice that is deeply rooted in technology that also takes a "critical view towards datafication" (Gutiérrez, 2018, p. 1). The aspect of social change is at the heart of such proactive data activism (Milan & Gutiérrez, 2015), particularly if one takes into account that huge data vaults are controlled by private organizations and governments without being transparent, accessible or accountable – which led Caron (2016) to define this the "era of the leak". Albeit not being journalistic actors themselves, hackers such as the ones in the "stalkerware" investigation, can nevertheless influence the way that journalists operate in these circumstances and contribute to an "emerging liminal press", here intended as a set of field level relationships among actors who can define the conditions under which news is created and circulates despite not necessarily self-identify as journalists (Ananny & Crawford, 2015, p. 193). For these actors are driven by the emergent networks determined by a more dynamic ecosystem of

information sharing (Owen, 2016, p. 33), they produce new journalism practices that extend themselves between different identities, ideologies and assumptions about the intersection of news and public life (Ananny & Crawford, 2015). As a consequence, however, they also produce uncertainty within the profession, not least from an ethical perspective.

3.2 The ethical challenges of hacking

Contemporary forms of investigative reporting, such as those that rely on the use of technology such as whistleblowing platforms, or that make use of leaks, have already shown their impact on the “boundary work” regarding the practices of journalism. However, they also raise new issues in relation to journalism ethics. While the question of how and whether to use illegally obtained information is not a novelty in journalism, it is the changed media ecosystem that instills the problem with new aspects. Given the existence of organizations such as WikiLeaks, that operate in a border space among different journalistic actors, access to information is no longer limited to journalists and sources. And sources such as hackers have now other means to publish information as the information spaces are no longer exclusively controlled by traditional media institutions (Owen, 2016, p. 31). This brings us to the main ethical question: how can journalists make sure to preserve their obligation to truth, accuracy and facticity? And how can they avoid becoming puppets, whose strings are pulled by (hidden) political actors when publishing illegally obtained materials (Cox, 2017)?

When it comes to collaborative investigations between whistleblowers and journalists, previous research has shown that the performance of accountability in such whistleblowing-induced investigations may be “shared” between sources and journalists (Porlezza & Di Salvo, 2019). However, in the case where journalists are offered illegally obtained materials from hackers, the moral quandaries may be different, especially when players involved are particularly controversial or do not fol-

low established journalistic ethical norms. Additionally, the problem of accuracy and facticity is enhanced by the fact that, nowadays, leaking has not only become easy as many news outlets have developed their own platforms, but it has become part of the daily news production:

Like the appetite for leaks, the risks have also grown, and now have to be weighed at a faster pace than ever. Where leaks were once a first step in the long, deliberative process of investigative journalism, they're now part of a hyperactive daily news cycle. (Marcus, 2017)

Additionally, as journalists are working in a digital environment, most of their activities are somehow traced and tracked, meaning that

all too easy to inadvertently reveal the direction of an ongoing investigation. Moreover, because leaks are now often larger than any one journalist – or journalistic organization – can typically handle, they present unique collaboration and publication challenges, all of which must be carefully engineered to balance efficacy, transparency, and privacy. (McGregor & Brennan, 2019)

However, the way that (illegal) information is obtained does not change the journalistic responsibilities with regard to the usual verifications to apply to newly gained material or to source protection. What changes, though, is the handling of the information, not only because digital datasets can involve incredibly large amounts of data and metadata and keeping them safe and secure can be challenging, but also because journalists might get in touch with highly sensitive information that represent an issue for the balancing of privacy and transparency. Additionally, data often misses contextual information, which makes it hard to understand the potential impact of the investigations. There are thus also the risks of selectivity and hermeticism, if the overall significance of a leak is unknown (Christofolletti, 2016).

In addition, the real intentions of hackers can remain unknown to the journalists. Even if journalists are able to discuss the motives with the hackers, as it was the case in the “stalkerware” example, the real intentions can remain dubious, which is why this has to be one of the core questions of journalists when it comes to such collaborations (Gourarie, 2015), especially when hacker sources do not present an explicit political or hacktivist agenda or public interest motivations. As Cox’s (2016) own meta-journalistic discourse shows, this is a central issue since “hacks vary greatly in quality, depth and importance”. As hackers, who may have a different ethical and cultural framework, are increasingly operating within the boundaries of journalism, there will be a process of mutual adaptation and interdependence when it comes to journalistic norms.

4 Conclusion

Journalism has become a dynamic space. In this changing media ecosystem, hackers are becoming relevant actors in the journalism field, not only because they can actually cover journalistic roles, but also because they often represent the only sources journalists have to shed light on wrongdoings that threaten the public interest (Bok, 2003). When it comes to topics related to surveillance, cybercrime or the secretive market of snooping technology, hackers – together with whistleblowers – may be the only sourcing option for journalists. Moreover, in recent years, hackers have also expanded the scope of their activist and hacktivist involvement, becoming more and more actively engaged as “public participants in our daily geopolitical goings-on” (Coleman, 2017b, p. 91) finding in journalism a terrain for cooperation and influence. In asking the question “how are hacker sources changing journalism?”, the discussed example permits to reach some conclusions: first of all, it shows that hackers are contributing to the ongoing “boundary work” in journalism. Most importantly, hackers are increasingly defining the conditions under which jour-

nalism is carried out. By doing so, hackers are influencing the journalistic practice as well as its normative framework, pushing journalists to come to terms with working in growingly complex and sometimes controversial grounds. Albeit some of the ethical considerations are certainly not new (verification, accuracy, truth), other issues have become paramount: questions of privacy, transparency, security, and attribution. This is a direct consequence of the wider change in the journalistic field that can be traced back to a networked organization of newswork and to the consequent expansion of the boundaries of the journalistic field. Whether this networked orientation of journalism has been originated by economic reasons (by pooling together human, financial and technological resources, or even through integration and convergence strategies in news organizations due to economic shortcomings), or by cultural changes due to new actors entering the field of journalism (for instance in the area of data and interactive journalism figures such as computer engineers, data scientists, design specialists, activists or – well – hackers) is hard to tell. We are inclined to believe the latter, as other studies have shown (Agarwal & Barthel, 2015).

The “boundary work” concept is useful to understand the current media landscape and the technological change and dependency that it has brought along. The *Motherboard* “stalkerware” investigation offers a clear example of “boundary work” at play in the context of sourcing. Applying again Carlson and Lewis’ (2015, pp. 9–12) framework, the use of hackers as sources can be seen from two different perspectives: a) as a sign of “expansion” of the boundaries of journalism, as “interloper” (Eldridge, 2017) actors such as hackers become accepted as sources within the journalistic field and b) as a sign of “protection of autonomy”, since – as Cox self-reflection articles show (2016, 2017) – journalists respond to this adoption with strategies that re-enforce their professional roles and independence. While we must avoid falling for any form of technological determinism, it is nevertheless useful to remind ourselves that contemporary

journalism needs a more complex understanding of the role and impact of journalists than what orthodox perspectives of professional journalism may be able to offer. The example analyzed in this article shows how “boundary work” in journalism can also be related to core elements of the profession, including sourcing strategies and actors who can be accepted as sources of information. Hackers, in this sense, contribute to the continuous evolution of the field. As Deuze and Witschge (2020, pp. 125–126) state: “there is not just one journalism, there are many forms, and it is forever changing, forever becoming: each new form and practice of journalism adds to what we consider to be journalism.” Yet, despite the growing presence of hackers in the public sphere, we should also not forget that hacker-sourced investigations are still a highly specialized and rare area of reporting: journalists working in this field usually have a strong background in information security, coding and may be considered as “hacker-journalists” (Parasie, 2011) themselves. In other words: these hacker-journalists may have developed their own professional identity in a hybrid environment. In this sense, they could also be considered as “pioneer journalists” (Hepp & Loosen, 2019), for they act as “intermediaries” (Bourdieu, 2010) between the journalistic field and what hackers have to offer from the outside, pushing for the normalization of the practice within the journalistic field. In the sense, this article showed exactly how journalism is changing, and how new actors are becoming part of its field within the boundaries of the profession. But it also shows, that this new hybridity of journalism does not come without any challenges: they have to be tackled both by the profession with regard to possible standards and principles of self-regulation, and they have to be negotiated within news organizations – startups or legacy media alike – by journalists and media managers, as they try to make sense of these changes.

As with other works based on specific case studies, this paper is not free from limitations, starting from being based on a single – yet almost unique in its kind – case

study. The case was limited to one particular investigation, in one particular online news outlet, in which the role of hackers as news sources played a crucial role. Albeit single case studies can offer a nuanced and context-rich insight into a particular phenomenon, they remain subject to the limitation of generalizability. However, even if this is a valid criticism, it was never our intention to strive for the generalization of our findings, but on the contrary, for their particularisation by a strategic selection of the case, which allows for an exploratory and analytical deep dive. Therefore, we feel confident in the findings and their contribution to a specific field of research that still lacks a thorough investigation. We therefore suggest that future research should include further empirical investigations to detail what new types of norms emerge in the newsrooms, or what kind of norms are adapted by the inclusion of hacker sources. Additionally, given that hacking is a global phenomenon, future scholarship should also consider either case studies from other countries, or even comparative analyses of how hacker sources are experienced in different newsrooms.

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Médias d'actualité, journalistes et publics sur Twitter : vers un renouvellement des relations? Résumé de la thèse de doctorat

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Swiss Association of Communication and Media Research (SACM) – Dissertation Award 2020

Florence Van Hove has been awarded the SACM Dissertation Prize 2020, which honors the best PhD thesis in communication and media sciences completed at a Swiss university or by a Swiss researcher. SComS is happy to publish a summary of Florence Van Hove's (University of Fribourg) winning PhD thesis entitled "Médias d'actualité, journalistes et publics sur Twitter : vers un renouvellement des relations?".

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the question of the renewal of relations between media actors and audiences in the context of the digital transformation of journalism and the advent of social media. It is based on a qualitative and a quantitative content analysis of tweets related to twelve francophone news threads in 2011 and 2016. The results mainly show a gap between uniform and unidirectional uses of Twitter by media actors and the diversified, personal and interactive uses of news on Twitter by audiences. Findings suggest the persistence of long-standing trends in the relations between media actors and audiences – which remain asymmetrical (and tend to become stronger in this sense) despite the possibilities of social interactions offered by the microblogging tool Twitter – and a "resistance" by media actors, especially journalists, to change institutionalized journalistic practices.

Keywords

social media, Twitter, journalism, journalistic practices, audiences, content analysis

1 Introduction

Dans l'espace public du Web social, ouvert aux contributions des individus dits « participatifs », les professionnels de l'information sont confrontés à de nouvelles pratiques de consommation et de diffusion de l'actualité, qui imposent de nouvelles façons d'échanger et de collaborer avec les publics. Tel est le cas sur Twitter, un outil majeur de diffusion des informations et des actualités en ligne utilisé à la fois par les médias, les journalistes et les publics (Hedman & Djerf-Pierre, 2013; Kwak, Lee, Park, & Moon, 2010; Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Rieder & Smyrniotis, 2012). Les recherches portant sur les usages de Twitter en lien avec l'actualité ont d'emblée montré les défis pour la profession du journalisme. Ainsi, l'adoption et les usages de Twitter par les journalistes sont décrits comme potentiellement conflictuels,

car les journalistes doivent respecter les normes et standards journalistiques traditionnels tout en s'adaptant à un environnement social et interactif (Barnard, 2016; Hermida, 2010a, 2010b; Holton, Lewis & Coddington, 2016; Lee, 2016; Molyneux, 2015). Notamment, il été démontré que le partage d'opinions personnelles pouvait être en contradiction avec le respect des normes d'objectivité et de partialité (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012) et que la diffusion de messages de tiers (*retweets*) pouvait ébranler le rôle de *gatekeeping* des journalistes (Molyneux, 2015). De plus, la présence de multiples audiences sur cet outil de microblogging complique la gestion de l'identité numérique de ces acteurs (Lough, Molyneux, & Holton, 2018).

Par ailleurs, la co-production de « fragments numériques d'actualités » (Hermida, 2010b, troisième paragraphe) sur les médias sociaux par les publics peut être



interprétée comme un partage du rôle de *gatekeeping* (Bro & Wallberg, 2014; Bruns, 2003) et une intervention à la définition l'agenda médiatique (Noguera-Vivo, 2013), des pratiques participant à l'effacement des frontières journalistiques (Carlson, 2015; Revers, 2014; Singer, 2015) qui contribueraient «à un processus de démonopolisation et de décentralisation de la production journalistique» (Péllissier & Diallo, 2013, p. 165). En conséquence, en particulier sur les supports tels que les médias sociaux, les relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics sont vues comme subissant un renouvellement.

2 Question de recherche

Cette question fait l'objet d'un débat récurrent, que la recherche n'a pas réussi, à ce jour, à fixer. À notre avis, plusieurs éléments contribuent à ceci : tout d'abord, selon notre revue de la littérature, relativement peu d'études ont été consacrées à l'analyse concrète des pratiques des acteurs médiatiques et des publics sur Twitter, en observant qualitativement les contenus qu'ils diffusent par exemple. Souvent, les études se basent sur des questionnaires ou entretiens réalisés avec ces acteurs, ce qui revient à interroger leur réflexivité sur les pratiques. En aucun cas nous questionnons la légitimité ni la qualité de telles approches, qui ont certainement participé à la définition du phénomène du journalisme sur les médias sociaux. Cependant, il nous paraît important de relever qu'une approche centrée sur les contenus des messages peut être une approche complémentaire de qualité. Dans le même sens, peu d'attention a été accordée, étonnamment, à l'examen conjoint des pratiques des acteurs médiatiques et des publics, dans une même étude. Or, pour comprendre les relations entre ces acteurs, il paraît évident d'examiner comment leurs pratiques s'articulent, soit quels sont les contenus et la qualité communicationnelle de leurs messages.

Dans l'optique de contribuer à la fixation du débat, nous proposons d'examiner les dynamiques des usages de Twitter par

les acteurs médiatiques en articulation avec les usages de Twitter par les publics, en essayant d'évaluer à quel point ces usages façonnent leurs relations. L'interrogation suivante est posée : *en quoi les usages de Twitter par les acteurs médiatiques et par les publics participent-ils à la transformation de leurs relations ?*

3 Cadre théorique et approche

La littérature examinée porte tout d'abord sur la conception du rôle du public dans les médias, ainsi que sur la relation entre les médias et le public, en croisant les approches anglo-saxonnes et francophones, des premières traditions de recherche jusqu'aux plus récentes. Ensuite, nous abordons la problématique du renouvellement des relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics à travers l'exposé de la manière dont les évolutions et avancées du Web – du Web 1.0 au Web collaboratif – ont participé à la mise en place progressive d'un univers de co-création interactif de contenu en ligne ouvert aux «produsagers», désigné comme la participation en ligne. Le concept de journalisme participatif est ensuite convoqué. Nous présentons les caractéristiques conceptuelles et fonctionnelles de l'outil de microblogging et de diffusion des informations en ligne Twitter, puis, nous analysons les différentes perspectives de recherche (ainsi que leurs conclusions) sur, d'une part, les usages de Twitter par les publics en lien avec l'actualité en ligne, et d'autre part, les usages de Twitter par les médias et les journalistes, en lien avec les normes et standards journalistiques traditionnels. La dernière section théorique est consacrée au concept de l'identité numérique (des journalistes), qui est lié à celui de la relation.

La discussion critique des connaissances issues de la littérature nous a permis de construire un cadre conceptuel et analytique original, basé sur deux approches principales.

Nous convoquons l'approche francophone des usages des Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication

(TIC), défendue notamment par de Certeau (1990), Jouët (2000), Jauréguiberry (2011), Proulx (1994, 2001, 2015) et Cardon (2010), en tant qu'approche essentielle, car elle met l'accent sur la dimension sociale de l'utilisation des médias. Elle considère en effet les TIC comme des objets et des systèmes de communication et met l'accent sur leurs mécanismes de socialisation, en s'opposant au modèle classique de diffusion des médias de masse. Dans le même sens, elle s'attache à concevoir le public comme un acteur actif, qui n'est pas uniquement un récepteur de l'information. Elle affirme que les individus ont des pratiques personnelles et sociales avec les TIC, en s'appropriant les outils, en réinventant les pratiques et en contournant les usages prescrits (de Certeau, 1990). Ces usages traduisent ainsi des rapports de force entre les usagers et les outils ou entre les usagers et les médias, et pas uniquement des rapports linéaires émetteur-récepteur (de Certeau, 1990; Cardon, 2010).

La deuxième approche convoquée est celle, plus politique, de la participation dans les médias (Carpentier, 2009; Dahlgren, 2009). Bien qu'elle soit issue d'une tradition de recherche différente, elle se rapproche, à notre avis, de celle défendue par les approches sur les usages des TIC. Elle considère notamment que les individus sont impliqués dans les processus de décision (Carpentier, 2011b), ce qui implique que la participation est liée à la notion de pouvoir. L'inclusion ou l'exclusion des individus dépend de la structure de l'organisation (Carpentier, 2011b; Kelty et al., 2015), qui peut décider d'une "participation" minimale (interactions) ou maximale (co-décision) (Carpentier, 2011a). Sur les médias sociaux plus spécifiquement, la participation des individus se limite souvent à la distribution et l'interprétation des contenus (Domingo & al., 2008).

Dans notre travail, le concept de relation de pouvoir (ou de force) fait ainsi référence à la position «hiérarchique» de chaque acteur (médias d'actualité, journalistes et publics) dans les rapports qu'ils entretiennent sur Twitter. Alors que les médias et les journalistes ont tradition-

nellement été considérés comme ayant un pouvoir d'influence sur leurs publics, les recherches montrent que le contexte de la culture de la participation et des médias sociaux, cette position est considérée comme fragilisée. On évoque le «partage» de certaines normes journalistiques traditionnelles entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics, lorsque les publics créent et diffusent des contenus; on parle de remise en cause de l'objectivité et de la neutralité des journalistes quand ceux-ci partagent leurs opinions personnelles. À travers leurs relations, la prise de pouvoir de l'un et l'autre acteur est alors constamment mise à l'épreuve, voire redistribuée, selon les chercheurs.

4 Méthodologie

Pour approcher les usages de Twitter, nous analysons qualitativement et quantitativement les caractéristiques des *tweets* diffusés et échangés dans des fils d'actualité qui concernent douze médias d'actualité (médias télévisés, quotidiens et *pure players*) en France, Suisse romande et Belgique francophone, en recourant à l'analyse de contenu. Des dimensions comparatives sont introduites pour étudier d'une part, l'évolution des *tweets* émis par les différents acteurs, en comparant un échantillon de *tweets* de 2011 et de *tweets* de 2016 (7302 messages analysés), et d'autre part pour mettre en lumière les ressemblances et divergences des usages de Twitter par les médias, les journalistes et les publics, en 2016 (10 778 messages analysés). Nous cherchons particulièrement à distinguer les usages qui se réfèrent aux normes journalistiques traditionnelles ainsi qu'aux «normes» ou codes des médias sociaux.

Dans un deuxième temps (deuxième recherche empirique), nous nous focalisons sur les usages de Twitter par les journalistes et la façon dont ils se présentent sur cet outil, en recourant au concept d'identité numérique et de *branding*. Nous considérons en effet que les pratiques d'image de marque des journalistes, correspondantes à leur identité professionnelle ou personnelle, peuvent également

nous renseigner sur les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec les publics, et dans une certaine mesure, avec leurs employeurs. Pour ce faire, nous comparons l'activité générale (nombre moyen de tweets, d'abonnées et d'abonnements) ainsi que les messages de journalistes qui se présentent de deux façons différentes sur l'outil de microblogging : les journalistes qui indiquent dans leur profil des formules de décharge de responsabilité comme par exemple « mes tweets n'engagent que moi » et ceux qui ne mentionnent pas ce type de formule. Trente journalistes détenant des fonctions distinctes et travaillant pour des types de médias différents ont été retenus.

5 Résultats

Les résultats de notre travail indiquent tout d'abord une mutation majeure des caractéristiques des *tweets* diffusés en 2016 comparativement à 2011. En ce qui concerne les émetteurs, nous avons noté un fort recul de la présence des médias, une grande augmentation de la proportion d'individus et une faible progression des journalistes. Concernant les contenus, nous avons observé un recul de la proportion d'actualités et une grande augmentation des opinions personnelles, tandis que les contributions sont de plus en plus orientées vers les interactions. Le deuxième résultat indique un profond décalage entre d'un côté des usages très uniformes et un mode de diffusion unidirectionnel de la part des acteurs médiatiques (les médias d'actualité et les journalistes) qui tendent à être peu voire moins présents sur les fils de discussion qui les concernent, et d'un autre côté, des usages diversifiés, plus personnels et plus interactifs de l'actualité sur Twitter de la part des publics qui tendent à être plus nombreux. Le troisième constat est l'absence de contrastes notoires entre les choix des actualités diffusés par les acteurs médiatiques et ceux diffusés par les individus. Enfin, sur Twitter, les journalistes exposent principalement des contenus liés à leur identité professionnelle.

6 Analyse et interprétation des résultats

L'analyse et l'interprétation de ces résultats nous conduisent à formuler que les relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics, sur Twitter, sont complexes.

Les médias et les journalistes semblent « normaliser » fortement et de façon croissante leurs usages, qui sont concentrés sur la diffusion des actualités (sur la norme du *gatekeeping*), comme démontré dans de précédentes études (Ahmad, 2010; Zeller & Hermida, 2015). Ce rôle de transmission des actualités est à notre avis mobilisé pour renforcer la position des acteurs médiatiques, dans une logique de (re)professionnalisation du métier. Le fait que l'accent soit fortement mis sur la diffusion de contenus institutionnels, organisationnels et professionnels et montre de la même manière que c'est l'identité professionnelle qui est surtout mise en avant sur les médias sociaux (Molyneux, Holton, & Lewis, 2017), dans une logique d'auto-régulation des contenus, probablement pour éviter des biais et des risques de dommages réputationnels, comme indiqué par Fincham (2015).

Les interactions avec les publics sont minoritaires, tout comme les incitations à participer et les feedbacks d'acteurs médiatiques envers les publics. Ces faits démontrent que les pratiques ne sont pas orientées vers les publics et appuient l'idée que la participation des publics n'est pas envisagée comme une dimension stratégique dans le processus de légitimation du journalisme, contrairement à ce que certaines recherches ont indiqué (cf. Singer, 2005; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012).

De même, les relations avec les publics, qui, selon notre étude, ne sont pas non plus caractérisées par des interactions horizontales, nous indiquent que les acteurs médiatiques veulent réactiver des relations de force traditionnelles. Il semblerait ainsi que les relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics sur Twitter (re)tendent, dans une certaine mesure, vers des formes asymétriques. Dans le même sens, les usages que nous avons mis en lumière tendent à confirmer que les ac-

teurs médiatiques, bien qu'ils envisagent les publics comme des acteurs « actifs », ne les considèrent pas comme des acteurs « d'égal à égal » dans le processus de production de l'actualité. Néanmoins, il faut bien insister, à notre avis, que ces relations, bien qu'asymétriques, ne semblent pas transmettre en fond une vision des publics réduite à un rôle purement de récepteur.

L'analyse des usages de Twitter par les publics en lien avec l'actualité montre que les publics ne semblent pas, non plus, intéressés par des interactions avec les journalistes. Ils diffusent et par-dessus tout commentent et discutent de l'actualité entre pairs, ce qui correspond à des usages « sociaux » de l'actualité (Granjon & Le Foulgoc, 2010). Un aspect intéressant que nous avons relevé est qu'en évaluant les contenus diffusés par les acteurs médiatiques, les publics montrent un intérêt pour (et donc une connaissance de) le respect des normes et standards traditionnels du journalisme, notamment la partialité, la pertinence et la qualité des contenus. Enfin, les publics choisissent de diffuser les mêmes thématiques d'actualités que les acteurs médiatiques (ils ne « forcent » pas l'agenda), comme démontré dans une étude réalisée par Boczkowski et Mitchelstein (2013).

Ces constats semblent traduire que les publics ne semblent pas revendiquer un statut « d'égal à égal », que cette relation asymétrique est bien acceptée, et que les « normes » ou principes d'interactivité des médias sociaux sont tout aussi importants pour les publics. Ainsi, il semblerait que les publics des médias d'actualité comprennent bien les circonstances ou le contexte (celui des médias sociaux) dans lesquelles les communications autour de l'actualité et du journalisme ont lieu. Nous osons même avancer qu'ils comprennent même mieux que les acteurs médiatiques eux-mêmes, car au début de leur usage de Twitter les médias et les journalistes ont tâtonné et dispersé leurs activités au nom de la « culture de la participation » des médias sociaux dans laquelle ils faisaient leur entrée.

Au regard des éléments précédents, notre travail peut être vu comme une contribution qui soutient une approche alternative aux discours qui ont tendance à mettre l'accent sur la nature changeante des relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics sur les médias sociaux. Il tend à démontrer, au contraire, une persistance de tendances longues en matière de relations entre les acteurs médiatiques et les publics, qui restent asymétriques (et qui ont tendance à se renforcer dans ce sens) malgré les possibilités de socialisation offertes par l'outil de microblogging Twitter, et une « résistance » des acteurs médiatiques, notamment les journalistes, à changer des pratiques journalistiques institutionnalisées (la « normalisation » des contenus est plus accentuée en 2016 par rapport à 2011).

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Ursula Ganz-Blättler. “Signs of time: Cumulative narrative in broadcast television fiction.” Wien, Zürich: LIT, 2018, pp. 352. ISBN 978-3-643-80273-6

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TV series are one of the very few “traditional” media formats that continue to thrive in the current media landscape. In Europe, the format of TV series (i. e. serial audio-visual fictional narratives) has been surging for some time in terms of numbers of suppliers and consumers, as well as in shares of distributors’ offerings and consumers’ media use. Homegrown high-end original productions have become “calling cards” for suppliers active in the European market(s). Subscription-based, pay-per-view, and advertising-based networks, as well as public service suppliers order and finance serial fiction. International players like Netflix, HBO, Sky, and Amazon invest in original (co-) productions in many countries. From a media economic perspective, the market entry of more and more “big tech” and conglomerate players into the production and distribution of TV series is another indicator of the importance of the product TV series. The success of the format warrants extensive investigation. Nevertheless, compared to, e.g., cinema, “new” media, and political communication, the attention of scholars in communication/media science and other disciplines still seems surprisingly modest, particularly in Europe. Some noteworthy European works on fictional TV series are Schlütz (2016), Redvall (2013), Gormász (2015), and the scientific journal *Series – International Journal of TV Serial Narratives* (series.unibo.it). Ursula Ganz’s work *Signs of Time* was accepted as a habilitation thesis in 2009, and an adapted form was published in 2018. The thesis thus represents somewhat of a European premiere in discussing in great detail and depth what the term “(audiovisual) cumulative

narrative” entails and how the central feature of accumulation impacts the analysis of narrative as communication and reflective stance.

Ganz-Blättler had a background in medieval history and film science before she ventured into television science, criticism, and history. The author focuses in this well-written and highly interesting habilitation thesis on investigating cumulative narrative in broadcast television fiction. The term “broadcast television” has an outdated ring in the current media landscape. However, the adaptability of serial audiovisual fiction to varying distribution forms and its marketability for increasingly dominant over-the-top suppliers ensure that Ganz-Blättler’s work retains a high degree of relevance. The author discusses episodic fiction in the first two main parts of her book as communication and as art, respectively. In the third main part, she discusses the cumulative narrative as episodic fiction. In the latter part, Ganz-Blättler reviews three U.S. TV series to support and illustrate her arguments. The author admits to an original, spectacularly unscientific, yet sympathetic inspiration for her habilitation thesis: she wants to see the U.S. TV series *Magnum P.I.* be acknowledged as one of the best ever primetime TV series. Original work on TV series is often already outdated at the time of publication. The production, distribution, content, and consumption of serial audiovisual fiction develop rapidly in various directions. Ganz-Blättler writes an addendum to her conclusions that briefly discusses some of the current developments in the (Swiss) TV series landscape.



In *Signs of Time*, Ganz-Blättler states that she is inspired by, and builds primarily on, the work of Horace Newcomb, who delineates storytelling as referencing events and episodes in the past. Diegetic memory of characters, and of actively processing recipients, then becomes a strategic tool for sustaining (and expanding) the established fictional worlds. In addition, the theoretical framework of the thesis draws upon Bakhtin's pluralistic dialogic perspective on communication, upon cultural studies' multiplicity of viewpoints and shifting power relations, as well as upon Luhman's system's theory. McQuail (2010, pp. 19–20) names (post-) structural and cultural perspectives as important alternatives to the classical communication science approach that has its roots in (primarily quantitative methods-based) social sciences. The cultural approach is, finds McQuail, mainly employed in the investigation of meaning, social contexts, and cultural experiences. The author (2010, pp. 13–14) states that the core basis of cultural theory is often "ideational". Ganz-Blättler investigates cumulative narrative in great depth and seeks to apply quality criteria to cultural products based on consistent argumentation. In successfully doing so, the work illustrates once more that the cultural approach, as McQuail (2010, p. 20) states, can evoke important insights for media planners and producers. In Ganz-Blättler's view, storytelling satisfies essential needs of human beings as "a fundamental intrinsically motivating communication operation that societies rely upon in order to a) articulate aspects of belonging in time and space and b) make sense of our fragile, and necessarily precarious existence" (2018, p. xi). In addition, the relevance of storytelling, and thus of the habilitation thesis, lies in the underlying assumption that narrative communication is "by default media-savvy, participatory and highly reflexive" (2018, p. xiii).

After a personal and informative introduction, the first part of the habilitation thesis is devoted to episodic fiction as communication. This section consists of Chapters 2 through 6, which convey

the important aspects of episodic fiction from various perspectives. After a segment dedicated to relevant theorists, Chapter 3 illuminates the concept of episodic narrative as communication and its workings. Chapter 4 is entitled "Episodic Fiction as Entertaining Communication" and covers, broadly speaking, the recipients' perspective, the reception and processing of episodic fiction. For readers interested in media economics, management, and the production and distribution of TV series, Chapters 5 and 6 are of great interest. Aspects of episodic fiction relatable to medial commodity culture (cf. Hesmondhalg, 2012) and cost disease, cross-media ownership, various distribution modes and access, as well as conventions and genres figure prominently in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses episodic fiction as, simply put, a broadcasting (industry) "good" and investigates broadcasting models, TV storytelling, TV as a medium and an industry in transition, episodic series and continuous serials, and three main eras of prime-time drama. Ganz-Blättler's book shows in these chapters some overlap with studies by Lotz (2014), Mittell (2015) and Schlütz (2016). Ganz-Blättler's original work, however, predates the latter two studies, and it offers a great depth of theory-guided investigation of episodic fiction, in addition to sophisticated and at times humorous and self-ironic writing.

In investigating the complex development and production of episodic fictional TV series, it is a common trap to attribute the quality of an admired TV series to its creation by "brilliant" individuals. The content of a TV series is to an extent indeed assignable to its "showrunner". From a media sociology perspective, however, these main creators (head writers, producers) create content as part of larger teams (writers, producers, directors, actors, etc.) with certain characteristics and attributes that exercise strong influence on the content of the series (cf. Phalen & Osselame, 2012; Redvall, 2013). In addition, storytelling formulas of established genres of TV series influence content, as Ganz-Blättler explains. The main creators and their teams are often attached to a production

company that inevitably enables, as well as restrains, mediation in TV series. Crucially, the production company is commissioned and remunerated by a distributor or broadcaster that exerts, as Verhoeven (2019) finds, a decisive influence on what is mediated in a series. Regarding influences from outside media organizations, the decision-making on content of a broadcaster / distributor is itself impacted by the rapidly changing TV / media landscape, markets, advertising, regulations, etc. Finally, the basic conditions for the functioning of any media system and the content of its products are shaped by the encompassing social, economic, political, cultural, national, and global “system” (cf. Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, for a hierarchical model of the enabling and restraining influences on media content, and Verhoeven, 2019, for deployment of this model to TV series). Ganz-Blättler walks a delicate tightrope between a focus on creation of content by individuals and attention to the numerous possible extraneous influences on TV series. To illustrate the argument further regarding some topics of Ganz-Blättler’s book, the innovation in TV series in the “network” era (e.g., *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*) is surely the work of several talented creators and their soon-to-be-legendary independent production companies. However, the broadcaster that finances the innovative new series was (often) driven by losses in market shares: the third-rated network amongst CBS, ABC, and NBC was forced to display a penchant for risk. In the same vein, the drive for continuous series is also an effect of suppliers attempting to bind customers to their platform. In evaluating scripts and progressions of the production of a TV series, Netflix focuses almost exclusively on the elements in scripts that incite viewers to continue watching, as Verhoeven (2019) infers from interviews with creators of TV series. The trend towards cumulative storytelling is also an effect (as well as a cause) of the surge in binge-watching that is in turn enabled by the introduction of a string of new technologies (first VCR, then digital hard copies, and finally web-streaming). The demand for content

that incites customer loyalty in the TV series market has been increasing steadily for decades due to the emergence of competitive additional content-hungry suppliers (first cable / satellite TV, then web-based suppliers), and large increases in pay TV consumption. Attributing a surge in, e.g., continuous series and multilinear storytelling, to several brilliant creators is a seductive, but simplistic, argument. The TV landscape opened to innovative types of content for many reasons worthy of consideration and further investigation.

Art can perhaps be regarded as communication with its own intrinsic goals. However, after discussing episodic fiction as communication, Ganz-Blättler names the second main part of the habilitation thesis “Episodic Fiction as Art”. This part consists of two chapters. In the first, Ganz-Blättler discusses what one might call the narration choreography, the timing or the rhythm of episodic TV fiction as composed by omissions, segments, acts, beats, and story arcs. The next chapter describes the developments towards the serialized series and the multilinearity of TV series, a road map towards what Mittell (2015) labels “complex TV”, the type of TV series that critics and scholars often regard as the most recent (or the one and only) highlight of the format. The commonly acknowledged “canon” of TV series is the culmination of the developments that Ganz-Blättler discusses. Most often canonized are *The Sopranos*, *The Wire*, *Breaking Bad*, and *Mad Men*. These series demonstrate the completion of the transition of TV series from lowest-common-denominator mass entertainment products (mainly consumed by females) that (allegedly) merely serve to deliver an audience to advertisers, to meaningful, engaging, and challenging products of art. These TV series are similar to, and of the same value as, high-brow cinema, theatre, and literature. The appreciation of an upscaling of TV series after 1998 rests on many valid arguments, including Ganz-Blättler’s. However, the largely deprecating connotations surrounding pre-1995 TV series, as well as the positive verdict on post-1998 TV series, display overtones of gender and

class bias. In short, if many educated middle-class males also consume the product, it must be a serious high-quality good. In the same chapter, Ganz-Blättler finds – long before many other authors – that the dichotomy between episodic series and continuous serials is no longer tenable; she perceives a continuum between the two extremes along which TV series can be located. Among others, Schlütz (2016) arrives at the same conclusion.

The third part of the thesis is entitled “The Cumulative Narrative as Episodic Fiction”. It consists of three chapters and a conclusion. The conclusion is rather short because many topical findings are presented in the various chapters. In this part, Ganz-Blättler gracefully rounds out her arguments by exemplifying in secondary analyses the developments in the cumulative narratives of three U.S. TV series: *Magnum P.I.*, *Six Feet Under*, and *The X-Files*. The series *Magnum P.I.*, for example, developed from loosely connected episodic tales of a rogue character into a more intimate, continuing (serialized) story about a complex human character with (hurtful, mostly Vietnam war-related) memories and backstories that are mediated to the viewers, who then actively process and elaborate on the stories. Ganz-Blättler (2018, p. 279) finds that “cumulative narratives allow for the serialization of episodic fiction”. Pertaining to the post-1998 canon of TV series, Ganz-Blättler offers a refreshing and relativizing finding: diegetic memory as traditionally deployed in daytime soap operas was successfully adopted in “more classical adventure stories within the prime time schedule of TV II and TV III as ‘neo’ television”.

The customary division between information and entertainment concealed that “entertainment influences our long-term values, the norms we obey in everyday life and the stereotypes we hold about other people or certain social spheres”, von Rimscha and Siegert write (2011, p. 1010). Obviously, the narrative space of TV series is large: whereas a cinema film equals a novella, a TV series compares to an epic novel. This abundant space enables the inclusion, and perhaps more importantly,

the repetition of (intentional, socio-political, or other) messages (Nesselhauf & Schleich, 2014). Eilders and Nitsch (2015) find socio-political messages frequently mediated in entertainment offerings. The authors infer that fiction successfully circumvents the selection barriers of recipients. Holbert et al. (2003, p. 430) see political communication and (fictional) entertainment closely intertwined and find that many Americans are unable to distinguish between fact and fiction. Among investigations of entertainment in general and fictional TV series in particular, the aspect of biased portrayals of societal groups and topics is an increasingly prominent theme. Scholars often focus on mediation pertaining to the main social segregators: class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. Whereas the (distorted) portrayals of gender and ethnicity were (and are) for all the right reasons frequently investigated (e.g., Ault, 2013; Brook, 2009; Kanter, 2010; Kim, 2001; McRobbie, 2012; Rogers, 2011; Thomas, 2012; Warner, 2015), and the analysis of the portrayal of sexuality is gaining more prominence along with a string of TV series with LGBTQ main characters (e.g., Becker, 2013; Cavalcante, 2015; Frei, 2011; Renga, 2018), the analysis of the monumentally biased portrayal of class is still lagging (cf. Verhoeven, 2019). Forty years of neoliberal education “policies” and ideological brainwashing have ensured that the lower classes are severely underrepresented in the workforce as well as in the products of science and media. For inspired work on the portrayals of class in TV series, the contributions in Deery and Press (2018) come highly recommended. Ganz-Blättler (2018, p. xiii) regards the narrating of entertaining (cumulative) stories as a “discordant form of conversation, that is precarious, [...] open-ended and ambivalent. [...] In consequence I do not consider narratives to be ‘neutral’ or innocent since they can just as well build trust as lead astray, can courageously denounce mistakes and point out wrongdoings as they may obfuscate some truth and reinforce existing social taboos and power relations”. It is an author’s prerogative to select and prioritize, and Ganz-Blättler does

not elaborate (much) on distortions present in the content of episodic TV fiction.

In conclusion, Ganz-Blättler draws upon an impressive basis of theories and manages to offer her readers many important insights that entail “everything one always wanted to know” about the meaning, working, functions, effects, and thus the importance of, cumulative narrative as episodic fiction. The author eloquently delivers the information with an admirable passion for the subject of fictional TV series. The enviable enthusiasm in her writing can be traced back to the period of inception and writing of the thesis, i. e., the last phases of a very fruitful era of innovation in TV series in which one highlight after another was realised. Saving the most important observation for last: Ganz-Blättler’s work gloriously achieves many of its objectives, but assigning *Magnum P.I.* the status of a classic is really too much to ask of a fan of *The Wire*.

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Aebi, Adrian, Göldi, Susan, Weder, Mirjam (Hrsg.). «Schrift – Bild – Ton. Beiträge zum multimodalen Schreiben in Bildung und professioneller Kommunikation» [Writing – image – sound. Studies on multimodal writing in education and professional communication]. Bern: hep, 2020, S. 240. ISBN 978-3-0355-1615-9

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The book “Schrift – Bild – Ton”, edited by Adrian Aebi, Susan Göldi and Mirjam Weder, focuses on two fields of multimodal writing. Accordingly, the eleven contributions are assigned to the two sections “Multimodal writing in the educational context” and “Multimodal writing in professional communication”.

Changes are taking in place academic writing due to the influence of the English-speaking academic community. While these changes are plain to see, they seldom undergo critical examination when it comes to learning how to wield them. Arlene Archer, a South African writing researcher and Director of the University of Cape Town’s Writing Center, studies this very aspect of academic language. As a keynote speaker at the Forum for Academic Writing conference organized in collaboration with the Lucerne School of Business Institute for Communication and Marketing, she was the sole presenter to draw attention to the political dimension of participation in academia. Using the concept of “voice”, which is to be understood approximately as “discursive self”, she highlights the need for a metalanguage in teaching and learning that will bring visibility to certain limitations on discourse. Archer uses social semiotics to always link the production of meaning in writing with social implications. She focuses on two central aspects of “voice”: the recognizability of authorship, which is expressed in various decisions on how content is selected and presented; and citation, which has the ability to open or close the door to academic conversation like a key. The author then presents a matrix of terms that can be used to ascertain “voice”

in multimodal texts. Archer’s critical examination of conventions in academic writing is recognizably motivated by Identity Politics and serves in part to empower the disadvantaged. Thus, Archer likewise ties didactics into a political mission that is strongly aimed at reflection and not just the use of resources in a semiotic sense.

Unlike the majority of papers submitted, Archer’s work on a metalanguage attempts to advance theory. Accordingly, the publishers deserve credit all the more for having provided a concise overview of the development of theories and concepts of multimodality in their introduction and thus establishing a unifying foundation. The papers in the first section explore didactic topics in the field of higher education, most of which deal with the – yet-to-be-exploited – potential that lies in multimodality. The second section centers around professional communication.

Ursina Kellerhals and Vinzenz Rast provide self-critical insight into a newly-conceived teaching subject in visual communication at a business school. The sequence for designing an infographic presented the greatest didactical challenge, which is why the authors critically reflect on their approach. While working on the task of numerically visualizing data in a meaningful manner, they unexpectedly discovered gaps in basic mathematical knowledge among students: The latter experienced trouble in rendering numbers in correct spatial proportions across two or three dimensions. However, the authors do attribute a large portion of the sometimes unsatisfactory results to the circumstance that students were putting too little thought into planning and reviewing their



concept. This was especially the case when it came to establishing a theme and a central statement, as the software was generating professional-looking designs rapidly. This multimodal teaching project is highly relevant and recommended for replication in higher education, as the quality and correctness of data visualizations exert significant influence over public discourse and political decision-making.

The paper by Matthias Knopp and Kirsten Schindler from the University of Cologne discusses cooperative writing projects in primary schools. Here, teams of pupils compose fictional stories while receiving support via a learning platform from university students who are studying education, either asynchronously or in real-time. With regard to multimodality, this paper examines typographical and pictorial elements while also taking a side glance at the role of hyperlinks as potentially multimodal blank space. The pupils preferred to deploy bold and italics as typographic design elements in the project. They also made frequent use of colored fonts for individual statements. Having color reflected and expanded a text's meaning. To cite an example from one of the stories, the children set the term "poisonous snake" in a brilliant light green. With regard to text-image linking, the authors find that the children made extraordinarily productive use of their creative and semiotic potential in the digital medium of the computer. When asked about the dominant use of text or images, the pupils showed a clear preference for using images to illustrate text content, although nearly all of them used images with a broad spectrum of combinations. Accordingly, the authors draw the preliminary conclusion that the link between text and image plays an essential role among pupils when it comes to the perception and construction of meaning. One of the things this project illuminates is how digital tools can promote aesthetically creative writing processes among children of primary school age.

The fact that all of the papers explore multimodality on the basis of written text is not solely due to this collection's theme.

All text-based disciplines are likely to be experiencing their greatest challenge from other modalities. In contrast to the other papers, however, the study by Innsbruck Germanists Bernadette Rieder and Cordula Schwarz does not combine a purely visual modality with written text. They present a teaching project in which speech is given equal importance to writing. They justify this move by citing professional areas of activity where multimodal products are relevant, such as academic debates and author readings. The focus on multimodality throughout the entire learning process, from preparing a line of argumentation to its execution during a debate on a specific subject, is aimed at enhancing professional skills among students. These include spontaneity, argumentative cognition, and the creative use of language.

While multimodal processes are in the foreground in the first section, the second section centers around multimodal products in professional communication. Aside from one paper on writing and image competence for search engine optimization, the focus lies on the visual aspect of multimodal texts.

Adrian Aebi and Bruno Frischherz from the Lucerne School of Business present a thorough description of "sustainability reports" as a type of text which is still relatively new. They performed 50 quantitative and 2 qualitative analyses of sustainability reports from large companies and SMEs in order to make statements regarding multimodality. They distinguish between two main types based on image proportions and target audience: reports and magazines. On average, 24 percent of the texts consisted of images. Somewhat surprisingly, image content was primarily comprised of people (57%), and those people were primarily employees (62%), in each case by a wide margin. Foreseeable types of content like nature and landscapes only ranked third and fifth, respectively. The qualitative examination of cohesion, coherence, and communicative function revealed cohesion between images and text to be more pronounced than coherence. The authors postulate that this is due

to the visual level's primary task being the fulfillment of a specific design task and the triggering of emotions. This is contrasted by text, which is intended to provide information about a company's sustainability efforts. It would be interesting to compare these results with the multimodal design of something like management reports in order to be able to make statements regarding a potential specific multimodality among sustainability reports.

For the second time now, the collection is looking at the subject of infographics. Marina Bräm and Susan Göldi from the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland study infographics as a new trimodal type of text, specifically in the professional field of data journalism. They point to the various types of functions infographics perform: Some visualize primarily quantitative data, while others elucidate and illustrate qualitative data. The authors use the production of two daily newspapers as an example for reconstructing each type. In both cases, visual design is preceded by a complex process of research, data verification and fact checking, and fact analysis. Once all facts are known, a narratable story is developed. The authors map out the

close collaboration between specialized journalists and infographic designers as a key characteristic of the professionalization of data journalism.

The final paper by Jiří Chmelik gives insight into the perspective of a designer on how the modes of image, character, and font can interact in layout. He uses the sociological and ethnological concepts of role and ritual to enhance the potential that lies in communication design. The illustrations make it easy to see how these concepts are manifested in multiple forms of communication.

The design decisions for the collection itself were carefully made and perform well at illuminating the kind of impact multimodal text design can have. Page layout and typography have been given generous dimensions and render comprehension easy. The many color illustrations make it easy to absorb key messages.

This collection of papers on multimodal writing stands out with a common theoretical foundation that covers two clear communicative fields of action in higher education and the professional world, enriching them with current topics and essays on the state of the art which are well worth reading.

Der von Adrian Aebi, Susan Göldi und Mirjam Weder herausgegebene Sammelband nimmt zwei Handlungsfelder für multimodales Schreiben in den Blick. Entsprechend sind die elf versammelten Beiträge den beiden Sektionen «Multimodales Schreiben im Bildungskontext» und «Multimodales Schreiben in der professionellen Kommunikation» zugeordnet.

Zwar verändern sich die Schreibkonventionen in der Wissenschaft, insbesondere durch die Einflüsse aus dem englischsprachigen Wissenschaftsraum. Doch selten werden die Konventionen kritisch thematisiert, wenn es darum geht sie einzuüben. Die südafrikanische Schreibforscherin und Leiterin des universitären Schreibzentrums der University of Cape Town Arlene Archer behandelt im ersten Beitrag des Bandes gerade diesen Aspekt von Wissenschaftssprache. Als Keynote-Speakerin an der Tagung des Forums für wissenschaftliches Schreiben, das zusammen mit dem Institut für Kommunikation und Marketing an der Hochschule Luzern – Wirtschaft ausgerichtet wurde, lenkt sie als einzige die Aufmerksamkeit auf die politische Dimension der Teilhabe am akademischen Betrieb. Am Konzept Voice, was annäherungsweise als «diskursives Selbst» zu verstehen ist, zeigt sie die Notwendigkeit für eine Metasprache fürs Unterrichten und Lernen, mit der sich bestimmte Einschränkungen des Diskurses sichtbar machen lassen. Dank dem Ansatz der Social Semiotics verknüpft Archer die Bedeutungsproduktion beim Schreiben stets mit sozialen Implikationen. Sie fokussiert zwei zentrale Aspekte der Voice: die Erkennbarkeit von Autorschaft, die sich in diversen Entscheidungen der Auswahl und Darstellung von Inhalten äussert, und das Zitieren, welches wie ein Schlüssel die Tür zur akademischen Konversation öffnen oder verschliessen kann. Die Autorin stellt schliesslich eine Begriffsmatrix vor, mit der die «Voice» in multimodalen Texten erfassbar ist. Archers kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Konventionen des wissenschaftlichen Schreibens ist erkennbar durch Identity Politics motiviert und dient nicht zuletzt der Ermächtigung von Benachteiligten. Insofern verbindet Archer

mit Didaktik auch einen politischen Auftrag, der stark auf die Reflexion und nicht nur die Verwendung von Ressourcen im semiotischen Sinne abzielt.

Archers Arbeit an einer Metasprache versucht, die Theorie weiterzuentwickeln, anders als die Mehrheit der versammelten Beiträge. Umso mehr ist es ein Verdienst der Herausgeberinnen und des Herausgebers, in ihrer Einleitung einen konzisen Überblick über die Entwicklung der Theorien und Begriffe zur Multimodalität zu bieten und so eine gemeinsame Basis für die Beiträge zu schaffen. Die Beiträge des ersten Teils befassen sich mit hochschuldidaktischen Themen, in denen es zumeist um das – noch auszuschöpfende – Potenzial von Multimodalität geht. Der zweite Teil ist der professionellen Kommunikation gewidmet.

Einen selbstkritischen Einblick in ein neu konzipiertes Unterrichtsfach zu visueller Kommunikation an einer Wirtschaftshochschule gewähren Ursina Kellerhals und Vinzenz Rast. Die Sequenz zum Entwerfen einer Infografik stellte didaktisch die grösste Herausforderung dar, weshalb die Autor/-innen die eigene Vorgehensweise kritisch reflektieren. Beim Auftrag, Daten in Zahlenform sinnvoll zu visualisieren, stiessen sie unerwartet auf Lücken im mathematischen Basiswissen der Studierenden: Diese hatten Mühe, Zahlen zwei oder dreidimensional in die richtigen Flächenproportionen zu bringen. Einen grossen Teil der teilweise unbefriedigenden Ergebnisse führen die Autor/-innen jedoch darauf zurück, dass die Studierenden zu wenig Überlegungen in die Planung und Überprüfung ihres Konzepts steckten, insbesondere ein Thema und die zentrale Aussage zu finden, weil die von der Software generierten Designs schnell professionell aussahen. Das multimodale Unterrichtsprojekt ist hochrelevant und zur Nachahmung in der Hochschulausbildung empfohlen, da die Qualität und Korrektheit von Datenvisualisierungen wesentlich öffentliche Diskurse und politische Entscheidungen beeinflussen.

Um kooperative Schreibprojekte in der Grundschule geht es im Beitrag von Matthias Knopp und Kirsten Schindler von

der Universität Köln. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler schreiben in Teams fiktionale Texte und werden dabei von Lehramtsstudierenden über eine Lernplattform asynchron oder in Präsenz unterstützt. Bezüglich Multimodalität werden im Beitrag vor allem typografische und bildliche Elemente untersucht sowie ein Seitenblick auf die Rolle von Hyperlinks als potenziell multimodalen Leerstellen geworfen. Bevorzugt nutzen die Schreibenden im Projekt als typografische Gestaltungsmittel Fett- und Kursivdruck. Schriftfarbe setzten sie ebenfalls häufig für einzelne Aussagen ein. Die Farbe spiegelte und erweiterte die Textbedeutung, beispielsweise setzten Kinder in einer Geschichte den Begriff «Giftschlange» in einem leuchtenden Hellgrün. Bei den Text-Bildverknüpfungen stellen die Autor/-innen fest, dass die Kinder deren kreatives und semiotisches Potenzial im digitalen Medium Computer aussergewöhnlich produktiv nutzten. Bei der Frage nach der dominanten Text- bzw. Bildverwendung zeigten die Schülerinnen und Schüler zwar eine deutliche Präferenz, Bilder zur Illustration des Textinhaltes einzusetzen, aber beinahe alle setzten Bilder ein mit einem insgesamt weiten Spektrum an Verknüpfungsweisen. Die Autor/-innen leiten daraus den vorläufigen Schluss ab, dass die Text-Bild-Verknüpfung für die Schülerinnen und Schüler eine wesentliche Rolle beim Sinnbildungsprozess spielt. Das Projekt verdeutlicht unter anderem, wie digitale Tools im Grundschulalter in ästhetischer Hinsicht kreative Schreibprozesse fördern können.

Dass die Betrachtung von Multimodalität in allen Beiträgen vom schriftlichen Text ausgeht, liegt nicht nur am Thema des Sammelbands. Die grösste Herausforderung durch andere Modalitäten erfahren zurzeit wohl alle text-basierten Disziplinen. Anders als in den übrigen Beiträgen wird indes in der Untersuchung der Innsbrucker Germanistinnen Bernadette Rieder und Cordula Schwarze nicht eine rein visuelle Modalität mit dem schriftlichen Text kombiniert. Sie stellen ein Unterrichtsprojekt vor, bei dem das Reden gleichberechtigt mit dem Schreiben behandelt wird. Sie rechtfertigen dies durch

professionelle Handlungsfelder, in denen multimodale Produkte wie wissenschaftliche Debatten oder Autorenlesungen relevant sind. Der Fokus auf die Multimodalität während des gesamten Lernprozesses, vom Vorbereiten der Argumentation bis hin zur Umsetzung in einer Fachdebatte, soll die professionellen Kompetenzen der Studierenden erweitern, etwa Spontaneität, argumentatives Denken und den kreativen Einsatz von Sprache fördern.

Stehen im ersten Teil der Publikation multimodale Prozesse im Vordergrund, so rücken im zweiten Teil multimodale Produkte in der professionellen Kommunikation ins Zentrum. Den Schwerpunkt bildet hier abgesehen von einem Beitrag über Schreib- und Bildkompetenz für die Suchmaschinenoptimierung der visuelle Aspekt von multimodalen Texten.

Eine sorgfältige Beschreibung der noch jungen Textsorte «Nachhaltigkeitsbericht» legen Adrian Aebi und Bruno Frischer von der Hochschule Luzern in ihrem Beitrag vor. Sie haben 50 Nachhaltigkeitsberichte von grossen Unternehmen und KMUs quantitativ und 2 qualitativ analysiert, um Aussagen über deren Multimodalität treffen zu können. Dabei unterscheiden sie nach Bildanteil und Adressaten zwei wesentliche Typen: den Bericht und das Magazin. Die Texte wiesen im Schnitt einen Bildanteil von 24 Prozent aus. Etwas überraschend wurden die Bildinhalte von Menschen (57%) und unter diesen wiederum von Mitarbeitenden (62%) mit jeweils grossem Abstand angeführt. Erwartbare Inhalte wie Natur und Landschaft kamen erst an dritter bzw. fünfter Stelle. Die qualitative Untersuchung von Kohäsion, Kohärenz und kommunikativer Funktion ergab, dass die Kohäsion zwischen Bildern und Texten stärker ausgeprägt ist als die Kohärenz. Die Autoren vermuten dahinter die primäre Aufgabe der Bildebene, eine bestimmte Designaufgabe zu übernehmen und emotional anzusprechen, gegenüber den Texten, die Informationen über die Nachhaltigkeitsbemühungen des Unternehmens bieten sollen. Interessant wäre, die Ergebnisse mit der multimodalen Gestaltung von beispielsweise Geschäftsberichten zu vergleichen, um Aussagen über

eine möglicherweise spezifische Multimodalität von Nachhaltigkeitsberichten machen zu können.

Das Thema Infografiken wird im Sammelband ein zweites Mal aufgenommen. Mit Infografiken als neuer, trimodaler Textsorte, und zwar im professionellen Feld des Datenjournalismus, befassen sich Marina Bräm und Susan Göldi von der Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz FHNW. Sie weisen auf die unterschiedlichen Funktionstypen von Infografiken hin: Die einen visualisieren vorwiegend quantitative Daten, die anderen erklären und veranschaulichen qualitative Daten. Die Autorinnen rekonstruieren exemplarisch die Entstehung je eines Typs in zwei Tageszeitungen. In beiden Fällen geht der visuellen Gestaltung ein komplexer Prozess von Recherche, Daten- und Faktenprüfung und Faktenanalyse voraus. Wenn alle Fakten bekannt sind, wird eine erzählbare Geschichte entwickelt. Die enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen Fachredaktoren und Infografikerinnen arbeiten die Autorinnen als ein wesentliches Merkmal der Professionalisierung des Datenjournalismus heraus.

Aus der Perspektive eines Gestalters zeigt Jiří Chmelik im abschliessenden Bei-

trag, wie die Modi Bild, Zeichen und Schrift im Layout zusammenspielen können. Um die Möglichkeiten des Kommunikationsdesigns zu erweitern, nutzt er die soziologischen respektive ethnologischen Konzepte der Rolle und des Rituals. Wie sich diese innerhalb eines Designauftrags in mehreren Kommunikationsmitteln manifestieren, lässt sich dank der Abbildungen überzeugend erkennen.

Welche Wirkung eine multimodale Textgestaltung entfalten kann, performt der Sammelband selbst auf überzeugende Weise, indem die Designentscheidungen sorgfältig getroffen wurden. Das Seitenlayout und die Typographie sind übersichtlich und grosszügig gestaltet. Viele farbige Abbildungen veranschaulichen leicht aufnehmbar zentrale Themen des Textes.

Der Sammelband zum multimodalen Schreiben überzeugt durch die gemeinsame theoretische Basis seiner Beiträge, die mit dem Fokus auf dem Hochschul- und dem professionellen Kontext zwei klare kommunikative Handlungsfelder abstecken und diese durch aktuelle Themen und lesenswerte Beiträge zum State of the Art bereichern.

Zukunftswerkstatt der Ulrich Saxer-Stiftung zum Thema «Media Labs»: Schickes Label oder modernes Arbeiten in der Kommunikationswissenschaft?

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Media Labs: Ist das nur ein schickes Label oder steht dahinter eine moderne Form der Arbeitsorganisation für die kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschung? Dieser Frage ging die Zukunftswerkstatt der Ulrich Saxer-Stiftung nach, die am 23. Oktober 2020 an der Universität Zürich stattfand. Das Ziel der am IKMZ angesiedelten Stiftung ist es, den kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs in der Schweiz zu fördern.¹ Das tut sie unter anderem durch eine jährliche Werkstatt zu einem aktuellen Thema. Unter der Leitung von Dr. Corinne Schweizer wurde die Werkstatt Corona-bedingt als hybride Variante durchgeführt: Einige Teilnehmende und Referierende sasssen im Hörsaal, andere waren online zugeschaltet.

Die Werkstatt startete mit dem Vortrag von Prof. Dr. Gudela Grote, Professorin für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie an der ETH Zürich. Aus arbeitspsychologischer Sicht ist es nicht entscheidend, ob sich ein Team «Lab» nennt oder nicht, denn das Arbeiten in der Gruppe ist unabhängig vom Label generell äusserst anforderungsreich. Gerade dann, wenn die Gruppe kreativ sein soll und unterschiedliche kulturelle Hintergründe aufeinandertreffen. Oft helfe der Faktor Zeit, um als Team zusammenzuwachsen, jedoch müssten Mitarbeitende heute in vielen Settings – z. B. im Medizinbereich oder im Flugverkehr – in ständig wechselnden Teams arbeiten. Um als Lab erfolgreich zu sein, riet Grote unter anderem zu einer klaren Rollenverteilung und einem partizipativen Führungsstil.

In einem zweiten Beitrag diskutierte Hans Danuser, renommierter Schweizer Fotograf, das Thema aus künstlerischer Perspektive. Danuser hat sich in seinem Projekt «In Vivo» während zehn Jahren mit Laboren beschäftigt und interpretierte diese als Orte, die mit grosser Macht und gesellschaftlichen Werten verknüpft sind. Entsprechend fotografierte er in Krankenhäusern, Kernkraftwerken und militärischen Einrichtungen und fokussierte dabei auf tabuisierte Dinge, die kaum bildlich dargestellt wurden. Danuser befasste sich aber auch mit der Architektur von Labs, und der Frage, wie die Zusammenarbeit räumlich gestaltet werden kann. Prof. Dr. Otfried Jarren, Präsident der Ulrich Saxer-Stiftung, führte das Gespräch und stellte einige Querbezüge zu Journalismus und Medienforschung her.

Online zugeschaltet war Prof. Dr. Gesa Ziemer, Professorin an der HafenCity Universität in Hamburg. Ziemer leitet das von der Stadt Hamburg finanzierte Science City Lab (SCL), das in Kooperation mit dem Media Lab des MIT Städte im Kontext der Digitalisierung erforscht. Das SCL ist inter- und transdisziplinär: Forschende aus zahlreichen Disziplinen (darunter jedoch bisher noch niemand aus der Kommunikationswissenschaft) versuchen in Zusammenarbeit mit Politik, Industrie und Mitgliedern der Zivilgesellschaft die Probleme der Hansestadt zu lösen und die öffentliche Diskussion zu versachlichen. Wie so etwas aussehen kann, zeigte Ziemer am «Finding Places» Projekt, wo Bürgerinnen und Bürger diskutierten, in welchen Gebieten der Stadt Flüchtlingsunterkünfte gebaut werden könnten.

1 Für nähere Information siehe <https://www.ikmz.uzh.ch/de/departement/networks/saxer-foundation.html>.



Im abschliessenden hybriden Panel trafen Vertretende von drei sehr unterschiedlichen «Media Labs» aufeinander. Das Media Technology Center der ETH Zürich ist ein Informatik-Lab, das von Schweizer Medienhäusern finanziert wird. Dr. Severin Klingler und sein Team entwickeln z. B. Spracherkennungssoftware oder «News Recommender Systems». Mit aktuellen Problemen in der Medienregulierungs-Praxis beschäftigt sich hingegen das von Dr. Gergana Baeva geleitete Media Policy Lab der Medienanstalt Berlin-Brandenburg (MABB). Das kleine «Behördenlab» sieht sich als Schnittstelle zwischen dem MABB und seiner Umwelt und organisiert den Austausch mit Wissenschaft und Praxis. Das Digital Democracy Lab der Universität Zürich ist schliesslich ein politikwissenschaftliches Lab, das sich mit der digitalen Transformation der Politik beschäftigt. Dafür haben Prof. Dr. Fabrizio Gilardi und seine Mitarbeitenden in den letzten 18 Monaten eine Forschungs-

infrastruktur aufgebaut, die eine effiziente, skalierbare Datenerhebung und -analyse erlaubt und offen sein soll für andere Forschende.

Wer an der diesjährigen Zukunftswerkstatt dabei war, hat einen guten Eindruck davon bekommen, welche vielfältigen Erwartungen mit dem Begriff «Media Labs» verbunden sind. Ob hinter dem Label neue Arbeitsformen stecken, und welche das sind, muss aber im Einzelfall diskutiert werden. Die Zukunftswerkstatt hat zudem gezeigt, dass hybride Veranstaltungsformen funktionieren können. 2021 wird die Werkstatt – unter hoffentlich einfacheren Bedingungen – von Dr. Dominique Wirz (DCM, Universität Fribourg) organisiert. Sie übernimmt das Amt von der Autorin dieses Textes, die in den letzten Jahren fünf Workshops zu Themen wie Berichterstattungsfreiheit, Repräsentation von Frauen* und Migrant*innen oder Vertrauen in Medien und Politik konzipiert und durchgeführt hat.

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The first page should include an abstract (between 150 and 200 words) and selected keywords (e.g., social media, spiral of silence). Please remove all author names and institutional information from manuscripts, so as to enable blind peer review. All submitted manuscripts must be prepared in accordance with APA 6th (the 6th edition of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association).

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