

Förord

Den 16:e Nordiska Konferensen för Medie- och Kommunikationsforskning ägde rum i Kristiansand, Norge, den 15-17 augusti 2003. Vård för konferensen var den norska forskarföreningen, *Norsk Medieforskerlag*, och Høgskolen i Agder. Drygt 320 forskare från Danmark, Finland, Island, Norge och Sverige samlades i Kristiansand för att diskutera pågående forskning och forskningsresultat. I konferensen deltog även forskare från länder utanför Norden, t ex från de baltiska länderna och USA.

Konferensen innefattade möten i arbetsgrupper, plenarsessioner och en rad sociala och kulturella programpunkter. De nordiska konferenserna är av mycket stort värde för utvecklingen av medie- och kommunikationsforskningen i de enskilda nordiska länderna. Konferensens *arbetsgrupper* är i detta avseende särskilt viktiga. Närmare 200 papers presenterades och diskuterades denna gång i 25 olika arbetsgrupper:

Medier og global kultur	Populærkultur
Medienes struktur og økonomi	Film- og TV-fiksjon
Lokale og regionale medier og kommunikasjonsformer	Visuell kultur
Mediehistorie	Språk og retorikk i mediene
Filmhistorie	Medienes konstruksjon av kjønn
Institusjon, produksjon og tekst	Public relations/planlagt kommunikasjon
Radio og andre lydmedier	Mediert risiko-, krise- og krigskommunikasjon
Politisk kommunikasjon	Digital tekst: Sjanger, form og prosess
Journalistikkforskning	Digital kultur: Nye samværs- og kommunikasjonsformer
Nyhetsformidlingens sosiologi og estetikk	Sport og medier
Mediebruk: Perspektiv, metode og teori	Medier og etniske minoriteter
Barn, unge og medier	Medie- og kommunikasjonsteori:
Mediepedagogikk	Forskning og disipliner

Detta nummer av *Nordicom-Information* innehåller samtliga plenaranföranden samt redovisning av presenterade papers. I skriften ingår också en utförlig deltagarlista.

På grundval av konferensen har ett antal papers omarbetats till artiklar för publicering på engelska i en särskild antologi utgiven av Nordicom (*Nordicom Review* 1/2004, special issue) i syfte att visa på den nordiska medieforskningens bredd och fördjupning.

Ansvaret för genomförandet av de nordiska konferenserna är tvådelat. Övergripande frågor som konferenstema, talare i plenum, arbetsgrupper samt deltagaravgift behandlas av en nordisk planeringskommitté, som inför konferensen i Kristiansand bestod av Arild Fetveit, Oslo universitet, *ordförande*; Þorbjörn Broddason, Islands universitet, Jaana Hujanen, Jyväskylä universitet, Anne Jerslev, Köpenhamns universitet, Göran Bolin,

Södertörns högskola och Ulla Carlsson, Nordicom. Det är de nationella forskarföreningarna som utser representanterna i denna grupp.

För arrangemang och genomförande av konferensen svarade en lokal planeringskommitté bestående Arild Fetveit, Universitetet i Oslo, leder i Norsk medieforskerlag; Elisabeth Eide, Høgskolen i Oslo; Tore Helseth, Høgskolen i Lillehammer, Jens E. Kjeldsen, Universitetet i Bergen och Elise Seip Tønnessen, Høgskolen i Agder.

Bidrag till finansieringen av konferensen erhöles från Norges forskningsråd, Rådet for anvendt medieforskning, Nordisk Kulturfond och Høgskolen i Agder.

Värd för nästa nordiska konferens, den sjuttonde i ordningen, är den danska forskarföreningen SMID och konferensen äger rum i Aalborg den 11-14 augusti, 2005.

Göteborg i juni 2004

Ulla Carlsson
Nordicom

First We Take Manhattan!

The 16th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research

ARILD FETVEIT

To arrange a media studies conference is to get a chance to think about the status of the field. It provides a chance to think about what has been accomplished and what is in need of further development. When the conference started 20 years ago it was predominantly a communication research conference attended by social scientists. The present form of media studies, which comprises both social science and humanities oriented approaches, was initiated some five years later, but only partly implemented across the Nordic countries. Herein lies not only a key challenge for the conference, but also for media studies more generally. Can the conference and can media studies as a field overcome its initial institutionalization as a social scientific endeavor and become a truly interdisciplinary field comprising approaches from the humanities as much as from the social sciences?

Bare facts suggest that many humanities scholars working on film, photography, television and digital media across the Nordic countries consistently do not attend the conference. The question then becomes whether we should just proceed with business as usual, or try to do something about this. We decided to do something. We tried to make a conference which could provide a common space for reflection and thought for *all* media scholars. As a further goal, we conceived of a conference which could be developed into a viable forum for interdisciplinary reflection, a forum where anthropologist, literary scholars, computer scientists, art historians, criminologists and democracy theorists (to name a few) would visit and meet up with media scholars when their work involve media issues, which it increasingly seem to do.

In the 1999 conference, Klaus Bruhn Jensen suggested that “media and communication research should become neither a field, nor a discipline, nor a department, but a faculty with a number of departments and other constituents,” covering “the phenomena of culture and communication across disciplines from literary theory and linguistics to sociology, anthropology, and geography” (2000: 28). “Among the benefits of a Faculty of Media, Communication, and Culture”, he noted, “could be a more thoroughly modernized approach to the study of human cultures, a more differentiated training of a central, expanding profession, and a reconsideration of what forms of culture and communication should be preserved for the future in museums and archives” (29). If this reconfiguration of the academy seems bold and hard to accomplish, the spirit of Bruhn Jensen’s vision could at least be realized in a more deliberate attempt to develop the conference into an interdisciplinary forum for media studies across a variety of disciplines. However, we felt that the task of developing such an interdisciplinary forum must come second to the

more primary task of making the conference a venue for all media scholars. This first task was implicitly called for in a plenary address to the 1997 conference.

In his reflections after ten years in the field Jostein Gripsrud noted that “social scientific approaches in a broader sense...dominate the field”, to the detriment of other lines of inquiry (1998: 21). “The areas I am most concerned about,” he said, “are what we might call History, Philosophy and Aesthetics – that is to say, the key constitutive subjects of the humanities, which for that matter are also fundamental to any theory of society worthy of the name” (22). His vision of how we need to address this was one in which we should make room – much more than we have to date – for theories of aesthetics and in-depth analysis of texts and their features. This also implies including the “meaning-less” (the non-meaning-laden) aspects of texts – from “dance numbers” in musicals to the fascination of rhythms in verbal, audiovisual and musical texts. To paraphrase Susan Sontag: Not only do we need a media-hermeneutics, we need a “media-erotics”, as well. (24-5)

A key idea behind the development of the 2003 conference program was to move one step towards rectifying some of these in-balances. We wanted to make a program which could signal to humanities scholars that the conference was for them too, while at the same time making it relevant for social scientists. The attempt to develop our field came together with a couple of other major challenges. One was to address some of the changes linked to what has broadly been associated with the term digitalization. Another challenge came from the culture and time in which we found ourselves in 2002. This was a time when the aggressive rhetoric of George W. Bush’s “war on terrorism,” and the naturalization of deceptive talk from politicians through the euphemism “spin,” called on us to bring our insights to bear upon a political situation which seemed increasingly volatile and dangerous. In hindsight, our fears about the aggressive rhetoric and what it could entail have sadly proven to be warranted. It now seems apparent that the “war on terrorism” has been more effective in fostering than in eradicating the threat it allegedly was devised to address. In short, Bush has given Bin Laden what he wanted, as several commentators have noted. This is truly an ironic twist to a 30 year collaborative business relationship between the Bush and the Bin Laden families, a relationship detailed in Michael Moore’s film *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2003), newly awarded the The Palme d’Or in the 2004 Cannes festival.

These remarks suggest some of the thinking which went into the conception of the plenary sessions in the 2003 conference. This thinking led us to have a film scholar address the issue of movie rhetoric and international politics, and to have that talk commented on from a journalism perspective more aligned with social science traditions. It led us to focus on digital aesthetics in an attempt to show the relevance of aesthetical perspectives in the analysis of “digitalization”, which has tended to be construed as a matter of convergence from a social science perspective. It also prompted us to put globalization on the agenda, comprising both aesthetical and political perspectives, and to explore more closely the relationship between a key discipline which exists both as a part of and separated from media studies – a discipline through which it can even be claimed that media studies began more than 2000 years ago – namely rhetoric.

We can only hope that the reader will be inspired and provoked by some of the thoughts offered, and that they will foster further reflections and contribute to the development of the field. Hopefully, the opening exchange might foster continued exchange and a broadened view of the connections between film and current political developments. Maybe a susceptible reader will detect some of the “media-erotics” Gripsrud called for in the sensual analysis and pondering reflections on quick time movies and

digital photography? Perhaps further links between the realms of aesthetics, politics and journalism also will be opened through the exchange on globalization? And perhaps even the broader ambition to include humanities scholars, and also to develop a forum for productive exchange between scholars of media and related disciplines can be found in the session on rhetoric?

If there is a broader message here to be passed on it might be the following. Bruhn Jensen cited the following lyrics from Leonard Cohen (1988) in his ambitious 1999 address:

They sentenced me to twenty years of boredom
for trying to change the system from within.
I'm coming now
I'm coming to reward them.
First we take Manhattan,
then we take Berlin.

After citing this, Bruhn Jensen went on to say that “First we took a Department, then we take a Faculty. Ladies and gentlemen.... Let’s ‘take Berlin’ ” (2000: 29). Now, the conference might in fact prove an even better vehicle than the Faculty, in the attempt to take Berlin. However that may be, with Gripsrud, it must be noted that as long as we have a “social science hegemony” (1998: 22) in media studies as well as in the conference – which is all to evident in the “working groups” – we have not really taken the “Department”. Thus, let’s take Berlin, but, first we take Manhattan!

Den 17:e Nordiska konferensen
för medie- och kommunikationsforskning
äger rum i Aalborg, 11-14 augusti 2005

Movie Rhetoric and International Politics

ASTRID SÖDERBERGH WIDDING

In a classical essay from 1946, French film critic André Bazin wrote that one of the most important functions of art is to cheat death by creating immortality. Thus, he formulated the so-called “myth of total cinema” – which is also the title of the essay – a theory of aesthetic predestination according to which the movies might accomplish what no other medium had ever been able to do, namely to reproduce reality completely. In retrospect, it turns out that Bazin can be seen as both right and wrong in his prophecy; the medium of total cinema does indeed exist, but it is not film. Rather, it is life itself, which in turn seems to reproduce the movies, so that the boundary between cinema and reality is blurred once and for all. This is true not least of the political scene

In his book *Life: The Movie. How Entertainment Conquered Reality*, Neal Gabler takes up the Bazinian heritage in offering an analysis of the real accomplishments of Ronald Reagan’s presidency, which according to him are rather to be situated within the domain of movie rhetoric.

“In the first place, he [Reagan] made the movies the model for public policy. It was because Reagan had paved the way with science fiction movie plans like his ‘Star Wars’ antimissile system, and with B movie pronouncements like ‘They can run, but they can’t hide’, when Arab terrorists hijacked the *Achille Lauro* luxury liner and killed an American passenger, that House Speaker Newt Gingrich could talk seriously of solving the welfare problem by invoking the old MGM movie *Boys Town* or that George Bush, in accepting the Republican nomination for the presidency, could use Clint Eastwood’s line ‘Read my lips’ to swear that he would endorse no new taxes.” (Gabler 1998: 113)

It quickly became commonplace in media and cultural studies to interpret the Gulf War as formulated like a World War II picture from Reagan’s Hollywood heyday. Gabler characterizes it as “meant to be short and sharp”, with a clear narrative outline, with heroic heroes and a “mustachioed villain, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, an evil mastermind right out of the hoariest anti-Nazi propaganda”. He also notes that the war, as broadcast by the conventional media, “even ended like a World War II movie, with the troops parading triumphantly down Broadway or Main Street, showered by confetti and basking in the gratitude of their fellow Americans while the credits rolled”. And the analogy could be drawn even further as the Gulf War, even after it was over, “like every blockbuster, had its ancillary markets: trading cards, T-shirts, videocassettes of the action.” (Gabler 1998: 113)

Many, media scholars and critical journalists alike, have also noted that the reports from the Gulf war and afterwards have increasingly become constructed like a television series, with different logo's and musical signatures. There is also a narrative construction communicated, for example, by different title cards, and the on-site reporters like CNN's Peter Arnett and NBC's Arthur Kent, or more recently Åsne Seierstad as Nordic reporter from the war in Iraq, have instantly been transformed into stars. Thus, war is turned into entertainment.

However, one important difference might be pointed out between these so-called war movies and the classical movies from World War II: that is that they were designed to mobilize support for a real war. But if the war itself is turned into a movie, what exactly is this war movie mobilizing support for? Neal Gabler suggests that Reagan, once again, provided the answer: it mobilizes support for itself. He argues that the real point of the Gulf War may not have been to liberate occupied Kuwait, insure the flow of oil or eliminate Saddam Hussein, each of which had been mentioned as possible objectives. Even though President Bush may not have realized it himself, and though it might discount the legitimate risks of the war to say so, the real point may simply have been to provide a narrative both for the nation and the international scene, provided with a happy ending. This, again, is traditionally the function of entertainment rather than of warfare:

Turning the presidency into a movie and policy into escapism are no small accomplishments, but Reagan's most enduring legacy may be that in doing so, he also wound up establishing a new measure of presidential success: the president's skill before the media. (Gabler 1998: 114)

And it has turned out that George Bush may be even more skilled than Ronald Reagan as a real-life actor. The Gulf War and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq also share the common features of using a kind of movie-like rhetoric, such as frequent dead-line settings. And Bush has also specialized in certain movie-like lines, making up the phraseology of the war, like his famous "Go out there and get them." But the movie rhetoric does appear not least in the very codenames of the operations – like *Desert Storm*, which rather seems to be the title of a Hollywood movie. And the fact that the first codename for the US operation against terrorists was *Infinite Justice* does indeed seem ironic. This name, taken seriously, is profoundly ambiguous. Either it means that the Americans must have the right to ruthlessly destroy not only all terrorists, but also all that gave them support: material, moral, ideological etc., and that, by definition, this process will be endless. Or it means that the justice exerted must be truly infinite. Later, a complaint from American Islamic clerics arguing that only God can exert infinite justice actually led to a change of the code name. But the strategy continues, as one of President Bush's later rhetorical accomplishments indicates – the utterly ambiguous "Bring them on" from a talk on July 2nd. This was immediately criticized by Democrat Dick Gephardt as "dangerous macho rhetoric", but it is only one example of Bush's long series of rhetorical statements that would definitely fit better in a B-movie than on the world stage.

However, perhaps the most decisive event in this evolution of political "lifies" was not staged by Hollywood, but imposed from the outside. September 11th marked a turning point, at least symbolically, which has invited not only responses in the form of *Infinite Justice* operations, but also in the form of infinite comments, interpretations and appropriations, summarized in the catchword: "Nothing will ever be the same after September 11th". The link between Hollywood and the international political scene was also confirmed in a unique way during the 'war against terrorism' that resulted from these events,

namely when the Pentagon decided to solicit the help of Hollywood in early October 2001. Then, a group of Hollywood scenarists and directors, specialists in disaster movies, was established at the instigation of the Pentagon, with the aim of imagining possible scenarios for terrorist attacks and how to fight them. And one month later, it appeared that these meetings continued. Now the aim was that of – as Žizek put it – “co-ordinating the war effect and establishing how Hollywood could help in the ‘war against terrorism’ by getting the right ideological message across not only to Americans, but also to the Hollywood public around the globe”. For good reasons, this has been interpreted by cultural theorists as “the ultimate empirical proof that Hollywood does in fact function as an ‘ideological state apparatus’”. (Žizek 2002: 16) Thus, it is only logical that, on the 4th of July this year, Arnold Schwarzenegger went to Iraq to show *Terminator 3* to the soldiers, as part of his “Schwarzenegger for governor” campaign, which turned out so successfully.

I would like to take some of these comments as a point of departure for reflection, as they also take part in formulating a rhetoric on the significance of the political situation, the “before and after”. They may contribute to developing what Michael J Shapiro has aptly called a “cinematic political thought”. On the anniversary of the event, among many other things, a movie was made with the title *11'09"01, September 11: A Film*. Among the several directors are Iranian Samira Makmalbaf, Youssef Chahine from Egypt, Idrissa Ouedraogo from Burkina Faso, Ken Loach from the UK, Mira Nair, India, Sean Penn from the US, and Shohei Imamura, Japan; in other words, an impressive list of canonical art cinema directors. In the credits, the film is presented like this: “11 directors from different countries and cultures. 11 visions of the tragic events that occurred in New York City on September 11 2001. 11 points of view commenting their subjective conscience. Complete freedom of expression.”

The film is particularly interesting as a way of responding to this highly visual event within visual culture itself. Three books were also published by Verso on the same occasion, two of which had already appeared in French. It was Jean Baudrillard's *The Spirit of Terrorism (L'esprit du terrorisme)*, which was later followed up by his *Power Inferno*, Slavoj Žizek's *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, and Paul Virilio's *Ground Zero*, published in French as *Ce qui arrive*. Each one of them in its own way also offers a highly visual or cinematic way of thinking.

Of the three authors, Paul Virilio is the one who has the largest grip on the event. One could start with a cinematic reference, to Fritz Lang, who in his films on Dr Mabuse describes the anonymity of the criminal, a new phenomenon in early modernity. The crime syndicate is well organized, but it finds its best support in the anonymity of the masses. Lang creates secret connections between the anonymous, organized criminals and politics, between science and terrorism. September 11 might be considered the final victory for this kind of anonymousness, privatized criminality that the iconoclastic high priests of development theory had dreamt of for centuries.

Virilio describes the ravages of iconoclasm during the reformation in Europe. As its basis in a Calvin or a Cromwell, the conviction of mankind's negative predestination may be found, her involuntary submission to a world under the power of evil, where life may best be summarized as suffering, or, in E M Cioran's words, as “the inconvenience of being born”.

This iconoclastic wave would sweep along whole cultures and nations. The Manichean ideas of the iconoclasts may also be found among the scientists who, during the twentieth century, argued for different evolutionary theories, theories of genetics, of

racial hygiene, of phrenology; in other words convictions that formed the ideological apparatus that founded the totalitarian systems of the twentieth century. Only progress may liberate humanity – this remains a favourite idea of the iconoclasts, summarized in François Raspail's sentence, cited as a motto in *Ground Zero*: "Science, the only religion of the future".

The dark history of the twentieth century remains for Virilio a kind of black hole in the idea of development, where the "philopholia" – the love for madness – of science and technology is born. In its extension, this seems to organize the self-destruction of a species that has become too slow, because it no longer succeeds in adapting to the general development.

Silvio Berlusconi's role in international politics is significant: it points to a change from the classical left-right division to a new division between the political and the medial. The politically correct has been replaced by the optically correct. The parliamentary democracy, which in reality was secured by general elections, has in practice been replaced by the direct democracy of opinion polls, where the right to utter one's opinion, to speak one's mind in public – in other words, to enter into medial reality – also seems to guarantee citizenship. E-democracy on-line is the catchword of tomorrow.

And televisual reality, as represented by reality-TV (like in *Big Brother* or all its equivalents), has made its entrance into the world for real. According to Virilio, a straight line might be drawn from *Big Brother* by way of the Kosovo conflict to September 11 – they are all products of the same multi-medial image strategy. In *Big Brother*, there is the ambition to show real life and to democratize the star system. However, the real actors are not the locked up volunteers on screen, but rather all the millions of spectators taking part in the vote. All of a sudden, all possible means of communication are allowed: Hertz-TV, Internet, telephone, SMS – which in a way all aim at eliminating human relations.

In the Kosovo conflict, the ambition was to create a war with no losses, a war for specialists. Here, there was no longer dying in the camps any more, but rather the question of manipulating death machinery at a safe distance. The grand battles of history have been replaced by the world live, with its "*mort en direct*". Here, Virilio meets Zizek, who states that:

...it is not only that Hollywood stages a semblance of real life deprived of the weight and inertia of materiality – in late-capitalist consumerist society, 'real social life' itself somehow acquires the features of a staged fake, with our neighbours behaving in 'real' life like stage actors and extras... Again, the ultimate truth of the capitalist utilitarian de-spiritualized universe is the dematerialization of 'real life' itself, its reversal into a spectral show. (Zizek 2002: 13-14)

Consequently, September 11 also presented a number of anonymous actors in what to many spectators at first seemed like a global super-production, where reality once and for all was lost in electronic nothingness; most TV spectators seem to have apprehended the images as fiction. French director Claude Lelouch takes this as a point of departure in his episode in the 110901 film. He tells the story of a deaf photographer visiting New York, whose boyfriend leaves in the morning on September 11 for his job as a guide in the World Trade Center. With the TV constantly on, she sits in front of the computer, writing a letter to him about the crisis in their relationship, telling him that she feels "lost in a talking picture". Had she thrown a glance at the TV screen, it is obvious that she wouldn't have reacted to the images, as the comments weren't available to her.

That the events of September 11 reached most of us through the TV screen made it inevitable that, in retrospect, so many parallels were drawn to the long series of catastrophe movies in the history of Hollywood. In Žižek's words: "The unthinkable which happened was the object of fantasy, so that, in a way, America got what it fantasized about, and that was the biggest surprise." (Žižek 2002: 16) And these parallels to disaster movies occurred regardless of whether they were used to explain the event, as offering possible models of actions for the terrorists, or, as in Karl-Heinz Stockhausen's controversial statement, they just served to 'celebrate' the planes hitting the Twin Towers as the ultimate work of art. In Stockhausen's view, it is as if we had watched the most spectacular special effect ever made; the terrorist act itself was made to achieve this spectacular effect. And it was as if only after having seen this spectacle, the spectators became really able to experience the falsity of reality TV, where people play themselves and there is thus a certain enactment, despite the aspiration towards reality. But at the same time, the infinite repetition of the shots of the Twin Towers collapsing contributed to fictionalizing the event. When we see it over and over again, the experience of a real event is gradually weakened. At the same time, this fictionalization is part of a process of abstraction, which may serve to maintain a boundary separating us – as spectators – from them – those who were there in reality. Real life thus acquires a fictional dimension.

In his comment on September 11 in the episodic film, the one that deals in the most direct way with the actual events, Mexican director Alejandro González Inárrita refuses to take part in this process. The first part of his 11 minute long contribution starts with a completely black screen. On the complex soundtrack, several voices are combined which may be hard to discern: a monotonous recitation; the voices of reporters from all over the world talking in different languages about their first impressions of the event; cuts from talks on mobile phones from people in the Twin Towers. This is followed by a crescendo of the sound of the aircraft and then a complete silence, after which several images of the towers collapsing are cut in. But the soundtrack remains the most important part of the film. Towards the end, the shifting sounds are replaced by music, and then the image fades into white, with the final rhetorical question: "Does God's light guide us or blind us?" González Inárrita might be accused of mystifying the Other with the voices on the first part of the soundtrack, incomprehensible to most Western spectators. However, I find this film most interesting precisely because it almost entirely withdraws from the visual side of September 11. By its refusal to visualize the event as a whole, it also points to the very collapse of the visual order in the face of the unimaginable. This is probably as far away as one can get from traditional Hollywood movie rhetoric. But it is also a way of appropriating a political event through the art cinema institution, thus paradoxically creating a kind of alternative movie rhetoric.

As Jean Baudrillard has noted in his *Power Inferno* from October 2002, Slavoj Žižek – who in his turn refers to Alain Badiou and his book *Le siècle* – has identified the eschatological passion for the real as the key feature of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. It is a nostalgic passion for the Real as a kind of lost object, or at least a vanishing object. But this passion for the Real turns out to be deeply paradoxical, because it culminates in what seems to be its absolute opposite, namely *a theatrical spectacle*. The spectacular terrorist acts might, according to Žižek, be interpreted as a kind of climactic conclusion of this passion for the Real in twentieth century art:

If, then, the passion for the Real ends up in the pure semblance of the spectacular effect of the Real, then, in an exact inversion, the 'postmodern' passion for the semblance ends up in a violent return to the passion for the Real. (Žižek 2002:9-10)

What happens, then, to the real event, if the image – the fictional or the virtual – penetrates everywhere into reality? In the present case, there is a certain risk in considering the event as “real violence” intruding into a potentially virtual universe. In many comments, the end of postmodern virtuality was actually proclaimed. But does one here really see reality, or history, as surpassing fiction? One might instead say that a sort of duel is initiated between reality and the image, a duel concerning which event might be the most unimaginable. In the case of the Twin Towers’ collapse, the real adds to the image as the first and foremost among terrors. It is not only terrifying, but in addition, it is real. The image is here in the first place, and the real enters the scene in the second place. Something is added as yet another fiction, surpassing fiction itself. The real is here invented as the ultimate, and thus the most awesome fiction.

What happened on September 11 was that this fantasmatic screen apparition entered reality. It is not that reality entered the image, as many argued; on the contrary, the image entered reality, thus shattering it. That many blockbusters postponed scenes resembling the collapse of the Twin Towers must be read not only as a sign of respect for the victims, but first and foremost as a repression of the cultural fantasies that provided such a forceful background for the disaster. It is neither what Roland Barthes in his famous essay from the 1960s called *l’effet du réel*, but rather its inversion, *l’effet de l’irréel*, where – in Žižek’s words – “the Real itself, in order to be sustained, has to be perceived as a nightmarish unreal spectre”. Nor is it the often-posed imperative of not mistaking fiction for reality. Rather, it is again the opposite: the question of not mistaking reality for fiction, “but to be able to discern, in what we cannot but experience as fiction, the hard kernel of the Real which we are able to sustain only if we fictionalize it”. (Žižek 2002: 19)

The event in itself resists representation, firstly because it seems to absorb in itself imagination as such, and secondly because it doesn’t make any sense; these are precisely the two points that Gonzáles Inárrita’s film underlines. The collapse of the towers did not bring about any collapse of the world order, neither politically, nor economically. But in a certain sense, it meant a certain bankruptcy of the image. Baudrillard has argued that the system cannot function if it cannot exchange itself against its own image, reflect itself as the towers in their perfect symmetry, or find its equivalent in an ideal reference. This is what makes the system invulnerable – and it is precisely this equivalence that was destroyed.

This terrorist violence, thus, is not a return of the flame of reality, neither of that of history. The violence is not “real”. In a certain sense, it is worse: it is symbolic. Only symbolic violence may generate singularity. And in this singular mixture, in this Manhattan catastrophic film, a meeting is staged between “the two major mass elements of fascination of the 20th century. That is: the white magic – or the white light – of cinema, of the cinematic image, and the black magic – or the black light – of terrorism”, which is also staged symbolically in Gonzáles Inárrita’s film. (Baudrillard 2002: 1: 40).

The search for an explanation, for any interpretation, of the terrorist act is in vain. Any massacre could be pardoned if it could be interpreted as having a historical sense. The very radicality of the spectacle lies precisely in this absence of possible interpretation or understanding. The spectacle of terrorism imposes the terrorism of the spectacle. In consequence, it might be argued that the idea that “terrorism would be nothing without the media” is illusory – because there is no possible good use of the media in reporting on the event, as the media cannot avoid becoming part of the event themselves. (Baudrillard 2002: 1: 41)

In the contribution to 11.09.01 made by Israeli director Amos Gitai, he comments precisely on this unavoidable intertwining of the spectacle of terrorism and the media. Everything starts as in an action film. First, the sound of a bomb covers the soundtrack on an image track still black. Then, a person dressed in military outfit cries out: "Clear the sector! There may be more explosives!" A couple of minutes later, a reporter enters the stage, and the genre seems to change to documentary. She wants to report live on the terrorist act in Tel Aviv, on Jerusalem Avenue; however, she soon realizes that she is cut off from her position "on the air", and this because of some event in distant New York: "Who gives the shit about New York?" When the somewhat hysterical reporter is forced to realize that an actual catastrophe is taking place there, she interrupts her list of events of what has happened historically on September 11 by stating that "two terrorist acts today stand against another". Tel Aviv versus New York: her statement shouldn't be as absurd as it might appear, as it contrasts a continual scene of terrorism to one single spectacular event.

The victory of terrorism is double: first of all that it allows for an outburst of repression, which is uncontrollable, which not least the actual situation in Israel/Palestine shows. Thus, in turn, it legitimates new terrorist acts *ad infinitum*. But this also brings about the effect that all other acts of violence may be appropriated by and to the terrorists. It has been called the "automatic writing of terrorism", nourished and sustained by the "unintentional terrorism of information", supported by movie rhetoric, with all the consequences of different kinds of panic. And war as response offers only a *déjà-vu* situation with phantom information and deceitful discourses – this is true of the Gulf war as well as the war in Afghanistan or the war in Iraq. (Baudrillard 2002: 1: 45) It is symptomatic that, when al-Qaida and the remaining Taliban forces unexpectedly fought back in March 2002, the event was treated in several media comments as yet another proof of their being terrorists: when fired on, they shoot back... That is, a basic principle had been violated: Žižek argues that far from pointing towards twentieth-century warfare, the Twin Towers' collapse was its most spectacular cry. What we are now getting is "war deprived of its substance – a virtual war fought behind computer screens, a war experienced by its participants as a video game, a war with no casualties" (Žižek 2002: 37).

In the new global order, there are no longer wars, at least not in the classical sense of regulated conflicts between sovereign states. There are "ethnic-religious conflicts" or attacks on the US – and when the US responds to these attacks, it has adopted the role of a sovereign mediating agent of peace and global order crushing particular rebellions. The opposition between war and humanitarian aid has been deconstructed – the two are now closely connected, because, as many did observe not least during the war in Afghanistan, the same aircrafts might drop either bombs or food packages. But the distinction between war and peace has also been blurred, as when President Bush, after September 11th, stated that "America is in a state of war". And the peace in Iraq, declared by Bush in May this year, has only been followed by more losses, both real and symbolical, on the US side during "peacetime" than during the actual war.

The wars in Afghanistan or in Iraq could also be defined as primarily directed towards "normalization", beyond any political and economical goal that may have been set up. The general idea behind this normalizing effort is globalization: to line up all territories, to bring them into alignment, to reduce any resistance to zone, to colonize any savage space, be it geographical or mental. Any resistance is thus by definition terrorist resistance. Modernity will not allow itself to be renounced in its aspiration towards globality. (Baudrillard 2002: 2: 76, 78)

In Spring 2002, the war in Afghanistan (and also to a certain extent the events of September 11th) was all of a sudden relegated to the background, and the focus of general attention shifted to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In Spring 2003, again, the war in Iraq took over as the main focus of interest, and what happened (and continued to happen) in Israel/Palestine faded away in the background. But at a certain point during the war, the opposite took place again. The conflict in Iraq became blurred, as Saddam Hussein appeared to have vanished into thin air and no chemical weapons were found, so that the narrative line all of a sudden was no longer as clear as a war movie in real life demands. Thus, a happy ending was provided, with the American liberators and happy Iraqi people in the streets, with some disturbing astonished comments about the Iraqi people not being grateful enough towards their liberators. Then, the focus shifted back to the suicide bombers in Palestine – as well as their Tjetjenian counterparts in Russia. And what has been happening in Iraq from May 2003 and onwards has obviously become a source of constant disturbance to the clear-cut conflict of the original “lifie” designed by President Bush & Co.

This media rhetoric and its changes of focus are obviously not innocent. Rather, it constructs over and over again the idea of a clash of civilizations, which by Samuel P Huntington has been designed as the main political struggle of the 21st century – an idea, by the way, to which Michael J Shapiro has provided both energetic and sharp counter-arguments.

The ‘reality’ that Huntington assembles in his West versus the rest mapping of the globe constitutes a moral geography, a security-oriented ethico-political initiative aimed at protecting an enclave whose civilizational integrity is more a function of the way he tells the story of modernity than it is of discernable cultural or civilizational difference. (Shapiro 1999: 119)

This notion of the ‘clash of civilizations’ is indeed more mystifying than clarifying. The central clashes today seem to take place within each civilization, rather than between them. As a consequence of Shapiro’s critique, one might argue that these so-called clashes of civilizations today may be identified as clashes inherent in Western global capitalism. What we are witnessing is precisely a number of real-life clashes related to globalization. There is always an economic background to be revealed behind the conflicts: they turn out to be clashes of economic or geopolitical interests within Western capitalism itself.

What Jean Baudrillard attempts to do in his books is also precisely to consider the terrorist act as not only beyond the spectacular violence that it enacts, but even beyond Islam and beyond the US and any possible clash of civilizations. He sees it as an emergence of a radical antagonism at the very heart of the globalization process, of an irreducible force in the midst of this integral technical and mental achievement, which disturbs the seemingly inevitable evolution towards a perfect and complete world order. (Baudrillard 2002: 2: 36) It as if the world itself resisted globalization.

Globalization first of all touches the market, but it also affects signs and values in culture; thus, there is no longer any clear difference between the global and the universal. The so-called universal values have been globalized and circulate on the market like any product whatsoever. There is a deliberate confusion here between the two concepts of “global” and “universal”. Today, universality might, or should – as Žižek has argued – be defined as the impossible or at least infinite task of translation, which may create a shared space of understanding between cultures. But it is precisely this “universality”

that tends to be replaced by “globality”. The resistance to globalization should thus be seen not only as a rejection of the global techno-structure, but also above all as a refusal of the mental image structure imposed, which absorbs all cultures with the false pretension of regarding them as equivalent. To end where we started, and to paraphrase Bazin, it is no longer a question of the myth of total cinema, but rather of the myth of global cinema. This global cinema is being projected endlessly on our cultural screens, offering us again and again the same old story of global values, being threatened by some ominous agent from out there – different incarnations of the very figure of Absolute Evil that is so familiar to us movie-fans.

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Fiction or News?

A Quest for Multidisciplinary Research on the Entertainment Industry and Its Effect on Journalism

RUNE OTTOSEN

Michael Moore used the stage at the Academy Awards this year for a political manifestation against President Bush. When receiving the award for his film “Bowling for Columbine” his opening remark was: “We are living in a fictitious society”. Moore’s point was that it is increasingly difficult to identify the borderline between fiction and reality. His claim in the book “Stupid White Men” was that even the more recent presidential election was fiction, because the actual winner, Al Gore, is not in the White House (Moore 2001). As Astrid Söderbergh Widding showed us in her interesting paper, an obvious consequence of the increased influence of the entertainment and film industry was the election of a B-actor like Ronald Reagan to the office of President of the United States. In that respect, Reagan created a trend of which Arnold Schwarzenegger is the most recent example. Schwarzenegger made the conversion from the screen to public office by announcing his candidacy for the office of Governor of California – the very place Ronald Reagan started his political carrier. Or is it correct to call it a conversion? Can we see a trend in which actors are successful in politics because acting and media performance are more important than politics itself? The list of actors turned politicians is growing: Jerry Springer, the famous talk show host, became Mayor of Cincinnati in 1977; Clint Eastwood became Mayor of Carmel California in 1986; Sony Bono became Mayor of Palm Springs and senator from California; not to mention TV-wrestler Jesse Ventura, Governor of Minnesota since 1998 (*Aftenposten* 8.8. 2003).

Returning to Ronald Reagan, it is a fact that he was the first president to systematically use PR agencies to ensure that he got his message through to the public (Schiller et al. 1992). As we all know, the purpose of PR agencies is to drive home the opinion on whatever message their clients want to sell – whether the message contains truth or lies is of less importance. This point was highlighted recently during the hearing in Great Britain after the tragic suicide of David Kelly and the testimonies indicating that the Blair government partly used fiction to make the threat from Saddam Hussein look more “sexy” – whatever that might actually mean.

I have never understood why a threat and the potential existence of weapons of mass destruction should be considered “sexy”. To fully understand this, I think we should look to the field of gender research. In one of her studies, Berit von der Lippe identified the linkage between male dominance and the heavy use of sex-related metaphor within the field of

security police and defence studies (von der Lippe: 1999:163). As we have seen the past few weeks, the core of the campaign to persuade the world to go to war against Iraq seems to have been partly based on fiction. Because there is thus far no evidence of the existence of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of Saddam Hussein, it seems apparent that world opinion was led to believe that these non-existent weapons constituted an immediate threat to the world. I have been asked to follow up Astrid Söderberg Widding's paper using my background from research on war coverage in news media to highlight the borderline between fiction and reality in war propaganda. I find this an interesting challenge, and after thinking about it during the summer, I am convinced that there is a need for more collaboration and multidisciplinary research between scholars working with film and those like myself working mostly with the news media.

New York Times revealed, in January 2002, that the US Minister of Defence, Donald Rumsfeldt, had created the "Office of strategic Influence" – authorized to manipulate media with lies if necessary to rally the media behind the war against terrorism. It was apparently closed down after this exposure, but the operation continued under the name "Operation for Special plans" and was under the direct control of Central Command at the headquarters in Qatar during the war against Iraq (Arkin 2003). At the press centre in Qatar, the stage was designed by Hollywood consultants to make the "performance" of the military spokesmen more convincing. Philip Knightley, in a quite frightening essay entitled "Turning the tanks on the reporter", claimed that the Pentagon's actual policy during the Iraq war was to target those journalists and media reporting "from the side of the enemy", whether it was Al Jazeera or critical reporters from Europe. Knightley pointed out that "The Pentagon made it clear from the beginning of the Iraq war that there would be no censorship. What it failed to say was that war correspondents might find themselves in a situation similar to that in Korea in 1950. This was described by one American correspondent as the military saying: 'You can write what you like – but if we don't like it we'll shoot you.' Up to now (mid-August), seventeen media people are dead. The war in Iraq was the most dangerous war for journalists ever, if you consider how short the campaign was. Knightley also pointed out the connection between this danger and the performance on the Hollywood-created scene in Qatar. When New York magazine writer Michael Wolff broke ranks at the coalition's daily press conference at Qatar and asked General Brooks: 'Why are we here? Why should we stay? What's the value of what we're learning at this million-dollar press centre?' Fox TV attacked him for lack of patriotism, and right-wing commentator Rush Limbaugh gave out Wolff's email address. In one day, Wolff received 3,000 hate emails. One day a mysterious civilian in army uniform took him aside and told him: 'This is a fucking war, asshole. No more questions for you.' As Knightley put it: "Wolff realised that the press conferences were not for the benefit of correspondents. The correspondents were extras in a piece of theatre" (quoted from Knightley 2003). I will use the opportunity here to credit Sigrun Slapgard, correspondent from the Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) at the press centre in Qatar during the Iraqi war. Several times during her stay, she made a point of how little information they received at the press centre.

This is, of course, not the first time Hollywood consultants were used to polish up the Pentagon's information strategy. After the terrible attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, the Pentagon consulted Hollywood in order to understand the new situation for US society (VG 9.10. 2001). Among those called in to assist were screenwriter Steven E. DeSouza (responsible for the movie *Die Hard*), director Joseph Zito (creator of "Delta Force One Missing in Action") and the TV writer David Engelbach (responsible

for the MacGyver series). The irony of this is that makers of fiction were consulted to help the US administration face reality (Grossberg 2001).

It is no news that the Pentagon has professionalized its information strategy since the Vietnam War when the military lost its grip on public opinion (Ottosen 1994). The Pentagon-Hollywood relationship is one part of the new strategy. The magazine "Brills content" revealed in 1999 that the Pentagon has its own officers whose job it is to be consultants on media scripts and to decide whether or not the Pentagon will take part in a production. Once the decision on cooperation is made, their job is to be helpful in providing military personnel and technical assistance in the form of equipment, planes and naval ships. An example: The script of the movie "Asteroid" included a story about an American space-shuttle sent into space to use nuclear weapons to shoot down an asteroid approaching the earth. The problem at the time was that the Pentagon felt obliged to respect the treaty banning deployment of nuclear weapons in space. The Pentagon consultants then suggested an alternative. If the manuscript were changed, the Pentagon would put at the movie crew's disposal the newest model of the F-16 airplane, air base and flying time free of charge. This was an opportunity to show off their latest equipment and heroic pilots. So the deal was done.

The Pentagon gets about 100 movie manuscript in their hands every year and decides to cooperate in about one third of the cases. Many times negotiations and compromises are necessary in order to satisfy the Pentagon. There is also competition between the different branches of the military in this field. A liaison officer from the Air Force is working full-time to "sell" the Air Force to Hollywood. Before the major movie "Air Force One", the US Air Force lent six F-158 planes free of charge (Gunn 1999).

For me, the most interesting cases are, of course, movies based on real wars. The most recent example is "Black Hawk Down", based on the failed "Operation Restore Hope" in Somalia in 1992, in which 18 American soldiers died. I myself have written an essay about this entitled "Rambo in Somalia" (Ottosen 1997). In this case, the Pentagon liked the script because the heroic images of the soldiers dying in battle helped to rewrite the image of a failure operation. And the film got their support, but at what price? "If you want to use the military's toys you've got to play by their rules", said military technical adviser John Lovett (AP 2001). The military historian Lawrence Suid explained in detail how this system works in the book *Guts & Glory*. Suid called it a "system for mutual exploitations" (Ibid.).

If the Pentagon dislikes the manuscript, they turn down any suggestion of cooperation. They provided no help for the movie "Apocalypse Now" about an officer during the Vietnam War who was dispatched to kill another officers. This was not good advertising to boost the image of the just and heroic soldier. For the Gulf War film "Courage under fire", negotiations for support failed because there was no clear "good guy" in Meg Ryan's crew (Ibid.).

Commercial television is of course the link between the entertainment and the news industry. The television series "The Agency" produced by CBS was sponsored by the CIA. This series, in which heroic CIA agents save the world from Arabic terrorists and villains, is produced in close cooperation with the CIA. The CIA had consultants working on the manuscript and the agency put their locations and manpower at the disposal of the series. According to *The New York Times*, the CIA explained this by claiming that it was a part of the agency's strategy to get through to the public with "the truth about the CIA" and persuaded the sceptics to increase the funding for a budget of 30 billion dollars. Interestingly enough, the Norwegian commercial channel TV2 bought the rights

to the series in Norway, according to the newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv*, without knowledge of the CIA's role in the making of the series (Kibar 2002). Johan Roppen has given other examples of series like *Pensacola – Wings of God*, created to boost the image of the Pentagon, the CIA and other government agencies (Roppen 2001).

This is, of course, also an issue of globalization. These series, like *Jack Bauer* and *24 hours*, are now running all over the world (including Norway). It is part of the competition in a global market. As Edward Herman and Robert McChesney showed in their excellent book "The Global Media. The new missionaries of global capitalism," motion pictures and radio technology were among the first industries to compete on a global market. As early as in 1914, 85 per cent of the world's film audience was watching American movies (Herman & McChesney: 13-14). One of the early players in this market in broadcasting was CBS – just mentioned in connection with the series "The Agency". They started their global career in radio and helped create *Voice of America* as a propaganda tool for the US government during the Second World War. The experience with film, broadcasting and propaganda in general elevated the importance of communication in the minds of policy-makers during the interwar years and has continued to do so to this very day. As a result, US-based film companies still have commercial and political global hegemony. The global film industry was controlled by a few US companies like Columbia, Twentieth Century-Fox, United Artists, MCA (Universal), Warner Brothers, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Paramount (Herman & McChesney:19).

Historically, under US broadcasting regulations (subsequently partly eliminated and under constant pressure), the US networks NBC, CBS and ABC have been restricted in what they are allowed to produce for domestic broadcast. Thus, the major US program producers, and therefore the major global TV production studios, were actually the film studios of Hollywood (Herman & McChesney:21).

The present global market is dominated by the studios owned by Disney, Time Warner, Viacom, Universal, Sony Polygram and News Corporation.

The introduction of global satellite television – with 24 hours news and CNN as the first big player on the news market, with the Gulf War in 1991 as its commercial breakthrough – changed the news industry forever. In an international comparative study, my Swedish colleague Stig Arne Nohrstedt and I have documented how television coverage of the Gulf War constituted the distribution of US perspectives to a global audience (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 1991). The existence of Al Jazeera and other Arab channels, however, has made it more difficult to spread simplified US propaganda to a global television audience through the news.

The merging of the entertainment and film industry and the news industry was evident when Time Warner bought CNN and when Disney bought the television network ABC. Robert Murdoch had his breakthrough in the British media market (primarily newspapers) in the 1960s. When he became big in the US market in the 1980s, his company News Corporation purchased Twentieth Century Fox, which led to creation of the Fox Television Network.

Fox Television is an interesting phenomenon in this borderline between entertainment and news. Its news program created history during the first phase of the war against terror when a so-called reporter sat on top of a US tank during the war in Afghanistan, shooting his own pistol into the air to prove his patriotic position. During the new atmosphere of patriotic reporting after September 11, Murdoch himself broke new barriers in the discussion on the line between enterprise control and editorial autonomy when he ordered his editors, on a global basis, to support the US-led war in Iraq.

I will end my comment with some perspectives on the “soap opera” known as the Jessica Lynch Story. The positive aspect of this is that it was the BBC, with their critical journalism, that revealed the disinformation campaign surrounding the story. There is still hope for journalism. The following is based on BBC reporter John Kampfner’s version, as it was told through the BBC documentary “War Spin”. According to Kampfner, Private Jessica Lynch became a propaganda icon of the war. The story of her capture by the Iraqis and her rescue by US Special Forces became one of the great patriotic moments of the conflict. But this story, according to Kampfner, “is one of the most stunning pieces of news management ever conceived”. Jessica Lynch, a 19-year-old army clerk from Palestine, West Virginia, was captured when her company took a wrong turn just outside Nasiriya. The car was ambushed and nine of her comrades were killed. Jessica Lynch was taken to the local hospital, which at the time was full of Iraqi soldiers. Eight days later, US Special Forces stormed the hospital, capturing the “dramatic” events on a night vision camera.

The propaganda version was that they had to come under fire from the hospital, but still they made it to Lynch and rescued her in a dramatic helicopter escape. We were told that she had stab and bullet wounds, and that she had been physically harmed during interrogations.

But Iraqi doctors in Nasiriya said they provided the best treatment they could for her in the midst of war. She was assigned the only specialist bed in the hospital, and one of only two nurses on the floor took care of her. “I examined her, I saw she had a broken arm, a broken thigh and a dislocated ankle,” said Dr Harith a-Houssona, who looked after her and was interviewed by BBC. The doctor said he saw no sign of shooting, no bullet inside her body, no stab wound – only signs of the traffic accident. Witnesses told BBC that the Special Forces knew that the Iraqi military had fled a day before they swooped down on the hospital. “We were surprised. Why do this? There was no military, there were no soldiers in the hospital,” said Dr Anmar Uday, who worked there at the time. The next remark by Dr. Uday in the BBC interview is interesting:

“It was like a Hollywood film. They cried ‘go, go, go’, with guns and blanks without bullets, blanks and the sound of explosions. They made a show for the American attack on the hospital action movies like Sylvester Stallone or Jackie Chan.” said Dr. Uday.

Two days before the snatch squad arrived, Dr. Harith had arranged to deliver Jessica to the Americans in an ambulance. So there seems to have been no justification for this operation at all.

When footage of the rescue was released, General Vincent Brooks, US spokesman in Doha, said: “Some brave souls put their lives on the line to make this happen, loyal to a creed that they know that they’ll never leave a fallen comrade” (quoted from Kampfner).

The American strategy was to ensure the right television footage by using embedded reporters and images from their own cameras, editing the film themselves.

According to Kampfner, the Pentagon had been influenced by Hollywood producers of reality TV and action movies, notably the man behind *Black Hawk Down*, Jerry Bruckheimer.

Bruckheimer advised the Pentagon on the primetime television series “Profiles from the Front Line” that followed US forces in Afghanistan in 2001. That approach was adopted and developed on the field of battle in Iraq and manifested itself in the story of Jessica Lynch. But doctors now say she has no recollection of the whole episode and probably never will (quoted Kampfner 2003).

Now the hunt is on for Jessica's version, and it is worth millions. The networks, film companies and publishing houses are lining up with their million dollar contracts.

According to the Norwegian newspaper *Klassekampen*, CBS offered the Lynch family a multimedia package. CBS is owned by Viacom and also controls Paramount, the video rental chain Blockbuster, MTV and other entertainment companies. Officially, there is no editorial linkage between the companies just mentioned, but in the letter from CBS, the family was promised a great deal of money for exposure in different media. It should all begin with a journalistic interview on CBS, which they, according to their code of ethics, could not pay for. But the family was offered money for recirculation of the story by other Viacom companies, including a two-hour documentary, a special MTV program, and a televised welcome home concert in her hometown. Included in the package were talks with the Viacom publishing company Simon & Schuster on a book based on her story (Kulås 2003). A few days ago, I read in the Norwegian newspaper *Verdens Gang* that the family has turned down all the offers for an interview and decided to publish her story in a book they can control themselves (price tag for the rights unknown). NBC, which tried to offer an even better deal than CBS, has not been stopped by a "no" from the Lynch family. They will now make an unauthorized movie on the story of Jessica Lynch with Laure Regan in the role as Jessica (VG NETT 11.8. 2003).

There is an interesting footnote to the Jessica Lynch story. Earlier this year, the journalist Jason Blair was fired from the *New York Times* after it was revealed that he had made up many of the stories he had written for the newspaper. The story that finally revealed his fraudulent behaviour was an alleged portrait of Jessica's family. It was stolen from a Texas newspaper, which recognized the essential part in the article, reproduced by Blair in his New York apartment.

There is some irony to this. The American public is getting high on a patriotic story based partly on fiction. A journalist rightfully lost his job, and the most prestigious newspaper in the US had to engage in humiliating self-criticism before its readers because of a comparably small fraud – small compared to the big fraud of the story on Jessica Lynch, which lives on and on and is constantly being reproduced as propaganda. Unlike with Jason Blair, nobody seems to hold anybody in the US media industry or in the Pentagon's propaganda machinery accountable for this fiction presented as facts. Thank you for the attention.

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Nostalgia for a Digital Object

Regrets on the Quickening of QuickTime

VIVIAN SOBCHACK

Whenever I watch QuickTime “movies”, I find myself drawn into someone else’s – and my computer’s – memory. Faced with their strange collections, moving collages, and juxtapositions of image-objects whose half-life I can barely re-member, I tend to drift into a reverie not quite my own. Indeed, the form usually evokes from me the kind of temporal nostalgia and spatial intensity I feel not at the movies but before American artist Joseph Cornell’s mysterious boxed relics. Both QT movies and Cornell boxes preserve “under glass” fragments of a “read-only” memory that is, paradoxically, “random access”: that is, dynamic, contingent, associative. Both also refuse mundane space-time, drawing us into enclosed and nested poetic worlds far more miniature, layered, and vertically deep than we usually find in cinema. Both also salvage the flotsam and jetsam of daily life and redeem it as used material whose re-collected and re-member presence echoes with traces of an individual yet collective past. And both also construct “reliquaries” – cherishing “the ephemeral object as if it were the rarest heirloom”.¹

Both QuickTime movies and Cornell boxes contain “intense, distilled images that create a remarkable confrontation between past and present”² – a confrontation furthered by QT’s stuttering attempts to achieve “real-time” movement, or to embrace the spatio-temporal lacunae that visibly mark its expressions. While cut-out statues and matted silhouettes float gracefully like collaged dreams across photorealist backgrounds that effortlessly warp and melt, “live-action” balks and stiffens in contrast. Strangely static and consequently moving, full of gaps, gasps, starts and repetitions, QT movies intensify our corporeal sense of the molecular labor of human becoming – evoking not the seamlessly-lived animations of real-time and live-action movies, but, rather, the half-life of certain time-worn kinetic objects: wooden puppets with chipped paint, forsaken dolls with missing limbs, Muybridge-like figures in old flip books hovering with bravado and uncertainty between photography and cinema, images of 19th century strong men hand-cranked into imperfect action by old Mutoscopes relegated to the dark corners of amusement arcades.

Given the pleasure I find in their fragmented temporality and intensely condensed space, I have no desire to see QuickTime movies get any quicker – or bigger. I don’t want them to achieve the “streaming” momentum of real-time and live-action – measured against the standard and semblance of cinema. Indeed, precisely because QT’s miniature spatial forms and temporal lacunae struggle against (as they struggle to become) cinema, they poetically

dramatize and philosophically interrogate the nature of memory and temporality, the value of scale, and the meaning of animation. In sum, I don't want them to become "real movies" at all. Nonetheless, they will – and have. It was just a matter of time, compression, memory, and bandwidth. Thus, it is a shame that QT movies were called "movies": so named, their extinction as a specifically computergraphic form of aesthetic expression was virtually pre-ordained. Although QT is a "multimedia architecture", most developers and users quickly reduced it: "In QuickTime, a set of time-based data is referred to as a *movie*".³

Long ago, André Bazin argued in "The Myth of Total Cinema" that before the technology that made it possible, cinema was *preconceived* "as a total and complete representation of reality...the reconstruction of a perfect illusion of the outside world".⁴ Unfortunately this realist desire remains in force despite the emergence of a new medium – one that digitizes, integrates, and transforms all others. Belief in the myth of total cinema has led not only to the realization of sound, color, and relief, but also to the *primacy of cinema*, even as it is transformed into something else by a new medium. Thus, the aesthetic values of QT "movies" are measured against those of "cinema" – and the true computergraphic novelty of QT works becomes historically inverted as a false cinematic "primitivism". Hence the desire to make QT movies quicker and bigger rather than stopping to privilege the stalled and uncanny momentum of their animation and the poetic intensity condensed by their miniaturization and framing.

Indeed, I would have much preferred calling QuickTime works "memory boxes" rather than "movies" – for "memory box" evokes not only Joseph Cornell's work, but also the essential fundament of QT's existence: the *computer*. As well, referring to diverse containers from reliquaries to shoe boxes filled with photographs or souvenirs, "memory box" draws our attention to memory's historical transformations and the material conditions of its preservation. After all, in our technological moment, what is the computer but a fathomless "memory box" – one that collects, preserves, and allows for the conscious retrieval and visible re-collection of memories, all "cached" in an enormous, unseen network of past images, sounds, and texts.

Memory Boxes and Databases

In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard writes of a character in a novel who basks in the solidity and order of his oak filing cabinet: "Everything had been designed and calculated by a meticulous mind for purposes of utility. And what a marvelous tool! It replaced everything, memory as well as intelligence. In this well-fitted cube there was not an iota of haziness or shiftiness".⁵ I often get the same feeling from my computer "desktop". It reassures me with hierarchy, clarity and order, with principled and logical menus, commands, and systems through which I can access vast amounts of information (if not intelligence or knowledge). While unseen, this information does not seem hidden to me; rather, it is "filed" away in "folders" and, more deeply, in "records" and "fields". It is rationally organized and always hypothetically available for retrieval and display. Indeed, my computer gives me access to what seems an infinite store of information – and I take comfort in the hierarchical logic of its "unhazy" and "unshifty" memory (of an order quite different than my own). Here is the logical – and official – organization of the office, catalog, library, museum, and stock room. Here, everything has been "designed and calculated by a meticulous mind for purposes of utility". Here, I've no sense of the secretive or unconscious: at worst, information gets bureaucratically "classified", misplaced, or erased (not repressed). Thus, the virtual "solidity" of my "desktop" and "files" refuses ambiguity or

poetry – and any discomfort I feel in the face of mistakes, losses, or frustrations arises not from my “well-fitted cube” but from my own very human and irregular logic.

Human memory doesn’t compute neatly. The orderly and hierarchical logic of the file cabinet and its database is not that of Cornell or QT memory boxes. Thus, as Bachelard writes: “A well-calculated geometric description is not the only way to write a ‘box.’”⁶ Some other rationale informs these memory boxes: associative rather than hierarchical, dynamic rather than static, contingent rather than determined (even when “given” to us in “read only” form). Its search engines driven to the past by a present moment of desire (not utility), this is the eccentric, extensible, yet localized logic of the *hyperlink* that radically transforms the phenomenology of the file cabinet and its database. The file cabinet becomes charged with experience, temporality, and desire and its hierarchical order becomes jumbled by logically incompatible – if psychologically comprehensible – functions. Like Cornell’s description of a preparatory file for one of his boxes, the file cabinet becomes “a diary journal, repository, laboratory, picture gallery, museum, sanctuary, observatory, key ... the core of a labyrinth, a clearing house for dreams and visions”.⁷ And the database? Its hierarchical order becomes labyrinthine – comprehensive but incomprehensible, a vast and boundless maze of images and sounds, dreams, and visions in which one follows, backtracks, veers off, gets lost in multiple trajectories, all the time weaving tenuous threads of association into the endless teleology and texture of desire. Here, there is no fixed data or information requiring mere *re-collection*; here, from the first, are only unstable bits of experience, disordered as they are *re-membered*.

The poetic power of both Cornell’s and QT’s memory boxes emerge explicitly from their relation to a larger totality of material and memorial possibilities: they and their found objects exist not only as fragments of personal experience, but also as “emblem[s] of a presence too elusive or too vast to be enclosed in a box. These missing presences crowd the imagination”.⁸ Thus, in differentiating QT’s memory boxes from movies, it bears pointing out that watching a film, I usually don’t have a profound sense of all the images left on the cutting room floor; watching a QT memory box, however, I always feel the presence of an elusive and vast absence, a sea of memories shifting below the surface and in the interstices of what I actually see. In other words, I am always aware of the database as *effluvial*.

Privileging both the fragment and the slightness and ambiguity of their associational links, both Cornell’s and QT’s memory boxes thus point to their own presence as the poignant and precious visible landmarks of an unseen, lost, and incomprehensible field of experience. What Carter Ratcliff says of Cornell’s memory boxes is equally true of QT’s: “[T]he mode is enchanted by fragmentariness itself, which serves as an emblem of a wholeness to be found in other times and places”; thus it produces “an aura of loss which is as perfect in its own way as reunion would be”.⁹ Indeed, “the panic of loss gives way to nostalgia”.¹⁰

Frames within Frames

Although “a mode enchanted by fragmentariness”, Cornell and QT’s memory boxes are themselves bounded *containers*. At the same time, their miniature size, collector’s sensibility, and the discretion of their enclosures gain particular power from – and exist always against – their own *containment* by a larger and marked visual field. Both externally and internally, then, Cornell and QT works provoke a structural and poetic tension between two different logics: one represented by the hierarchical and rational organiza-

tion of the “file cabinet” and computer “desktop” where everything has its place in some comprehensive master plan; the other by the associational organization that is the psycho-logic of the memory box and the “hyperlink” in which everything has a relative and mutable order that cannot be mastered as a totality. This tension is simultaneously *framing* and *framed*.

As a framing device, this tension exists in – and as – an *exterior* space (and logic) containing but juxtaposed to the associational logic of the Cornell and QT box. With Cornell’s works, there is the museo-logic of the vitrine in which the box sits; with the QT memory box and its hyperlink logic, there is the hierarchical logic of the computer “desktop” upon which it is opened. That is, the larger frame of the vitrine or desktop allows the smaller frame of the memory box an intensified condensation and concentration of its visible contents into an *aesthetic totality*: a poetically meaningful and contained microcosm nested within the dispersed and different order and meaning of the macrocosm that surrounds them. In this aspect, both Cornell and QT memory boxes take on the magnitude and function (if not the geometric size) of 16th and 17th century *Wunderkammern*, chambers of curiosities and art curated less on logic than on the personal sensibilities and desires of their wealthy collectors.

Writing of these condensed collections, Anthony Grafton wonders what contemporaneous visitors sought in them and concludes it was the experience of totality and plenitude: “They hoped...to encounter the universe in all its richness and variety, artfully compressed into the microscopic form of a single room that showed all the elements, all the humors, all the musical intervals, all the planets, and all the varieties of plant and animal creation”.¹¹ Obviously, these viewers of the *Wunderkammer* were not worried by the implications of its contingent arrangement or overwhelmed by its (to our eyes) chaotic clutter. Indeed, historicized, the *Wunderkammer*’s totalizing impulse can be read as a celebration of mastery, order, and structural homology: that is, comprehension of the “universe in all its richness and variety” is represented mimetically in a single chamber complacently “nested” within the larger frameworks of both the master’s residence and God’s “master plan”. We can find similar compressions and homologies articulated in the smaller *Wunderkammern* of Cornell and QT boxes as they emerge structurally and figurally nested – framing and framed within a larger field. But this compression of a homologous universe is apparent also in the *content* of these more contemporary memory boxes. Their multi-layered and rich imagery is marked repeatedly by maps, planetary and astrological charts; hourglasses and clocks and other measuring devices; diagrams and schematics of optical devices from the microscope to telescope; evolutionary and devolutionary biological images of microbes, spores, skulls and skeletons. Consistently asserting homologies of shape and structure across scale from the microscopic to the macrocosmic, much like the *Wunderkammern* these memory boxes position themselves as both framing and framed by larger cosmologies and cosmogonies.

Nonetheless, times and cosmologies change – transformed in and by historical sensibility. Thus, in Cornell’s boxes, homologies between the micro- and macrocosmic are not emblematic of man’s security and mastery – and, in QT boxes, they are used to foreground a relativism quite other than the comforting and nested unity of God’s master plan. Cornell’s boxes are nostalgic – indeed, elegiac – in relation to harmony and order. Homologies between mundane and cosmic objects thus provoke a sense of the great loss and mystery of “totality” and perfect “comprehension” – the boxes, as Ratcliff noted, generating “an aura of loss ... as perfect in its own way as reunion would be”. In QT memory boxes, homologies between the micro- and macrocosmic are also not about mastery, security, or

“nested-ness”. Here, self-similarity across scale and structure constitutes the disconcerting relativism of “chaos”, often evoking the vertiginous and non-hierarchical “totality” of “infinite regress” and “cosmic zooms”, thus undoing a hierarchical history that frames and privileges the mastery and rationality of both God and Man. Indeed, in QT, it is not God’s rational master plan framing or framed by the memory box opened on my computer desktop or browser; rather, these images of maps, measures, microbes, and constellations mimetically contain, figure, and point to the containment and mastering structure of a more contemporary – and secular – “main frame”: the computer.

As suggested earlier, along with the poetic tension generated by the juxtaposed relation between the interior and exterior spaces of these contemporary memory boxes, poetic tension also emerges *framed within* the intimate space of the boxes themselves. Bachelard writes: “For many people, the fact that there should exist a homology between the geometry of the small box and the psychology of secrecy does not call for protracted comment”.¹² Nonetheless, it is worth noting that within both Cornell and QT memory boxes, we see such a homology dramatized again and again: the “secret” vagaries and “hyperlinked” debris of contingency, dream, and desire *overlaid* in palimpsestic relation to the geometry and hierarchy that governs the “orderly” order of the rational “file cabinet”. Cornell’s work evidences such internal tension in memory boxes that exist in taxonomic series titled “Jewel Cases”, “Museums”, “Pharmacies”, “Aviaries”, and “Habitats” which often, as Ratcliff notes, “tuck images into drawers and vials and grids”.¹³ Compartments, drawers, slots, grids, and boxes within boxes: these displays of hierarchy and order point not only to potentially larger (and smaller) organizational frameworks so that scale, in Cornell’s art, becomes “multiple”¹⁴; such nesting also points to potentially uncontrollable fragments of temporality and experience that are infinitely extensible in their generation of secrecy, memory, and meaning.

The same is true of QT memory boxes. Frequently overlaying the image fragments and detritus of their re-membered experience are orderly grids and schematic diagrams, geometry in the form of mattes that segment and compartmentalize. And, specific to the particular medium, such compartmentalization and grid work points not only to the larger order and framework of the surrounding “desktop”, but also to the smaller, hidden, and thus more “secretive” orders of the computer: microchips, bits, and bytes. Re-membered experience in QT is often explicitly “bit-mapped” and “pixel-ated”. Boxed fragments of photorealist images are compartmentalized further into smaller boxes yet – dissolving the personal meaning and contours of human memory and re-solving them into the visible and controlled geometry that in-forms the underlying memory and structure of the computer itself.

There is, then, both without and within QT and Cornell memory boxes, a tension between two kinds of logic and order and between a desire to re-collect and to re-member. Memory is thus generated and enacted by both box and viewer as a multi-stable phenomenon – one echoed in a *palimpsestic* structure and imagery that together provoke a richly poetic ambivalence and ambiguity”. On the one hand, the geometry of compartments, mattes, and pixels re-collect and contain the amorphous and ever-extensible material of experience. On the other, the composited and collaged accumulations and associations of this experiential material challenge the neatness of the re-collection by re-membering it – and we are reminded there is a radical difference between a “pharmacy” and a “treasure box”, between a computer’s memory and our own. In sum, Cornell and QT memory boxes gain their poetic power from the juxtaposition and layering of “two kinds of space”; as Bachelard suggests, “intimate space and exterior space...keep encouraging each other, as it were, in their growth”.¹⁵

“Little Movies”: Miniaturization and Compression

Digital theorist Lev Manovich has used QT to make a series of what, with historical irony, he calls “little movies”.¹⁶ All six use classic cinematic imagery as the raw material of an exploration that interrogates the differences between the cinematic and the digital. All also foreground and privilege the limitations of computer memory under which they are constructed and by which they are constrained – and, in various ways, all thus explore their *miniature size* and *compressed nature*. “A Single Pixel Movie” is particularly striking. To a quite literally “loopy” tune reminiscent of Laurel and Hardy’s theme music and against a black background, we watch the small square of a primitive “movie” in which a strong man holding a pole does rote exercises, intermittently interrupted by the sound of a “blip” and a digitized circle of “light”. With each blip, the image becomes smaller and smaller (and less and less audible) until both blip and “movie” are reduced to a single pixel on the screen. The effect is more compelling and poignant than the comical repetition of mechanical motion and see-sawing music would seem to warrant. We watch more and more intently as the already miniaturized image becomes smaller and smaller – and we become more and more aware of the increasing fragility and impending disappearance not only of the early cinema strong man but also of the QT “movie” presently being extinguished from our human sight.

It is no small thing that these “little movies” are “small” both spatially and temporally. Bachelard tells us in *The Poetics of Space*: “It must be understood that *values become condensed and enriched in miniature*”.¹⁷ Thus, as Susan Stewart notes: “A reduction in dimensions does not produce a corresponding reduction in significance”.¹⁸ Quite the opposite. Suggesting that “we should lose all sense of real values if we interpreted miniatures from the standpoint of the simple relativism of large and small,” Bachelard points out: “A bit of moss may well be a pine, but a pine will never be a bit of moss. The imagination does not function with the same conviction in both directions”.¹⁹

The “little movies” in QuickTime – or, as I prefer, QT “memory boxes” – not only emerge from and allegorize the objective necessities and constraints of data storage involving digital memory and compression, but they also accrue phenomenological and aesthetic value as an effect of these limitations. Objectively, the miniature is a compression of data in space, but phenomenologically and poetically, compression and condensation *intensify* the experience and value of the data, making it something rare and precious, something spatially intensified and temporally condensed that is “*vast* in its way”.²⁰ As Stewart suggests, “a constant daydream the miniature presents” is that “the world of things can open itself to reveal a secret life... a set of actions and hence a narrativity and history *outside the given field of perception*”.²¹ The miniature, then, is always to some degree secretive, pointing to hidden dimensions and unseen narratives. Its “nested-ness” within a larger whole draws us not only *beyond* its frame, but also *into* and *beneath* it. Thus, the miniature nature of QT’s “little movies” or memory boxes exaggerates *interiority* – not only that of the individual perceiving subject, but also of the computer. Thus, whether in my sight or not, the strong man of Manovich’s “little movie” will exercise forever in the depths of my – and the computer’s – memory. Unlike with cinema, I never quite have the sense that QT “movies” are ever really “over”. (Rather, their “terminal” status is “under”.)

In sum, the spatial condensations of Cornell and QT constitute an interiority that transcends quotidian spatial and temporal relations – and “as an object consumed”, their miniaturization “finds its ‘use value’ transformed into the infinite time of *reverie*”.²² Excluded by their physical size from the miniaturized interior of the memory box, both artist and

viewer *imaginatively* prospect and inhabit its suggestive spaces, filling them with their own missing presence in fragments of autobiography, dream, memory, confession. (Speaking both to us and for its maker, one QT miniature superimposes over a vague, empty, and receding hallway the following textual reverie: “Here is the solitude from which you are absent”.²³) Like Cornell’s work with its slots, drawers, and compartments meant to contain and control the materials of overwhelming experience, QT memory boxes draw us inward into an ever-extensible reverie: its compartments, according to no “rational or logical sequence”, further housing and condensing “private and nearly unfathomable associations, almost like a metaphor for the cells of the unconscious mind”.²⁴ Here, in the reverie the miniature provokes, it can indeed be said that “the poet inhabits the cellular image”.²⁵

Mnemonics and Reliquaries

The miniature memory boxes of Cornell and QuickTime, in framing and effect, are “reliquaries” – preserving, as it were, precious remnants and souvenirs that gain additional poetic force in that they are “under glass”. As Bachelard notes, “valorization of the contents” can also emerge through a “valorization of the container”.²⁶ Hence the fragment and the miniature “encourage” each other – evoking the “singular”, the “rare”, the “fragile”, the “ephemeral”, and the “compressed” as materially and poetically valuable. Manovich makes “little movies” that his text suggests will disappear, “the artifacts of the early days of digital media. “Bachelard privileges treasure chests and caskets. And Cornell creates “jewel cases” and places some of his compositions “under bell jars” as if “holding captive a moment in a transient, enclosed world”.²⁷

The preciousness articulated here is thus connected to the particular kind of contingency that informs the artfully arranged but “found” objects of the memory box. That is, we encounter these re-membered objects as objectively assembled according to subjectively *ephemeral* associations, the very slightness of the links among them making their present appearance seem singular, fragile, fleeting – and thus precious. Stewart, writing of the material fragments of the past gathered in photograph albums or collections of antiquarian relics or souvenirs, points out: “There is no continuous identity between these objects and their referents. Only the act of memory constitutes their resemblance. And it is in this gap between resemblance and identity that *nostalgic desire* arises”.²⁸ Hence the corollary desire to preserve these tenuous associations, to keep them “in mind”.

Cornell and QT memory boxes, then, tend toward what I would call a “*mnemonic aesthetic*” – privileging and practicing various devices that serve to preserve the fleeting memory, to “pin it down” and “put it under glass” like the gloriously colored butterflies one sees fixed in the vitrines of natural history museums. Such mnemonic practices are all based on *repetition* and *rhythm* and take a variety of forms and modes: “rote quotation” and mnemonic “clichés”; “looping”, duplication, cyclical recurrence, repeated uses of images, objects, and sounds; rhythmic and repetitious patterning that is ritualistic, mechanical, or “mantric”. All are mobilized in a concentrated effort to keep hold of memories that keeps threatening to slip away and vanish.

What Ratcliff observes in Cornell’s work can be also observed in QuickTime memory boxes. The artist, we are told, “is drawn to ‘material facts’ – objects and images – whose preciousness is ratified by memory and he often calls on popular memory to reinforce his own. His image-chains often run along lines of well-worn cliché – butterfly, swan, ballerina”.²⁹ Through repetition, Cornell make common objects mysterious: a row of wine glasses, a field of thimbles, a series of cork balls or pharmacy vials. However, this is “not

the intellectualized notion of serialization, but more like the ritualized repetition of the alchemist”.³⁰ Indeed, as Ratcliff says: “To duplicate an image endlessly is often to make its spell all the more binding”.³¹ Both Cornell and QT memory boxes are also highly citational: that is, they not only attempt to fix personal memories through repetition, but also quote and repeat previous artifacts of cultural memory – particularly privileging those that speak mnemonically to technologies of reproduction and preservation. Hence, both QT and Cornell memory boxes are “deeply involved with the photograph, the postcard, the photocopy, and the printed reproduction of works of art”.³² The boxes also use and repeat art historical images that reference the past: well-known paintings, old lithographs, classical statuary. Sound is also used mnemonically to an extraordinary degree in QuickTime. It marks time in repetitive patterns and, in musical form, is generally less melodic than it is insistently rhythmic. While often voiced (literally) in fragments, it also is often looped, repeating a partial thought, setting up a percussive rhythm of mechanical repetition, “scratching” or “stuck” in a temporal sonic groove as if in an old phonograph record, possibly creating a “mantra. “Indeed, middle Eastern and Indian music are used to a striking degree – particularly given often unrelated cultural imagery.

In their attempts to grasp and preserve the ephemeral fragments and fragile relics of memory, the boxes construct mnemonic rituals and, as Ratcliff notes, “ritual is mechanical, so any ritualizing aesthetic must have the power to mechanize the artist’s meanings”.³³ This mechanization is particularly compelling in QT memory boxes – for, rather than the “ritualized repetition of the alchemist” that marks Cornell’s work, QT boxes do often convey “an intellectualized notion of serialization”. That is, ritualized duplication and repetition often seem much more “mechanical” than “alchemical”. Indeed, QT works derive much of their poetic power from *mimetic allegory*: the boxes duplicate and repeat their “memory fragments” as figural repetitions of the functional capacities of the computer itself to “duplicate”, “copy”, and “paste”. Here, the mnemonic aesthetic emerges not only from a desire to preserve scarce and rare memory, but also from the ritualized and “mechanical” capacity of the computer to do the same.

In “Two Marks Jump”, for example, serial images are stutteringly animated, duplicated, and endlessly looped. Two of the same young man leap into and out of a scene accompanied by a similarly looped and endless yell; here the titular description of “two” Marks is self-consciously belied by the rote duplication of an infinite series of one.³⁴ “Hommage à Magritte” [sic], not only duplicates and transform the artist’s emblematic bowler hats, but it also “mechanically” animates his famous painting “Golconde”, in which dozens of indistinguishable little bourgeois men rain down upon a sterile townscape.³⁵ In QT memory boxes, then, mechanical serialization and mnemonic repetition often combine, each “encouraging” the other to keep in mind – to re-collect and represent – the ephemera of memory that would otherwise disappear from view.

Time, Movement, and the “Illusion of Life”

The miniature encourages the experience of intensity, interiority, and material preciousness through its compression and condensation of data in space. But the miniature also effects our sense of time. As Stewart points out, there is “a phenomenological correlation between *the experience of scale* and *the experience of duration*”.³⁶ That is, time is transformed in the miniature: it thickens in significance and implodes. Compressed to “nest” in small spaces, time is reflexive: it falls back upon itself and “encrusts”, building up the weight of a generalized past – or it collapses from its own density, diffusing into an ahistorical and

infinitely deep state of reverie. Thus, as Stewart says: “The miniature does not attach itself to lived historical time. Unlike the metonymic world of realism, . . . the metaphoric world of the miniature makes everyday life absolutely anterior and exterior to itself”.³⁷ Furthermore, when we engage the miniature, our sense of temporality never “streams” toward the future. Temporal compression and condensation conflict with forward movement and “life-like” animation. Thus “the miniature always tends toward *tableau* rather than toward narrative, toward silence and spatial boundaries rather than towards expository closure”.³⁸ Fragments and traces of past experience exist in our sight and reverie as not only poetically evocative but also *emblematic* of irrecoverable “originary” moments of wholeness. Broken and poignant, the fragment’s stuttering or static and tableau-like presence points to both the passage of everyday life from particularity into allegory and to the great temporal mysteries of matter’s slow and inexorable emergence and extinction. (Here, we might remember the memory box’s tendency to figure and make thematic cosmological imagery that suggests not human temporality, but the imperceptible dynamics and perspective of “*longue durée*”: a form of history written not in human events but in the cosmic temporality of geologic or climatic transformation.)

There is, finally, an extraordinary obfuscation (and questionable desire) in the nomination “QuickTime”. QT is anything but quick: its animations are forestalled, its “illusion of life” incomplete. Compressing and condensing its imagery in a “miniature” number of bits of digital memory and display space, the material conditions that inform QT’s miniature memory boxes are literally dramatized in the “half-life” of its objects. Not only are these objects constituted as fragments in space, they are also fragmented in temporality and motion. Thus, even when human in form, the animated “subjects” of QT are experienced as partially discontinuous and without agency. Phenomenologically, their movement seems imposed from “without” rather than emerging intentionally from “within”. At best, like the puppet Pinocchio, they struggle against their existence as mere kinetic objects in frustrated fits and starts, stuttering out the desire to become a “real boy” – that is, fully alive in the temporal continuity and spatial coherence of intentional and realized action.

Central here is *intermittent motion*: time and action broken into fragments, gaps foregrounded, the laborious struggle to achieve human momentum and agency. In the misnamed QT “movie”, Pinocchio’s *bildungsroman* of self-realization is countered with the oxymoronic miniaturization and intermittencies that undo cinema *within* cinema (something that also occurs in the uncanny films of Jan Svankmajer and the Brothers Quay). Indeed, Cornell’s own filmmaking efforts were meant to undo cinematic “live-action” and “real-time”: he insisted that *Rose Hobart* – shot at sound speed (24 fps) and using fragments of a 1931 sound melodrama (*East of Borneo*) – be projected at silent speed (16–18fps) to the accompaniment of scratchy phonograph recordings.³⁹ The intermittent motion in Cornell and QT memory boxes, then, is always more than merely mechanical: it articulates the existential conundrum of *discontinuity*. That is, “momentum” is condensed and compressed into a series of reified and frozen “moments”. Thus, the “illusion of life” becomes temporally solidified in what we might call a kinetic “souvenir”: a memory of motion that is now merely its token.

In closing, we know that Pinocchio eventually became a “real boy” – and that QuickTime will eventually and seamlessly “stream” into real-time and live-action “cinema”. But something quite poetic will be lost. Call me retrograde: as QuickTime enlarges and quickens to the myth of total cinema, I feel nostalgia for the impending loss of a unique historical experience and a rare and precious digital object.

Notes

1. Kynaston McShine, "Introducing Mr. Cornell", in *Joseph Cornell*, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 11.
2. McShine, 9.
3. "Introduction to QuickTime", Developer Documentation for QuickTime 3, Apple Computer, Inc., 1997, n.p.
4. André Bazin, "The Myth of Total Cinema", in *What is Cinema?*, trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 20.
5. Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 77.
6. Bachelard, p. 83.
7. Dawn Ades, "The Transcendental Surrealism of Joseph Cornell", in *Joseph Cornell*, 33.
8. Carter Ratcliff, "Joseph Cornell: Mechanic to the Ineffable", in *Joseph Cornell*, 43.
9. Ratcliff, 59.
10. Ratcliff, 43.
11. Anthony Grafton, "Believe It or Not", *The New York Review of Books*, November 5, 1998:16.
12. Bachelard, 82.
13. Ratcliff, 60.
14. Ratcliff, 43.
15. Bachelard, 201.
16. *Little Movies: Prolegomena for Digital Cinema, 1994-1997* can be accessed on the Web at: <http://jupiter.ucsd.edu/~manovich/little-movies/>
17. Bachelard, 150.
18. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 44.
19. Bachelard, 163.
20. Bachelard, 215.
21. Stewart, 54.
22. Stewart, 65.
23. "Flight from Intention" by Victoria Duckett, Laboratory for New Media, UCLA Department of Film and Television: <http://pixels.filmstv.ucla.edu/>
24. Ades, 26.
25. Bachelard, 228.
26. Bachelard, 86.
27. McShine, 10-11.
28. Stewart, 145.
29. Ratcliff, 54.
30. Dore Ashton, quoted in Ratcliff, 57.
31. Ratcliff, 64.
32. McShine, 13.
33. Ratcliff, 58.
34. 1993, no credits available.
35. *Hommage à Magritte: A QuickTime Movie by Lisa Osta*, 1993.
36. Stewart, 66.
37. Stewart, 65.
38. Stewart 66.
39. For seminal discussion of Cornell's films, see Annette Michelson, Rose Hobart and Monsieur Phot: Early Films from Utopia Parkway, *Artforum*, 11, no. 10 (June 1973) 47-57; and P. Adams Sitney, "The Cinematic Gaze of Joseph Cornell, in *Joseph Cornell*, 69-89.

What's the Point of an Index? or, Faking Photographs

TOM GUNNING

If Freud had subjected one of the West's central ideologies – historical progress – to psychoanalysis, he might have discovered the primary psychic operation of displacement, operating behind our constant impetus towards ever-greater perfection. What passes for progress (especially theoretical progress), I am claiming, often simply displaces unresolved problems onto new material. As a historian of early cinema (and of the even earlier visual and sound technology that preceded the cinema – such as the magic lantern, the phantasmagoria, the panorama, the phonograph and the devices of instantaneous and chronophotography) I am excited, but also a bit dismayed by the current discussion of newly emerging media, especially when this discussion provides an account of the older media of cinema and photography. There is no question in my mind that the recent interest in early cinema and its technological antecedents springs partly from the excitement the appearance of such new media generates (and my friend and colleague Erkki Huhtamo has demonstrated this interrelation of old and new most wonderfully¹). But, as Norman Mailer once said, ideals of progress often depend on the anaesthetization of the past. While I believe that the possibilities and realities of new media invites us to (in fact, demands that we) rethink the history of visual media, I also fear it can produce the opposite: a sort of reification of our view of the older media, an ignoring of the true complexities that photography, cinema and other visual media capturing light and motion presented, simply displacing their promises and disappointments unto a yet-to-be-achieved digital media utopia. Especially bothering to me is a tendency to cast the older media as bad objects, imbued with a series of (displaced) sins that the good objects of new media will absolve.

Let's tackle one of the largest problem first, the truth claim of traditional photography (and to some extent cinematography) which has become identified with Charles Peirce's term "indexicality." Both aspects need investigation: the nature of the truth claim, and the adequacy of indexicality to account for it. This whole issues becomes even more obscure when critics or theorists claim (I hope less frequently as time goes by) that the digital and the indexical are opposed terms.

I will approach this last issue first, both because I think it is rather simple and because others have made the argument as well or better than I can (most recently Phil Rosen in his fine work *Change Mummified*).² I have some difficulty figuring out how this confu-

sion arose, but I imagine it went something like this: the indexicality of the photograph depends on a physical relation between the object photographed and the image finally created. The image on the photographic negative derives from the transformation of light sensitive emulsion caused by light reflecting off the object photographed filtered through the lens and diaphragm. In a digital image, however, instead of light sensitive emulsion affected by the luminous object, the image is formed through data about light that is encoded in a matrix of numbers.

But what problem does this change present and how does it challenge indexicality? Clearly a digital camera records through its numerical data the same intensities of light that a non-digital camera records: hence the similarity of their images. The difference between the digital and the film based camera has to do with the way the information is captured – which does have strong implications for the way the images can be stored, transferred and indeed manipulated. But storage in terms of numerical data does not eliminate indexicality (which is why digital images can serve as passport photographs and the other sorts of legal evidence or documents, which ordinary photographs supply). Further, it would be foolish to closely identify the indexical with the photographic; most indexical information is not recorded by photography. Long before digital media were introduced, medical instruments and other instrument of measurement, indexical instruments *par excellence* – such as devices for reading pulse rate, temperature, heart rate, etc, or speedometers, wind gauges, and barometers – all converted their information into numbers.

Although a photograph combines both types of signs, the indexical quality of a photograph must not be confused with its iconicity. The fact that rows of numbers do not resemble a photograph, or what the photograph is supposed to represent, does not undermine any indexical claim. An index need not (and frequently does not) resemble the thing it represents. The indexicality of a traditional photograph inheres in the effect of light on chemicals, not in the picture it produces. The rows of numerical data produced by a digital camera and the image of traditional chemical photography are both indexically determined by objects outside the camera. Both photographic chemicals and the digital data must be subjected to elaborate procedures before a picture will result. Here we might grasp how the claim for digital uniqueness displaces a problematic issue within our conception of traditional photography, an especially pernicious one. The claim that the digital media alone transforms its data into an intermediary form fosters the myth that photography involves a transparent process, a direct transfer from the object to the photograph. The mediation of lens, film stock, exposure rate, type of shutter, processes of developing and of printing become magically whisked away if one considers the photograph as a direct imprint of reality.

Thus the very strong claim that digital images can be manipulated in ways photographic images could not, must also be qualified. Indeed the much-heralded malleability of the digital image does not contrast absolutely with photography. I would not deny that the ease, speed and quality of digital manipulation represent an important new stage in the technology of imagery. But we must carefully consider the situations in which such malleability becomes a value and the considerable debt such transformations owe to (although often displacing our attention from) the history of photography. Here especially, the intertwining of indexicality and iconicity must be observed.

Let us grant for the moment, the ability of digital photography to absolutely transform the appearance of the object originally photographed. If we grant that the original digital photograph of Uncle Harry was indexical (and therefore bears an important relation

to the actual Uncle Harry), what happens when we then intervene on the data in a Photoshop program and transform his nose into a pronounced beak, his baldhead into a shaggy wilderness, turn his brown eyes blue? Surely the indexical is being attenuated! Two answers are relevant here, both of which depend on a qualified yes. Yes, but ... film-based photography can also transform Uncle Harry's appearance, whether through retouching, use of filters or lenses, selection of angle of photography, exposure time, use of specially prepared chemicals in the developing stage, or adding elements through multiple printing. Traditional photography, therefore, also possesses processes that can attenuate, ignore, or even undo the indexical. No question digital processes can perform these alterations more quickly and more seamlessly, but the difference between digital and film-based photography cannot be described as absolute.

But a more complex and, I think, more interesting answer would point out that the power of the digital (or even the traditional photographic) to "transform" an image depends on maintaining *something* of the original image's visual accuracy and recognizability. I use this phrase ("visual accuracy and recognizability") to indicate the manner in which indexicality intertwines with iconicity in our common assessment of photographs. Our evaluation of a photograph as accurate (i.e. visually reflecting its subject) depends not simply on its indexical basis (the chemical process), but on our recognition of it as looking like its subject. A host of psychological and perceptual processes intervene here which cannot be reduced to the indexical process. The recognition of a photograph by a viewer as an image of its subject would not simply result from indexically. Indeed, one could produce an indexical image of something or someone that remained unrecognizable. The image must also be legible in order to be likened to its subject.

Let me get at this via another route. If one of the great consequences of the digital revolution lies in the freedom it gives people to transform a photographic image, we could say that the digital aspires to the condition of painting, in which color, shape, texture, all the components of an image are completely up to the painter, rather than determined by the original subject through an indexical process. But do users of Photoshop want an *absolute* freedom? Do they really want to *create* an image or, rather, to *transform* one which can still be recognized as a photograph (and maybe even as a photograph of Uncle Harry?)

The interest in transforming Uncle Harry's photograph is not quite the same as that of drawing a caricature of him. Admittedly one could point out that few of us have the depictive talent to produce a caricature, and that digital manipulation programs give us that power (interestingly this recalls the argument Fox Talbot gave for his invention of photography). But it seems to me that the power of most digital manipulation of photographs depends on our recognizing them as *manipulated photographs*, being aware of the strata of the indexical (or perhaps better, the visually recognizable) beneath the manipulation.

The wonderful playfulness celebrated in the digital revolution remains parasitic on the initial claim of accuracy contained in some uses of photography. Just as I tried to untangle the idea of visual accuracy from simple indexicality, I would now like to consider the "truth claim" of photography that relies on both indexicality and visual accuracy but includes more (and perhaps less) than either of them. A great deal of the discussion of the digital revolution has involved its effect of the truth claim of photography, either from a paranoid position (photographs will be manipulated to serve as evidence of things which do not exist thereby manipulating the population to believe in things that do not exist), or from what we might call a schizophrenic position (celebrating the release of

photographic images from claims of truth, issuing in a world presumably of universal doubt and play, allowing us to cavort endlessly in the veils of Maya).

I use the word “truth claim” because I want to emphasize that this is not simply a property inherent in a photograph, but a claim made for it (dependent, of course, on our understanding of its inherent properties). Perhaps its Ur-form can be found in Dion Boucicault’s 1859 melodrama *The Octoroon*, in which Scudder, the play’s Yankee “photographic operator”, discovers that an act of murder has been recorded by a camera. He offers the photograph as evidence to a lynch mob about to string up an Indian falsely accused of the murder, declaring, “‘Tis true! the apparatus can’t lie!”³

We might add immediately that the apparatus, in itself, can neither lie, nor tell the truth. Bereft of language, a photograph relies on people to say things about it or for it. It is no accident that Boucicault’s melodrama involves a mock trial in which the photograph exonerates the falsely accused Indian chief Wahnotee and determines the true culprit. Given the early date of this play characters question whether a court of law would actually accept such evidence. Both historically and institutionally, in order to tell the truth, the photograph must be subjected to a series of discourses, become, in effect, the supporting evidence for a statement. Anyone who knows either the complex history by which photographs were granted evidentiary status in legal trial, or indeed the scrutiny and discussion to which they must be subjected before they are granted such status in contemporary trials must realize that in order to speak the truth the photograph must be integrated into a statement, subjected to complex rules of discourse – legal, rhetorical and even scientific (discussing all the aspect of the photograph, its exposure, developing and printing).

But I think we would also have to contradict Scudder and say a photograph can only tell the truth if it is also capable of telling a lie. In other words, the truth claim is always a claim and lurking behind it is a suspicion of fakery, even if the default mode is belief. In other words, the value placed on the visual accuracy of a photograph, founded on its combination of indexicality and iconicity, forms the basis of a truth claim that can be made in a variety of discourses whether legal (“Here we see the accused caught by a surveillance camera...”) or less formal and interpersonal (“Yes, his penis really is that big...”). But in so far as this value of visual accuracy exists, there will always be a drive to counterfeit it. The truth implies the possibility of lying, and vice versa.

Faking photograph has a long history and was always possible given the processes that intervene or shape the indexical process as it becomes a picture. Spirit photography, the attempt by Spiritualist to prove the survival of a soul after death by capturing its image, a practice dear to my heart, provides only one early example.⁴ The variety of doctored photographs for political purposes is another.⁵ But my point here is not simply to claim either that the manipulatability of photographs predates the digital (undeniable) or that this practice was frequently employed in circumstances where truth claims were attempted (undoubted). Rather my point is that the practice of faking or counterfeiting can only exist when true coin of the realm exists as well. Rather than denying photography’s truth claim, the practice of faking photographs depends upon and demonstrates it.

Thus the concern over, or the celebration of, the possibility of the digital undermining the association of photography with a truth claim involves an inherent contradiction. If the digital undermines the truth claim of photography, we will have to ask in what contexts this occurs. Within interpersonal relations someone could digitally alter the size of his penis in a photograph and most likely a general incredulity about extraordinary photographs has already set in within the personal exchange of images. But in cases of legal or scientific evidence protocols are set in place for determining the process by

which the photograph would be made and the likelihood of its accuracy. Clearly journalism (and governmental use of the media) pose arenas in which the greatest concern abounds. But equally clearly, institutions of journalism and government watchdog organizations will endeavor to preserve the possibility (the inevitability is not an issue) of photographs supporting truth claims in certain situations. I by no means claim that conspiracies of deception cannot exist, but simply that they will not differ essentially from other attempts at political deception. George Bush did not provide photographs of Iraq's "weapons of mass destruction" to justify his invasion (although Colin Powell did attempt some rather vague photographic evidence in his address to the United Nations).

Thus a recent journalism text book dedicated to this issue proposes that organizations dedicated to reporting news take a pledge of "Truth and Accuracy in Media Photography" and that organizations so pledging could display "a badge or symbol certifying their commitment" to the visual integrity of their images (i.e. that they have not been altered digitally).⁶ My point is not to predict if such a practice will be widely adopted, but rather to demonstrate that truth claims about photographs possess an institutional value in specific circumstances (the text book I quoted at one point queries if journalism student readers: "Will we Photoshop ourselves out of a job?").⁷ Therefore means will be taken to preserve this value, even in an era where it is easy and cheap to alter photographs and produce a believable image. The truth claim must always be supported by rules of discourse, whether rigorously defined (as in scientific or legal evidence) or inherent in general practice (as in the belief that news reporting generally tells the truth; It seems to me that doubts about journalists' commitments to the truth more likely undermine belief in the truth claim of a photograph than the simple fact of technical manipulability).

Likewise the use of photographs as evidence, whether legal or scientific, has always entailed a considerable disciplining of the photographic image. Consistency and uniformity of photographic processes (such as the very specific manuals written for police photographers or the strictly determined routine of distance, camera angle, lighting, and type of lens and apparatus used in the creation of Bertillon's photographs of criminal for use in identification)⁸ rule institution photographic practices. A photograph's use as evidence or scientific data often has to contend with the excesses of its intertwined indexical and iconic aspects. For scientists photographs frequently recorded too much information, and, as Peter Galison has shown, scientists debated whether to remove this excessive information or to forthrightly acknowledge it.⁹

Etienne Jules Marey (whose chronophotography provides the most direct ancestor of the commercial cinema) provides a fascinating example as Joel Snyder and Marta Braun have shown.¹⁰ Marey's first investigations of the human and animal body in motion used instruments that provided only numerical readings or graphic inscriptions. However, after encountering Eadweard Muybridge's serial photographs of the horse in motion, Marey realized the increased sensitivity of new photographic processes and emulsions provided a new temporal control, capturing instants of motion that the human eye could not see. The possibility of analyzing human and animal motion through multiple instantaneous images in rapid succession excited Marey. However, for certain purposes the excess of visual information interfered with analysis and Marey arranged the subject in front of the camera in order to create a more abstract image.

We might describe Marey as a digital manipulator of photographs *avant le letter*. Subjects wearing dark costumes in which white stripes and metal studs marked joints and limbs converted Marey's photographs into graph-like images, which with a slightly increased abstraction became literal graphs. Yet one thing Marey did not eliminate from

the image was its indexical relation to the subject, another indication of the way in which the indexical and digital need not be opposed and that the indexical may have little relation to photography's iconic properties. Throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth century scientists introduced protocols of both the way photographs were made and the way they could be read which tamed the photographic image and made it useable as scientific evidence

Let us consider the other side of the equation: the celebration of the new digital utopia (as Rosen calls it)¹¹ in which digital manipulation liberates photography from its stable and predictable identity and its seemingly mechanical reiteration of the facts. As an art form photography has never been limited to any such restriction to the factual or accurate. In contrast to the protocols that enabled the truth claim of the legal or scientific photograph, art photography may create its own protocols and practices, free to explore its forms. The processes of superimposing multiple negatives, gum printing, or solariization – not to mention aesthetic selection of lighting, exposure and composition – have always delivered photography from a simple adherence to accuracy and truth claims, when it desired to explore its visual possibilities as an art form. The techniques of 19th century photographers on all levels (including the costuming and posing of models as in the work of Julia Cameron or Lewis Carroll) were hardly examples of “faking” photographs, but were the means of creating photographs as a mode of representation, play and imagination. The aesthetic triumph of styles of direct photography during much of the twentieth century (scorning many of these techniques in favor of hard-edged focus and printing techniques) primarily involves processes of artistic choice and stylistic differentiation, no matter how much claims of essential truthfulness of photography might be invoked by practitioners and critics.

Thus digital manipulation can hardly be seen as transforming the nature of photography as an art form, although it offers both new exciting techniques and new processes of discovery in the exploration of those techniques. We must keep in mind that only a limited practice of photography ever made accuracy or truth claims an essential part of its practice and that many uses of photography intentionally flout such claims. Beyond the modernist practices of art photography, popular form of what we could call “rhetorical” uses of photography, such as in advertising or political persuasion, do not depend exclusively, or often even primarily, on such truth claims.

Finally, we could observe that if indeed a digital revolution ever did trigger a complete overthrow of the truth claim of photography – if the association of photography in people's minds with truth claims and accuracy were entirely abolished through repeated encounters with photography images that could not be trusted – then the possibility of deception, would also be abolished, and little motive for counterfeiting would remain. If the truth claim were utterly destroyed as a possibility, what would be the motivation for making photographs rather than drawings or paintings, other than Fox Talbot's embarrassing claim that photography could place visual representation in the hands of the artistically challenged?

Here I think we encounter a basic *aporia* in our understanding of photography, one that I believe can only be approached phenomenologically, rather than semiotically. It is only by a phenomenological investigation of our investment in the photographic image (digital or otherwise obtained) that I think we can truly grasp the drive behind digitalization and why photography seems unlikely to disappear and why, even without a formulated truth claim, it offers us something that other forms of visual representation cannot.

Let us consider modes of photography that seem designed to flout the truth or even the accuracy claim associated with photography. While I would not deny that forms of photography can exist in which this flouting triumphs to such a degree that any referential role seems to vanish, I think that in most instances such photographs actually strive to present a contradiction, an oxymoron, an impossible presence, invoking photographic accuracy or truth even while contradicting it. Thus surrealist superimpositions in the work of Man Ray, photomontages by John Heartfield, or defamiliarizing camera angles by Rodchenko, to cite a few masters of modernist photography, all work with (and against) the recognizability and accuracy of the photograph.

Our delight in a clever digital manipulation of a photographic image in a advertisement or magazine cover does not come from being fooled by the image, but rather by its playful push-pull between its associations with accuracy (that is how a woman's face actually looks) and its obvious distortion (but no face looks like *that*). But just as a counterfeit image relies on us still believing in the reliability of images, a playful image that deconstructs itself before our eyes relies on our common investment in the photograph's ability to show objects accurately. Nor is this play the product of simple novelty and unfamiliarity. In other words, I do not believe that seeing a large number of photomontages, surrealist superimpositions or bizarre digital manipulations will abolish this game for us (although making original and fresh images from these process remains a challenge to artistic skill and originality). I think the delight in seeing a photographic image of a familiar world distorted in an unfamiliar manner will always provide pleasure.

Thus I would maintain the particular artistic and entertaining delight of digitally manipulated photographs depends on a continued investment in the photograph as potentially an accurate representation. This sense of the photograph as accurate remains inherent even while contradicted in a manipulated photograph. Yes, the back of a woman does not have incisions like the soundboard of a violin. But while Man Ray's pun "The violin of Ingres" could have been conveyed by a drawing or even a rebus, it is the photographic nature of this woman's back rubbed against the absurdity of seeing her as a fleshly violin and the wit of Man Ray's joke that produces its effect. This photograph makes no truth claim (there never was a woman like this), yet it does still depend on a perceptual accuracy (we recognize the contours and texture of the woman's flesh and back).

I am positing a phenomenological fascination with photography that involves a continuing sense of the relation between the photograph and a pre-existing reality. While this is precisely what "indexicality" supposedly involves, I am less and less sure this semiotic term provides the proper term for the experience. It is often claimed that our belief in photographic images depends on our knowledge of how they are made, on being aware of the fact that light bounced from the object has a causal role in the creation of the image. Without denying this, since I believe that cultural knowledge shapes our perception of things, I wonder whether this putative knowledge really provides the source of our investment in the photographic image. If a friend shows me a pen and tells me it was the one Herman Melville used to write *Moby Dick* my fascination with the pen is dependent on this fact. If I find out my friend is joking and bought the pen at a dime store, my fascination vanishes. But when I am told a photograph has been digitalized I may cease to believe its truth claim, but I think I am still intrigued by it. The same irrational appeal applies to the uncanny fascination that spirit photographs have for me.

I am not sure that the indexical explanation fully accounts for our fascination with the photographic image, its sense of perceptual richness and nearly infinite detail that strikes us as somehow more direct than other forms of representation. Confronted with a pho-

tograph, I do not so much make a judgment based on my knowledge of its means of production as I immediately inhabit its image and recognize it, even if the recognition involves the playful discovery that this world is impossible.

I think we should pause in our attempts to *explain* the effect of the photographic image and instead *describe* it more fully. There is no question of mistaking a photograph for the world; its stillness, borders, sense of texture, etc. forbid that. Photography therefore does not effect me like a hallucination. But outside of some form of analysis, I am not sure we ordinarily approach photographs semiotically, that is, taking them as signs. Certainly a photograph can function as a sign for something, usually its subject, a souvenir of a place or a person, a way of identifying or referring to something. But I think this is a secondary process to its ability as a picture to present us with an image of the world. Pictures generally are more than signs, and frequently we would be hard pressed to claim they referred to anything other than themselves. But photographs do seem to point beyond themselves in a curious manner, and this is part of the reason the index does seem to explain part of its power. But whereas signs reduce their reference to a signification, I would claim the photograph opens up a passageway to its subject, not as a signification but as a world, multiple and complex.

Thus photographs are more than just pictures. Or rather, they are pictures of a special sort, ones whose visual accuracy invites us to a different sort of observation. The photograph does make us imagine something else, something behind it, before it, somewhere in relation to it. Barthes indicates this, I believe, by his claim that the photograph and its referent “adhere”.¹² And yet even Barthes, the semiotician, differentiates this adherence of the photograph to its referent from the way other signs refer. Photography, Barthes, first told us in an early essay, was an image without a code, thus outside of ordinary semiotics.¹³ He later told us, reaffirming his earlier position, that photography was not a copy of reality but rather its emanation.¹⁴ In his self-described “realist” position, Barthes shares Bazin’s belief that a photograph puts us in the presence of something, that it possesses an ontology rather than a semiotics.

The fairly recent preoccupation with the index as a means of understanding photography derives not only from the rediscovery of Peirce that accompanied the shift to a semiotics of culture, but more directly from Peter Wollen’s brilliant application of Peirce’s category to Bazin’s discussion of the ontology of the photographic image.¹⁵ But Wollen’s translation of Bazin’s ontology of photography into a semiotics involved a canny appropriation and transformation of Bazin (who never used the term “index,” although his terms of comparison with photography – death masks, fingerprints, moulds – certainly correspond to Peirce’s examples of indices).¹⁶ If Wollen’s semiotic gloss on Bazin rendered his argument more rational and understandable, it may have also cut us off from a different understanding of the power of the photograph implied in some of Bazin’s less understandable passages.

For Bazin, the photograph is not a sign of something, but a presence of something, or perhaps we could say a means for putting us into the presence of something, since clearly Bazin realizes that a photograph differs from its subject. But is the indexical relation to a referent enough to truly explain what Bazin describes as photography’s “irrational power to bear away our faith”?¹⁷ An indexical relation falls entirely into the rational realm. Likewise Barthes describes the power of photography as, “A magic, not an art.”¹⁸ When Barthes describes a photograph as an emanation of a past reality rather than a copy of something, he underscores the way a photograph relates to a single individual object and a unique moment in the existence of that object. Within the realm of signs, only a

index possess this sort of specificity, but one might question if semiotics provides an account for those aspects of the photograph that seem most compelling to Bazin and Barthes. Rather than finding equivalents to photography within the science of signs, we might explore the way photography transforms – or even possibly avoids – the sign's essential function of substitution. Barthes and Bazin are agreed that the photograph offers neither a copy (a simple iconic sign) nor a substitute (the function of all signs, including indices). "Photography actually contributes something to the natural order of creation instead of providing a substitute for it," claims Bazin.¹⁹

Besides photography's ability to put us in the presence of its reference, the quality Barthes describes as an emanation, we might want to describe aspects of its visually which the index alone does not imply. It is not enough, I think, to simply class photography as an icon without describing its unique depictive qualities. These unique qualities are often described in terms of photography's mode of production, especially the mechanical nature of its process, so that images do not derive from a skilled human hand, but rather rely on principles of optics mechanically controlled and chemically captured. While the importance of, as Bazin puts it, the absence of man²⁰ remains an issue in need of continued exploration, I would rather emphasize the sense of a nearly inexhaustible visual richness to the photograph, combined with a sense of the photograph's lack of selection. The photograph appears to share the complexity of its subject, to capture all its details, even those we might not ordinarily notice. The first commentators on photography marveled over this sense of an unprecedented visual array, possessing overwhelming detail. Marey's processes or Bertillon procedures sought to remove precisely this excessive aspect of photography, so that photographs could function better as unambiguous signs and clear sources of indexical data. It is photography's resistance to significance, its excessive "noise" which characterizes its realism, as well as its sense of uniqueness and contingency, values especially prized in Barthes' account of photography and essential, I would claim, to our fascination with photographs as a different sort of picture.

These qualities do not necessarily relate to indexicality, but they certainly make up a considerable part of the desire for total illusion that Bazin described in the "Myth of Total Cinema", the companion piece to his essay on "The Ontology of the Photographical Image", and an essay in which indexicality places a subsidiary role to the capturing of the visual detail and complexity of the world.²¹ In this essay Bazin places cinema not so much in the tradition of photography as an index, but of other 19th century devices designed to overwhelm the senses with their excessive detail, such as the panorama, the diorama, the stereoscope and ultimately the phonograph. For Bazin the painted colors and entirely non-indexical animated drawings of Reynaud's *Pantomimes Lumineuses* are more essential to the history of cinema than the abstracted motion studies of Marey.

Here our discussion comes full circle, because if the digitally produced new media may differentiate itself from cinema and photography, it would seem to relate strongly to the artificial realities of the panorama, diorama and Reynaud's animations. If these devices lack the indexical claim of photography, they absolutely claim the ability to fashion a counter-reality through perceptual stimulation. But rather than maintaining the absolute barrier of the indexical, we might want to place photography into this tradition, accenting its visual acuity and excessive quality to often bypassed by recent commentaries (although Jonathan Crary's treatment of the stereoscope opens a similar line of investigation).²²

Thus I think we are able to pose the questions about the relation between the new digital media and photography in ways which avoids the sacred cows associated with each side of this supposed divide. To refer to the digital as the "post-photographic" seems

not only polemic rather than descriptive, but most likely mystifying. The translation of photographic information into a number-based system certainly represents a revolutionary moment in photography, but one not unlike the replacement of the wet collodion process by the dry plate, or the conquering of exposure time with instantaneous photography, or the introduction of the hand camera. Like these earlier transformations in photographic history, the digital revolution will change how photographs are made, who makes them, and how they are used – but they will still be photographs.

The new ease of manipulation of the image that digital processes offer can at points seem to attenuate the indexically based truth claim of the photograph, but this threat of deceit has always been an aspect of photographic practice: the risk that often defines the game, dependent on the social value of photography's truth claim. Since this claim is the product of social discourses as well as the indexical quality of the camera, it seems likely means will be found to preserve it, at least in certain circumstances. The risk will remain a risk, not become a rout. Likewise, since the fascination of a transformed photograph lies partly in its verisimilitude, it would seem likely that even on a popular or artistic level, the sense of photography as an accurate record of the way things look will also survive, or the fun found in distortion becomes thin.

But finally I would claim that we still have only the beginnings of an account of the fascination photography exerts and although the use of the term "index" may have helped explain some aspects of this fascination, I am not at all sure it is either an adequate or accurate term. The semiotic category of the index assimilates photography to the realm of the sign, and although a photograph like most anything (everything?) can be used as a sign, I think this approach prematurely cuts off the claims made by theorists like Barthes, Bazin (and I think Deleuze) that the photograph exceeds the functions of a sign and that this indeed is part of the fascination it offers.

The description of a photograph as putting us into the presence of something (and for Barthes especially the presenting of a past time) needs to be explored outside the concept of the index. To explore this further the actual visual experience occasioned by the photograph needs more probing. Here our delight in visual illusion may play as important a role as indexicality. And if we are to deal with illusions it seems to me that the play with photographic imagery that the digital revolution allows may provide the perfect playground/laboratory for a greater understanding of a fascination that I maintain is likely to have a future.

Notes

1. Erkki Huhtamo, "From Kaleidoscomaniac to Cybernerd. Towards an Archeology of the Media", ISEA '94 Catalogue, edited by Minna Tarkka, Helsinki: The University of Art and Design, 1994, 130-135, to cite one among many.
2. Philip Rosen *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
3. "The Octoroon" in *Plays by Dion Boucicault* ed. Peter Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 1984.
4. Tom Gunning, "Phantom Images and Modern Manifestations: Spirit Photography, Magic Theater, Trick Films and Photography's Uncanny" in *Fugitive Images from Photography to Video* ed. Patrice Petro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995)
5. David King, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalin's Russia* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997) provides one specific study.
6. Thomas H. Wheeler, *Phototruth or Photofiction: Ethics and Media Imagery in the Digital Age* (Mahwah N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, Assoc, 2002), pp. 207- 209.

7. Ibid., p. 111.
8. Bertillon, *Signaletic Instructions, Including the Theory and Practice of Anthropometric Identification*, ed. R.W. McClaughly (Chicago: The Werner Co., 1896).
9. Galison, "Judgment against Objectivity", in *Picturing Science Producing Art* ed., Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 327-359.
10. Snyder, "Visualization and Visibility", in *Picturing Science*, pp. 379-397; Braun, *Picturing Time: The Work of Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
11. Rosen, *Change Mummified*, p. 348.
12. Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 6.
13. Barthes, "The Photographic Message" in *Image Music Text* ed. & trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977, pp. 15-31.
14. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p. 80.
15. Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 120-155.
16. Andre Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" in *What is Cinema?* Vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967),
17. Ibid, p. 14.
18. Barthes, *Camera Obscura*, p. 88.
19. Bazin "Ontology of the Photographic Image". p. 15.
20. Ibid., p. 13.
21. "The Myth of Total Cinema" in *What is Cinema?* Vol. I, pp. 17-22.
22. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

Comments on Vivian Sobchack's and Tom Gunning's presentations

ARILD FETVEIT

The theme of digital aesthetics echos one of the key themes in media studies – questions of how changing media technologies have bearings on the aesthetic and cultural figuration of media expressions. Many have noted the way digital media mimic and remediate forms and figurations of older media. Internet publications model themselves on and rework existing formats and genres from newspapers, magazines and television. The internet also aspires to become a site for the display of movies.

The point at which Vivian Sobchack's intervenes is interesting in several ways. It is an ephemeral moment in the history of a medium's development: before the digital technology is able, with stelth smoothness, to mimic the cherished object of the celluloid film perfectly, and render film obsolete chemically speaking. Vivian Sobchack's fascination carries a level of irony, in that the stuttering and not quite successful attempts by the digital technology of *The Quick Time Movies* to mimic cinema becomes an object for aesthetic analysis. Thus, her aesthetic appreciation comes with an ironic foregrounding of the shortcomings of the digital medium in question, especially as compared with cinema. We could maybe question the relevance of an aesthetic analysis of a digital stuttering which reflects as much economic and technological limitations as it does deliberate aesthetic priorities. Yet *The Quick Time Movies* are there to be experienced, and it proves interesting to follow Vivian Sobchack's phenomenological description of this moment in a new medium's development.

I am especially intrigued by the stuttering articulation of a position in-between photography and film – which again echos the wonder of still images portraying live movements – which is the wonder of cinema. *The Quick Time Movies* – in their stuttering disruption of the flow of film, seem to back-track and recall this fascinating moment – before the series of still images had developed fully into a movie and the gaps between the still images were closed, hidden in a flow of motion. A curious tension is articulated in this stuttering moment, as if the *The Quick Time Movie* struggles to decide whether it belongs to the still image culture of the photograph and the painting – an image culture almost as old as mankind – or to the modern culture of the moving image which crowned the industrial development of the 19th century. Vivian Sobchack's observations convinces me that it does not fully belong to neither, but articulates its own intriguing position.

As for Tom Gunning's paper, it was fascinating to follow someone working through issues I have been grappling with myself, and finding myself not only in agreement with the points made, but also overwhelmed by the richness and precision with which they are made. Your points about deception being grounded in a truth value which is still valid, and your emphasis on the institutional warrant which upholds trust in photographic evidence for example, are important.

When it comes to the indexical, however, I have always thought of that as a helpful concept, whereas you seem on the verge of dismissing it. Thus, I will throw out a few ideas in the hope that they might make you see the concept in a more positive light. To start with, I share your interest for photographic images to carry away our faith – an interest which is articulated in related ways by Benjamin, Bazin and Barthes, and which I also believe needs to be explored through rich phenomenological descriptions. So far we agree. But if the concept of indexicality does not in itself suffice to capture our sense of fascination with these images, why don't we just supplement it rather than dismiss it? Second, anthropologists sometimes make the distinction between experience-near and experience-distant concepts. Could the inadequacy of "index" simply be a matter of the term's experience-distant technicality? Third, Barthes left semiology in his *Camera Lucida* (1982) in order to talk about photography from a more phenomenological perspective. But his was a Saussurean semiology based on a conventional relationship between signifier and signified. It did not have the richer options of Peircian semiotics to distinguish, as is most often done, between icon, index and symbol. Thus, Barthes' move away from semiology did not imply an explicit rejection of the index, and many of his key observations (as well as Bazin's and Benjamin's) seem to be easily reconcilable with the concept of the index.

You emphasise the richness in detail as a source of fascination – evoking Bazin's myth of total cinema (which prefigure later ideas of total immersion). I conceive of this richness – full of sparks from incidents, as Benjamin talked about – as grounded in a sign which is both indexical and iconic – as well as symbolic. Søren Kjørup talks in this context of a congruity between the iconical and the indexical. This is surprisingly close to the words of Fox Talbot – one of the inventors of photography – who said that the images are *forced to resemble* what they depict. If the word *forced* invokes the indexical, *resemble* invokes the iconical. Maybe the concept of the index becomes more useful in its application to photography when we do not use it isolated? Could it be possible to see the fascination with photography as in important ways grounded in an iconic-indexical congruity, yet, and at the same time, in need of a thicker and more sensuous description?

It has been said that the digital will change it all. Clearly this is not quite true. Thus we need to foster measured reflections on the changes it entails. I want to thank Vivian Sobchack and Tom Gunning for contributing to this reflection by giving us a richer sense of what quick time movies are, as well as a more measured view of the digital revolution in photography. Exploring such issues can set us on a road to interrogate more closely into what characterizes different media – and on this road media studies can aspire to really become media studies, and not merely mass communication studies.

Comments on Tom Gunning's and Vivian Sobchack's presentations

KARIN BECKER

A medium in our culture can never operate in isolation, because it must enter into relationships of respect and rivalry with other media.¹

My assignment here is to comment on two articles which at face value appear marginal to what is generally included in media studies in the Nordic countries. The media which Gunning and Sobchack each address in their work, the construction of the realist aesthetic in film and photography in Gunning's case, and the provocative parallels Sobchack locates between small "Quick time" digital movies and the memory boxes made by the American artist Joseph Cornell, can hardly be described as central to the theory and research of media in the our part of the globe. Including Gunning's and Sobchack's contributions here, following their presentation at a plenary session on "Digital Aesthetics" provokes the following question: What can these objects – an artist's memory boxes, the already nearly obsolete Quick time movie – and the old question of the photograph's indexicality, tell us about contemporary media? Why should we pay attention to them? I wish to frame my answer to this question first by addressing briefly the importance a serious study of visuality carries for our field. I then consider several propositions that arise out of the nexus that ties these two otherwise quite diverse papers together: namely a joining of history, nostalgia and memory. I consider this particular nexus as supporting a perspective that while certainly not new in itself, can provoke questions and offer insights highly relevant to the development of media studies. I close with a few critical comments on the ideal of the "totality" as a trope to be critically examined for the consequences it bears both for the development of media and how we study them.

The concept of visual culture has been used so widely and to cover such a diverse range of practices and phenomena that it is on the verge of losing whatever critical insights it may have once offered. In its most common construction, the study of visual culture is construed as introducing a continually expanding range of new *objects* to the field of media inquiry. In direct contradiction to this perspective, many scholars now argue that the study of visual objects and artefacts is based in a problematic essentialization of the visual as involving a distinct set of practices and phenomena (Bal 2003). Instead of examining objects and artefacts as essentially or primarily "visual", we need to be considering what makes them interesting. This involves examining how vision is

historically and culturally constructed, in close and dynamic relationship with other sensory-based information. The focus of inquiry shifts from visual objects to questions of how people see, the forms of knowledge that arise in the practices of looking, and how these are interwoven in discourses of power and knowledge (Sturken & Cartwright 2001).

Gunning's interrogation of the photograph offers an ideal example of this shift. We can understand the "truth claims" made for the photograph only if we examine the historically and institutionally based series of discourses that support the photograph as a statement that can be true – or false. Underlying the claim of visual accuracy – based on photography's combination of indexicality and iconicity- Gunning finds apparatuses that claim the opposite, in legal as well as more informal and interpersonal discourses. In order to be seen as true, the photograph must contain the possibility of the lie. Gunning then pursues this in an attempt to understand what he describes as the "phenomenological fascination with photography" which he claims cannot be fully accounted for by the semiotic postulate of the photograph's indexicality. We do not lose interest in an image that has been proven false. A photograph that has lost its truth claim, through digitization for example, can and does still fascinate. The knowledge that deceptive practices have been involved in producing the photograph can in fact make it even more intriguing to look at.

Gunning does not examine any particular photograph or selection of photographs, but the *idea* of the photographic image as an ontological construction. This interrogation of the relationship between knowledge, visibility and desire does not preclude, however, an examination of objects that one finds visually fascinating. On the contrary, as Sobchak argues, visual culture study depends upon close scrutiny of the "specificity of forms". In her article we find in fact a method whereby the attraction she finds in one particular media form can be understood at least in part, when the medium is subjected to a close analysis and comparison with other visual forms, drawn from what would appear to be quite disparate fields.

Media constantly refer to other media, not only in their content, but more relevant in the present context, in the ways people encounter and use media. Sobchak's model of media analysis, if I may call it that, is not idiosyncratic. The connotations raised by the Quick time movies, reminding her of an experience from other media and other spheres of visual experience, can serve as an example of how people interpret media form and content. Such intermedial encounters between different technologies and texts are integral to contemporary media experience, an intrinsic aspect of everyday life (Lehtonen 2000, Fornäs 2001). The concept of intermediality refers in the first instance to relationships between different media or to two or more instances of the same medium. In the complex cross referencing between media genres and forms, intertextuality emerges as a deeper interpenetration between media texts. Sobchak's example illustrates the more general difficulty of maintaining meaningful distinctions between content and form in her interpretations of these visual texts. She describes an experience of the text where the content and form of two different media interpenetrate each other, first in her encounter with the two media forms and then in her intertextual analysis of the dynamic relationship between them.

In this so-called digital age, intermediality and intertextuality also have a diachronic aspect, as new media continually reproduce and replace other media. This process of *remediation*, to use Bolter and Grusin's term, further complicates any attempts to draw lines between "new" and "old" media. As new media circuits are created, they continually incorporate and appropriate "the techniques, forms and social significance of other media" (Bolter & Grusin 1999: 65). But in what sense is this a new phenomenon?

Haven't media always referred to their predecessors, drawing on the forms, themes and genres of the past? And people, in turn, always make use of the past as they interpret and find new applications for contemporary media. My purpose in pointing to this continual recycling of the past, is not to discredit the concept of remediation, but rather to suggest it as a useful concept for reexamining the history of media and their uses.

The *ur-forms* of media continue to fascinate us. Both the technology and the content and programs of early media are recycled in often ritualized forms. In these new settings (seeing early Disney films on Christmas Eve, watching *I Love Lucy* on a transatlantic plane, looking through old photo albums) the old media do not appear underdeveloped or lacking in meaning. On the contrary, they have become a rich source of history and memory, in many cases bearing a greater authenticity than contemporary media. The meanings experienced in these encounters with "old" media are a significant aspect of cultural history. As Gunning and Sobchak both show in their articles, a return to the phenomenological aspects of prior media can give us new ways of reflecting upon and understanding the significance of media change.

Prior media forms are often experienced as fragments, as incomplete glimpses into the past. There is something missing. The flickering quality of an old film, the static from an old radio broadcast create disruptions and discontinuities that the audience must fill with its own experience. Both Gunning and Sobchak refer to this fragmentary, piecemeal quality of prior media forms as part of the fascination they arouse. The *ur-forms* of media appeal to memory and nostalgia, as Walter Benjamin noted in his discussions of the optical subconscious (Benjamin 1969, 1979). They contribute to a re-experience of the past that is quite different from the broad scope of historical events. Whereas media are often regarded as a valuable means of recapturing the historical past, they are seldom considered for their value in this alternative respect, that is, for their capacity to elicit the subjective, phenomenological experience of the past.²

It is beyond the scope of these brief comments to attempt to characterize more fully the quality and experience of prior media forms, and their intermedial and intertextual relationships to the contemporary media landscape. Even at this stage, however, it is clear that central to that fuller analysis are the ways media consumption engages aesthetic experience. Gunning and Sobchak both point to aesthetics as critical to understanding how people use media.

Finally, I wish to point out an apparent paradox between on the one hand the strong aesthetic appeal of the fragmentary images and sounds of the past and on the other, the persistent ideal of the total media experience. Today we find the ideal of a total experience, for example, in the marketing of the home cinema complete with "surround sound", and in the goal of verisimilitude for virtual reality and computer games. Totality as a measure of completeness permeates the ideals of journalism ("total coverage") and is linked to standards of control (as in "total vision" and "total recall"). Embedded in the development of digital media is the continued striving after a seamless, total representation of the visual, audio and sensory experience. In a narrow sense this can be seen as a technologically driven dream. Yet the trope of totality so deeply imbedded in qualitative assessments of media and their content that it must be seen as transcending the demands of technology. In the total media experience the line between reality and representation is eliminated. Sobchak cites André Bazin's argument from "The Myth of the Total Cinema" to support her claim that the ideal of a seamless illusion of the outside world preceded the technological possibility of its creation (Bazin 1964). Yet, as the technologies of reproduction improved, cinema itself became the ideal against which other

media of visual movement and sound were measured. Sobchak points to the conflict between two aesthetic values, in the struggle of the condensed fragmentary form of Quick time, which she considers more evocative and far superior to the cinematic ideal of a complete representation. One may disagree with her evaluation of the qualities of the medium she examines in her article. Yet the tension she identifies between these two ideals – that of completeness or totality and the fragment or glimpse – suggests two very different appeals which media exert. Examining these appeals, the contexts in which they arise and when they each have relevance for media producers and their audiences may have profound implications, offering new critical understandings of the ideals of media representation and use.

Notes

1. Bolter & Grusin 1999: 65.
2. Here I am making a broad generalization about the field of media studies, quite aware that there are notable exceptions in the studies of specific media, including photography and film.

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Estetikens fakta och journalismens fiktioner

Mediernas logik i globaliseringens tid

STEFAN JONSSON

I denna essä vill jag belysa ett problem som ägnats ringa uppmärksamhet inom medieforskningen. Det gäller massmediejournalistikens förhållande till konsten, litteraturen och filmen i vid mening – med ett ord: till estetiken.

Låt mig börja med två exempel. ”Varför alla dessa helsidor från Sydney?” frågade journalisten Sven Öste i början av 1990-talet i en tidningskrönika i *DN*. Öste tillhörde de utrikesreportrar som under 1950- och 1960-talen förde in världen bortom Europa i svensk nyhetsbevakning. I sin krönika beskrev han hur västeuropeiska medier dag efter dag ägnade stora, inlevelsefulla reportage åt skogsbränder i Australien. Brändernas härjningar krävde fyra dödsoffer och förstörde 191 bostadshus. Under samma tid inträffade andra katastrofer, noterade Öste: ”En gasexplosion i Kina som tog 70 liv. Tio rader. 150 000 människor som blev hemlösa i Sri Lanka genom översvämningar. Åtta rader.” Ifråga om ett jordskalv i Maharashtra i Indien som dödade omkring 10 000 släcktes mediernas strålkastare efter några dygn.¹

Varför har en skogsbrand i Sydney som kräver fyra dödsoffer högre nyhetsvärde än en jordbävning i Indien som kräver tusentals? Västerländsk nyhetsbevakning tillmäter uppenbarligen den vite australiern som får sin villa förstörd ett högre nyhetsvärde än den fattige indiern som dör i jordbävningen. De olika nyhetsvärdena vittnar om att australiern och indiern tillmätts olika människovärden. Och denna värdering tycks så självklar att vi inte reagerar på den, skrev Öste.

Detta vore inget att bekymra sig över om vår journalistik inte hade andra anspråk än att tjäna den egna gemenskapen och bekräfta vår egen kulturbundna världsbild. Att folk i Stockholm intresserar sig för människor vilkas liv liknar deras egna, till exempel i Sydney, men har svårare att leva sig in i livet på den indiska landsbygden är knappast förvånande. Att kritisera detta vore lika idiotiskt som att ställa lokaltidningen till svars för att den skriver om den egna bygden.

Men i ett läge där medierna globaliseras blir Östes fall signifikativt. Globaliseringen av medierna innebär ju att de västliga mediekoncernernas nyhetsförmedling framträder med anspråk på universell giltighet. Här uppkommer en situation där en viss kulturell gemenskap, med sin egen partikulära uppfattning om vad som är nyhetsvärt, anser sin värdering giltig för hela mänskligheten. I och med att en kulturbunden definition av nyhetsvärde och människovärde träder fram som en universell standard marginaliseras

andra kulturers uppfattningar om vad som är en viktig nyhet och vilka som är de viktiga människorna. Resultatet är den skevhet Öste satte finger på: det globaliserade mediesystemet kodar en människa i Sydney och en människa på indiska landsbygden enligt värden som låter läsaren och tittaren identifiera sig med Sydneybons öde medan bonden i Indien faller bortom randen för vårt synfält. Resultatet är paradoxalt. Det påstås ju ofta att mediernas globalisering vidgar våra horisonter.

Låt mig övergå till mitt andra exempel. För några år sedan såg jag i Oslo en utställning av den chilenske konstnären Alfredo Jaar.² I biljettkassan fick besökaren inte den sedvanliga broschyren eller katalogen utan ett pass och ett kartfodral. Jag vecklade ut kartorna men fann inte någon kartbild utan stora affischer som föreställde människor i Nigeria och Brasilien samt i ett flyktingläger utanför Hongkong. Jag tyckte mig höra en viskning: "Titta noga! Så här ser vi ut som lever på andra sidan gränsen!".

Sedan suddades ansiktena ut.

"Geografi, det är något som framför allt syftar till krig", stod det på kartorna som Jaar delade ut.

För Alfredo Jaar bär varje gräns – geografisk, politisk, ekonomisk eller kulturell – vittnesbörd om ett brott mot mänskligheten. År 1986 hyrde han reklamplatserna på tunnelbanestationen Spring Street på Manhattan, anhalten där mäklarna på Wall Street stiger av och på. Guldpriset upp med en dollar och åttio cent! meddelade Jaars affischer till resenärerna. Vid sidan av denna stärkande nyhet hade konstnären monterat foton på *garimperios*. Så kallas guldgrävorna i Serra Pelada, Brasiliens största dagbrottsgruva. När Jaar fotograferade gruvan arbetade 40 000 säsongsarbetare där. Var och en grävde sitt eget schakt mot jordens medelpunkt. På Jaars foton liknar guldgruvan en jättes fotavtryck i en myrstack. Varelser täckta av lera krälar om varandra. Med ena handen i stegen och den andra om sin jutesäck, som kan vara fylld med fyrtiofem kilo guldhaltig lera, klättrar arbetarna mot solljuset.

På bilderna från Serra Pelada hemsöker oss dessa eländiga som inslag i en geopolitisk mardröm. Jaar förevisar ansiktena och kropparna på dem vilkas närvaro inte märks i börsnoteringarna, massmedierna eller utvecklingsprogrammen.

Det är politiskt uppbygglig konst. De ansiktslösa ges ansikten. Men Jaars huvudpoäng är en annan. Med minimalistisk precision monterar han sina fotografier så att de avbildade alltid tycks vara på väg att falla ut ur ramen. Han döljer personporträtten bakom slöjor eller också förvrider och förtunnar han dem genom att låta fotografierna reflekteras i vattenytor och spegelarrangemang. Ibland ställer han ut baksidan av en bild så att betraktaren med bara titeltextens hjälp får föreställa sig hur bilden ser ut.

Längst in i museets innersta rum, djupt inne i konstens altarsal, ställdes jag inför en väldig ljustavla med ett foto av sju män i Lagos. De stod och hängde bredvid några rostande tunnor med giftavfall som importerats från Europa. Sedan följde fyra avlånga ljustavlor med ansikten av *garimperios*. De lortiga figurerna var hårt beskurna och hade sin tyngdpunkt strax utanför bildens ram.

I passet jag fick vid ingången fanns inga sidor att stämpla på, i stället återkom på varje uppslag bilden av en gräns som var befäst med taggtrådsstängsel och strålkastare. I passet fanns inte heller några stämplat, i stället upprepades samma fras, tryckt i brinnande rött, på olika språk: "abriendo nuevas puertas", "opening new doors", "es öffnen sich neue Tore".

Så kan man tolka Jaars verk: det öppnar dörren till världar som marginaliserats av västerländska medier. Fast egentligen uppnår hans verk en annan effekt. Jaar ger betraktaren

en lektion om de politiska gränser och psykiska spärrar som hindrar honom eller henne från att se världens underklass. Jordens fördömda väntar alltid strax bakom tröskeln för vår varseblivningsförmåga. Jaar låter betraktaren se att han eller hon *inte ser* De andra.

Utifrån dessa exempel vill jag formulera en hypotes. Det första exemplet talar om likriktningen av massmedierna i det globala systemet. En allt större del av medieutbudet styrs av en norm, som avgör vad som är värt att veta och känna till, som avgör vad man ska skratta åt eller sörja över, som predikar vad som är lycka, rättvisa, godhet och kärlek. Denna norm är begränsande, ty den innebär att alternativa föreställningar om dessa värden skjuts bort.

Det andra exemplet talar om en politisering av konsten. Med politisering menar jag inte att konsten tar ideologisk ställning, diskuterar dagspolitiska frågor eller påverkar politikens beslutsprocesser. Med politisering menar jag en process som synliggör vad man, till skillnad från "politiken", skulle kunna kalla "det politiska".³ "Det politiska" avser politikens förutsättning och grund, nämligen människors möjlighet att representera sig själva och sina intressen i offentligheten, en offentlighet, väl att märka, som i vår tid är global. Alfredo Jaar aktualiserar "det politiska" i så måtto att hans verk märker ut de mekanismer som gör att en stor del av mänskligheten hamnar utanför offentligheten och därför står utan företrädare i politiken.

Min hypotes gäller förhållandet mellan dessa bägge processer. Jag vill hävda att likriktningen av massmediejournalistiken och politiseringen av konsten betingar varandra ömsesidigt. Ja, jag vill gå ett steg längre och påstå att journalistikens likriktning och konstens politisering är två aspekter sidor av samma historiska förlopp, ett förlopp vi kan beteckna som kulturens globalisering.

Låt mig formulera saken tillspetsat. Å ena sidan en likriktning: journalistikens världsbild sammanfaller i allt högre grad med ett perspektiv som kännetecknar en specifik subjektposition: vit, manlig, västerländsk och egendomsäggande. Denna subjektposition anger ofta såväl den implicite berättaren som den implicite åhöraren i de massmedier som i dag appellerar en global publik.⁴ I mediernas berättelser utgör detta subjekt modellen av det mänskliga. De som lystrar till dessa berättelser manas att efterlikna denna modell, vilket för majoriteten av mänskligheten innebär att de måste avsäga sig de kulturspecifika identiteter som inte överensstämmer med modellen. Resultatet är en i samtida kulturforskning välbekant klyvnad. Det uppstår en konflikt mellan en västerländsk dominant som säger sig företräda allmänintresset – vilket kodas ömsom kulturellt (upplysning, sekularisering, klassisk bildning), ömsom politiskt (demokrati, parlamentarism, etc), ömsom ekonomiskt (marknad, frihandel, kapitalism) – och ett antal underordnade rörelser som antas förespråka diverse särintressen och som ofta kodas i etniska, religiösa, kulturella eller nationella termer.

Å andra sidan bevitnar vi en rad politiserande rörelser i samtida litteratur, film, konst och musik. De uppmärksammar erfarenheter, historier och identiteter som länge saknat hemort i västerlandets offentlighet, och de gör detta med en energi och en förmåga till nydanande som placerat dem i centrum för den litterära och konstnärliga diskussionen i väst. Alfredo Jaars verk är ett exempel på denna tendens, som med en hastig beteckning kunde kategoriseras med ordet "postkolonial". En stor inventering av denna rörelse inom konsten ägde rum år 2002 på utställningen Documenta 11 i Kassel. Man kan också peka på en rad av tidens största författarskap. Det räcker att räkna upp några nobelpristagare från senare år, som Derek Walcott, VS Naipaul, Nadine Gordimer, Wole Soyinka, Toni Morrison, Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Gemensamt för dem alla är att deras

verk tar fasta på berättelser och existentiella erfarenheter från den västerländska civilisationens baksida.

Det ser alltså ut som om den journalistiska respektive estetiska utvecklingen löper lik-som i motsatta riktningar. Det verkar rent av som om den ena, estetiska nivån kompen-serade för journalistikens blinda fläckar.

Hur ska man beskriva sambandet mellan dessa båda rörelser? Frågan är teoretisk: vilka tolkningsmodeller hjälper oss att förstå sambanden mellan journalistik och estetik? Frå-gan är också praktisk-metodologisk: genom att jämföra dessa parallella men motstridiga förlopp inom den konstnärliga respektive den journalistiska utvecklingen kan vi främja förståelsen av båda.

I marxistisk teori förekommer ett klassiskt argument om samspelet mellan olika nivåer i den kulturella överbyggnaden. Det var framförallt allt Karl Kautsky och Franz Mehring som i artonhundratalets slut visade hur litteraturen och konsten i vissa historiska ske-den politiseras så till vida att de får kanalisera information, budskap och erfarenheter som annars inte släpps in i den kulturella och politiska offentligheten.⁵ Det finns till exem-pel samhällen där det råder en direkt eller indirekt censur som hindrar pressen och medi-erna från att föra en öppen debatt och förmedla åsikter, upplysningar och kunskaper som undergräver makten. Sådant var fallet i kommunismens Sovjet, absolutismens Frankrike, de despotiska småfurstendömenas Tyskland och men också i enväldets Sverige kring 1800. Förbjudna tankar och kunskaper kom i dessa samhällen att kanaliseras till konsten och litteraturen. Den estetiska formen gjorde det möjligt att i chiffrerad form förmedla upplysningar och debattera problem som inte fick framföras offentligt. Så förflyttades samhällsdiskussionen till teaterscenen, romanen och bildkonsten, estetiska genrer som kunde tala mångstämmigt och motsägelsefullt och därför var delvis immuna mot censorns ingrepp.

Man ska akta sig för att jämföra likriktningen av dagens journalistik i väst med den censur som utövats i totalitära och absolutistiska samhällen. Men vi kan konstatera att formerna, tilltalen och de språkliga och narrativa registren i mycken samtida journalistik har blivit så inskränkta att de förhindrar en rad kunskaper och erfarenheter från att komma till uttryck. Värst drabbad är tv-journalistiken, vars stränga mallar och korta sändningstider oftast omöjliggör bakgrundsteckningar, analyser och orsaksförklaringar. Sådana inslag flyttar till smalare och generösare medier som reportageboken, tidskrifts-essän, installationskonsten, romanen och den fria dokumentärfilmen, genrer som histo-riskt sett förutsätter en estetisk formvilja och ett tilltal eller ett perspektiv som är subjek-tivt.

Documenta 11 gav en provkarta på sådana former. Chantal Akermans film- och video-installation "From the Other Side" åskådliggjorde migrationen över gränsen mellan Mexiko och USA. Fareed Armaly bjöd in besökarna att framställa sina egna mentala kar-tor över Palestina. Maria Eichhorn grundade inför utställningen – och enligt alla juridik-ens regler – ett aktiebolag vars enda syfte är att bevara bolagskapitalet utan att uppbära vinst eller ränta; på så vis lyckades hon bättre än många ekonomijournalist klargöra hur den kapitalistiska ekonomin och konstmarknaden fungerar. Allan Sekula ställde ut sin stora fotografiska svit som dokumenterar sjöfarten i dagens värld, för att åskådliggöra globaliseringens infrastruktur, fraktandet av varor mellan världens delar. Konstnärskol-lektivet Multiplicity från Italien å sin sida presenterade resultatet av grävande journalis-tik i bästa mening när de dramatiserade en händelse som mörklagts av såväl myndigheter som medier. Den 26 december 1996 förliste en fiskebåt mellan Malta och Sicilien. De 283

pakistanier, indier och srilankeser som fanns ombord omkom i havet – utan att någon undersökning gjordes och utan att någon hölls ansvarig.⁶

Det stoff som bearbetas av dessa konstnärer är strängt taget detsamma som möter oss dagligen i journalistiska medier. Det handlar, grovt taget, om globaliseringsprocessen och de konflikter och den förvirring som följer i dess spår, särskilt de väldiga migrationsströmmarna från fattiga trakter till rika. Det som skiljer konsternas sätt att närma sig detta stoff från journalistikens är inte främst deras subjektiva engagemang, inte heller främst deras lust att experimentera med visuella, cinematografiska och språkliga former, utan framför allt deras vittning på förträngda aspekter av samtidens politiska och kulturella processer. Konsterna gestaltar ofta händelser, problem och strukturer som kastar ett kritiskt ljus på det västerländska samhället eller rent av ställer det till svars för att värna västerlänningens privilegier.

Konstnären Felix Gonzales-Torres kritiserade en gång den naivt politiserande konsten. Med en lätt travestering löd hans fråga så här: ”behöver vi verkligen ett konstgalleri för att få reda på saker vi kan läsa om i tidningen eller se på CNN?”⁷ Poängen med den konst jag diskuterar är att konstgalleriet ger oss en aning om den sida av det politiska som vi *inte* kan läsa om i tidningen eller se på CNN.

Det är inte självklart att konsten ska angripa sådana ämnen, än mindre att den ska konstituera sig som en politisk eller etisk tribunal. Tvärtom brukar ju detta vara den roll som spelas av den tredje statsmakten, journalistiken. Att denna uppgift ändå i allt högre grad upptar konsterna, och att konsterna utför uppgiften med ett engagemang och en uppfinningsförmåga som lyser med sin frånvaro i samtida journalistik, vittnar om den förskjutning jag talar om. Det är en förskjutning inom samhällets ideologiska överbyggnad som i viss mån liknar de förskjutningar som Mehring och Kautsky en gång analyserade. I ett läge där journalistiken präglas av en till censur gränsande standardisering av form och innehåll blir det konstens uppgift att inspirera diskussionen om samhällets framtid. Så kommer det sig att det i allt högre grad har blivit konstens uppgift att gestalta ”det politiska”, det vill säga villkoren och priset för den politik som förs, medan förhärskande journalistik i allt högre grad tjänar ”politiken”; den nöjer sig med att spegla den institutionaliserade maktens ritualer och förmedla de åsikter som försetts med auktoriteternas sigill. När journalistiken förvandlas till furstespegel, förvandlas konsterna till journalistik i ordets ursprungliga mening: en löpande krönika som genomlyser de samhällseliga förloppen.

Jag antydde att dessa bägge förändringar är två sidor av kulturens globalisering. I globaliseringens tidevarv avtecknar sig tre utvecklingstendenser på kulturens område. För det första fortsätter den amerikanska masskulturen sitt triumftåg – bakom Nikes, McDonald’s, Walt Disneys och Coca-Colas sköldar. För det andra håller västerländsk finkultur på att bli ett självklart inslag i eliternas livsstil inte bara i Paris och Washington utan också i Peking och Buenos Aires. Från alla jordens storstäder stiger numera ett sponsrat brus av Pavarotti, Bach och Eric Satie. I vilken metropol man än dimper ned kan man bese någon superutställning av Hieronymus Bosch, ryskt ikonmåleri, van Gogh eller Andy Warhol. Och allt fler konstnärer och författare väljer former och medier som smickrar världens överklass. Mot denna globaliserade kultur svarar en särskild press-journalistik, tydligast representerad av *USA Today* och *International Herald Tribune* – den förstnämnda för mellanskikten, den sistnämnda för de övre klasserna, men båda skraddarsydda för att alltid passa alla och aldrig uppröra någon.

Dessa två tendenser domineras av en handfull gigantiska mediekoncerner: Disney, Time Warner, Viacom, Sony, Seagram, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, AT&T, General Electric och Bertelsmann.⁸ Dessa två tendenser för oss också till motorn bakom globaliseringen av kulturen: inrättandet av påstått universella "värdeformer" som gör det möjligt att jämföra "värdena" hos olika nyheter, kulturprodukter, konstverk, kunskaper, händelser, etiska handlingar respektive politiska system, alldeles oavsett deras kulturella ursprung.

Låt mig förklara vad jag menar. Politiska värden, etiska värden, existentiella värden, nyhetsvärden, skönhetsvärden och människovärden var länge kulturspecifika. De kunde inte mätas med andra kulturers mått. De enda värden som kunde växlas mot varandra var länge penningvärden. I dag är det däremot möjligt att värdera allsköns företeelser med hjälp av måttstockar som påstås vara giltiga för alla kulturer. Det betyder inte att dessa fenomen reduceras till pengar. Men det betyder att de underkastas samma logik som gäller i penningekonomin: människans icke-materiella arbetsprodukter – skolorundervisning, nyheter, godhet, dikter, hembygdskärlek, vad som helst – värdesätts i förhållande till en allmän ekvivalent. Detta är i mina ögon den lämpligaste analytiska definitionen av kulturell globalisering.

Inom till exempel filmkonsten har den så kallade Hollywoodberättelsen segrat över alternativt filmberättande. Vi vet alla redan att en film inte är igenkännbar som film, alternativt klassas som smal eller udda, om den inte anpassar sig till Hollywoodstoryns form. I fråga om nyhetsvärden har CNN sedan ett tiotal år tillbaka fungerat som en spegel för alla nyhetsvärden. Det betyder att en händelse inte kan bli en nyhet så länge den inte anpassas till tv-bolagets mall. Jämte tv-formen är Windowssystemet sannolikt den starkaste ekvivaleringsmekanismen av i dag. Ingenting har något emotionellt, estetiskt, kognitivt, politiskt eller kommunikativt värde, ingenting är bra eller dåligt, skönt eller fult, gott eller ont, verkligt eller överkligt – innan det processats av tv-bolagen eller Microsofts koder. Dessa värdesystem beskär världen och levererar den till oss i inramat skick. Ytterligare ett exempel på dessa universella ekvivaleringsmekanismer är engelska språkets utbredning, som lett till att det numera finns en global engelska som artister, konstnärer, politiker och vetenskapsmän måste behärska för att få sina yttranden antagna och värderade vid de institutioner som dominerar på deras respektive områden.

Ur reaktionerna på dessa standardiseringar av elitkultur respektive populärkultur uppstår en tredje tendens, som består av alla de lokala, etniska eller nationella rörelser som försöker stå emot globaliseringen av kulturen. Med jämna mellanrum slår vildarna i världens utkant sönder någon av McDonald's filialer. Franska kulturprofiler ryter när USA i frihandelns namn pressar europeiska länder att avskaffa sitt filmstöd därför att det påstås ge konkurrensfördelar åt europeiska filmbolag. Studenter av latinamerikansk och kinesisk härkomst i USA kräver att deras utbildning skall spegla också den latinamerikanska och kinesiska historien. Malaysias president hävdar att USA genomdriver en individcentrerad definition av människovärdet för att befästa sin dominans. Jag har inte nämnt "terrorismen", som representerar periferins våldsammaste svar på världens centralisering och globalisering.

Ställda inför de nya globala normerna "upptäcker" människor i såväl Iran som Quebec att de har en kulturell identitet som måste försvaras med näbbar och klor. De faller tillbaka på sin kulturella identitet, etniska tillhörighet, religiösa värdighet eller sina blodsbånd. De anför att deras värden inte kan lösgöras ur det kulturella sammanhanget och ekvivaleras enligt en universell standard.

Allt konstnärligt, intellektuellt och journalistiskt arbete av i dag bedrivs i kraftfältet mellan dessa tre tendenser – den standardiserade elitkulturen, den kommersialiserade masskulturen och den motståndsbjudande lokaltraditionen. Men viktigaste av allt är att de tre tendenserna är sammanflätade och existerar samtidigt i varje land, på varje ort, i varje konstverk, ja inom varje människoliv. På gårdagens karta kunde kulturen klassificeras i inhemskt och utländskt enligt territoriella gränser. Denna karta stämmer inte längre. Den som i dag försöker ringa in, låt säga, en svensk eller amerikansk kultur får antingen postulera ett inbillat nationellt väsen, och då ligger kulturrasismen nära, eller också erkänna att världens krafter sliter varje kultur åt flera håll samtidigt.

Därför vill jag också postulera en *fjärde* tendens, som kännetecknas av att den uttryckligen tematiserar konflikterna och maktförhållandena mellan de tre polerna i dagens kulturliv – den globala masskulturen, eliternas evenemangskultur och diverse mer eller mindre nationalistiska kulturprojekt. Den hittills starkaste manifestationen av denna fjärde tendens var just Documentautställningen i Kassel. Här representerades en mängd intellektuella, författare, konstnärer och institutioner som alla verkar i skarven mellan inhemskt och utländskt och som strävar efter att gestalta ”det politiska”, själva förutsättningarna och gränserna för deltagande i dagens politiska och kulturella offentlighet.

Mycken modern teoribildning vill ringa in denna plats, där olika kulturella påverkningar korsas och ger upphov till nya kulturella identiteter. Kulturteoretikern Homi Bhabha talar om ”det tredje rummet”, den mexikanske antropologen García Canclini om ”hybridkultur”, konstnären Guillermo Gómez Peña om ”gränskultur”.⁹ Andra termer är geokultur, tvärkultur, postkolonial kultur, interkultur, mångkultur och världskultur. Denna plats existerar redan på de flesta orter. Man skulle kunna kalla denna plats för en mellanrummets offentlighet, en offentlighet som debatterar globaliseringens konflikter och möjligheter, dess ständiga strider om vilka som ska räknas in i och vilka som ska räknas ut ur ”den internationella gemenskapen”.

Jag vill betona att mellanrummets kultur inte är någon ny företeelse utan alltid har funnits, fast de ord med vika man velat beskriva den har varierat. År 1907 beskrev Otto Bauer, den marxistiska teoretikern och ordföranden i Österrikes socialdemokratiska parti, vad som sker när en människa försöker grensla olika nationer: ”en individ som påverkas av kulturen i två eller flera nationer och vars karaktär står under lika starkt inflytande från olika nationella kulturer, förenar inte bara karaktärsdragen hos två nationer utan besitter en helt ny karaktär.”¹⁰ Ett barn av många nationer ses därför ofta med misstänksamhet, i oroliga tider rent av som en förrädare, tillfogar Bauer. Själv levde han i den habsburgska dubbelmonarkin, ett imperium bestående av en rad minoritetsfolk utan majoritet, där det gällde att uppfinna ett människoideal som stod ovanför konflikterna – ”en helt ny karaktär.”

Poängen med idéen om en mellanrummets offentlighet är att den avvisar distinktionen mellan centrum och periferi och alla de oppositioner – kultur och barbari, vi och dom, civilisation och primitivitet – som kan avledas från den. Vad man kan kalla en monotopisk tolkning av världen ersätts i mellanrummets offentlighet av en *pluritopisk* tolkning, eller vad Edward Said kallar en kontrapunktisk tolkning, som är lyhörd för handlingar och texter som skurits loss från eller lagts i ruiner av den dominerande traditionen.¹¹ Den pluritopiska tolkningen grundar sig på ett tänkande som inte hänvisar till en viss grund eller en särskild tradition utan förflyttar sig mellan olika kulturella horisonter. Den motstår därmed varje försök att hänföra en viss tradition, händelse eller plats till *en* sanning, *en* identitet, *ett* ursprung, *ett* väsen eller *en* natur. En sådan tolkning vill i stället påvisa att varje historisk berättelse och geografisk plats är ett virrvarr av växelverkande

identiteter.¹² Här finns inte plats för majoriteter och minoriteter, för norskt, svenskt, nordiskt eller utländskt. Sådana indelningar görs om intet så snart man märker att den kulturella identiteten är genomsprängd av strängar från alla andra platser på jorden.

Den kulturella globaliseringens fjärde tendens gör sig märkbar på det estetiska området och i samtida kulturteori. I journalistiken däremot har den näppeligen trängt in. Dominerande journalistik och nyhetsförmedling förblir beroende av en världsbild av det slag Sven Öste kritiserade. Där mäts och värderas händelser och människor i förhållande till ett tänkt centrum, nationellt eller globalt, en påstått objektiv utsiktspunkt varifrån en påstått opartisk observatör kan överblicka och kategorisera världens gång.

Kanske har journalistikens tillkortakommande när det gäller att skildra globaliseringens politiska förlopp sin orsak i att den förblir bunden till en dylik objektivistisk och positivistisk epistemologi. Kanske beror konstarnas framgångsrikare hantering av denna uppgift på att de är knutna till ett perspektiv på världen som är beläget i brytningspunkten för globaliseringens motstridiga processer. Låt mig ge ett nytt exempel och göra en ny distinktion som klargör skillnaden.

Exemplet är det så kallade kriget mot terrorismen, närmare bestämt dess första fas, angreppet på talibanregimen i Afghanistan. I USA och Europa utgick de flesta opinionsbildare ifrån att detta krig var berättigat och ändamålsenligt. I tongivande västlig journalistik placerades kriget in i en berättelse som grovt taget handlade om ljusets kamp mot mörkret. Intellectuella med rötter i den muslimska världen, till exempel Naguib Mahfouz, Tahar Ben Jelloun, Tariq Ali, Edward Said, Sherif Hetata och Khalid Duran, menade tvärtom att kriget skulle förvärra alla problem.¹³

Hur förklara skillnaden mellan de västliga och de arabisk-muslimska intellektuellas ställningstaganden? Före kriget tillhörde båda lägren en och samma international av sekulariserade intellektuella som förespråkade samma demokrati, mänskliga rättigheter och upplysningsvärden. Efter kriget återoppar de samma värden. Ändå kom de att splittras längs just de kulturella gränser som båda lägren menar sig stå ovanför.

Måhända beror skillnaden på att grupperna tolkade kriget mot bakgrund av olika kontexter. Kriget mot terrorismen kan ju skrivas in som ett kapitel i flera olika berättelser. En av berättelserna handlar om demokratins och det öppna samhällets kamp för sin överlevnad gentemot motståndare som inte drar sig för att massmörda oskyldiga. En annan handlar om den senaste fasen i USA:s befästade av världshegemoni. En tredje handlar om globaliseringens yttersta konsekvenser. En fjärde gäller dialektiken mellan religiös tro och sekularisering i den muslimska världen. Denna komplexitet borde stämma till eftertanke. Vilken berättelse som får styra ens tolkning påverkas givetvis av var man själv befinner sig i ett världspolitiskt spänningsfält, till exempel om man är arab eller europé.

Ändå tycks tongivande opinionsbildare och medier i väst utgå ifrån att deras tolkning är den enda tänkbara. När de bortser ifrån de andra berättelser som kriget är inbäddat i gör de sig skyldiga till en förenkling. "Komplexitetsreduktion", kallar den tyske litteraturhistorikern Hans-Ulrich Gumprecht denna blindhet.¹⁴ Han beskriver den västerländska reaktionen – och i förlängningen den västerländska mediebevakningen – som typisk för en modernitet som absolutifierat vad han kallar "subjektskulturen", ett förhållningssätt till världen där människans fattas som en platslös och kroppslös betraktare av världens skeenden. "Världen" är något man nalkas med begreppsliga verktyg, inte ett rum man lever i och formas av. Denna hållning förutsätter att människan uppnått välmående och trygghet, så att hon inte längre är omedelbart indragen i historien utan kan överblicka den *von oben*. Synsättet är så inrotat i modernitetens kultur att själva den definition av

kunskap och moral som kodifierats i väst förutsätter detta slags perspektiv – ett perspektiv där världen framstår som bild, som ”världsbild” i Heideggers formulering.¹⁵ Enligt detta synsätt blir det journalistens, reporterns och opinionsbildarens uppgift att inta just en ovanstående och utanförstående position, ja, detta blir själva förutsättningen för att kunna säga något om världen och det pågående kriget.

Absolutifieringen av denna inställning till världen har enligt Gumprecht gjort att västerländska journalister och intellektuella mist förmågan att förstå hur mindre gynnade platser alltså präglas inte bara av modernitetens ”subjektskultur” utan också av vad han kallar en ”närvarokultur” (Präsenz-Kultur). Ordet antyder hur människan förstår sig själv som bunden till en bestämd kropp och en särskild plats, en närvaro. För en sådan människa utspelar sig historien inte bara som ett sammanhang av betydelser eller ett flöde av information, utan som en kraft som tränger in på huden och förändrar rummet hon lever i. Att till exempel stationeringen av amerikanska flygplan i närheten av Mecka upplevs som en skymf som muslimer reagerar på med frustration och vrede – detta är något som den västliga modernitetens sensorium knappast ens kan registrera, skriver Gumprecht. Västerlandets företrädare saknar förutsättningar för att förstå hur världspolitiken på många håll upplevs som intrång och förnedring.

Mediernas bevakning av det politiska skeendet formas i enlighet med denna begränsning. Bevakning av historien sker, så att säga, från åskådarplats. Estetiken å sin sida förblir alltid knuten till den konkreta mänskliga erfarenheten. Redan filosofen Hegel noterade att konsten är knuten till sinneserfarenheten, till gestaltandet av hur livet och samhället låter sig ses, höras, kännas, smakas, ja, till och med lukas. Här finns ytterligare en orsak till att det är konsten av i dag som kan skänka oss en aning om globaliseringsprocessens politiska verkningar, bortom de översiktsskärmar som förmedlas i journalistik och statistik.

Den motsättning jag målar upp skulle i så fall vara en motsättning mellan erfarenhet och överblick, där det förblir konsternas uppgift att gestalta den konkreta erfarenheten av att leva i globaliseringens konfliktzoner, medan journalistiken och medierna skulle stå för den strukturella överblicken. Motsägelsen dem emellan tycks i dagens värld driven till sin spets. Kulturteoretikern Fredric Jameson formulerar saken som ett ofrånkomligt dilemma, en double-bind: i dag, skriver han, råder en situation där en erfarenhet, i den mån den är autentisk, inte kan ge en sann bild av den samhälleliga verkligheten, medan en modell av verkligheten, i den mån den är sann, aldrig kan bli tillgänglig för autentisk erfarenhet.¹⁶

Detta skulle i förlängningen innebära att konstens försök att förmedla den autentiska erfarenheten av dagens politiska skeenden aldrig kan resa några sanningsanspråk, medan journalistikens försök att förmedla sanningen om verkligheten sällan eller aldrig säger något om de autentiska erfarenheter som, i sista hand, styr skeendet.

Denna dikotomi är drastisk. Som alla vet uppträder en god del av dagens konst och litteratur med anspråk på att säga sanningen om dolda politiska och historiska strukturer, samtidigt som dagens främsta journalistik gärna nalkas människans konkreta erfarenheter. Båda eftersträvar i bästa fall vad Jameson kallar en kognitiv kartläggning av totaliteten: att göra det globala skeendet erfarenhetsmässigt gripbart.¹⁷

Men i dessa försök tycks det alltid vara så att de estetiska genrerna ligger steget före massmediernas verklighetsåtergivning. Varför? Man skulle kunna uttrycka det så: konsten, litteraturen och filmen utvecklar de framställningssätt som sedermera institutionaliseras och instrumentaliseras i journalistik och massmedier. Det finns flera intressanta

exempel på hur journalistiska genrer utvecklats ur litteratur, konst och film: artonhundratalets realistiska och naturalistiska roman föregriper tidningens dokumentärreportage; modernismens filmavantgarde utvecklar de montage-tekniker som sedan standardiseras i televisionen; dramatikens och den filosofiska romanens dialogiska struktur påverkar journalistikens intervjuform; pressfotot hämtar förebilder från måleriets ikonografi; den modernistiska romanens flytande berättarperspektiv tas till användning i det undersökande reportaget i såväl press som radio och tv.

Ett annat slående exemplet gäller dokumentärfilmens historia. Den amerikanske filmvetaren Bill Nichols har nyligen försökt ompröva genrens historia.¹⁸ Hans analys har allmän giltighet för frågan om journalistikens förhållande till estetiken. Filmhistorikerna har länge hävdat att dokumentarismen är filmmediets själva essens. Från den dag då bröderna Lumière 1895 för första gången visade film offentligt, och då en häpen publik kunde se rörliga bilder på arbetare som lämnade sin fabrik och på ett tåg som ankom till en järnvägsstation, har det rörliga fotografiet ansetts ha direktkontakt med den autentiska verkligheten. All film är – så att säga av ursprung och per definition – dokumentärfilm: ett slags journalistik. När dokumentärfilmen som begrepp uppstod i slutet av 1920-talet innebar detta alltså inte, enligt gängse historieskrivning, att en ny genre såg dagens ljus utan att man hittade på ett namn för vad filmen alltid varit: verklighetsdokumenterande. Därmed har filmhistorikerna försett dokumentären med ett nära nog mytiskt ursprung, menar Nichols. Dokumentärfilmen framstår som en nödvändig följd av det fotografiska mediets realism: den är ett fönster mot verkligheten och den nakna sanningen. Därför har också dokumentären stått fram som ett inbegrepp av journalistikens verklighetsavslöjande funktion.

Nichols kastar denna historieskrivning i papperskorgen. Han noterar att de första filmerna alls inte sågs som verklighetsdokument, utan som magiska skådespel. Han frågar också hur det kan komma sig att dokumentärfilmen inte uppstod förrän kring 1928. Om det verkligen stämmer att filmen är dokumentarisk till sin natur då borde den uppstått redan under filmens första år. Nu är dokumentärfilmens betingelser långt mer sammansatta än själva det verklighetsåtergivande mediet, menar Nichols. Till den egentliga dokumentärfilmens betingelser hörde, utöver själva filmtekniken, tre fenomen: dels en särskild berättarteknik, utvecklad i den tidiga filmen, dels en social uppgift, en vilja att upplysa och engagera allmänheten som uppstod först i mellankrigstidens politiska offentlighet, samt slutligen det slags främmandegörande och verklighetsavslöjande montage-tekniker som utvecklades inom 1920-talets avantgardefilm. Nichols dröjer särskilt vid det sistnämnda. Han visar att dokumentärfilmen och allt journalistiskt bruk av filmmediet, står i skuld till de filmexperiment som gjordes av Walter Ruttmann, Sergei Eisenstein, Dziga Vertov, Man Ray och Louis Bunuel, alltså det modernistiska avantgardet.

Jag ska inte dröja ytterligare vid Nichols resonemang. Poängen torde ha framgått. En dokumentarisk genre som strävar efter att motsvara alla journalistikens kriterier för sanning och saklighet uppstod ur det konstnärliga avantgardets fria experiment med bilder och berättande. Varför erkänns detta arv så sällan? Nichols poängterar att dokumentärfilmen som genre skulle förlora trovärdighet om den erkände sin släktskap med konsten. Man skulle ju då tvingas erkänna att vägen till en sann skildring av verkligheten går via den estetiska fiktionen, att den dokumentära och journalistiska sanningen i hög grad är en konstruktion.

All journalistik – liksom varje verklighetsåtergivande genre och medium som uppträder med verifierbara sanningsanspråk – tenderar att genomgå en ideologisk förkalk-

ningsprocess. Den förvandlas till ett instrument som ytterst befäster en given verklighetsbild (i värsta fall den beryktade ”offentliga lögnen”). Detta kan journalistiken undvika bara genom att låta sig påverkas av de olika konstarnas förmåga att bryta igenom klichéer, döda språk och slitna koder. Konsternas experiment i bildanvändning och berättarstruktur förnyar på så vis journalistikens verklighetsgestaltning. Estetiken tycks vara journalistikens vaccin mot likriktning och hindrar den från att urarta till en tom om än underhållande upprepning av maktens gester.

I dag befinner vi oss mitt i denna vaccineringsprocess. Konst, litteratur och film politiseras, vilket vill säga att de pekar ut de nya konfliktzoner och gestaltungsformer som sannolikt kommer att prägla morgondagens journalistik. Det är en nödvändig process, inte för konsternas eller journalistikens överlevnad men väl för samhällets: demokratin förutsätter existensen av medier som återger verkligheten opartiskt och trovärdigt.

Och eftersom vi står mitt i denna omvandling ska vi kanske inte förvånas av att en stor del av dagens konst tycks sammanfalla med reportagekonst och dokumentär, medan en stor del av dagens journalistik tycks sammanfalla med såpopera, kriminaldrama, krigsfilm, eller helt enkelt, som Timothy Garton Ash nyligen sa, med den rena fiktionen.¹⁹

Noter

1. Sven Öste, ”Varför alla dessa helsidor från Sydney?”, *Dagens Nyheter* 14 januari 1994.
2. Alfredo Jaar, *Two or Three Things I Imagine About Them*, Kunstnernes hus, Oslo, 1990. Jag skildrar Jaars verk mer utförligt i *Världens centrum: en essä om globalisering* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2001), 125-127.
3. Distinktionen baserar sig på diskussionen i fransk politisk teori om förhållandet mellan ”le politique” och ”la politique,” i engelsk översättning ”politics” och ”the political.” Se Alain Badiou, *Peut-on penser la politique* (Paris: Seuil, 1985); Claude Lefort, ”La question de la démocratie,” i *Le Retrait du politique: travaux du centre de recherches philosophiques sur le politique* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1983), 71-88.
4. Se *News in a Globalized Society*, red. Stig Hjervalld, (Göteborg: Nordicom, 2002); Edward S. Herman and Robert W. McChesney, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism* (London & Washington: Cassell, 1997); and *Journalism and the New World Order: Gulf War, National News Discourses and Globalization*, red. Stig A. Nohrstedt and Rune Ottosen (Göteborg: Nordicom, 2000).
5. Karl Kautsky, *Die Klassengegensätze von 1789* (Stuttgart, 1889); Franz Mehring, *Die Lessing-Legende* [1894] (Berlin: Dietz, 1967).
6. Projekten är kortfattat dokumenterade i utställningskatalogen, *Documenta 11 – Platform 5: Exhibition* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002).
7. Gonzalez-Torres kritik diskuteras av Anthony Downey, ”The Spectacular Difference of Documenta XI,” *Third Text* 62, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 2003): 91.
8. Robert W. McChesney, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
9. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), 35-39; Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López (Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 1-11, 206-263; Guillermo Gómez-Peña, *Warrior for Gringostroika: Essays, Performance Texts, and Poetry* (Saint Paul: Graywolf Press, 1993), 43-44.
10. Otto Bauer, ”The Nation,” i *Mapping the Nation*, red. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 54f. (translation modified); *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, rev. ed. 1924 (Glashütten im Taunus: Detlev Auvermann, 1971), 117. För en mer ingående diskussion om Bauers ståndpunkt i relation till samtida idéer om mellanrummets kultur, se Stefan Jonsson, *Subject Without Nation: Robert Musil and the History of Modern Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 263-270.
11. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 32, 51-52, 66-67.

12. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 11-25.
13. Min beskrivning är generaliserande. Som medieforskaren och Afghanistankännaren Elisabeth Eide betonat fanns det givetvis västerländska medier, särskilt i Norge och övriga Skandinavien, som ansträngde sig för att förmedla synpunkter på kriget från den muslimska världen. Men dessa undantag är av den sort som bekräftar regeln. Att några nyhetskanaler fann det angeläget att publicera kommentarer och analyser från personer av afghanskt eller muslimskt ursprung var ett välkommet avsteg från den norm som säger att västerländska medier på egen hand ger en god och opartisk tolkning av världen. Men det faktum att dessa avsteg måste göras, att progressivare medier måste göra så stora ansträngningar för få in de andras röster, visar just hur stark själva normen är.
14. Hans-Ulrich Gumprecht i *Merkur* 55 (nov 2001): 1048-1054.
15. Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 115-154.
16. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 411: "There comes into being, then, a situation in which we can say that if individual experience is authentic, then it cannot be true; and that if a scientific or cognitive model of the same content is true, then it escapes individual experience."
17. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 51-54.
18. Bill Nichols, "Documentary Film and the Modernist Avant-Garde," *Critical Inquiry* 27 (2001), no. 4: 580-610.
19. Jag refererar till den svenska översättningen av Timothy Garton Ashs artikel: "Välkommen till Matrix!" *Dagens Nyheter* 17 juni 2003.

Comments on Stefan Jonsson's presentation

HILDE ARNTSEN

Here, Stefan Jonsson delivers, as he usually does, knowledgeable, well-written essays and analyses, which provide the reader with new insights and material for further reflection.¹ In this text, Jonsson deliberates on questions of key significance within cultural studies and media studies, and gratefully his frames of reference move beyond the strictly methodological and those of theoretical juggling for its own sake. In other words, it is as a broadminded essayist Stefan Jonsson writes his paper, not only as a practicing editor of the cultural affairs pages in one of Sweden's most significant broadsheets. Jonsson, thus, has both an insider's view on journalism and the benefit of an external view on the logics of the media in a time of globalisation. I have read his contribution with great interest, but also with increasing frustration on behalf of media studies. Although I share some of Jonsson's views on the state of affairs, I am not quite sure whether I also share his pessimism. Further, I do not share his elitism. In order to comment on his intense paper, I have had to do exactly what Jonsson criticizes Western media for: I have found it necessary to make a selection based on my interests and from my particular point of view.

I would like to start my commentary on Jonsson's paper by providing an example for the world outside Scandinavia and from the media in the age of globalisation. When Black secondary school youths in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe in the late 1990s, before the country's plunge towards chaos, started in earnest and wanted to signal among themselves and to the world around them that they were progressive and modern, they were careful to speak in English with one another. Not only during school time, as English is after all the language of instruction in the country, but some of them spoke English even outside school. Provided they had access to a television set in working order, they chose to watch television series from the US or from Australia (which were imported cheaply by the state broadcaster); they tuned into the English language state radio broadcaster, which played mostly foreign music; and they certainly did not listen to the state radio focussing on the cultures and music of the majority population in general and the politics of the ruling party in particular.

These youngsters, popularly referred to as the "nose brigade" for their use of English and their apparent embracing of Western culture in general and Western popular cultures in particular, both illustrate the globalized media world and the status of languages

therein, as Stig Hjarvard discussed with examples from Denmark,² and the problems inherent in global media and cultures, as Stefan Jonsson elaborates on in his paper. These youngsters gather the stuff of their dreams, as do many of us, from the media, among other places. The products of global popular culture are central as points of orientation. Journalism, however, is chiefly at the mercy of the government's political regulations. The saying that 'news equals propaganda' is unfortunately a sad reality in Zimbabwe as it is in many other parts of the world. The global, on the other hand, might become a resource for those who have access to it, albeit in an uneven power relationship between the Zimbabwean youth and the global media products and their owners.

The youth from Harare fundamentally break with the image of Africans we in Scandinavia may easily get from the media reports of war and catastrophes in the so-called Third World, and through the silence around events and people not embraced by the Western media logic's definition of newsworthiness. This is the starting point for Stefan Jonsson when he quotes the question "Why all these full-page spreads from Sydney?". When four casualties in a bushfire in Australia get more media coverage in Swedish news media than do ten thousand people who lost their lives in an earthquake in India, this is an illustration of news values and culturally sensitive priorities in practice. Unfortunately, the fact that a person from the West is worth more than one from the Third World when represented in Western media output is manifested time and again. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge showed this in their article on the structure of foreign news as early as 1965.³ Jonsson comments that globalization entails that the news reporting of Western media corporations appears as universal values. This is an established truth that fortunately must be partly modified. The Western media logic has admittedly become the norm in a great proportion of the world's news media, but the manner in which the news is framed and in turn interpreted in various cultures around the world nonetheless leaves room for local variations. Thanks to the interpretive powers of the readers or audience which provide for considerable interpretive leeway, and certain attempts at providing news according to different criteria, the picture might be pessimistic, but not only so. The slantedness of the global news system to which Jonsson draws our attention, may on closer inspection be less globalizing and less standardized than the impressions we get from our position. To people in totalitarian regimes, national government restrictions on their lives and their media seem to hold more apparent threats. On the other hand, this should not make us close our eyes to the state of matters and comment in resignation that we are too small agents on the global actors' great stage.

Jonsson discusses various developments within the field of cultural globalization. The first tendency he points to is the worldwide triumph of US mass cultures. The Harare youths may at first glance seem to confirm this tendency. They have seemingly adopted Western culture or more specifically certain parts thereof. Although they seem to be as familiar with parts of Western popular culture as are many Scandinavians, there is a fundamental difference. The youths in Harare adopt certain elements of Western popular culture and appropriate it. They do so knowing well that their social, political and cultural possibilities for changing their life accordingly are meagre. The dreams with which they engage in popular culture will remain dreams for the majority of them.

Jonsson's second example is taken from the world of art and cartography, namely the art exhibition of Alfredo Jaar in Oslo, where the visitor is given a passport and a map case containing pictures of the culture's and the world's marginalized others. Jonsson argues that Alfredo Jaar opens the doors to the worlds of the marginalized others chiefly

by arguing that the visitor becomes aware that he or she *does not see* the others. This might well be correct, but we are still talking about the rest becoming available to people in the West. What about turning the perspective around? The image of the West in the Third World is not constructed only through media images of wars, catastrophes and conflict, but rather through the products of popular culture, the sweatshops of global capitalism, and the temptation of buying the West's capital products sold in the Third World. The products are mixed with images of freedom, democracy and political double standards, and such dreams sell well. When the Danish arts festival "Images of Africa" in 1996 published the book *Images of the West*, they turned the gaze around: Instead of merely providing the Danes with alternative images of Africa, the festival published a collection of texts and images that attempt to show how the West is viewed from Africa. The book *Images of the West* is a reminder that the West is a composite concept and an invitation for the West to question its self-assumed position and reputation in the world.⁴ The question remains, however, whether art exhibitions such as that of Jaar, or the *Images of Africa* collection, contribute to a widening of vision within journalism. Jonsson argues that these two worlds are able to fruitfully expand one another, and that art compensates the "blinds spots" of journalism. In my opinion, such cross-fertilization must come from within journalistic practice itself, or from the media in general, such as through products of popular culture.

Jonsson presents the hypothesis that the "standardisation of mass media journalism and the politicisation of art is interdependent". Many might agree that the global media logics are based on a White, male, Western and property-owning subject position. This subject position is suitable both to the implicit narrator and the implicit listener in the mass media geared to a global audience. But, is this not a bit too simple? Research has suggested that the so-called global appeal is overly emphasized, as different people in different cultures read different things into the same media text. We did perhaps not get wall-to-wall Dallas, but we did almost get wall-to-wall Big Brother and other programme formats that are bought and sold as commodities on the global market before being adapted to the main cultures in the markets in which they will be broadcast. Furthermore, there are formats developed in less mainstream cultures and subsequently exported. Let me merely mention telenovelas or Indian film production in so-called Bollywood. It may be a problem that Jonsson, to such a considerable extent, moves the potential to comment on the state of affairs from the mainstream media and over to the special-interest media for so-called narrowly defined interests. This is some of what I find problematic in Jonsson's otherwise inspiring paper, and this constitutes one of the points on which I do not share his pessimism. Is popular culture a failure in such a way of thinking? There are, on the other hand, several examples of popular culture with liberating potential that Jonsson also could have noticed. He does not. Why? May I suggest that the aesthetics argument loses its potential when moved out of the realm of the special interest media? Will the aesthetics aspect maintain its critical potential when not only purporting to fertilize journalism, but rather to influence popular culture?

Local, ethnic or national movements that offer resistance to the globalization processes of culture are also, in my opinion, central counter-forces. But it is important to caution that not all that is local is resistance, and that not all resistance is local.

The fourth tendency within globalization can, according to Jonsson, be found within the aesthetic field and within contemporary cultural theory. He argues, however, that this has not yet made its way into journalism, as people and events are there assessed according to the imagined centre. Aesthetics seem to be Jonsson's answer to saving

journalism from unidirectionality, standardizing, and from repeating the gestures of those in power. This will, according to Jonsson, point to new conflict areas and content forms that will influence journalism to come. Today's journalism, in Jonsson's words, is equal to soap opera, crime drama, war films or pure fiction. Although I read Jonsson's text with great interest, I sometimes wonder where he, with his considerable grasp of postcolonial theories, is keeping his knowledge of media in other parts of the world. Certain kinds of journalism, for instance in Zimbabwe's government-controlled mass media, may be pure fiction, but that is, I will argue, a fiction that does not exist isolated in its own universe. Nor is it a fiction that moves from journalism to the art gallery. This is a kind of fiction that concurs with tear gas, lack of food, lack of money and appropriate money notes, and ill treatment because one bought the wrong newspaper.

Jonsson argues that it is politicized art that will constitute the counter-force to the global capital's unidirection of journalism. This is an interesting point. The question remains whether these two processes are active within separate fields of action. Youth in Harare who watch American fictional television series seem not to care whether art comments on the shortcomings of the media to which they have access. Hence, Jonsson argues about the media in a very narrow sense of the word, and his arguments on journalism's rendering of reality are limited in the global media flow. It is therefore rather problematic when he discusses the media as if they equal journalism, and the media as if they only exist as they do in the West. Journalism in the pocket of global capital is only one side of the coin.

The myth of global media's so-called view from nowhere must be called a bluff once and for all. But it is also a myth, in my opinion, that journalism will be improved thanks to the influence of aesthetics and politicized art. It is not necessarily a bad thing that journalism seems to equal soap opera, crime drama or war films. What is key is having structures on which to hinge this kind of journalism. Pure fiction radically breaks with the ideal of journalism, but the idea that journalism is mirroring reality is a myth only journalists believe.

Last, but not least, I find it problematic that Jonsson refers to the globalization of the culture as if globalization is a homogeneous singular entity, despite its theoretical complexity and wide empirical focus.

Summing up

Jonsson sees aesthetics and art as counter-weights to tendencies of uni-directionality within the globalization processes. The problem, as I see it, is that these tendencies seem to operate under other kinds of premises, paradoxically primarily available first and foremost for those who may not necessarily need them: people who *already* are tuned into the multicultural diversity where various media and art styles interact and fruitfully influence one another. The people outside these inner circles are then left out once again.

Art, literature and film develop modes of presentation that are subsequently brought into journalism and the mass media, Jonsson argues. Popular cultures as independent agents are also a vital power source, and Jonsson seems to overlook the field of popular culture outside the capitalist popular culture between high culture (i.e. art, literature and film) and journalism. At the same time, the individual's interpretive activities in dealing with popular cultures, art, literature or journalism are part of the ongoing global processes of change. They continue to have, on the other hand, creative and counter-weighting potentials.

Notes

1. For instance *De andra* (1993), *Andra platser* (1995), and *Världens centrum* (2001).
2. Stig Hjarvard's plenary paper at the Kristiansand conference.
3. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, 1965: "The Structure of Foreign News. The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers", *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 1, 1965, Oslo: International Peace Research Institute.
4. *Images of Africa* (1996) published by the "Images of Africa" festival in cooperation with Baobab Books, Zimbabwe.

Globaliseringen af sproget

Om mediernes rolle i udbredelsen af engelsk og fremkomsten af medialekter

STIG HJARVARD

Har [Ordene] ophørt at bære Bud om, hvad der hænder i de
Levendes Land, saa vender alle dem Ryggen, – maaske med
Undtagelse af Filologerne, for de har jo altid haft en Svaghed
for Ordene som Kadavere (Jeppe Aakjær, 1916: 118)

I denne analyse af mediernes rolle i forandringen af sproget vil jeg sætte fokus på udbredelsen af det engelske sprog og fremvæksten af mediebundne sprogformer. Min *første* hypotese er, at medierne både er budbringere for en engelsksproget kultur og selvstændige bidragydere til anglificeringen af den globale kultur (Hjarvard, 2003a). Medierne er ikke kun en neutral kanal for udbredelse af angloamerikansk kultur, men er blandt andet i kraft af deres institutionelle struktur, herunder den betydelige angloamerikanske dominans inden for softwareindustrien i bred forstand (dvs. både computer, tv, musik osv.), med til at sikre engelsk en fortrinsstilling på bekostning af andre sprog.

Mediernes sprogpåvirkning består ikke kun i udbredelsen af det engelske sprog; medierne skaber selv en sproglig fornyelse. Medierne udgør en materiel og social infrastruktur for kommunikation mellem mennesker, og i kraft af dette kommer mediernes egne karakteristika til at præge sproget. Den *anden* hypotese er således, at der i takt med medialiseringen af den menneskelige kommunikation (Hjarvard, 2003b) udvikler sig mediebundne sprogformer. Hvor sprogforskere hidtil har fokuseret på de sproglige kendetegn, der knytter sig til sprogbrugernes geografiske herkomst (dialekter) og sociologiske kendetegn som klasse eller uddannelsesniveau (sociolekter), må en analyse af et medialiseret samfunds sprogbrug i stigende grad medtænke de sprogformer, der knytter sig til specifikke medier. Disse vil jeg kalde *medialekter*. Der er endvidere et samspil mellem engelsk og medialekter, idet engelsk i særlig grad påvirker de mediespecifikke sprogformer.

Den *trede* hypotese er, at sprogpåvirkningen spiller ind i forhold til sociale og kulturelle skel i befolkningen og ikke kun skal ses som en national konflikt mellem det danske og det udenlandske. Undertiden fremstilles spørgsmålet om påvirkningen fra engelsk af det danske sprog som et valg mellem en ren dansksproget kultur og en udenlandsk ditto, og valget får ofte karakter af at være et spørgsmål om smag og dannelse: påvirkningen fra engelsk anskues som et udtryk for en sjusket omgang med det danske sprog, som en større sproglig bevidsthed og korrekthed vil kunne rette op på. Omend påvirkningen af

den nationale sprogkultur også spiller en selvstændig rolle, vil jeg i det følgende fokusere på de sociale og kulturelle sider af påvirkningen. I forlængelse af Bourdieus (1984, 1992) teori om forskellige former for kapital inden for samfundets forskellige sociale felter vil jeg opfatte sproget som et socialt felt, hvorindenfor kulturelle og sociale konflikter artikuleres. En sproglig kompetence (eksempelvis større eller mindre evne til at tale fremmedsprog eller en evne til at skifte mellem dialekt og rigsdansk alt efter situationen) udgør en kapital, som sprogbrugeren kan anvende til at opnå en bestemt status, identitet og magt i forhold til andre. Set i Bourdieus optik udgør den sproglige kompetence en symbolsk kapital, som sprogbrugeren kan veksle til kulturel kapital (anseelse, status osv.) eller økonomisk kapital (arbejde med højere løn osv.). Mediernes øgede brug af engelsk formidler derfor ikke kun en udenlandsk indflydelse, men bidrager til at opretholde og ændre på sociale og kulturelle skel og magtrelationer internt i den danske befolkning.

Engelsk er globaliseringens sprog

I løbet af de sidste par årtier har det engelske sprog opnået en særlig status. Hvor det tidligere var ét af de dominerende hovedsprog på lige fod med eksempelvis fransk og spansk, er det i dag forvandlet til et *verdenssprog*, dét sprog som alle benytter, når de ønsker at kommunikere med andre uden for deres eget sprogfællesskab. Engelsk er blevet det globale netværkssamfunds generelle ækvivalent: hvor tcp/ip protokollen sikrer den tekniske kommunikation mellem alle verdens computere over internettet, er engelsk blevet sproget for den mundtlige og skriftlige kommunikation på tværs af grænser.

I denne proces har de øvrige hovedsprog også skiftet status: omend de andre hovedsprog numerisk set tales af flere i dag end tidligere – er de relativt set blevet degraderet i det sproglige statushierarki i forhold til engelsk. Fransk, spansk, arabisk, tysk, russisk m.fl. er i dag snarere en slags regionale sprog, dvs. nationale sprog med en udvidet rækkevidde; de er ved at miste den side af et hovedsprogs kvaliteter, der handler om at være gangbar mønt i den internationale kommunikation og samkvem: både i politisk og erhvervsmæssig henseende og i interkulturel henseende som anvendt sprog mellem mennesker, der krydser grænser eller blot vil underholde sig med udenlandske medieprodukter.

De forskellige sprog er også påvirket af konkurrencen fra det engelske sprog. De indoptager i stigende grad engelske ord, udtaleformer, ordstillinger etc. Samtidig er et stigende antal sprog og dialekter i direkte fare for at blive udryddet. Der findes aktuelt omkring 6.800 forskellige sprog i verden, men det er meget forskelligt, hvor mange mennesker der taler de enkelte sprog. De 11 mest talte sprog tegner sig for næsten halvdelen af jordens befolkning. Engelsk er ikke det mest talte sprog, men omkring 341 millioner mennesker havde i 1999 engelsk som første sprog. Omkring ½ milliard havde i 1999 engelsk som enten første eller andet sprog. 417 sprog kategoriseres i dag som praktisk talt uddøde, da de kun tales af enkelte ældre personer, men mange flere oplever tilbagegang på forskellige områder (www.ethnologue.com). Denne udvikling er ikke i sig selv af nyere dato eller knyttet alene til det engelske sprogs udbredelse. Der er tale om en proces over mange århundreder, hvor ikke mindst de europæiske landes koloniale erobringer over det meste af kloden har bidraget til, at et mindre antal sprog har opnået en fortrinsstilling, og at lokale sprog og dialekter er blevet udgrænset. I kølvandet på den økonomiske og politiske imperialisme har ofte fulgt en *sproglig imperialisme* (Phillipson, 1992).

Den sproglige homogenisering er ikke kun et produkt af globale erobringstogter, men også et resultat af *nationale* byggeprojekter. Opbygningen af nationalstater har ofte haft

den konsekvens, at et enkelt sprog er blevet udnævnt til nationalsprog, og de øvrige sprog inden for nationen enten er blevet forsømt uddannelsesmæssigt og kulturelt eller direkte er blevet undertrykt i form af politiske forbud, begrænsninger osv. Tilsvarende er forskellige dialekter inden for det dominerende nationale sprog blevet rangordnet i forhold til hinanden, hvorved én dialekt er blevet den foreskrevne standardnorm på bekostning af andre (Milroy og Milroy, 1999). Globaliseringen og det engelske sprogs udbredelse på bekostning af andre sprog er set i dette lys ikke noget nyt fænomen. Der er snarere tale om en radikalisering og acceleration af en århundredelang udviklingstendens, hvor lokale sprogvariationer dør ud på bekostning af mere universelle.

Flere sprog- og kulturforskere taler direkte om *sprogdrab* som følge af globaliseringen. Fremfor at tale om at sprog og dialekter er uddøende og dermed implicit acceptere deres forsvinden som en naturlig og uafvendelig udvikling, anvender de betegnelsen sprogdrab for at pege på udviklingens samfundsskabte og intenderede karakter. Når sprog forsvinder, er det som følge af bestemte institutioners virke: "Nogle af de vigtigste direkte aktører i dette sproglige (og kulturelle) folke- og sprogdød er formel uddannelse og massemedier, og bag dem står økonomiske og politiske aktører på makroniveau" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2001: 33).

Globaliseringen har dog ikke kun medført en sproglig homogenisering og tilslutning til det engelske sprog. Der har også været flere eksempler på en forøget politisk bevægelse for anerkendelse og bevarelse af mindre udbredte sprog som eksempelvis skotsk, walisisk, catalansk, kurdisk osv. Sådanne bevægelser har sædvanligvis ikke været rettet mod globaliseringen som sådan (eller det engelske sprog for den sags skyld), men tværtimod været rettet mod et enkelt sprogs dominans i en national kultur som eksempelvis tyrkisk i Tyrkiet. Enkelte steder er forsvaret for dialekterne blevet en del af en national sprogpolitik som i Norge, hvor også medierne spiller en bevidst rolle i sikringen af såvel egne dialekter som det dialektbaserede kunstsprog nynorsk (Vestad, 2003). Den politiske kamp for anerkendelse af lokale og regionale sprog har været en del af en *kulturel identitetspolitik* rettet mod den nationalstatslige enhedskulturs hegemoni. Set i dette perspektiv er de nationale sprogkulturer under angreb både udefra og indefra, hvilket falder udmærket i tråd med globaliseringsteoriens generelle påpegning af den igangværende udviklings dobbelthed af globalisering og lokalisering.

Danskere taler engelsk – og rigsdansk

Det danske sprog har ligesom andre været kraftigt påvirket af det engelske sprog i anden halvdel af det 20. århundrede. Påvirkningen berører både udtale, bøjninger og ordsammensætninger, men den mest synlige indflydelse viser sig i mængden af nye ord med rødder i amerikansk eller engelsk kultur. I en omfattende opgørelse over nye ord i det danske ordforråd i perioden 1955-1998 giver Jarvad (1999: 110) følgende opdeling over de nye ords sproglige herkomst:

Lån fra andre sprog end engelsk (f.eks. tortilla)	5 %
Navne, enkeltord, fraser direkte fra engelsk (f.eks. death metal)	13 %
Hybrider med et led fra engelsk (f.eks. hårspray)	14 %
Pseudoengelske ord (f.eks. bigshopper)	2 %
Betydningslån fra engelsk (f.eks. turbulens)	9 %
Danske dannelser (f.eks. salgsbrev)	57 %

Som Jarvad (1999) peger på, kan man lægge disse procentsatser sammen på forskellige måder og derved komme frem til mere eller mindre alarmistiske konklusioner om påvirkningen fra engelsk. Vælger man at understrege fordanskningen af de sproglige lån, vil man nå frem til, at kun 13 % kommer direkte fra engelsk og 5 % fra andre sprog, hvormed 82 % af alle nye danske ord har en større eller mindre dansk herkomst. Lægger man derimod vægt på alle de forskellige former for engelsk indflydelse, vil man nå frem til, at 38 % af alle nye ord er direkte eller indirekte påvirket af engelsk. Uanset hvilken af disse sammenlægninger og konklusioner, man foretrækker, er det dog ganske uomtvisteligt, at andre sprog udøver en langt ringere indflydelse på det danske sprog sammenlignet med engelsk.

Påvirkningen af det danske sprog er dog kun én side af det engelske sprogs indflydelse. En anden vigtig side vedrører det forhold, at engelsk i stadig flere sammenhænge bruges i stedet for det danske sprog. Det kan være større virksomheder, der begynder at anvende engelsk som firmasprog som følge af omfattende internationale relationer i det daglige arbejde, eller det kan være videnskabelige sammenhænge, hvor man enten tidligere brugte dansk i større omfang eller anvendte flere fremmedsprog end engelsk. Informationsteknologien, musiklivet og reklamebranchen er ligeledes områder, hvor engelsk vinder hastigt frem og undertiden er helt ved at udkonkurrere brugen af dansk. Sprogforskerne benævner det forhold, at et givent sprog taber terræn inden for bestemte samfundsmæssige områder for *domænetab*, og bekymringen blandt visse danske sprogforskere går netop på risikoen for domænetab. Det danske sprog som sådan skal nok overleve, men det kan blive reduceret omfangs- og statusmæssigt som følge af domænetab: hvis det danske sprog er vigende inden for flere områder af danskernes hverdagsliv – og specielt dem, der vedrører nye teknologiske og økonomiske vækstområder, kan det få uheldige konsekvenser for sprogets fortsatte vitalitet og sproglige rigdom (Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund, 1999; Jarvad, 1999).

Er det danske sprog i stigende grad ved at åbne sig over for det engelske sprog, er det samtidig ved at lukke af i forhold til lokale variationer af det danske sprog. Danske dialekter har i takt med moderniseringen været i stadig tilbagegang siden 1800-tallet, og i dag er vi i den situation, at der praktisk talt ikke er egentlige dialekter tilbage af det danske sprog. En specifik sprogbrug knyttet til en bestemt lokalitet kan i dag kun findes enkelte steder blandt meget gamle mennesker. I stedet er der opstået udtyndede regionale dialekter som fynsk, bornholmsk og sønderjysk. Men også disse regionale dialekter er i tilbagegang, og det gælder generelt, at regionale dialekter tales hyppigere af ældre og mindre veluddannede, hvorimod yngre og mere veluddannede i højere grad taler rigsdansk (Lund, 2001). Samtidig med dialekternes tilbagegang ser vi tillige fremvæksten af en ny sproglig variation i brugen af en række nye medier som chatrooms, sms, email m.fl. I disse medier ser vi eksempelvis nye blandinger af formelle og uformelle kommunikationsformer og nye kombinationer af tale- og skriftsprog (Crystal, 2001).

Medierne fremhæves ofte som en af de vigtigste faktorer bag den aktuelle påvirkning fra engelsk. Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund (1999: 11) taler således om indflydelsen fra ”hele det amerikanske audiovisuelle stjernekrigsarsenal”, og Preisler (1999a, 1999b) behandler påvirkningen fra engelsk i subkulturer, hvis identitet i høj grad er formet af omgangen med medieformidlede kulturformer som rockmusik og computerspil. Phillipson (1992: 59) fremhæver ligeledes, at ”den engelske sprogimperialisme ofte fremmes af kulturelle aktiviteter som film, video og tv”. Hvilken rolle medierne nærmere spiller, gives der imidlertid sjældent nogen større behandling af. Sædvanligvis tager man omfanget af det engelske sprogs tilstedeværelse i medierne som et indeks for påvirkningsgraden, men en nærmere analyse eller diskussion af mediernes rolle i denne proces, gives der sædvanligvis ikke. Preisler (1999a, 1999b) har i dansk sammenhæng ført den mest udfoldede dis-

kussion af forholdet i hans analyse af medierede subkulturer, og hans konklusion er overvejende, at medierne ikke i sig selv er ansvarlige for påvirkningen. Den grundlæggende årsag til påvirkningen af det engelske sprog skal ifølge hans argumentation findes i forandringen i kulturen som helhed. Der sker en generel angloamerikanisering af det danske samfund, og dén er årsagen til de sproglige forandringer. Set i Preislers optik afspejler medierne kulturen; de skaber den ikke.

Det er imidlertid ikke først med globaliseringen, at spørgsmålet om mediernes betydning for den sproglige udvikling bliver aktuelt. Medierne har været en part i den sproglige magtkamp gennem århundreder, og netop ved at se på sprogpåvirkningen i et historisk lys vil det blive iøjnefaldende, hvorledes sprogpåvirkningen er et socialt og kulturelt spørgsmål og ikke kun et spørgsmål om at sikre et fælles nationalt sprog med korrekt udtale. Sprognormen rigsdansk, der nu udfordres af det engelske sprog og forskellige medialektter, er ikke nogen neutral eller naturlig version af det danske sprog, men en dialekt der er gået sejrtrigt ud af kulturelle og sociale magtkampe. Et historisk perspektiv vil samtidig kunne påvise, hvorledes fremmedsproglig påvirkning af det danske sprog tidligere har spillet en stor rolle i artikuleringen af sociale og kulturelle hierarkier i Danmark. Domænetab i forhold til fremmedsprog har historisk set været langt mere fremherskende end tilfældet er i dag og formentlig bliver det i en overskuelig fremtid.

Det rigsdansk, stort set alle danskere i dag taler, er blevet til gennem en meget lang social og kulturel proces, hvis endemål har været skabelsen af en national enhedskultur. Rigsdansk er det sproglige resultat af det nationale byggeprojekt, hvor nationalstat og samfund skulle smelte sammen: hvor stat, folk, kultur og sprog blev forbundet gennem konstruktionen af en fælles dansk identitet. I denne proces har eliterne skullet opgive deres sproglige forbundethed med andre sprogkulturer, og folket har skullet opgive lokale varianter af det danske sprog. Rigsdansk blev den sproglige fællesnævner for velfærdsstatens homogenisering af det danske samfund: sproget hvor alle danskere skulle føle sig hjemme i det moderne, industrialiserede og urbaniserede Danmark.

Med globaliseringen er sammenhængen mellem nationalstat og samfund ikke længere så entydig; i stadig flere sammenhænge viser det sig, at danskheden ikke er en indlysende eller tilstrækkelig ramme for social interaktion og identitetsdannelse. Hvad enten det drejer sig om erhvervsliv, politik eller kultur knager det i danskhedens fuger og bånd. Samfund og stat kan ikke længere holdes sammen af danskheden som fællesnævner, fordi både stat og samfund er blevet globaliserede.

Hver social klasse sit fremmedsprog

Det danske sprog har langt fra altid været brugt af alle klasser og lag i Danmark. Under enevælden i 1600- og 1700-tallet var det ikke så meget variationer af det danske sprog, der indgik i de forskellige sociale klasser markering af stands- og rangsmæssige forskelle. Specielt i København var brugen af fremmedsprog udbredt; tysk havde en betydelig position, idet mange håndværkere talte sproget, både som følge af, at mange tyske håndværkere havde bosat sig i hovedstaden, og fordi tysk generelt var håndværkernes sprog; også danske håndværkere havde lært sproget gennem deres tur på valsen i Tyskland. Tysk var også det anvendte sprog i militæret; det var officielt kommandosprog frem til 1773. Dele af statsadministrationen, ligesom kongen og hoffet både talte og skrev tysk, såvel den lavtyske som den højtyske variant. Nogle danske konger skrev aldrig dansk, men primært tysk. Fransk vandt fra sidste halvdel af 1600-tallet og fremefter indpas som prestigesprog i hoffet og i kulturlivet. Fransk blev udbredt som diplomatsprog i det vest-

lige Europa; korrespondancer mellem danske gesandter i udlandet og statsadministrationen foregik på fransk, ligesom man skrev til udenlandske ministre på fransk. Latin var kirkens og universitetsverdenens sprog; eksempelvis foregik forelæsninger på universitetet sædvanligvis på latin frem til 1835 (Petersen, under udgivelse).

Eksistensen af flere sprog afspejlede både den multikulturelle sammensætning af København, dvs. eksistensen af mange indvandrere fra især tysksprogede lande, og den sociale og kulturelle orientering blandt de bedrestillede klasser i København uafhængig af deres faktiske herkomst. Fransk, tysk og latin var højstatussprog inden for forskellige domæner, hvorimod dansk var lavstatussprog; det sprog som almuen og den udannede talte. Sædvanligvis talte eliten flere sprog, hvorfor de bedrestillede klasser anvendte forskellige sprog i forhold til den sociale situation, dvs. formål, etikette osv. og afstemt efter, hvad modtageren var i stand til at forstå. De fleste i eliten talte således noget dansk, men for mange var det et tillært andet- eller trediesprog. Som Skautrup (1947) påpeger i sit værk om det danske sprogs historie, kunne der ligefrem være højstatus forbundet med ikke at bemestre det danske sprog; han citerer således den engelske gesandt Molesworth (1692) for at sige, ”at han har hørt adskillige i høje stillinger prale med, at de ikke kunne tale dansk!” (Skautrup, 1947: 305-6).

Datidens medier, først og fremmest bøger og aviser, var altovervejende henvendt til eliten, og de blev derfor i betydeligt omfang udgivet på fremmedsprog som tysk, fransk og latin. Et forhold der ikke blev mindre udtalt af, at bogtrykkerne og avisudgivere i København overvejende var håndværkere af tysk oprindelse. De velstillede klasser i København læste i 1600-tallet og første halvdel af 1700-tallet importerede aviser fra især Tyskland, men også fra Holland og Frankrig. Bogtrykkeren Daniel Paulli, der af pressehistorikeren P. M. Stolpe er blevet kaldt ”den danske Journalistiks betydeligste Personlighed i det 17de Aarhundrede” (Stolpe, 1879: bd.2, p. 97), begynder i 1670’erne en mere systematisk udgivelse af aviser på dansk sprog, og dette fortsættes i 1700-tallet af blandt andre Joachim Wielandt og Ernst Heinrich Berling. Det er imidlertid karakteristisk for dem alle, at dansksprogede aviser blot er en del af deres samlede avisudbud. Sædvanligvis udgiver de aviser på tre sprog: tysk, fransk og dansk. Der er en vis arbejdsdeling mellem disse aviser, idet de blandt andet i kraft af sproget er henvendt til forskellige grupper i samfundet. Jørgen Paulli udgav således en tysk ugeavis og en dansk månedsavis, og hos Stolpe (1879) finder man en klar beskrivelse af sammenhængen mellem sprog, indhold og målgruppe:

Den ydre Forskjel, at Ugeavisen er tydsk, Maanedsavisen dansk, er begrundet i denne indre Forskjel; thi det er i sin Orden, at Organet for Stats-, Krigs- og Handelssager er skrevet på Tydsk i et Land, hvor dette Sprog er Hoffets og Militærets, og hvor den højere Borgerstand indeholder mange tydske Elementer, medens det danske Sprog falder naturligst i et Blad, som fortrinsvis har sat sig til Opgave at meddele indenlandske Nyheder, og som med et fyldigt underholdende Blandingsstof og et tarveligt politisk Uddrag skulde tilfredsstille Nyhedsinteressen hos den Del af Befolkningen, som ikke var det tydske Sprog mægtig. (Stolpe, 1879, bd. II: 167)

Ernst Heinrich Berling, der i 1749 begyndte udgivelsen af *Kiøbenhavniske Danske Post-Tidender* (det nuværende *Berlingske Tidende*), udgav tillige den tyske avis *Kopenhagener Deutsche Post-Zeitungen* og en fransksproget avis *Gazette de Copenhague*. Fransk var som nævnt blevet udbredt som prestigesprog ved hoffet, og Berlings fransksprogede avis var henvendt til et bedrestillet publikum, der ønskede at pleje sine evner og interesser udi den franske kultur.

Udgivelsen af aviser på forskellige sprog i Danmark var et forsøg på at udkonkurrere de importerede aviser, som læstes af overklassen i København. Dette lykkedes i det store og hele i løbet af anden halvdel af 1700-tallet for Københavns vedkommende. I Jylland og på Fyn vedblev importerede udenlandske aviser dog at dominere til henimod slutningen af århundredet. Den omfattende brug af fremmedsprog blandt overklassen var dog ikke enerådende og forblev ikke uimodsagt. Ludvig Holbergs komedier, hvor snobberi for latin og fransk latterliggøres, er et stærkt vidnesbyrd om, at der i første halvdel af 1700-tallet var en dansksproget selvbevidsthed blandt borgere i København.

De bedrestillede klassers brug af fremmedsprog taber gradvist terræn gennem 1800-tallet blandt andet som følge af nationalromantiske strømninger i politik og kultur. Omend disse strømninger i sig selv er af udenlandsk oprindelse, danner de grobund for en øget orientering mod det danske sprog og en forestilling om en særlig forbindelse mellem det danske folk og nationen. Medierne spiller også en central rolle i denne orientering mod det danske og nationale. Med de borgerlige oplysnings- og frihedsideers fremmarch i Europa og de borgerlige revolutioner fra 1789 og fremefter får aviserne en afgørende ny og større rolle end den var tiltænkt under enevælden. Pressen bliver medium for dannelse af offentlighed omkring først en politisk opposition til enevælden og siden demokratisk regeringsudøvelse. Pressen bliver et medium for folkestyre og som sådan må de forskellige sociale klasser og politiske grupperinger legitimere deres politik gennem mediernes offentlighed, der kan bringe den brede befolkning i både tale og politisk bevægelse. Pressens folkeliggørelse af den politiske samtale bidrager i sig selv til en fordanskning af og en øget orientering mod og brug af dansk sprog i eliten.

Mod slutningen af 1700-tallet ser man, at variationer af det danske talesprog gradvist vinder indpas som en vigtig social markør. Først og fremmest opstår der et skel mellem, hvad eliten selv kaldte "det dannede sprog", dvs. et tilnærmelsesvist dialektfrit og stedløst rigsmål, der taltes af en fåtallig overklasse i København og enkelte sjællandske byer, og alle øvrige landlege dialekter, der forbindes med bondekshed og vulgaritet (Skautrup, 1953: 213ff.). I takt med at det danske sprog generelt får større status også blandt eliten, taber fremmedsprogene terræn. Men de vedbliver at udøve en betydelig indflydelse gennem det 19. og 20. århundrede, men nu ikke ved at blive brugt direkte. I stedet finder indflydelsen sted gennem påvirkning af det danske sprog i form af eksempelvis franske og tyske låneord.

Medier i det danske rigsmåls tjeneste

Gennem det 19. og 20. århundrede sker der en gradvis homogenisering af det danske sprog, hvor dialekterne er i konstant tilbagegang, og rigsdansk vinder frem i stadig større kredse af landet. Rigsdansk er prestigesproget, som sætter den sproglige norm, men det undergår dog også selv en vis forandring; først og fremmest indoptager det gradvist visse træk fra lavkøbenhavnsk. Som konsekvens oplever ældre mennesker kontinuerligt en forfladigelse af det danske sprog; den fælles rigsdanske norm får successivt en lidt mere folkelig klang.

Dialekternes uddøen er blandt andet et resultat af den øgede mobilitet i samfundet. For hver jernbane, lufthavn og motorvej, der er blevet bygget, er der blevet lagt en stribe dialekter i graven, og urbaniseringen har tilsvarende bidraget til at homogenisere sproget. Men det er ikke kun de materielle forandringer, der har luget ud i de lokale sprogblomster. Samfundsmæssige institutioner som skolen og medierne har aktivt bidraget til en sproglig homogenisering med rigsdansk som sprognorm, og jeg skal her ganske kort pege på nogle træk af mediernes indflydelse.

Jeppe Aakjær var en vigtig fortaler for dialekternes betydning, og han var tidligt ude i sin kritik af skolen for dens sproglige ”folkeuniformering”. Pressen kaldte han for en ”vældig Slibesten, der svinger over vort Land”:

Den filer og rasper i os allesammen, ikke bare i Hovedstadsmanden, som den pudser så glat, at han skinner, men selv i den fjernestboende bonde, der sidder mellem Bordet og Bænken og spytter mellem sine Træske, mens han læser sin Avis. (Aakjær, 1907: 109)

[...] Akja, lidet nænsomt har man handlet med Landet, nu synes Turen at være kommen til Sproget at dømme efter de Opsange, som Pressen kvæder, naar vi, Hjemstavns Forfattere – som man har kaldt os – nærmer os med vore bøger. (Aakjær, 1907: 111)

Aviserne bidrog både i indhold og form til at uniformere det danske sprog. Der var ikke gode anmeldelser til litteratur affattet på dialektmål, og avisen selv betjente sig af byboernes og ikke mindst hovedstadens sprog. Resultatet blev, at provinsboerne gradvist aflagde sig dialekterne, eller som Aakjær malerisk har formuleret processen: ”Og som Bonden selv er blevet lidt tør og beregnende, saadan er ogsaa hans Sprog, der nu og da kan smage lidt fersk af Sværten i Folketidenden” (Aakjær, 1916: 122).

Homogeniseringen indebar dog ikke kun en udgrænsning af de udannede bondemål, men også en vis folkeliggørelse af det skrevne sprog, d.v.s. en udtynding af den akademiske sprogbrug i aviserne. Viggo Hørup, der som redaktør på Politiken og politisk taler var kendt som en krads og ligefrem samfundsrevser, så en fare i alt for megen brug af fremmedord og akademisk sprogbrug i det hele taget i avisen. Avisen var et instrument til at få folket i tale, og derfor måtte den også benytte sig af et folkeligt sprog. Viggo Hørup advarede således om avisens sprogbrug: ”Ligesom det er uhøfligt at hviske i Selskab, saaledes er det ogsaa uhøfligt at sætte Folk udenfor Samtalen med fremmede Ord. Alle de, der vil læses af Almuen, skal huske paa ikke at sætte deres Læsere udenfor af bare Lapseri eller daarlig Slendrian”. (17.1.1883, citeret efter Skautrup 1968: 180-181).

I takt med avisernes udbredelse til alle samfundslag vokser deres rolle som en sproglig ”slibesten”, der på den ene side tynder ud i dialekterne og på den anden side bidrager til en folkeliggørelse af det skrevne sprog. Pressens sprogbrug præges gradvist gennem det 20. århundrede af en større tilgængelighed for læseren. Den kommercielle og underholdningsprægede presse i København fra omkring århundredeskiftet, den efterfølgende omnibuspresse og siden sensationspressen bidrog til en mundtliggørelse af skriftssproget, og som sådan en tilnærmelse mellem folkets talesprog og eliternes skriftsprog.

Statsradiofoniens radio og tv har også haft en vigtig betydning for homogeniseringen af det danske sprog. Hvor bogens og avisens påvirkning af dialekterne kun kunne være indirekte, kunne radio og tv påvirke det talte sprog på en langt mere direkte måde. I lyset af den folkeopdragende og -oplysende rolle, der ikke mindst dominerede Statsradiofoniens virksomhed i de første årtier, blev også kravet til korrekt sprogbrug, dvs. en sprogbrug tæt på rigsdansk, et vigtigt element i programvirksomheden. Retten til at tale til folket blev overladt til speakere, der blandt andet var udvalgt på baggrund af deres evne til at tale et korrekt dansk. Radioens betydning for homogeniseringen af sprogbru- gen og udbredelse af en sprognorm for udtale kan næppe overvurderes. Med dette medie blev det for første gang muligt for alle danskere at lytte til talt sprog fra i princippet alle egne af landet, men i praksis blev æteren domineret af skolede stemmer fra København. Sprogbru- gen i radioen afstedkom mange diskussioner om, hvad der var korrekt sprog-

brug og udtale, og Statsradiofonien måtte lægge øre til megen skarp kritik. Her et mere principielt indlæg i Kolding Avis om sprogets rolle i radioavisen:

Radioavisen har utvivlsomt store – for ikke at sige uhyre! – betingelser for at komme modersmålet til hjælp, og det vil ikke være nogen ringe gerning at gøre det... Ved radioavisen er det en enkelt mand, der sætter hele bladet, d.v.s. læser det op, og han har derfor langt bedre betingelser og muligheder for at rette fejl i sproget, og det er af den største sproglige, folkeopdragende betydning, at det sker. Oplæseren har her i den daglige påvirkning af hundredtusinder danske en mægtig mulighed – og et ikke ringe ansvar (Kolding Avis 11.4.1930, citeret fra Christiansen et al., 1950: 408-409)

Telefonen og spillefilmen har også bidraget til homogeniseringen af sproget. Telefonen bragte på samme måde som radioen den danske befolkning på talefod med hinanden uafhængig af lokalitet. Skulle man tale i telefon med hinanden fra den ene ende af landet til den anden, måtte begge parter tilstræbe en sproglig fællesnævner. I den danske spillefilm var rigsdansk klart det mest anvendte sprog (Brink, 2003). Dette skyldtes dog mindre en selektiv udvælgelse af personer på baggrund af deres evne til at tale et korrekt sprog som i radioens og tvs tilfælde og mere det forhold, at danske skuespillere i kraft af deres teateruddannelse havde lært at tale rigsmål og kun i ringe omfang lod deres egen dialekt skinne igennem. Selv børn, bønder og tyende taler i danske spillefilm fra 1940'erne, 1950'erne og 1960'erne et overraskende korrekt rigsdansk; dialekter er noget der er forbeholdt landsbytosser, gamle mennesker og forbrydere i den københavnske underverden.

I sidste halvdel af det 20. århundrede ændrer holdningerne sig noget til, hvorledes sproget i medierne bør være. Der er dog ikke synderlige tegn på, at det i praksis har givet større plads til dialekterne, men der er snarere tale om en langt større åbenhed over for sprogbrug, der er tættere på hverdagssproget og som tillader en langt mere vulgær sprogbrug end tidligere. I de seneste radio- og tv-love og bekendtgørelser er der blevet lagt eksplicit vægt på mediernes forpligtelse over for det danske sprog. I dag lægges der i højere grad vægt på, at radio og tv skal afspejle det danske samfunds mangfoldighed, herunder give plads og taletid til dialekter inklusive nydanskernes sprog. Det er ligefrem en erklæret målsætning i Danmarks Radios sproghandlingsplan. Men den hårde kendsgerning er, at der ikke er mange dialekter tilbage. Så ironien er, at medierne gennem det meste af det 20. århundrede bidrog aktivt til at udrydde dialekterne, men nu hvor de er udviskede, får medierne til opgave at genskabe den sproglige mangfoldighed – eller mere realistisk – at sikre dialekterne en plads i offentlighedens erindring om en svunden tid. Dialekterne er definitivt ved at holde flyttedag: de flytter fra den levende tale til kulturinstitutionernes lydarkiver.

Trods denne udvikling hænder det ind i mellem, at dialekterne bliver genstand for en større medieopmærksomhed. Der er imidlertid ikke tale om, at dialekterne vises en sidste respekt, eller at de for hundredesyttende gang kritiseres for afvigelse fra den rigsdanske sprognorm. Dialekterne oplever derimod en interesse, fordi de er blevet til *kitsch*. Dialekter er blevet lavstatus og dårlig smag i en sådan grad, at det er blevet underholdende og smart at citere dialektale fraser. Et nyere eksempel er Sonofons reklamekampagne med *Polle fra Snave* fra 2001. Polle og vennerne er kult, fordi de er vulgære, dumme, dovne og utjekkede; kort sagt lavstatus. Og de er ikke mindst lavstatus på grund af deres sprog. Den fynske dialekt strømmer ud af deres mund og brændemærker dem som bondeknolde. Kunderne får lov at lege med og gøre Snave-sproget til sit eget ved at downloade beskeder indtalt af Heino og Polle til sin egen ”mobilos”. På den måde kan man på sin mobilsvaer møde omver-

denen med en ”helt utidig” fynsk plathed. Ironien er, at bag Polle står der et transnationalt teleselskab, der forsøger at tilvænne forbrugerne til et globalt livsstilsfænomen, mobiltelefoni. Ved at fortælle om unge landsbytosser, der øjensynlig stadig taler som deres bedsteforældre, skal publikum gladeligt overtage den nye medieteknologis sprog og de deraf følgende muligheder for at signalere social status til hinanden. Og en del af denne signalgivning er brugen af dialekter som kitsch.

Et andet eksempel er den jyske trio *De Nattergales* tv julekalender *The Julekalender* (først udsendt 1991 på TV2; genudsendt 2001), hvor hele den sproglige konflikt mellem jysk, lavkøbenhavnsk og engelsk udspilles i mødet mellem det jyske ægtepar hr og fru kartoffelavler Sand, Benny fra København og nisserne, der taler et engelsk med stærke danske elementer. Her opnåede ikke mindst jysk udtale af vendinger som ”det bære dæjli” en stor popularitet. Omend *The Julekalender* også rummede satire rettet mod danskeres brug af engelsk, var det først og fremmest den rablende skildring af de dialektalende jyder og københavnere, der bragte serien på alles læber i julemåneden. Men som andet kitsch får det ikke lov at dominere; det er en undtagelse, der blot skal bekræfte den gode smag. Dialekter er ikke noget, man taler for alvor, men man kan citere dem med et glimt i øjet – eller rettere med ”tongue in cheek”.

Kontinuitet i sproglige hierarkier

Danskernes aktuelle holdninger til dialekter er generelt positive og tolerante, når man spørger til deres eksplicite meninger. De vil sædvanligvis omtale dialekter som kønne og som nogle, der skal bevares (Maegaard, 2002). Men hvis man ser på danskernes evaluering af personer, der anvender dialekt, viser det sig, at danskerne rangordner dialekterne efter hinanden: efter rigsdansk synes danskerne bedst om fynsk og jysk, hvorimod sjællandsk og lav-københavnsk kommer ind på sidstepladserne. Argumentationen for denne rangordning tager ofte afsæt i æstetiske kriterier: fynsk lyder kønnere, mere syngende, hvorimod lavkøbenhavnsk lyder grimt og hårdt, måske ligefrem vulgært.

Men bag de æstetiske valg gemmer der sig sociale hierarkier. Når man vurderer en given dialekt, udtaler man sig samtidig om kvalitetene ved den person, som bruger dialekten. Ladegaard (2002) har dokumenteret, hvorledes man til forskellige udtaleformer af det danske sprog knytter bestemte opfattelser af de pågældendes menneskelige karakteregenskaber og sociale kompetencer. Fynsk udtale indebærer, at man sædvanligvis opfatter den pågældende som både venlig og humoristisk, hvorimod man ikke opfatter vedkommende som specielt intelligent eller veluddannet. Tilsvarende forbindes jysk udtale med tillidsvækkende mennesker, der ikke er alt for kløgtige.

Lavest på den sociale rangstige står lav-københavnsk; det forbindes hverken med gode menneskelige egenskaber eller større social kompetence. Lavkøbenhavnsk scorer kun højt på egenskaben ”selvsikkerhed” – så forestilligen om den smarte, men dumme københavnernude lever i bedste velgående. Højkøbenhavnsk, der ikke mindst tales i de nordlige forstæder til København, forbindes med stor social kompetence og ringe medmenneskelige egenskaber. Sådanne personer er med andre ord dygtige, men ikke spor rare at være sammen med. Interessant er det at bemærke, at rigsdansk udmærker sig ved at være hævet over denne grundlæggende modsætning mellem social kompetence og medmenneskelige egenskaber: personer der taler rigsdansk vurderes som både veluddannede og tillidsvækkende. Rigsdansk er med andre ord en attraktiv norm, der ikke vil stille sprogudøveren i dårligt lys på nogen måde. Ladegaards (2002) undersøgelse blev foretaget i første halvdel af 1990’erne, men en nylig undersøgelse af Maegaard (2002)

blandt unge i Sønderjylland bekræfter dette mønster og peger tillige på, hvor væsentlig rigsdansk er for at signalere en moderne indstilling til tilværelsen. ”Jo mere sønderjysk du snakker, jo mere bondsk lyder det også”, som en pige fra Tønder Gymnasium siger i undersøgelsen. Og pigen er ikke en tilflytter, der vurderer de rigtige sønderjyders sprog. Det er hendes egen sønderjyske dialekt, hun tager afstand fra. Det opleves som bedre at tale rigsdansk: så lyder sproget ikke bare bedre – éns identitet får også et løft.

Preisler (1999a) har undersøgt danskernes sprogholdninger til engelsk og finder generelt en overvældende positiv vurdering af det engelske sprog, og det gælder såvel den amerikanske som den britiske variant. Danskerne mener generelt, at engelsk er vigtigt som et verdenssprog, der kan bringe danskerne i kontakt med omverdenen og udvide vores kulturelle horisont. Der er ikke nogen større tilslutning til synspunkter om, at det engelske sprogs tilstedeværelse i hverdagen truer dansk sprog og kultur. 73% er enten overvejende uenig eller meget uenig i, at engelsk udgør en trussel mod det danske sprog, og 80% er enten overvejende uenig eller meget uenig i, at engelsk truer dansk kultur. Kun 8% er meget enig i, at engelsk truer det danske sprog (Preisler, 1999a: 68).

Der er dog også en række især alders- og uddannelsesmæssige forskelle i holdningerne til engelsk. Generelt gælder det, at yngre og bedre uddannede mennesker er de mest åbne over for det engelske sprogs tilstedeværelse i hverdagen, hvorimod ældre og personer med kortere uddannelse og mindre erhvervstilknytning udtrykker lidt større skepsis. Dette hænger til dels sammen med egne sproglige færdigheder; jo større kundskaber, desto større positiv holdning. Preisler (1999a) peger på, at der er ved at opstå en gruppe af funktionelle analfabeter i forhold til det engelske sprog, i den forstand at denne gruppe i praksis har problemer med at håndtere det omfang, som det engelske sprogs tilstedeværelse har fået i hverdagslivet herunder i medierne. Denne gruppe, som Preisler (1999a) skønsmæssigt anslår til omkring 20% af den danske befolkning, oplever oftere ærgrelser i det daglige forårsaget af manglende sproglig beherskelse af engelsk.

Det er interessant at konstatere, at de grupper af samfundet, som taler mindst dialekt, er de samme som er de mest åbne over for den engelsksprogede påvirkning og som har de færreste problemer med den praktiske omgang med engelsk i hverdagen. Og omvendt er der hos de mest dialekttalende dele af befolkningen, de ældre og mindre uddannede (Lund, 2001), en mindre åbenhed over for det engelske sprog og i praksis også større problemer med at håndtere den engelsksprogede påvirkning. Der er således noget der tyder på, at der er tale om en kontinuert udvikling fra dialekt over rigsdansk til engelsksproget påvirkning: ældre og mindre uddannede personer vil være lidt mindre tilbøjelige til at opgive en dialekt til fordel for rigsdansk og tilsvarende mindre tilbøjelige til at orientere sig positivt mod det engelske sprog. Yngre og veluddannede mennesker vil omvendt være mere omstillingsparate i forhold til at tale såvel rigsdansk som engelsk; den engelske orientering ligger i en vis forstand i forlængelse af prioriteringen af det rigsdanske.

I lyset heraf kan man tale om, at det engelske sprog i et vist omfang viderefører det sociale hierarki, som forholdet mellem rigsdansk og dialekter artikulerede. Med dialekternes bortdøen forsvinder et ældre, tidligt moderne sproghierarki inden for det nationale enhedssprog, og i stedet opstår et nyt sprogligt stratificeringssystem præget af den globale højmodernitets sproglige møntfod: det engelske sprog. Striden mellem dialekter og rigsdansk artikulerede den industrielle revolutions sociale hierarkier, herunder modsætningen mellem land og by, mellem agrar produktion og livsform og industriel produktion og livet i byerne. Konflikten mellem det nationale enhedsprog og den engelske påvirkning artikulerer netværkssamfundets nye konfliktakser og statushierarkier, herunder den

øgede økonomiske og kulturelle værdi af mobilitet og interaktion på tværs af grænser (Bauman, 1998, Castells, 1996).

Engelsk i medierne

I det følgende skal vi se nærmere på anvendelsen af engelsk i medierne og herigennem præcisere nogle forhold vedrørende omfanget og karakteren af påvirkningen fra engelsk samt hvornår, den for alvor satte ind. Det skal indledningsvist konstateres, at det danske sprog bruges i langt de fleste medier, og det anvendes langt hyppigere end andre sprog. I aviser, radio og ugeblade er dansk altdominerende, og i film og tv fylder det også en god del, ikke mindst i prime time på de store public service kanaler. Meget af stoffet i film og tv er dog af engelsk eller amerikansk oprindelse, og selvom det fordanskes via undertekster (og gennem dubbing for de mindre børn) rummer disse oversættelser ofte en afsmitning fra engelsk (Gottlieb, 2002, 2003). Enkelte medieområder er på et tidligt tidspunkt blevet angliciseret, f.eks. musik- og pladebranchen, hvor der til dels har fundet et domænetab sted: det er i dag normen at synge på engelsk, have engelske titler, bruge engelske termer for tekniske musikforhold etc. Engelsk er blevet en selvfølge i musikindustrien, så det har karakter af en bevidst handling, hvis et dansk band vil udgive en CD, hvor der synges på dansk.

Internettet forstået som The World Wide Web er et aktuelt eksempel på et andet medie, hvis indhold er stærkt domineret af det engelske sprog. En opgørelse over anvendte sprog på hjemmesider på WWW fra 2000 angiver, at 68,4% er på engelsk, hvorefter japansk, tysk og kinesisk følger som de hyppigst anvendte sprog (<http://global-reach.biz/globstats>). Der er i sagens natur tale om et groft overslag, som man af metodiske grunde bør tage med et vist forbehold. Set i forhold til, at andelen af jordens befolkning, der taler engelsk som første eller andet sprog, kun udgør omkring 8,3%, er der således et skærende misforhold mellem brugen af engelsk på det globale medie WWW og den sproglige mangfoldighed i verden. Skævheden afspejler til dels det forhold, at WWW fortsat er langt mere udbredt i den engelsktalende verden, hvorfor der successivt vil ske en ekspansion i mængden af hjemmesider på andre sprog end engelsk i takt med at flere sprogkulturer får adgang til WWW. En tilsvarende undersøgelse fra 1997, der rapporterede, at 82,3% af hjemmesider på WWW var på engelsk, bekræfter denne hypotese; inden for ganske få år har andre sprog ekspanderet på hjemmesiderne på WWW. Selvom andre sprog i fremtiden vil blive mere righoldigt repræsenteret på WWW, er der imidlertid næppe megen tvivl om, at engelsk vil blive WWW's globale sprog. Andre sprog vil blive brugt "lokalt" på nettet, dvs. af personer inden for en given sprogkultur, hvorimod engelsk vil blive brugt af størsteparten af WWW's udøvere, når de skal overskride sprogbarrierer. Således ser man næsten overalt, at hvor der findes to-sprogede hjemmesider, der er det ene sprog det "lokale", det andet sprog det globale engelsk.

Vender vi os mod danske medier, ser man indflydelsen fra engelsk mange steder i de medier, hvor dansk fortsat dominerer. Engelsk vinder i disse sammenhænge indpas som en sproglig markør af en mere attraktiv livsstil og identitet. Engelsk sprog artikulerer en høj placering i de forskellige sociale hierarkier og er derfor bl.a. nyttigt i en markedsføringsammenhæng. For at belyse dette skal der i det følgende ses på forskellige medie-sammenhænge, hvor brug af engelske ord og udtryk i særlig grad kan siges at tjene et markedsføringsformål. Det drejer sig konkret om brugen af engelsk i titler for spillefilm og computerspil samt brugen af engelsk i forskellige ugeblades reklamer. I og med at titlen på en film eller computerspil antages at spille en vigtig rolle for selve salget, vil en stigende

brug af engelsk i disse sammenhænge afspejle en højere status knyttet til det engelske sprog.

Ser man på brugen af engelsk i filmtitler, viser der sig en klart tendens: Hvor man tidligere oversatte hovedparten af de udenlandske filmtitler til dansk, vil man i dag kun oversætte ca. halvdelen af titlerne (Se *figur 1*). I 1980'erne og frem til 1990'ernes begyndelse var det omkring 80% af titlerne, der blev oversat, men fra midten af 1990'erne kan man iagttage en betydelig holdningsændring. Det skal tillige bemærkes, at brug af andre fremmedsprog end engelsk er ganske marginal, hvilket først og fremmest afspejler, at der er ganske få ikke-amerikanske udenlandske spillefilm i biograferne

Går vi til et andet audiovisuelt underholdningsmedie, computerspil, er det ikke meningsfuldt at se på længere historiske udviklingstræk, al den stund at computerspil først for alvor er blevet udbredt til hjemmemarkedet i løbet af det sidste årti. Ser vi på brug af sprog i titlerne på software, ser vi en endnu hyppigere brug af udenlandske titler. Som det fremgår af *figur 2*, sælges ca. 84% af computerspillene med en engelsksproget titel. Computerspil med danske titler er kendetegnet ved, at det overvejende er småbørnsspil, hvor selve spillet også fungerer med dansk tale, idet mindre børn hverken kan forstå engelsk eller læse i øvrigt. For hovedparten af PC-spil gælder det endvidere, at ikke kun titlerne, men også selve spillene er på engelsk, dvs. for at få det fulde udbytte af spillene skal man kunne læse og forstå engelsk, ofte på et ganske avanceret niveau. Set i dette lys kan man sige, at computerspilsområdet ligesom musikbranchen er blevet engelsksprogede domæner.

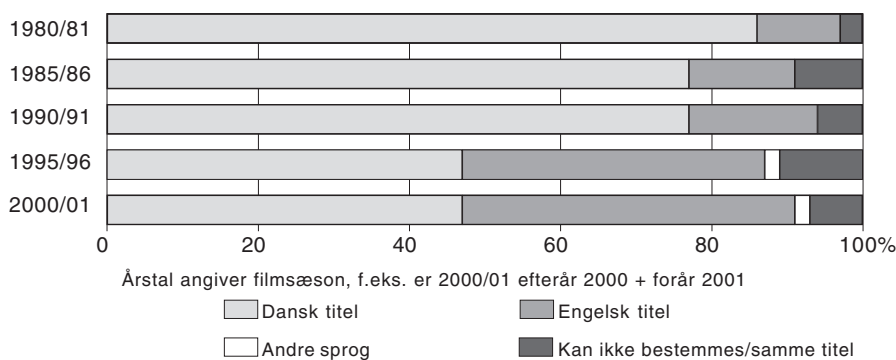
Ser man på brugen af engelsk sprog i ugebladsreklamer, er der for at belyse en række demografiske og sociale forskelle, hvad angår køn, alder, uddannelse og indkomst, udvalgt fire ugeblade og magasiner med meget forskellige læserprofiler. Det drejer sig om *Familie Journalen*, der fortrinsvis læses af ældre kvinder i lavere indkomstgrupper; det havde dog tidligere en lidt bredere profil; *Vi Unge* der som navnet signalerer læses af unge mennesker; *Alt for Damerne* der læses af et lidt yngre og mere veluddannet segment sammenlignet med *Familie Journalen*, og *Euroman* der læses af yngre mænd med en højere indkomst end gennemsnittet.

Ser vi først på brugen af engelsk i reklamer i *Familie Journalen* (*figur 3*), fremgår det klart, at her har der ikke fundet nogen forandring sted. Engelsk har ikke på noget tidspunkt i de sidste 30 år været anvendt i noget større omfang; der er endog tendens til, at det bruges endnu mindre i dag end tidligere. Det er videre karakteristisk, at man praktisk talt ikke finder en reklame, der udelukkende eller primært anvender engelsk sprog, i *Familie Journalen*.

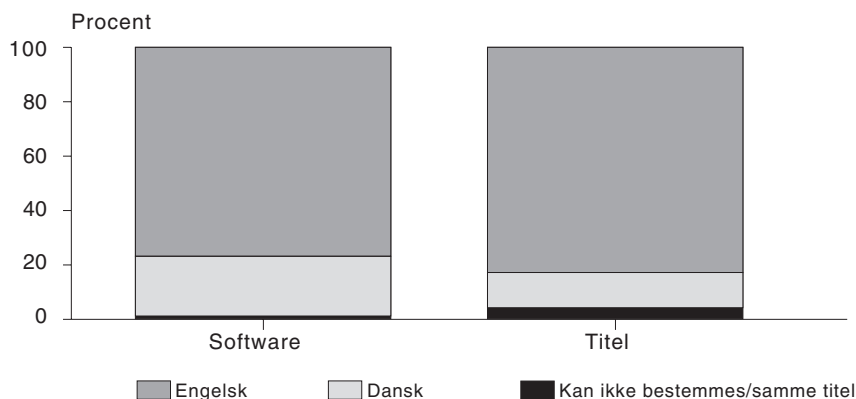
Anderledes forholdet det sig med *Alt for Damerne*. Som det fremgår af *figur 4*, var der i 1970 nogenlunde samme begrænsede antal reklamer med engelske udtryk som i *Familie Journalen*, men dette har siden ændret sig markant. Især fra 1990'erne og fremefter vinder engelsk større indpas, sådan at det i 2001 er i mere end halvdelen af reklamerne, at man finder engelske udtryk. Fra midten af 1990'erne og fremefter ser man tillige, at andelen af reklamer, hvor engelsk dominerer vokser. Brug af andre fremmedsprog end engelsk er helt marginal.

Ungdomsbladet *Vi Unge* udviser i store træk den samme udviklingstendens som *Alt for Damerne*. Blot var der allerede i 1970 en lidt større andel af engelsk i reklamerne, ligesom der i 1995 og 2001 er kommet lidt flere reklamer med engelsk sprog (*figur 5*). *Vi Unge* er således kendetegnet ved generelt at være endnu mere åben over for det engelske sprog i reklamerne sammenlignet med *Alt for Damerne*.

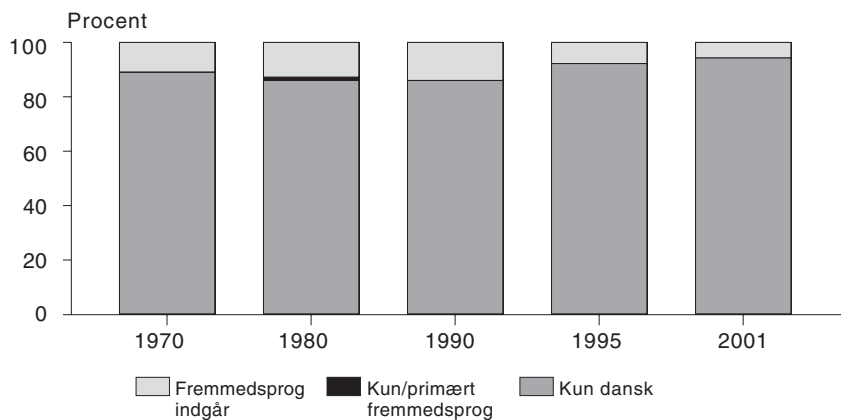
Livsstilsmagasinet *Euroman* har kun eksisteret i så få år, at det ikke er meningsfuldt at foretage en historisk analyse. Som titlen angiver, er det en publikation, som henvender sig

Figur 1. Udenlandske film i Danmark: Filmtitlers sprog

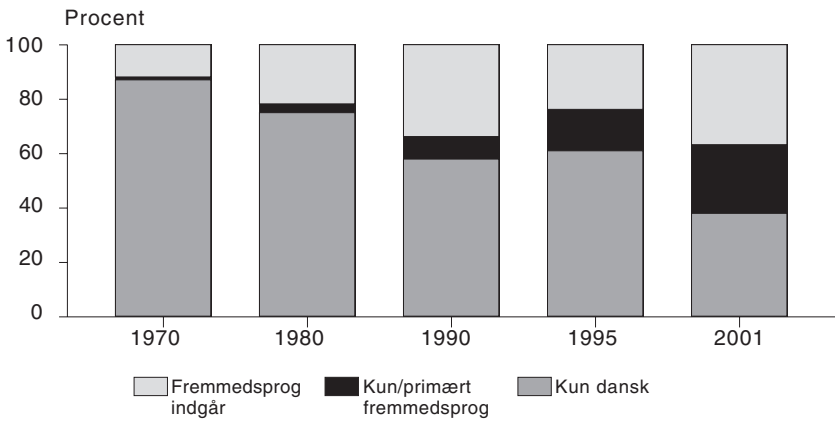
Anm: Brug af fremmedsprog i udenlandske films titler. Kodninger bygger på samtlige udenlandske spillefilm med ordinær biografvisning i Danmark

Figur 2. Sprog i PC-spil på det danske marked i 2001 (procent)

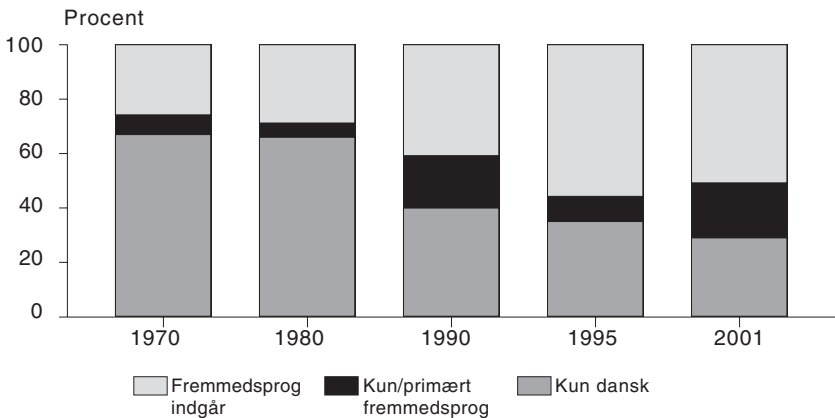
Anm: Analysen bygger på kodning af 261 PC titler udkommet i 2001 i Danmark. Listen er sammensat på baggrund af oplysninger fra distributørerne CMN Group, Vision Park, Nordic Softsales, K.E. Mathiasen (K.E.Media), UbiSoft, Infogames Nordic og Boston Distribution. Opgørelsen over sprog i softwaren bygger på oplysninger fra distributørerne.

Figur 3. Sprog i reklamer: Familie Journalen (procent)

Anm: I analysen indgår samtlige reklamer, der fylder 1/4 side eller mere i 12 tilfældigt udvalgte numre af hver årgang.

Figur 4. Sprog i reklamer: Alt for Damerne (procent)

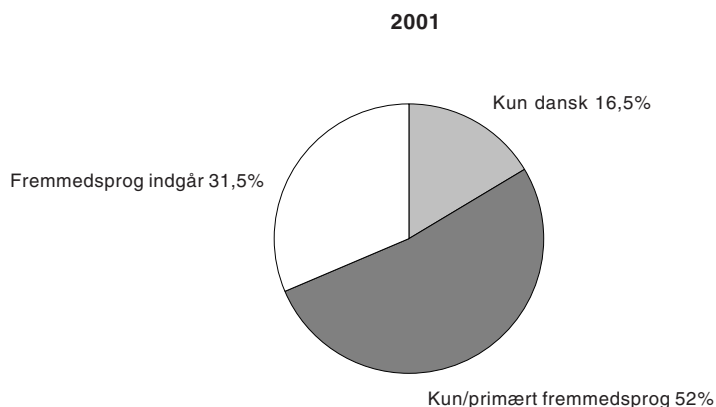
Anm: I analysen indgår samtlige reklamer, der fylder 1/4 side eller mere i 12 tilfældigt udvalgte numre af hver årgang.

Figur 5. Sprog i reklamer: Vi Unge (procent)

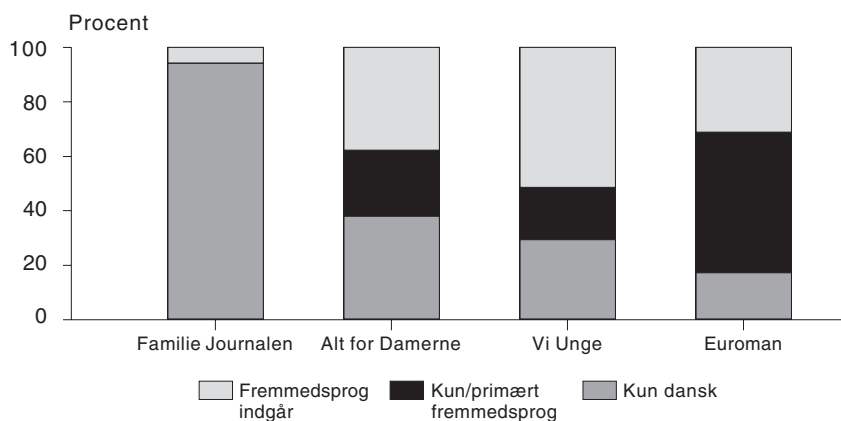
Anm: I analysen indgår samtlige reklamer, der fylder 1/4 side eller mere i 12 tilfældigt udvalgte numre af hver årgang.

til et publikum, som blandt andet forstår sig selv i kraft af en international (europæisk) orientering. Dette afspejles klart i reklamerne, der i højere grad end i nogen af de øvrige publikationer er præget af brug af engelske udtryk. I 2001 var der kun 16,5% af reklamerne, som havde ren dansk tekst. 31,5% havde en vis brug af fremmedsprog, helt overvejende engelsk, og i 52% af tilfældene var reklamerne udelukkende eller primært på engelsk (figur 6).

Sammenligner man de fire blade med hinanden i 2001, ser man en tydelig forskel i brugen af engelsk i reklamer. Som det fremgår af figur 7, udgør *Familie Journalen* og *Euro-man* – også i sproglig henseende – hinandens modpoler. *Alt for Damerne* og *Vi Unge* udviser en lidt mere behersket brug af engelsk i reklamer end *Euroman*, men de adskiller sig på den anden side mest fra *Familie Journalen*. Betragter man disse forskelle som indeks for den forskelligartede status som engelsk har i de respektive blades målgrupper, viser der sig en klar tendens: engelsk nyder høj status blandt yngre, veluddannede og erhvervsaktive, hvorimod dansk sprog er fuldt ud tilstrækkeligt i kommunikationen med ældre og mindre veluddannede personer. Den moderne livsstil, som engelsk er blevet en

Figur 6. Sprog i reklamer: Euroman (procent)

Anm: I analysen indgår samtlige reklamer, der fylder 1/4 side eller mere i 12 tilfældigt udvalgte numre af hver årgang.

Figur 7. Sprog i reklamer: 4 blade i 2001 (procent)

Anm: I analysen indgår samtlige reklamer, der fylder 1/4 side eller mere i 12 tilfældigt udvalgte numre af hver årgang.

integral del og markør af, er *Familie Journalens* læsere stort set ikke i kontakt med. De er ikke kun udenfor, men i kraft af reklameindustriens bevidste salg af livsstil til bestemte målgrupper sættes de uden for denne kultur.

Medierne i sproget

Preisler (1999a, 1999b) har som tidligere nævnt argumenteret for, at man primært skal se påvirkningen fra engelsk som et resultat af den bredere angloamerikanisering af kultur og samfund. Hvis man skal forstå Preislers argumentation derhen, at man nødvendigvis må se sprogpåvirkningen i en bredere samfundsmæssig og kulturel sammenhæng for at forstå publikums modtagelighed over for og brug af det engelske sprog, virker Preislers argumentation fornuftig. Men Preisler taler ikke kun for dette synspunkt, men siger direkte:

Derfor kan sproget ses som et *symptom* på den kulturelle udvikling. [...] Hvis nogen er bekymret for det danske sprog, så er det ikke sproget i sig selv – symptomet – de skal forsøge at gøre noget ved, men derimod *den* kulturelle udvikling som er *årsag* til sprogforandringen – det vil i overvejende grad sige den generelle angloamerikanisering af det danske samfund. (Preisler, 1999b: 62; Preislers fremhævninger).

Set i dette lys er mediernes stigende engelske indhold kun et symptom på en samfundsmæssig og kulturel realitet; den er ikke selv årsag til den. Han siger da også direkte, at ”Når den dominerende kulturs medier bruger de unges sprog til at få ungdommen i tale, så betegner dette først og fremmest at ungdommen påvirker *medierne* og ikke omvendt” (Preisler 1999a: 233; Preislers fremhævning).

Denne måde at stille tingene op på forekommer mig at være unødigt mekanisk, og det gør det vanskeligt at forklare, hvad der har skabt ændrede holdninger til angloamerikansk kultur. Det er som om, den overordnede kulturelle forandring kommer før de enkeltstående påvirkninger, resultatet før årsagerne. Den bredere angloamerikanisering af kulturen må i stedet ses som et resultat af forskellige konkrete sociale aktørers og institutioners virke, og som sådan bidrager eksempelvis medierne aktivt til forandringen af sprogenes struktur, udbredelse og status; ikke alene naturligvis, men som en del af helheden. Ud af denne sum af forskellige påvirkninger opstår så den bredere sprogpåvirkning og andre sider af det, der går under overskrifter som anglificering, amerikanisering osv.

Det er i denne sammenhæng også vigtigt at inddrage den sociologiske teori (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984) fremhævnings af, at den sociale praksis både rummer en passiv og en aktiv komponent. En given menneskelig interaktion rummer både en inddragelse af eksisterende institutionelt givne normer og en aktiv brug af disse i en ny situation. Når mediernes eksempelvis begynder at bringe flere engelsksprogede reklamer, afspejler det således en allerede eksisterende prestige ved angloamerikansk kultur, men medierne bidrager selv aktivt – gennem den kommunikative handling – til at reproducere og bekræfte denne status ved det engelske sprog og udvide den til at omfatte endnu nogle sociale felter: markedsføring og livsstil. Kommunikative handlinger i såvel medier som face-to-face afspejler ikke blot større samfundsmæssige realiteter, men bidrager aktivt til at bekræfte og udbrede dem – og undertiden ændre dem.

Preisler (1999a, 1999b) fremlægger tillige en model for påvirkningen af sproget, idet han taler om det danske sprog påvirkes både *ovenfra* og *nedenfra*. Påvirkningen ovenfra sker i kraft af den økonomiske og politiske status som engelsk har fået i det officielle og institutionaliserede samfund, dvs. uddannelsessystemet, erhvervslivet, det internationale politiske system m.m. Påvirkningen nedenfra sker som følge af den høje status, det engelske sprog har i en række subkulturer inden for eksempelvis heavy metal musik og hip hop kulturer. I subkulturerne er engelsk højstatusssprog og identitets- og meningsgivende for den enkelte udøver af subkulturens praksis. Subkulturerne fungerer som en trojansk hest for det engelske sprog, idet påvirkningen herfra langsomt, men sikkert siver opad ind i den bredere kulturs sproganvendelse. Da påvirkningen samtidig sker ovenfra og nedenfra, bliver hovedkulturen gradvist, men uafvendeligt påvirket af det engelske sprog.

Det virker rimeligt på denne måde at inddrage betydningen af på den ene side den officielle kultur, som formidles via uddannelsesinstitutioner m.m. – med andre ord den sfære som Habermas (1984) vil henregne til systemverdenen, og på den anden side mindre subkulturer, hvad Habermas (1984) ville henregne til en (mindre) del af livsverdenen. Men betydningen af subkulturer bliver efter min vurdering tilskrevet en alt for stor betydning, og – helt afgørende – der savnes en redegørelse for den direkte interaktion, som

den danske hoved- eller mainstreamkultur indgår i med den angloamerikanske kultur, ligesom man savner en forståelse af dominerende kulturers egendynamik. I Preislers optik bliver hovedkulturen et offer for (sprog)påvirkning ovenfra og nedenfra og ikke et selvstændigt felt med sin egen udviklingsdynamik.

Subkulturer kan ofte spille en rolle i et længere historisk udviklingsforløb, der langt overskrider den enkelte subkulturs størrelse og emnefelt, men det er for mig at se langt fra en tilstrækkelig forklaring at pege på subkulturernes indflydelse, hvis man vil forstå forandringer i den samlede kulturs holdning til engelsk. Ser man på indflydelsen fra engelsk i den brede populærkultur i f.eks. film, tv og reklame, som forbruges af et flertal af den danske befolkning, er en mere nærliggende forklaring, at disse medier er direkte påvirket af den angloamerikanske kulturs centrale rolle inden for netop medieindustrien, både hvad angår økonomi, produktions- og genreformater, stilformer, konceptudvikling m.m. Den internationale succes som danske tv-fiktionsproduktioner som eksempelvis *Nicolaj og Julie* og *Rejseholdet* har opnået, skyldes bl.a. en overtagelse af produktionsmetoder og dramaturgi fra amerikansk tv-fiktion (Skovmark og Christiansen, 2003).

Med andre ord sker der en påvirkning af den brede danske mediekultur fra den angloamerikanske mainstreamkultur. Når danske mainstreammedier i stigende omfang bruger engelsk, når de vil tale til et yngre publikum, skyldes det ikke alene en tilpasning til den sprogkultur, som de unge har udviklet gennem kontakt med heavy metal subkulturer eller lignende, men i lige så høj grad, at unge gennem brug af mediernes mainstreamkultur som f.eks. tv-serier som *Beverly Hills* eller popmusik fra MTV har opbygget en kulturel erfaring med og præference for engelsksproget kultur. Der er således tale om en vekselvirkning: Medierne taler ikke kun de unges sprog; de unge taler i stigende omfang også mediernes sprog. Skal man anvende Preislers rumlige metaforer for påvirkningen, vil jeg derfor fremhæve, at der ved siden af påvirkningen ovenfra og nedenfra sker en betydelig påvirkning *fra siden*, eller frontalt om man vil. Påvirkningen fra det engelske sprog bliver så udtalt, fordi den både formidles via uddannelsessystem og erhvervsliv, specifikke subkulturer og den brede mainstreamkultur.

Medialekter

Mediernes indflydelse på sproget viser sig ikke kun i den engelsksprogede påvirkning, men tillige i fremkomsten af sprogformer, der knytter sig til specifikke brugsformer, hvor medier indgår. Disse mediespecifikke sprogformer, *medialekter*, er et resultat af, at stadig flere dele af den menneskelige kommunikation foregår via medier. Der kommer stadig flere nye medier til, der påvirker alle former for kommunikation fra den strengt private til den helt offentlige: mobiltelefoni, sms, email, chat m.m. Medierne er i stigende omfang tilstede i sproget som en infrastruktur, hvorigennem mennesker kommunikerer med hinanden. Dette rummer i hvert fald to vigtige pointer i forhold til det engelske sprogs indflydelse. For det første bliver engelsk det sprog, som udvikles til metakommunikation om selve den medierede kommunikation. For det andet skabes der med den øgede medialisering af kommunikationen mulighed for en betydelig sproglig fornyelse og kreativitet. Hvor medierne bidrager til en sproglig homogenisering, i og med at engelsk vinder frem på bekostning af andre sprog, skaber de samtidig afsæt for en sproglig differentiering og nyskabelse.

Hutchby (2001) har givet et teoretisk afsæt for at forstå det forhold, at medierne er tilstede som en strukturerende faktor i sproget. Hans forståelse af medieteknologiernes betydning for samtalerens struktur og forløb er inspireret af J. J. Gibsons økologiske

perceptionspsykologi og hans begreb om "affordances", der desværre (og måske symptomatisk) ikke så let lader sig oversætte til dansk. Ved "affordances" forstås de handlemuligheder, som en given materiel genstand tilbyder forskellige aktører. For nogle dyr vil bladene på en plante tilbyde en skyggefuld plads, for andre vil de udgøre et måltid mad; men bladenes form og substans sætter samtidig nogle begrænsninger på brugen. På samme måde vil en given kommunikationsteknologi invitere til forskellige handlinger, som dens materielle egenskaber muliggør. Disse handlemuligheder kan være forskellige afhængige af den konkrete situation og de specifikke aktører og deres intentioner, og som sådan er en teknologi åben over for brugerens fortolkning og brugsperspektiv. En kommunikationsteknologi udgør imidlertid ikke kun en vifte af muligheder, men tillige et sæt af begrænsninger. Teknologien udgør en materialitet, hvis egenskaber ikke tillader alle former for kommunikativ interaktion med brugeren, men netop afgrænser et sæt af mere eller mindre oplagte brugsformer, ligesom den virker strukturerende ind på kommunikationen. En given teknologis kommunikative "affordances" er både mulighedsskabende, begrænsende og strukturerende for interaktionen. Hutchby (2001) demonstrerer dernæst analytisk, hvorledes forskellige medier fra telefonen til internet chatsites griber strukturerende ind på sprogbrugen: eksempelvis i måderne hvorpå de enkelte taleture organiseres, deksismarkeringer, sætningskonstruktioner osv.

I sammenhæng med at der udvikles stadig flere medierede kommunikationsformer, opstår der tillige et metasprog knyttet til de forskellige medier, som bruges af de involverede til at styre kommunikationens gennemførelse. Det kan være tekniske termer, der vedrører specifikke valg af styresystem, webadresser, browsertype og lignende; verber og navneord der bruges til at benævne de handlinger og genstande, som indgår i kommunikationen; brug af forkortelser som følge af mediets sproglige begrænsninger og endelig populære navne for selve aktiviteten som at sms'e, chatte, maile osv. Som følge af at praktisk talt alle nye medier i de sidste hundrede år er blevet udviklet og først markedsført i angloamerikanske miljøer, ligesom softwareindustrien inden for praktisk talt alle medier er angloamerikansk domineret, er det oftest engelsk, der danner baggrund for de metasprog, der skabes i tilknytning til de forskellige medierede kommunikationsformer. De vil successivt kunne blive oversat, men tendensen er i mange lande, at de kun delvist oversættes og for Danmarks vedkommende sjældent oversættes. På denne måde indgår der med hver ny medieret form for kommunikation en påvirkning fra engelsk; engelsk er blevet det metasprog, der sikrer medieret kommunikations gennemførelse.

Mediernes udgør samtidig en materiel ressource for nye kommunikationsformer, og i kraft af dette ser man en betydelig sproglig fornyelse og kreativitet i sammenhæng med nye mediers fremkomst. Crystal (2001) har behandlet internettets påvirkning af sprogbrugen, og han viser i tråd med Hutchby (2001), hvorledes der skabes sproglige fornyelser i forskellige kommunikationsmedier; man kan således ikke tale om udviklingen af én særlig form for sprogbrug på internettet, men man må differentiere mellem eksempelvis email, online chat og offline chat. Dette er i overensstemmelse med analyser foretaget af Rasmussen (2002, 2003) og Audon og Poulsen (2001), der viser, hvorledes de specifikke materielle egenskaber ved henholdsvis sms- og chatteknologien samt de kulturelle kommunikationskontekster, som mediebrugen indgår i, har afgørende betydning for de anvendte sprogformer. Trods forskelle er der tillige nogle gennemgående sproglige forandringer på tværs af de enkelte kommunikationsformer på internettet. Den mest afgørende er udviklingen af en sprogbrug, der blander konventioner fra tale- og skriftsproget. Der er ifølge Crystal (2001) ikke kun tale om en ny blanding af henholdsvis tale- og skriftssprog, men om et i sproglig forstand "genuint tredje medium", der bedst kan karak-

teriseres gennem formelen: "speech + writing + electronically mediated properties" (Crystal, 2001: 48).

Et andet sprogligt udviklingstræk på tværs af gamle og nye medier er forandringen af forholdet mellem uformel og formel sprogbrug. Denne udvikling indebærer ikke, at medierne blot tillader en stadig mere uformel sprogbrug; der udvikler sig nye former for uformel sprogbrug, der bidrager til en yderligere differentiering af forskellige former for formel og uformel sprogbrug:

There is no indication, in any of the areas I have examined, of Netspeak replacing or threatening already existing varieties. On the contrary, the arrival of new, informal, even bizarre forms of language extends the range of our sensitivity to linguistic contrasts. Formal language, and informal language, are seen in a new light, by virtue of the existence of Netspeak (Crystal, 2001: 241-242).

Med henblik på at indkredse disse mediespecifikke sprogformers lingvistiske kendetegn og udvikling taler Crystal (2001: 60) om udviklingen af en internet dialekt- eller sociolektforskning. Man kan imidlertid betvivle, at de eksisterende begreber dialekt og sociolekt er tilstrækkelige til at bestemme de mediespecifikke sprogformer. Lingvistikken har enten koncentreret sig om sprogsystemernes immanente opbygning eller om sprogudøvernes faktiske sprogbrug. I sidstnævnte tilfælde har man analyseret sammenhængen mellem sprogudøverens geografiske herkomst (dialektforskningen) eller sociale karakteristika i form af klasse, uddannelsesniveau o. lign. (sociolektforskningen). Man har imidlertid ikke interesseret sig synderligt for de medier, hvorigennem kommunikationen har fundet sted. Det til trods for, at sprogvidenskaben i sin empiriske analyse ofte har været ganske afhængig af bestemte medier: enten i form af skrevet sprog i bøger, aviser og breve eller af talt sprog, der blev "indfanget" af mikrofon og båndoptager. Det er eksempelvis paradoksalt, at konversationsanalysen ofte har brugt uddrag af telefonsamtaler som empirisk analysemateriale, fordi det var en nem måde at indfange naturligt forekommende samtale (Hutchby, 2001: 55); men man har ikke reflekteret meget over, hvorvidt disse konversations kendetegn på afgørende vis var præget af det anvendte medium.

I lyset af dette er der behov for et begreb om mediespecifikke sprogformer, som jeg vil benævne medialekter. Medialekter er ikke som dialekter knyttet til lokaliteten eller som sociolekter knyttet social placering, men er i stedet relateret til kommunikationskanalen. Det betyder, at det enkelte mennesker kan anvende flere forskellige medialekter, afhængig af hvor mange forskellige medier han eller hun bruger. I modsætning hertil vil dialekter og sociolekter for det enkelte individ være mere uforanderlige og entydige størrelser; de er netop kendetegnet ved, at de "røber" sprogbrugerens geografiske eller sociale herkomst, uanset om han eller hun ønsker at give denne information. Medialekter er kendetegnet ved, at sprogbrugerne anvender dem – bevidst eller ubevidst – i specifikke brugssituationer, alt efter hvad der er formålstjenligt, og den enkelte sprogbruger kan sædvanligvis bemestre flere medialekter. Dialekters og sociolekters statiske natur er imidlertid under ombrydning som følge af urbaniseringen og globaliseringen; de har som tidligere demonstreret undergået betydelige forandringer i løbet af det sidste århundrede. Det ser endvidere ud til, at også dialekter og sociolekter er genstand for den øgede refleksivitet, som globaliseringen fører med sig (Hjarvard, 2003a). Som bl.a. Maegaard (2002) viser, er unge dialektbrugere bevidste om dialektens sociale status og kan derfor kodeveksle mellem forskellige grader af dialekt og rigsdansk afhængig af brugssituationen, ligesom dialekt kan anvendes som en form for sproglig kitch.

Medialekter er ligesom dialekter og sociolekter kendetegnet ved, at de indgår i sociale og kulturelle statushierarkier, der fungerer inkluderende og ekskluderende i forhold til større og mindre fællesskaber. Graden af beherskelse af en given medialekt fungerer som statusmarkør i kommunikationen, ligesom personer der ikke behersker medialekten enten kan føle sig udelukket fra eller frastødt af kommunikationsformen. Medialekterne påvirker hinanden indbyrdes; på samme måde som lavkøbenhavnsk har påvirket rigsdansk, kan man se tegn på, at sproglige kendetegn fra én medialekt breder sig til andre medialekter eller til traditionel mundtlig eller skriftlig kommunikation. Det gælder eksempelvis brugen af forkortelser eller smileys, som nu anvendes i mange medierede kommunikationsformer samt undertiden i mundtlig kommunikation.

Globaliseringens nye steder

Det kan konkluderes, at medierne under indtryk af globaliseringen på nogle punkter bidrager til sproglig ensretning og på andre punkter til sproglig mangfoldighed og kreativitet. På den ene side bidrager medierne til udbredelse af det engelske sprog, hvilket ofte sker på bekostning af andre sprog, og som sådan virker medierne homogeniserende. På den anden side rummer medierne et betydeligt potentiale for en anden type sproglig mangfoldighed, der går på tværs af de enkelte nationale sprog, idet fornyelsen er knyttet til brugen af mediet og ikke sprogbrugerne, og som sådan virker de differentierende.

Globaliseringen kan ansues som en ny historisk fase i sprogudviklingen. Dialekternes storhedstid hørte til et samfund, hvor landbrugsproduktion var normen og industriproduktion i sin vorden; et samfund hvor det lokale og det uforanderlige var det gængse, og mobilitet over grænser undtagelsen. Med den industrielle produktion, urbaniseringen og nationalstatens opbygning måtte dialekterne vige til fordel for et nationalt enhedssprog, rigsmålet. Striden mellem dialekter og rigsdansk afspejlede moderniseringens konfliktakser mellem land og by, provins og hovedstad, landbrug og fabrikker. Det globale netværkssamfund rækker ved det nationale industrisamfunds sociale hierarkier; ikke mindst værdien af mobilitet giver øget status til bemestring af engelsk og kommunikation gennem medier.

Som Castells (1996) har peget på, skaber netværkssamfundet en "culture of real virtuality". Det globale samfund er et medialiseret samfund, hvor kommunikationen gennem elektroniske netværk konstituerer en ny virkelighed. Evnen til at være tilstede i disse netværk har ikke kun symbolsk betydning, men har i stigende grad indflydelse på menneskers økonomiske grundlag, arbejdsliv, kulturelle identitet og sociale samhøringshedsfølelse. Netværkssamfundets medier er de nye lokaliteter, hvor man mødes, køber og sælger, udfører arbejde, snakker selskabeligt og optræder for hinanden. Det engelske sprog og medialekterne er således globaliseringens dialekter. Det geografiske sted har mistet betydning til fordel for mediernes elektroniske "steder", og i takt med dette afløses lokale sprogvariationer af globale sprogformer som engelsk og medialekter.

Litteratur

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Tak til professor Frans Gregersen, lektor Henrik Gottlieb og professor Bent Preisler for konstruktive kommentarer til manuskriptet. Tak til ekstern lektor Anne Jespersen, stud. mag. Anne Keiding og stud. mag. Louise Juul Hansen for hjælp med kodning af henholdsvis spillefilm, reklamer og computerspil.

Comments on Stig Hjarvard's presentation

ULLAMAIJA KIVIKURU

It is a pleasure to make comments on a presentation that has enabled us to get a better insight into what such a concept as globalization means on the everyday level. I do agree with most of the issues Stig Hjarvard took up. That is why I will not go into details, but rather try to develop further some of the themes he discussed.

As such, there were not that many totally new elements in Hjarvard's presentation, but it definitely gives us all a challenge. It is in fact surprising that we as communication scholars so rarely deal with the language. Nowadays, every other piece of research in Nordic media and communication studies has something to do with discourse analysis, but the language as such has only rarely caught our attention as a theme for research, although if anyone should know how crucial language is to communication it is we.

It would not be difficult for me to present as dramatic details as Hjarvard has about the influence of the English language on my mother tongue, Finnish – perhaps even more alarming, because the Finnish language is old-fashioned and grammar bound. The English language is able to break up deeper structures in Finnish than perhaps in Danish. In Finland we have gradually started to talk more and more through substantives and adjectives, although one in fact should put most emphasis on verbs in the Finnish language. Our verbs have become pale and our way of expressing ourselves more and more clumsy.

Also in Finland dialects have changed into kitsch – and into kitsch that sells well. During the past 5-10 years, the Bible as well as Donald Duck has been translated into several Finnish dialects. One could, of course, interpret this to mean that people have become interested in local dialects, but unfortunately this is not the case. Dialects have turned exotic and distant, and that is why those texts sell so well. Reading them is like visiting the tropical animals at Korkeasaari Zoo in Helsinki. For the news media, dialects definitely mean something vulgar and stupid. If a source uses a dialect, it is excluded from the reporter's text in the name of credibility – and it is left there if the reporter wants to destroy the legitimacy of the source. The worst case is if the source speaks one of the eastern dialects! During the EU membership campaign in the early 1990s, the media quite frequently used a technique whereby they selected Savolax-speaking sources when they were covering matters related to the No-to-EU campaign, thus indicating that the whole „No“ movement was old-fashioned and out-of-touch with reality.

But the situation is not exactly the same in the Danish and Finnish mediascapes. In Finland, we have a dozen Swedish-language newspapers, and we have Swedish-language radio and television channels. We do have, every now and then, stupid debates about the role and status of the Swedish minority language in the country and in the media, but simultaneously these debates sensitize us all to the significance of languages in general. There is a slight built-in tension concerning language questions in Finland, but the very same tension keeps alive our discussions on languages and their significance in society.

Stig Hjarvard seems to think that there is only one English-language culture, or perhaps two, a British and an American. However, the English that sneaks into the Danish language does not represent any genuine English-language culture. There is quite a large range of cultures operating in the English language, and they differ from each other considerably, depending for example on the role English has had in different parts of the world in colonialism and industrialism. The English that Hjarvard talks about is in fact the communication means of globalization, with only weak contacts with the British, American or any other culture operating in English. The language of globalization has no links with either space or time. Many English-language researchers and authors are as concerned about what is happening to the English language as Hjarvard is about what is happening to the Danish. These critics feel that their language is increasingly becoming an industrial product that anybody has the right to mistreat. The creative component belonging to genuine languages has disappeared.

As I stated earlier, I agree with almost everything Hjarvard said. However, I consider him somewhat ahistorical. I expected to hear more about power, language and the media. Changes in languages and language use have always reflected changes in power structures. Languages have reflected the views and values set by the strong, operating either in politics, the economy, religion or the culture. I am not even convinced that the pressures being exerted by the globalized English on the Nordic languages are at their strongest now. History has driven nations against each other, and languages have functioned as a means for conflict as well as for reconciliation. The scary side of globalization is the speed of changes in languages. The other languages have no time to adapt to the new situation and the new language regime.

The fact that languages are important for identity construction is a distinctly European phenomenon. For example in Africa, it is quite natural that an ordinary person uses, without difficulty, 2-3 languages on a daily basis. People change language according to the person they talk with, because the main thing is to understand and to be understood. Identity is constructed on another basis, mainly via music, dance and inherited traditions. Changing language is not a big issue. Contacts with history and the tribe are so strong that the means of communication is secondary. However, the relation of language to power is known and sensitized. Kiswahili was not raised to an East African *lingua franca* because it was the language of the slave trade. And in South Africa and Namibia, English was chosen as the official language after a change in the political sphere, because, unlike in many other parts of Africa, English was not the language of colonialism in the southern region.

The theme for today also allows us to talk about a linguistic domination far closer to us. Year after year, Finnish-speaking Finns attending Nordic conferences have talked about the difficulties they encounter, especially with the Danish language. We do want to participate in the Nordic conferences, but we simply do not understand the other Nordic languages, and for many, expressing oneself in Swedish also causes problems.

Personally, I feel that is a pity that there are so few Finnish-speaking Finns participating in this conference as well. We „old-timers“ do come, because we know that these conferences are thrilling, but younger researchers tend to select other venues. One of my doctoral students said a few months ago, when I asked why she had not registered for this conference: „Only very few have such good self-esteem that they are willing to pay to be labelled stupid or at least withdrawn and quiet, because they cannot express themselves adequately“. Do we need to be orthodox with the Nordic languages, if the main function of the language is then partly or totally lost? Nordic togetherness and a community of understanding cannot be created if people do not understand each other. Languages exist to enable communication.

This is one side of the issue, but there is another side as well. It is exactly the one Stig Hjarvard talked about. We as communication researchers have a special responsibility to promote and cherish our own languages. In today's Nordic countries, some courage is needed in this respect. At least in Finland, universities indicate that they want to promote internationalization. In practice, this means that all research reported in English is automatically assessed higher than research reported in the domestic languages. We should have the courage to state that it is the quality of the research, not the language that matters. Perhaps language does not matter as much in the natural sciences, but in the humanities and social sciences it does. It is not only the choice of language we are talking about here. If we talk to a foreign audience in a foreign language, we also pose the questions in another way than when we focus on a domestic audience. Who will study our local media circumstances from a local perspective, if not we? Moreover, we also bear the responsibility for keeping our mother tongue alive, rich and creative. This is possible only if the language is used in full scale: at home, at school, in literature and at our universities.

Rhetoric in Media Studies

The Voice of Constructive Criticism

CHRISTIAN KOCK

Rhetoric takes a view of media and of public communication generally that we may call functionalist. Rhetoricians tend to think that we use public discourse to do certain things for us with words. Rhetoric is a practical subject, which also implies that it is normative: it will teach us, not only to do certain things with words, but also to do these things well with words. Because rhetoric is about doing things well with words, it is also central to it that we should always be very aware of what we are trying to do, for we can do many different things with words, and they need to be done with different words; in general rhetoric teaches us that the function a message is meant to serve very largely determines all the properties that the message should have, which again implies that messages meant to serve different functions will have very different properties.

Rhetoric is not just a subject about how each individual can do his or her own thing with words, sometimes at the expense of others. It also holds that we have language and communication to perform certain vital functions in society. Rhetoric has always been seen by some of its practitioners as the ongoing public discourse that has helped establish human societies and hold them together; society would not have existed without the constant workings of rhetoric. In fact, the way rhetoricians figure that is that they believe that if everyone is enabled and allowed to do their own things with words, then that is the way in which the interest of society is best served.

Today, the media are the forum where public discourse is conducted. It follows that we should criticise the media when they fail to perform this function, and we should try to suggest how they could do it better.

By taking this stance toward the media, rhetoric distances itself from a couple of other positions that are strongly represented in today's academic world. In Critical Discourse Analysis and similar orientations there is, as in Rhetoric, an emphasis on the utterance and its specific properties, and on how discourse is always an attempt to further the encoder's interests; but there is also, inspired by Foucault, a constant assumption that public discourse serves to maintain a hegemony, that is, to preserve and extend power structures.

The strong suit of Critical Discourse Analysis, as practiced by Fairclough and others, is its meticulous observations of verbal messages revealing how even the smallest lin-

guistic features of public messages may work to impress a view on us – a view which fits the agenda of the ruling powers. Critical Discourse Analysis, as Fairclough and others define it, is an astute attempt to incorporate linguistic analysis into social science so as to understand the transformations of modern capitalism. So basically, Critical Discourse Analysis is a purely descriptive pursuit. There is no theory of how public communication ought to be in order for it to fulfil a constructive role in society. There seems to be no theory of public communication as a necessary factor in a modern coherent society, no notion of a constructive function for public discourse at all.

Rhetoric, in contrast, is based on the premise that public discourse is beneficial and indeed necessary in human societies – but not any kind of discourse. Rhetoric shares with Critical Discourse Analysis the wish to look very closely at utterances in the public sphere and to analyse what they do and how they do it, but Rhetoric believes that there is good discourse and bad discourse, i.e., some properties of public discourse will hinder and some will serve the functions for which public discourse is needed. Hence Rhetoric is informed by the wish to identify these properties and to suggest or demand specific changes in current social discourse practices.

There are other voices in the study of public communication which also represent a purely descriptive stance, but with an orientation that is a far cry from the systematic suspicion of the critical discourse analysts. Polemically, one might refer to these other scholars as *uncritical* analysts in that they seem to have taken it upon themselves to defend the media en bloc against any criticism. The outstanding British-American scholar Pippa Norris, it might be argued, is a representative of this trend. In her recent book, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies* (2000), she broadly dismisses what she refers to as “media malaise” and demonstrates with a wide battery of empirical data that there is a consistently positive correlation between attention to the news media and political knowledge, trust and participation. Hence, runs the argument, we should not “blame the messenger” but should look elsewhere to understand and confront the more deep-rooted flaws in current representative democracy.

But it is hardly surprising that there is a positive correlation between media use and political engagement; how could it be otherwise? Still this obvious fact does not acquit the media from any criticism of how, and how well, they perform their social functions. As a rhetorician one must find it disappointing that a media scholar like Norris never descends from the bird’s-eye-view to look at specific types or even instances of political journalism. Also it is striking that Norris and other leading media scholars refrain from entering into any normative judgments; she has nothing to say as to which types of political journalism might be better than others in some way, nor as to types of political debate or engagement. Such media studies can of very little help both to society and to the media themselves.

In contrast to these two broad orientations, which we may polemically call the paranoid and the obsequious, a rhetorician looks at public communication and the media with a functionalist eye. It recognizes that we need public communication for society to exist at all, and it asks not only: “How well does public communication perform the social functions it is meant to perform?” but also: “How could it perform them better?”

A trend in media studies that rhetoric has much in common with is uses-and-gratifications theory. Rhetoric shares with it the notion that utterances are used for different, specific purposes. However, uses-and-gratifications theory assumes, optimistically and individualistically, that each user selects and uses media content for his or her individual purposes. Rhetoric takes the social angle: how can we have communication that will per-

form these social functions for us? As a result, rhetoricians look closely at specific properties of media content, often with a view to how it could be different, whereas uses-and-gratifications theory, in a much broader approach, describes what each medium, considered as such, is used for.

Rhetoric acknowledges that the function of verbal communication is mainly to impress our views and our will on others. However, its view of interpersonal communication has more to it than this. If citizens have the means and the opportunity to make a case for their views in open debate, then that is the best way to build a human society that will endure.

What we are talking about here is often called the deliberative function of public communication. Deliberation actually means to weigh something, as on a pair of scales, and what we weigh when we deliberate is decisions. Where decisions are concerned you cannot prove anything, i.e., make a logically “valid” case one way or the other; instead, you have to see if you can increase your audience’s adherence to your proposal. It follows that the best we can do in public debate is to make sure that the best reasons on both sides of a case are *heard, understood and given attention*.

The criteria for public debate just given have several implications. Public communication on politics should give much attention to the reasons that may be offered for or against a proposed policy. Hence, rhetoricians would, for example, look critically at the ways in which the media present reasons for a decision to go to war. Do the media, in particular, manage to make the available arguments on both sides of the issue accessible and understandable to the public? Also, rhetoric would look carefully at how spokespersons on each side of an issue make their case, and what treatment they in turn are given by the media. For example, it would expect would-be deliberative debaters to acknowledge legitimate arguments on the opposite side. Good reasons should be stated, heard and attended to, also by those who disagree. One important complaint against the way politicians and other decision makers argue is precisely that they tend to suppress, ignore or distort the reasons that the opposite side has to offer – especially the good ones. The media should try to make politicians attend to good reasons offered by the other side, and media critics should watch that the media do so. This is because the necessary function of deliberative debate is to identify, in Aristotle’s phrase, “the available means of persuasion” (cf. *Rhetoric* 1355b) on *both* sides, thereby helping audiences form their own reasoned standpoints.

As an example of how scholars with a rhetorical approach would look at the media and their performance, we might consider the studies that Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Joseph Cappella presented, in their book *Spiral of Cynicism* (1997), of how the media reported the political activities around a possible health care reform in the US during the early years of the Clinton presidency. What Jamieson and Cappella found was essentially that the media, instead of focusing on “issues,” i.e., the problems facing the American health care system, their possible solutions and what cases could be made for them, they focused overwhelmingly on “strategy,” i.e., the moves and manoeuvres of the warring parties and political figures in the legislative process. The view of politics underlying this kind of coverage is that, as a general assumption, politicians are driven by a wish to preserve and extend their personal power, not by ideas about what policies are best for society. Further, Jamieson and Cappella argued that this strategic focus was instrumental in bringing the legislative process to a deadlock so that no reform came about. The book presents a series of studies suggesting that strategic coverage of specific issues tends to infect media users with a general cynicism regarding the *entire* political proc-

ess; also, that media users do not want or demand strategic coverage of politics to nearly the extent that media people think they do, and that as cynicism grows, so does also public distrust of the media themselves – hence the term “spiral of cynicism.”

Regina Lawrence (2000) did a further study of the dysfunctional workings of political coverage in the media, showing how media, in the phase where a piece of legislation was still in the making, would concentrate on the strategic aspects of the political process; only *after* it was made effective, but only then, would they begin to describe what how it would affect citizens.

There are several other empirical data which suggest that the media and their users do not see eye to eye as to what aspects of politics political journalism ought to focus on. In a 1999 study of the presidential election in 1996, two University of Connecticut researchers found that the way the media covered that election was grossly out of touch with how voters wanted it covered, (Dautrich and Hartley 1999). Consistently throughout the campaign, voters found that the media focused too much on candidates’ personalities, on “horse race” and on strategy and tactics, but too little on their standpoints on issues, on the effect if either of them were elected, and on the views of third parties.

For two years I directed a project financed by the Danish Newspapers Association to investigate current and alternative ways of doing political journalism in print media. The project is reported in the book *Forstå verden: Politisk journalistik for fremtiden* (Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur, 2002). In one study, I did a content analysis of all articles in the Danish daily newspapers about the budget negotiations for the year 2000. The articles, it turned out, were mainly about strategic manoeuvring by the various parties involved in, or excluded from, negotiations about the upcoming budget. In addition, there was a good deal of articles about minor, controversial items or proposals many of which never materialised. But there was virtually no coverage of the overall structure of the budget, for example the fact that out of the 400 billion kroner in the Danish state budget, the vast majority is bound by other laws and hence untouchable, whereas less than 10 billion may in fact be shifted about in budget negotiations. But what, then, are the purposes for which we set aside nearly all of our national household money? How big are these programs in relation to each and in relation to corresponding accounts in other countries? Which have grown most, and why? Why does a rich nation not have enough for health, education, and care for the elderly? How much *do* we spend on these accounts, by the way? In short, what are we spending our household money on? These are the questions that traditional budget negotiation coverage in newspapers leaves unanswered. Imagine a family living in similar ignorance of their available income is spent on.

Moreover, there is no empirical evidence to suggest that newspaper readers or even TV audiences actually want the coverage of national budget affairs to be the way it traditionally is. Media researchers ought to intervene here and point out that this is the way the media treat a subject like this; they might try to work out what users actually feel about it, and what the objective effects of it is; and they might suggest alternatives and do research to find out what users might think of them.

A group of journalism students who had heard of the critical stance our project was taking towards traditional political journalism did a study to see whether a sample of ordinary readers were in agreement with the media’s own criteria as to which types of news stories they found most interesting (reported in the book). They constructed a list of 10 made-up news headlines, five reflecting “traditional” criteria of newsworthiness, and five which reflected a focus in broader structural issues. They asked political editors at five national newspapers and 76 ordinary readers to select the five stories that they

would be most eager to print, respectively, to read. This brought out a strong discrepancy between editors' and readers' preferences. The most attractive story to the editors was one that stated that the Minister for culture would withdraw from politics in connection with the upcoming birth of her third child. This story was the one that readers were least likely to read. Instead, they gave top priority to a story whose headline asked the question: "Euthanasia – murder or charity. We have the right to live. Should we also be given the right to die?" ...

An interesting wider implication of this study is that some of the stories ranked highest by readers were in fact not about news. Their number 3 favourite was one whose headline said, "A multicultural democracy – Europe is the cradle of democracy, but are we willing to give immigrant citizens full democratic rights?" To this one editor objected that such a headline was "dreadfully abstract," and editors ranked this story eighth.

The interesting general issue here is that the media apparently do *not* necessarily give the audience what they want. There have been many claims that the media nowadays are run by money people, not by news people, and that this is the reason behind much of the current media malaise. But what we see in the case of political journalism is that what the media offer us is to large extent not what the market forces would dictate. The forces that give us cynical, horse-race-oriented, unenlightening political journalism are not the market forces of public demand, but perhaps rather the forces of journalistic myth and orthodoxy.

One article of orthodox journalistic faith is precisely the cynical view of politics – the view of politicians as self-serving individuals whose every action or statement is dictated by a will to preserve or extend their power. This attitude, on the one hand, supplies an explanatory framework that is characteristic of the journalistic profession; it makes the journalist who adopts this attitude look like a seasoned expert, someone with savvy and no illusions who is not easily taken in; however, with this framework to explain anything that goes on in politics, the journalist is not obliged to have any substantive knowledge of any actual policy areas. For example, in commenting on politicians' moves on health care legislation, the journalist needs no medical expertise or knowledge of health care economics, but may fall back on the same type of catch-all theory as for any other area of political debate: the power struggle framework. Adopting this framework is thus not only gratifying for the journalist, because it gives him a distinctive journalistic angle on politics; it is also cheap: with this one simplistic framework applied to everything any cub reporter can be a professional, because he needs no real knowledge of anything. For this stance I would like to suggest the term "Instant professionalism."

The cynical view that gives political journalists Instant professionalism is only one of several myths that haunt the media. It is a myth in the sense that contrary to what many journalists believe, it is not good for society, and since readers do not particularly want it, it is not good for business either. Another myth that specifically plagues newspaper journalism has to do not with the ideological but with the formal or structural dimension of messages. It is the myth of the "inverted news pyramid." This term refers to the traditional structure of news copy where everything is arranged in a linear sequence, beginning with whatever has most news value and then presenting additional chunks of information in order of descending importance. This often means: irrespective of chronology, logic and clarity.

The inverted pyramid is similar to the set menu at some restaurants, where the chef alone decides what we are having and in what order. Except that when we read it is easier to rebel

and either drop out, which is what most readers do most of the time, or skip around, in which case one often has to skip pretty much at random, because it is usually not possible to see in advance what the individual parts of the article contain.

As stated before, it is a key point in a rhetorician's approach to the media that a given medium has several widely differing functions. Consequently, it makes little sense to speak of the function of that medium as such, or to assume that the medium as such imposes specific conditions on whatever content it is used to mediate. The function of a medium is to mediate the functions of the content that it carries. And each medium may carry many types of content, each with its own distinctive function.

It is clear that each medium will be better suited for certain functions than for others. Still, it is a mistake to believe that a given medium, e.g., television, imposes certain specific requirements on all of its content regardless of function. For example, there has been a strong desire in TV programming to inject narrative qualities into material that is not by nature narrative. This often involves an entire dramaturgy with heroes, villains, build-up, point of no return, etc. However, it is not necessarily the case that such a dramaturgy is functional in dealing with political issues, and while many viewers who watch a TV documentary based on these principles may feel that they are offered a strong narrative experience, they may also feel that somehow not given a fair and useful understanding of the issue involved.

Media scholars might perhaps expect a rhetorician to say to them, "Go ahead, learn all the tricks of the rhetorical trade, and use them. Use metaphors, symbols, tropes and figures, narrative suspense, identification and all the other tools that rhetoricians have identified." But no, what this rhetorician would say above all is, "Learn all these tricks of the trade but also learn to use them for what they are good at, for the functions that they will serve well and not for other functions where they tend to have a confounding effect."

An example of how rhetorical devices tend to confound some functions while pretending to serve others is a study by Michael Milburn and Anne McGrail on "The Dramatic Presentation of News and its Effects on Cognitive Complexity" (1992). What they did was to show authentic, dramatic news stories to two groups, for example an item about election unrest in Chile, where one group saw the original while the other saw a version with the most dramatic scenes cut out. What they found was that "exposure to the dramatic news stories significantly decreased subjects' recall of the information in the stories and reduced the complexity with which individuals thought about the events reported."

More generally, as a rhetorician one would welcome more studies of the use of visuals in news programs on TV, such as what types of visuals are used for particular types of content, what effects they have, for example in terms of recall, learning, etc., and what other types might be used, if indeed visuals are necessary regardless of the type of story that is being presented.

A similar type of studies might be conducted on the use of visuals in newspapers. One aspect of this that deserves closer study is the use or non-use of graphics such as diagrams, maps, tables, etc. What are such devices good for, what are they not good for, where may graphs do a better job than pictures or verbal copy, what types are better than other types, what is current practice, and what suggestions for reform and experimentation might we make?

The use of graphics is one of the important but neglected issues for any medium that wishes to present quantitative information about national or international issues, and even more if one wants to help readers understand correlation, causation etc. Any important

political issue involves quantitative dimensions and question of what causes what, for example global warming, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and budget balancing. This is one question that cannot be left to the media themselves. For one thing, the use of graphs requires specialized knowledge of statistics and mapping techniques that are generally not part of journalism programs and certainly not of traditional journalistic skills. Also, the proper use of any such communicative device requires empirical studies, qualitative as well as quantitative, for which news organizations have neither the skills nor the means. As part of our political journalism project we did a study of the actual use of graphs in a leading newspaper, and the results clearly suggest that practical journalists grapple in the dark as to what types of graphic presentation of data exist, and what they can do.

Graphics are just one example of a type of rhetorical-communicative devices that is available to the media but is not used at all to serve the functions that it might. There seems to be a prejudice in the profession to the effect that graphics are trite and superficial, and another to the effect that they are nerdy and hence boring. So what some media have done, e.g., the American daily *USA Today*, is to use banal graphics that are pepped up with much colour and cartoon-like artwork. What few people in the profession have realized is that graphics of the type used by *USA Today* are perhaps boring *because* they are banal; no amount of four-colour hysterical artwork will conceal the fact they generally communicate nothing.

Graphics, then, represent one aspect of media rhetoric that media studies might give more attention to. By nature, they are two-dimensional and they may be packed with information and even insight at a ratio that is hard to match with other means. All this suggests that they are particularly suited for print media. And that brings us to the general question: Which rhetorical devices are particularly suited for which media?

In addition to this, we already another equally general question: which rhetorical functions are particularly suited for which media? That is the kind of question that our project asked itself in relation the daily newspaper, especially regarding its coverage of politics. Our answer was one that involved not only the physical makeup of the newspaper, including what we call its enormous, easily navigable user interface, but also the fact that it appears once a day and once only, as well as the fact that most newspapers have a long-established credibility or ethos to draw upon. Moreover, the newspaper is under increasing pressure as to the time readers will have or want to spend on it, given competition from other media and activities. All these particular conditions and constraints go together to suggest that what the newspaper of tomorrow should increasingly focus on as far as political coverage is concerned is well-researched material that tries to illuminate structures and issues that are currently debated or which will be in the time to come; and they should do this with an increased emphasis on two-dimensional devices, i.e., an array of elements, verbal or visual, that illuminate separate aspects of an issue, and which are easily identifiable as to what they offer. For example, it should be possible to “read” a graphic separately, or an item specifying historical background, or a narrative item representing the human side of the issue, or a analytic piece predicting likely outcomes, or setting out reasons on both sides of the issue. All this means less emphasis on breaking news, less use of the so-called inverted pyramid in reportage, which, as a linear and purely verbal structure, makes little advantage of the newspaper’s two-dimensionality and fails to take account of readers’ time constraints and reading behaviours. Also it means less opinionated preaching of party lines and correct opinions and more respect for readers who want help to form a considered view for themselves.

An obvious objection to all these claims would be that political journalism which follows these guidelines would not be read because it would be boring.

There are two answers to this. The first is that of course it is a good thing not to be boring, and the media should try to make sure that material about society and its problems is interesting. It might be argued that a piece which actually managed to explain something like the makeup of the national budget would be scary rather than anything else, and what's scary is at least not boring.

The second answer is that interest in this kind of material should come from its capacity to illuminate, i.e., that is to bring insight, not necessarily from its entertainment quality. We all want entertainment, but many of us also want enlightenment, and the two functions, as any rhetorician remembers, are different. Some genres are good at one of these functions; others are good at another.

These have been a few examples of how media experts might look rhetorically at the media. The main emphasis has been on that old-fashioned medium that media studies perhaps tend to neglect: the newspaper. But as we know there are several other media to look at, and several other functions that we would like these media to perform in society, so there are countless opportunities to ask questions of the type, "What functions should this particular medium be used to serve, which ones is it particularly good at, for which does it have constraints that call for special solutions, which rhetorical devices could this medium use to perform this function? What is current practice, and how could it be changed or reformed? What will users think of such a change, and what will its effect on them be?" These are what I, as a rhetorician speaking to media scholars, would call true rhetorical questions.

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A Counter-Statement to Depoliticizations

Mediation and Simulational Politics

BARRY BRUMMETT

Carl Boggs, in *The End of Politics: Corporate Power and the Decline of the Public Sphere*, laments the decline of civic participation, “the profound deterioration of political discourse” (vii), in sum the end of politics especially in western cultures and most especially in the United States. Today, he claims, “we live in a thoroughly depoliticized society” (17). Boggs is not alone in his concerns; similarly, Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* observes a lack of public civic engagement in traditional forms of community and politics. These and other writers, sharing Boggs’s conception of politics as “the ever broadening capacity of whole populations to be engaged in the vital affairs of public life” (97), complain of reduced voter turnout, lack of interest in public political events, and general inability to debate social and political issues with substance.

Dire predictions of the decline of politics seem similar to histories that assert the waxing and waning of rhetoric during different periods (e.g., Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, 1-15). But Boggs agrees with Antonio Gramsci’s observation that “man is essentially ‘political’” (243; Gramsci, 360), just as many have observed that rhetoric is an essential part of being human (Brummett, *Reading 1*). If both politics and rhetoric are fundamental dimensions of humanity, then perhaps these dimensions neither decline nor strengthen but rather, change in terms of form, manifestation, and sites of expression. The task of the scholar then is to be alert for new forms of politics as well as communication, to avoid assuming that change or difference must necessarily be for the worse, and to balance despair and naivete as one seeks to understand the world in the process of recreation. My purpose in this essay is to sketch out some ways in which we might do that at the intersection between politics and rhetoric. I will suggest some places to look for new political discursive forms in the world that Boggs describes, a world of corporate hegemony and infatuation with mediated entertainment that may nevertheless contain new sites for the venerable practice of political rhetoric.¹ Taking Boggs as representative of a wider group of scholars concerned with the state of politics, I will suggest a different way to understand the world that Boggs sees. In its place I will point to new forms of political discourse that are *simulational*, *erotic*, and *local*.

Bracketing and Representation in Traditional Political Forms

Boggs is especially concerned with the alleged decline of political discourse because he perceives a world of “social crisis and political decay,” as he calls his second chapter (41-66). Society everywhere is threatened by “a rapidly decaying social infrastructure” (6) and “a host of other social problems – crime, drugs, and education for example” (52). A lengthy discussion warns of impending ecological disaster unless there is political intervention (89-95). It is specifically the contrast between a perception of dire needs and a perception of the decline of traditional political reactions to such needs that fuels Boggs’s concern. If everything in the world were perfectly alright, the decline of politics might even make sense.

Of course, a situation in which the world is “perfectly alright,” or an optimum state of civic affairs, is a matter of perception. I want to suggest that an important reason for the decline of political forms as Boggs understands them is precisely the widespread perception that civic affairs are alright, if not perfectly so then at least enough alright to no longer require the vigorous wielding of traditional political discourse that was designed to address material crises.

I am suggesting that most people in the western democracies of which Boggs despairs are happy enough with the distribution of goods and resources that they have no felt need for political action to change that distribution. We live in an age of optimum entitlements in which enough people feel satisfied enough with what government is doing for them to feel no need for political struggle. The schools are good enough, the economy sound enough even in times of recession, the streets well enough maintained, foreign enemies kept at enough of a distance – and this state of affairs has been going along in this manner for quite some time. There are surely people in western democracies for whom the schools are terrible, the economy inadequate, the streets unlivable, and so forth – but there are relatively speaking not enough of these people, and they are not unhappy enough, to mobilize political action.

Let me say that it will not do to claim that the public ought to be more concerned about the ecology, imperialism, war, and so forth. Although I might well agree with such a stance personally, it is the business of politics to be the terrain on which the mass of ordinary people work out their needs, hopes, and desires – it is not the business of politics to answer to the clarion call of academic elites who want people to bestir themselves even if they are happy enough. I suggest that we are living in a political state of affairs in which many, perhaps most, major issues are *bracketed off* from public discussion and intervention because those issues have crossed a threshold of being “good enough.”

The phenomenon of bracketing off major issues from political struggle is found in every era and in every political arrangement. There has been little or no public, political discussion recently in western democracies as to whether slavery should be legal because that issue was put to rest some time ago: it was bracketed off from discussion. Less extreme issues that have been bracketed off include questions of universal suffrage related to gender or race, questions of the income tax, or of the legality of labor unions. Let me suggest that a lack of public debate over ecological issues, for instance, reflects a widespread (not universal) agreement that economic development is preferable to environmental purity, and that the possibility of future disaster is worth the risk of building and burning at top speed today. If there is indifference to ecological issues it is because an understanding of what to risk and what to tolerate was achieved some time ago and has been bracketed off.

When Boggs complains of a lack of opposition to “the largely taken-for-granted character of deeply entrenched forms of domination” (71), that entrenchment can be understood as an already achieved bracketing of certain major issues; it is not clear at all that calling those issues back onto center stage would change the decision to bracket them. In Boggs there is realization of a recent political trend in the United States which I believe clearly supports this notion of bracketing, and that is “the degree to which differences between Democrats and Republicans have mostly collapsed” (26). I would argue that the Clinton presidency, sacrificing principles for power and expediency, coalesced several trends into today’s settled bracketing of so many major public issues. Boggs acknowledges this in part by referring to Clinton’s welfare reform as a “Reaganesque bill” (53). In fact, it was a Reaganesque presidency, and instrumental in both creating and reflecting our general acceptance of settled, bracketed decisions on major issues. Boggs’s exhortations for people to come out of their political caves and fight fails because not enough people fundamentally disagree about the issues upon which he invites struggle.

A model in which political discourse is about specific, identifiable, “real world” issues is a representational model of discourse (John Stewart, Bill Nichols). Representation is a mode of discourse that is dualist, presuming a set of signs “over here” that refer to objects, events, and actions “over there.” Representational discourse operates on an ethical terrain of truth and falsehood, for its signs may always be judged in terms of whether they accurately represent some state of affairs.

That Boggs’s view of politics is representational, or that most people think of political discourse, indeed any discourse, as representational may seem unsurprising. When he complains that “there is so little public discourse on the main problems of social conflict” (52) Boggs implies a discourse that is about, that represents, the material reality of that conflict. Boggs sees the main function of television news as “reporting” events in the world so that such reports may be taken up into political discourse (82), clearly a representational view. That political discourse should be about, should represent, a world exterior to and apart from it may seem to be patently obvious; for the moment, let me just observe that such an assumption underlies Boggs’s view of politics and discourse.

Of course, representation is also a theory of politics (Boggs, 247): the ability of men and women to represent those who elected them is the key feature of this theory. Power is vested in the people, and is only represented in the actions of legislators, judges, and executives. These people are the public’s “representatives.”

Representation is also a theory of mediation, so basic a theory as to be encoded almost unconsciously, automatically, in many views of how mediation works. The foundational Shannon-Weaver model of communication implies a mediation that represents original thoughts or realities. Mediation, in this view, stands between and connects people. The telephone mediates between two people and what one hears on the instrument is a representation of what the real person says far away. One goes to see films that are representations of something: perhaps of technical processes, perhaps of actors and sets, perhaps of stories once told in novels, and so forth. This representational view of media sees the medium as bringing to the viewer or auditor some signs of something that has happened or that exists elsewhere. Boggs clearly shares a representational view of media. He understands the “technological infrastructure” as constituting a “huge multimedia system” that can lead to “the democratization of knowledge” (267). Media, in this view, present users with signs (pixels on a screen, digitized sounds, and so forth) that convey knowledge about the world, about truths lying beyond the computer, the television screen, or the headphones. Media work when “citizen-empowerment messages get

transmitted in cyberspace” (271), messages that empower because they represent realities, the knowledge of which is to the advantage of citizens who use them.

Politics in today’s large democracies are of necessity mediated. But I want to argue that today’s political discourse is called upon less and less to represent real states of affairs because public concerns over those states of affairs are bracketed off into general acceptance. Hence, mediation is less representational than it used to be, less representational than in Boggs’s formulations. If people engage in political communication today, there is less interest in the role of that communication to represent real affairs if people are relatively satisfied with how those affairs are. But politics as a dimension of humanity must continue in some form, and in large western democracies, must continue in a mediated form. This alternative form of mediation is simulation rather than representation. Thus I will argue that today’s politics is largely played out on a terrain of *simulational* mediation. I will next argue that an understanding of the simulational nature of today’s mediation of political discourse leads to an understanding of politics as *erotic* – that is to say, as grounded in *desire*. This simulational grounding in desire is precisely the reason behind the corporate hegemony that Boggs decries in politics. And finally, I will suggest that when politics today is not grounded in simulational mediation, it is largely personal and *local*.

Politics is Simulational

A simulation is an experience of a set of signs that have no direct reference outside of themselves. If I tell you about a castle I visited, I am using signs to represent a real castle somewhere. But in a video game, the castle I enter is nothing more nor less than a set of signs on a screen which do not refer directly to any real events in any real castle but only to themselves. Two key characteristics define simulations. First, because their constitutive signs are not primarily representational, a simulation is a closed loop into which one enters without direct and immediate reference to a reality (there are definitely indirect, residual, and long term connections to reality; more about this below). Second, because simulations are constructed from signs which are easily renewed, the manipulation of which has few real consequences or costs, simulations are repetitive, repeatable, and recursive: one need only push the reset button on the computer game to have the world reborn afresh (Brummett, *World*).

Much of the public today, bracketing off most political decisions as satisfactory enough, express their political proclivities by entering into the playful terrain of politics as simulation. Boggs is aware of this, although he sees it as precisely the problem, as when he decries the “seductions” of television and computers (271), and the “more artificial forms of public engagement (talk radio, consumer malls, cyberspace, and so forth)” (36). “Artificiality” is of the essence of simulations. Similarly, Boggs discusses the high priest of simulation, Jean Baudrillard, at despairing length (214-15), and Baudrillard’s claims that western cultures are increasingly simulational are the basis for Boggs’s complaints.

Political discourse today is largely a simulational experience. Boggs would seem to agree in identifying public discourse as “less relevant to what is actually happening in the world or to any conceivable policy outcomes,” although he would be unlikely to call the simulational terrain one of “politics” (2). Nevertheless, one can find acknowledgment here and there in Boggs that issues formerly debated on public platforms in the park are now being enacted in simulations. He complains of the 1991 Gulf War becoming a “television

spectacle” (83) – but he does not consider the extent to which Americans may well have been doing politics as they tuned into the video game world that television created out of that conflict. Likewise, he acknowledges that issues of power and freedom might be expressed in dance clubs, but he does not see how such expressions might be political (220).

Instead, Boggs reads the sealed off terrain of simulation as being “enmeshed in private preoccupations (whether excessive television viewing, Web surfing, or ‘shopping ‘til you drop’)” (47). Boggs understands that “American politics” has become “another manifestation of the theatrical spectacle – irrelevant but amusing” (4). He refers to “the shallowness of the political spectacle – of politics as part media culture, part marketing venture, part entertainment” (66). I suggest that the simulational nature of the theater is indeed characteristic of politics today. People watch political talk shows, presidential debates, and political news coverage not with a view to how the signs that comprise those events represent real events elsewhere, but so as to enter a simulational terrain on which the shows, debates, and news are consumed on their own terms and for their own sakes.

I have suggested that representation is a theory of mediation as well as of politics. Similarly, simulation can also be a theory of mediation. I return here to Marshall McLuhan’s early formulation of a medium as “any extension of the self.” Note how much that definition is unconcerned with representation. It invites us to think of a medium as an extension of the terrain of the self, whether physical or psychological. The player of a video game may be understood as extending the self into the game on the screen through the medium of the game and its apparatus. A medium becomes a ground into which one extends the self, often with the expectation of meeting others who have similarly extended their selves. This theory of media accommodates a view of media as a place or apparatus set apart, which is a simulational view.

But we need to complicate our view of simulation as sealed off, for the signs which make up a simulation carry some sort of reference with them, for how else would one recognize the setting for this particular video game as a castle? The reference is indirect, to castles as a type, in general. But an indirect reference or effect can nevertheless be important. A simulation can coach in its participants dispositions and attitudes that have powerful if indirect effects on the conduct of real life. Airplane pilots are trained in simulators precisely so that the skills and habits they acquire in the simulation will carry over into real life; but the carryover must be indirect, since the signs of flight that surround them refer to no immediate reality.

I suggest that simulational politics likewise instills in its participants dispositions and attitudes with powerful but indirect effects on real life. A distinction that will help us to understand this is a distinction between rhetoric and politics with *structural* versus *functional* effects. If a television commercial selling deodorant has a functional effect, it will move an audience to make an immediate, focused decision to purchase that deodorant. But if the advertisement has a structural effect, it will contribute to a long term, sedimented audience predisposition to value a neutral body odor as a sign of good hygiene, and to believe that hygiene in general may be achieved through commodities. Those fundamental predispositions provide a structure within which the specific function of selling a particular brand of deodorant may proceed. Likewise, a political advertisement that urges one to vote for Jones the Republican seeks the functional effect of ushering Jones into office, but it may have the structural effect of reinforcing in an audience the conviction that voting matters, that the election process is legitimate, and that the Republican party is a legitimate choice for voting – all those provide a structural framework within which many electoral choices are situated as functions of the structure.

I suggest that simulational politics is not meant for particular *functional* decisions precisely because so much of politics is bracketed away as generally acceptable. There is little point in passionate argument over the condition of the schools because, in most perceptions, that condition is acceptable enough. Instead, an audience that gets its politics from watching made-for-television movies of the civil rights struggle, or of the difficulties encountered by a lesbian couple, or of a poor family facing layoff, is engaging in a simulational politics that is affecting attitudes and predispositions about race, sexuality, and economics at a *structural* level. In this way simulational politics is indirectly important. Working in a world of bracketed acceptance of most pressing political decisions, simulational politics takes the long view.

Boggs is attuned to a politics that works at a functional level, I believe. He attacks "identity politics" as unable to "give rise to transformations in the class and power relations of society as a whole" (233). But I believe that identity politics, especially worked out in mediated simulations of film and television shows that explore what it means to have identities keyed to race, gender, and so forth, do indeed have an effect precisely at the structural level of class and power relations, if not at the functional level of today's particular decisions. And while Boggs's remedies for "reversing the downward spiral" are largely designed to enable a functional politics (255-67), I suggest that we need to be attuned to the possibility of a vigorous structural politics being played out on a mediated simulational terrain.

Politics is Erotic

The subtitle of Boggs's book, and an ongoing theme in his argument, is corporate power and hegemony. He claims that "traditional civic-mindedness has been subverted by an array of overpowering forces, first and foremost by corporate power" (ix). Boggs argues throughout the book that power is being exercised by corporations rather than by legitimately elected governments. These "giant entities actually begin to constitute a new public sphere of their own" (69). The "corporate agenda...*does* have all the coherence the party system lacks" in our times (28). That corporate agenda is clearly linked to "the mass media itself [which] has become little more than an extension of corporate agendas" (111). Yet I do not believe that Boggs reveals any clear mechanism by which such corporate power is created and maintained, nor how such a mechanism connects to today's simulational, mediated politics.

I believe that the engine driving corporate success is an *order of desire*, or as Gilles DeLeuze and Felix Guattari, or Herbert Marcuse, would describe it, an *erotic*. Pre-industrial economies were motivated by survival, in most cases: a society's productive capacity pretty much kept up with what people had to have in order to survive; surpluses were always in peril. Today's industrial capacity is exponentially beyond need, and must therefore be fueled by desire. Corporate hegemony maintains itself by keeping the public in a constant state of desire. The dominant motive in the public is therefore gratification of pleasure. Boggs is aware of the centrality of that motive as "the pleasure principle," but he complains of it (129). Let me suggest that it will not do for academics to feel superior to such an order of desire, for if a public chooses to be moved by desire for pleasure rather than by religious fervor or nationalistic jingoism, who are we to judge?

A major site of gratification of pleasure today is entertainment (Gabler, Postman). The ascendance of erotics, of the order of desire, can be seen clearly in public engrossment with film, television, video games, and so forth. Boggs correctly notes corporate domi-

nation in public and private life today, but it will help our understanding to realize that this domination is fueled in large part through a public desire for entertainment. This erotic is then expressed through many if not all dimensions of life. Even purchases of ordinary commodities such as food and clothing become linked to the erotic of entertainment, as shoes are acquired for their resonance with famous athletes, and food may be chosen for its connection with exotic places. Corporations are dominant because they scratch the public itch for entertainment.

The most powerful and most desired entertainments, I suggest, are precisely those conveyed to the public through simulational media. Simulation is strongly influenced by aesthetic values which undergird the satisfaction of desire for pleasure. Especially when considering the mediated nature of simulation, the ability to create an aesthetic environment that seems technically similar to reality is highly valued. Hence, while simulation has always been available to people through novels, plays, and so forth, it is the rapidly rising technical quality of today's simulations that make it such an appealing terrain for all sorts of experiences – including politics. Simulational engrossment is where pleasure is sold to the public today. Even in homes, the two speaker hi fi system of yesterday has given way to total entertainment, surround-sound systems and big screen televisions designed to create simulational experiences.

People will struggle politically over what they want, and they will struggle on the terrains where they feel closest to what they want. Once most fundamental political decisions having to do with material life are bracketed away into acceptability, people enter a simulational terrain. That is what they care about and hence, that is where we should expect political struggles. The fates of nations, characters, and struggles on the entertainment screens, within those simulational worlds, are what engross people now. Whether Bill gets impeached, whether the contestants get off the island, whether racism is overcome on the soap opera is where political struggles now occur. And these issues are worth struggling over not only because that is where people invest their desires now, but because those struggles create effects at a structural level outside, in the material world. Boggs decries a lack of public debate over gun violence even as he observes increasing preoccupation with gun violence on television and in film (147). But I think he misses the fact that it is precisely on the latter, simulated, mediated terrain that political struggle over that and so many other issues is taking place.

Politics is also expressed in what one buys. Very often that is the purchase of entertainment, specifically, the purchase of mediated simulations. Sometimes it is expressed in the purchase of commodities that gratify pleasure. If it becomes “cool to be Black,” and the purchase of signs of African and African-American culture achieve high rank in an erotic, who is to say that the purchase of hip-hop CD's and Fubu clothing is not political expression and struggle?

It is no wonder that both simulational mediation and politics are now governed almost entirely by the same measure, the same denominator, namely the opinion poll. Elections have become but the Poll of Most Importance. The poll is losing its representational importance just as media is becoming less representational, and both are moving toward simulation: the poll results are now what people struggle over politically, they are not a reflection of political struggles happening elsewhere. The extraordinary attunement of politicians, or at least American politicians, to approval ratings (which are publicized regularly) is identical to the Nielsen ratings of the most watched television shows. Political struggle still works, when a president or governor's show is cancelled after only one four year season.

Politics is Local

People do not, of course, live their whole lives on terrains of simulational media. When engaged in direct political action, I think that people are indeed working less and less in traditional political modes and discourses. I am inclined to agree with Boggs's assessment of the decline of the public sphere as traditionally understood. Politics has rushed off of the public platform, in the direction of simulated mediation on one side, but in the direction of the immediate, personal, and local on the other side.

The local and personal manifestation of politics today may well be less than it has been in the past, as reflected in Putnam's analysis of the decline of civic organizations, social clubs, and so forth. But Putnam may also be looking for political, civic engagement in traditional forms and hence miss other local expressions of the political dimension of humanity. I suggest that struggle continues in the micro-local contexts of backyard politics, of neighborly and family relationships, of negotiations over wandering dogs, unkempt lawns, or PTA elections.

What is the rise of gang membership, at least in the United States, over the last few decades but a rise in local political involvement? Unable to affect events at city hall, much less in Washington, the urban, disenfranchised poor may well be expressing their political inclinations in simulational video games on the one hand, and in involvement in local polities of Bloods and Latin Knights on the other hand. If Boggs is looking for politics on a larger scale, he may dismiss these local political terrains as "individual or privatized outlooks" (19), as "privatized retreat" (163), or at best as "micro politics" (209). Boggs is well aware of "an intricate and quasi-underground gang structure" (199), but he sees it only as a sign of "deep alienation" and not as a site of political activity.

In sum, I have suggested here that the reported death of politics may be instead a shift of the natural and indestructible human propensity for politics into the micro-politics of local activity on the one hand, and into the terrain of simulational mediation on the other hand. Let me suggest that this move, much as it may horrify academics, the People of the Book and the Speech, is perfectly consistent with most people's perceptions and desires. Critics may complain of this all they like, may contend that people should be engaging more in traditional political discourses on traditional political terrains. But if these critics want anybody to hear them, ought they not likewise be entertaining people in simulations? Would Boggs and his brethren not reach a wider audience with production of the video game, *Depoliticization: Enter the Public Sphere of Doom*?

Notes

1. Other scholars, of course, have likewise suggested ways to understand new political practices in an increasingly mediated culture. See Chris Hables Gray and Diana Saco.

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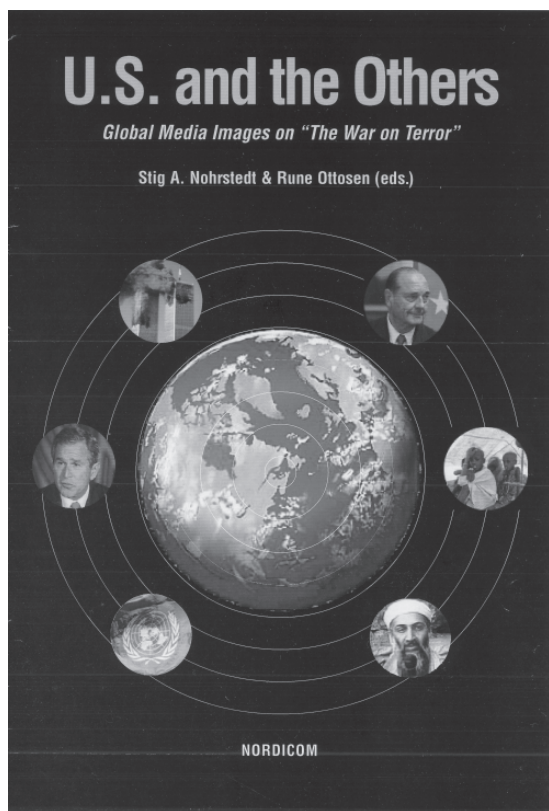
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New Book from Nordicom



The 'War on Terror' declared by President George W Bush after the terrible events of September 11, 2001, has already had profound consequences on world political developments and global opinion. Media are – either actively or passively – actors in the resultant propaganda war and can as such influence public opinion.

Globalization processes imply transnational mediated flows of meaning at the same time as the perceived meanings vary between cultures and countries. That media divide globally in the coverage of the War on Terror is not only obvious when comparing American and Arab media, but also between the U.S. and Western European media. This has partly to do with the difficult demands on journalists and media as to how to manage the flood of propaganda and the threats to professional integrity and standards.

How images of the U.S. and the Others are portrayed by media in various countries after September 11 and the attack on Afghanistan is at the focus of this volume. The book contains a collection of essays by media researchers and journalists with backgrounds from a number of countries.

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Noam Chomsky

Terror and Just Response

Robert Fisk

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Vice ordförande: *Sigurd Allern*

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• DENMARK

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• COMMUNICATION THEORY • PSYCHOANALYSIS
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• COGNITION

Grupp 12. Barn, unge og medier

Ordförande: *Jette Rygaard*

Vice ordförande: *Guðbjörg Hildur Kolbeins*

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• MEDIA USE • DENMARK

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Grupp 13. Mediepedagogikk

Ordförande: *Stefán Jökulsson*

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• COMMUNICATION • EDUCATION • LEARNING
• INTERNET • NARRATOLOGY • DENMARK

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• INTERNET • INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY
• COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY
• UNITED KINGDOM • NETHERLANDS • NORWAY
• DENMARK

Grupp 14. Populærkultur

Ordförande: *Kate Augestad*

Augestad, Kate: *Stemmen i populærmusikkforskning: den mikrofonbaserte og innspilte stemmen*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievidenskap, 2003, 13 p.

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• MUSIC VIDEOS • AESTHETICS
• COMMUNICATION THEORY • RECEPTION
• NARRATOLOGY

Grupp 15. Film- og TV-fiksjon

Ordförande: *Gunhild Agger*

Vice ordförande: *Ingrid Lindell*

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• AESTHETICS • TELEVISION FICTION
• TELEVISION GENRES • HISTORY • DENMARK

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• RHETORIC • VISUAL COMMUNICATION
• RECEPTION • NARRATOLOGY • USA
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• NARRATOLOGY

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• FILM PRODUCTION • FILM GENRES
• NARRATOLOGY • DENMARK • LARS VON TRIER

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WAR FILMS • FILM GENRES • WOMEN • GENDER

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FILMS • YOUTH • FILM ADAPTATION • FILM GENRES
• WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Grupp 16. Visuell kultur

Ordförande: *Arild Fetveit*

Vice ordförande: *Sigrid Lien*

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ARTS • DISCOURSE • MEDIA • TECHNOLOGY

Grupp 17. Språk og retorikk i mediene

Ordförande: *Helene Andersson*

Vice ordförande: *Jon Peder Vestad*

Borch, Trude: *Media as reproducers of a 'tourist problem'*. Tromsø, Norut, Samfunn, 2003, 14 p.

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LANGUAGE • JOURNALISTS • RADIO • NEWS • NYNORSK • NORWEGIAN • NORWAY

Grupp 18. Medienes konstruksjon av kjønn

Ordförande: *Karin Ljuslinder*

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• CULTURAL IDENTITY • VALUES

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• JOURNALISM

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• POPULAR CULTURE

Grupp 19. Public relations/planlagt kommunikasjon

Ordförande: Magnus Fredrikson

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• ADVERTISING • ATTITUDES

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• COMMUNICATION PLANNING • ORGANIZATIONS

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• OWNERSHIP

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HEALTH INFORMATION • POLITICAL INFORMATION
• COMMUNICATION EFFECTS
• INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Hetland, Per: *Hvordan komme på medienes dagsorden?: en studie av enøk-kampanjenes dagsorden-funksjon*. Oslo, Norsk institutt for studier av forskning og utdanning, 2003, 12 p.

AGENDA SETTING • ENVIRONMENT
• INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS
• COMMUNICATION EFFECTS • NORWAY

Högvall Nordin, Maria: *Kommunikation och meningsskapande på fältnivå: det organisatoriska fältet som analysnivå i studier av organisationers kommunikation*. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 2003, 18 p.

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• ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION
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Ihlen, Øyvind: *Pursuing energy and environmental interests with the help of public relations*. Oslo, Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon, 2003, 28 p.

PUBLIC RELATIONS • ENVIRONMENT
• COMMUNICATION PLANNING • RHETORIC
• NORWAY

Johansson, Catrin: *Visions and realities: a case study on corporate communication*. Mithögskolan, Institutionen för informationsteknologi och medier, 2003, 15 p.

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COMMUNICATION • PUBLIC INFORMATION
• PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
• COMMUNICATION THEORY • DENMARK

Grupp 20. Mediert risiko-, krise- og krigskommunikasjon

Ordförande: *Stig A. Nohrstedt*

Vice ordförande: *Britt-Marie Leivik Knowles*

Jørndrup, Hanne: *Dansk journalistik i en krigstid – business as usual!? Odense, Syddansk Universitet, Institut for Journalistik, 2003, 21 p.*

MEDIA • JOURNALISM • NEWS COVERAGE • WAR
• JOURNALISTS • JOURNALISTIC GENRES
• NATIONAL IDENTITY • OBJECTIVITY • IRAQ
• DENMARK

Lindblad, Inga-Britt: *Opinionsdiskurser om organ-donation: pressens representationer 1996-2003*. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 2003, 11 p.

PRESS • OPINION • DISCOURSE
• HEALTH INFORMATION

Nitz, Michael; Sykes, Jane: *United media?: The use of culture as a frame to explain differences in media coverage of the war on terror and Iraq*. Grand Forks, University of North Dakota, School of Communication, 2003, 29 p.

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• CULTURE

Ottosen, Rune: *Mediebildet av krigføringen i Afghanistan: fredsskaping eller aggresjon?.* Oslo, Høgskolen i Oslo, Avdeling for journalistikk, bibliotek- og informasjonsfag, 2003, 32 p.

NEWS • WAR • NEWS COVERAGE • TERRORISM
• USA • NORWAY • AFGHANISTAN

Sjölander, Annika: *The nuclear waste discourse in Malå: a truth-seeking practice*. Umeå universitet, Institutionen för kultur och medier, 2003, 10 p.

LOCAL MEDIA • OPINION FORMATION • NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY • DISCOURSE

Stocchetti, Matteo: *Power and intelligibility: Gulf War 2003 coverage in transnational broadcasting*. Helsinki, Arcada, 2003, 13 p. Note: Draft version.

TELEVISION JOURNALISM • BROADCASTING
• WAR • COVERAGE

Grupp 21. Digital tekst: Sjanger, form og prosess

Ordförande: *Martin Engebretsen*

Vice ordförande: *Terje Hillesund*

Bjørner, Thomas: *Jamen så lad da ham om det: følgeforskning af regional interaktiv TV på TV2/ Nord-Digital i Danmark*. Aalborg, Aalborg Universitet, Institut for Kommunikation, 2003, 15 p.

TELEVISION • DIGITALIZATION
• INTERACTIVE MEDIA • MEDIA USE
• AESTHETICS • SEX ROLES • RECEPTION
• REGIONS • DENMARK

Engebretsen, Martin: *Multimodale nyheter: en resepsjonsstudie*. Kristiansand, Høgskolen i Agder, Institutt for nordisk og mediefag, 2003, 28 p.

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• RECEPTION • NORWAY

Nordås, Frode: *Digital filmteknologi: eit historisk riss*. Lillehammer, Høgskolen i Lillehammer, Avdeling for TV-utdanning og filmvitenskap, 2003, 21 p.

FILM PRODUCTION • DIGITAL MEDIA • HISTORY
• TECHNOLOGY

Rustad, Hans Kristian: *Hypertekstleserens rolle og kompetanse*. Hamar, Høgskolen i Hedmark, Avdeling for lærerutdanning, 2003, 20 p.

HYPERTEXT • READING • DIGITAL MEDIA
• LITERATURE

Tønnessen, Elise Seip: *Sjanger og fascinasjonskraft i digitale tekster for ungdom*. Kristiansand, Høgskolen i Agder, Institutt for nordisk og mediefag, 2003, 14 p.

TEXT • INTERNET • MEDIA USE • YOUTH • NORWAY

Grupp 22. Digital kultur: Nye samværs- og kommunikasjonsformer

Ordförande: *Gitte Bang Stald*

Vice ordförande: *Ulrika Sjöberg*

Bruhn Jensen, Klaus: *Interactivity in the wild: an empirical exploration of "interactivity" as understood in organizational practices*. København, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Film- og Medievidenskab, 2003, 42 p.

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• RESEARCH METHODS
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Hestvik, Hanne Merete: *24 timer i døgnet...: en kvalitativ studie og et innblikk i turbojournalistens hverdag med kontinuerlig deadline*. Fredrikstad, Institutt for journalistikk, 2003, 24 p.

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• ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION • EDUCATION

Norén, Mikael: *Internet design for democracy*. Örebro universitet, Humanistiska institutionen, 2003, 20 p.

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NEWSPAPERS • INTERACTIVE MEDIA
• DIGITALIZATION • CULTURE • EVERYDAY LIFE
• DISCOURSE • DENMARK

Grupp 23. Sport og medier

Ordförande: *Peter Dahlén*

Vice ordförande: *Kirsten Frandsen*

Breisnes, Gunn Eklund: *Nike launches on the Internet*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap, 2003, 12 p.

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• GLOBALIZATION

Dahlén, Peter: *Sport, myths and national identity: the failure of the Swedish ice hockey team in the Salt Lake City Olympics 2002*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap, 2003, 24 p.

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Reimer, Bo: *"Citius, altius, fortius": tevesport i förändring*. Malmö högskola, Konst, kultur och kommunikation, 2003, 19 p.

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• GLOBALIZATION

Solberg, Harry Arne: *TV sports rights: unprofitable but still attractive*. Trondheim, Høgskolen i Sør-Trøndelag, Avdeling Trondheim økonomiske høyskole, 2003, 31 p.

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Thomsen, Ragnhild: *For pengenes eller programinnholdets skyld?: om bruk av sport i Radio 1 Bergen*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for medievitenskap, 2003, 14 p.

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• COMMERCIAL RADIO • NORWAY

Valtonen, Sanna; Ojajarvi, Sanna: *Do the right thing: gendering practices of sport media*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki, Department of Communication, 2003, 17 p.

SPORT • WOMEN • PUBLICITY • JOURNALISM

Grupp 24. Medier og etniske minoriteter

Ordförande: *Leonor Camauër*

Vice ordförande: *Mustafa Hussein*

Bjørnsen, Gunn: *Mangfold i media?: om rekruttering av mainstream minoritetsjournalister*. Bergen, Bjørknes Privatskole, 2003, 26 p.

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Camauër, Leonor: *Minority press in Castilian and the multiethnic public sphere*. Örebro universitet, Humanistiska institutionen, 2003, 21 p.

PRINT MEDIA • INTERNET • PRODUCTION
• ETHNIC MINORITIES

Graf, Heike: *Intercultural media communication in the multi-cultural setting of Södertörn*. Södertörns högskola, 2003, 20 p.

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• ETHNIC MINORITIES • CULTURAL CHANGE

Horsti, Karina: *Constructing immigration control: asylum seekers, European politics and the media*.

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JOURNALISM • IMMIGRANTS • REFUGEES
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Hultén, Gunilla: *Främling under press: fyra svenska dagstidningars rapportering om invandring i siffror*. Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation/JMK, 2003, 15 p.
NEWSPAPERS • REPORTAGE • IMMIGRANTS
• STATISTICS

Grupp 25. Medie- og kommunikasjons-teori: Forskning og disipliner

Ordförande: *Niels Brügger*

Vice ordförande: *Kaarle Nordenstreng*

Becker, Karin: *Where is visual culture in contemporary theories of media and communication?* Konstfack, Institutionen för bildpedagogik; Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation/JMK, 2003, 12 p.
MEDIA • COMMUNICATION THEORY
• VISUAL COMMUNICATION • CULTURE

Brügger, Niels: *Theories of media and communication: histories and relevance*. Århus, Århus Universitet, Institut for Informations- og Medievidenskab, 2003, 21 p.
MEDIA • THEORY • COMMUNICATION
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• COMMUNICATION THEORY • HISTORY

Fornäs, Johan: *Intermedial passages in time and space: contexts, currents and circuits of media assumptions*. Linköpings universitet, Tema Q, 2003, 16 p.
MEDIA • COMMUNICATION • TIME • SPACE

Juel, Henrik: *Kommunikative funktioner og levende billedmedier*. Roskilde, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Institut for Kommunikation, Journalistik og Datalogi, 2003, 15 p.

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• LINGUISTICS • AESTHETICS • EMOTIONS
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Kotilainen, Sirkku: *Proactive media research is enabling the change*. Tampere, University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, 2003, 9 p.
PARTICIPATION • CITIZENS • INTERNET
• COMMUNITIES

Nordenstreng, Kaarle: *Disciplines of media and communication: a survey of the field*. Tampere, University of Tampere, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, 2003, 2 p.
HIGHER EDUCATION • COMMUNICATION
• MASS MEDIA

Pedersen, Karsten: *Linguistic analysis in communications research: a presentation of two different approaches to communication analysis*. Roskilde, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Institut for Kommunikation, Journalistik og Datalogi, 2003, 10 p.
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• DENMARK

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MEDIA RESEARCH • IDENTITY
• COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT • HISTORY

Den 16. Nordiske medieforskningskonferansen 15.-17. august 2003, Kristiansand, Norge

Program

Fredag 15. august

09.00-11.00 Registrering

11.00-11.30 *Åpning*

Velkommen ved Elise Seip Tønnessen
og Arild Fetveit

Åpning av konferansen

Kunstnerisk innslag ved Nordiske
somernetter

11.30-13.00

PLENUM I MOVIE RHETORICS IN
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
Movie Rhetorics in International Politics
Astrid Söderbergh Widding, Stockholms
Universitetet
Kommentar ved *Rune Ottosen*,
Høgskolen i Oslo
Plenumsdiskusjon

13.00-14.00 Lunsj

14.00-18.00 *Grupper*

16.00-16.30 Pause med forfriskninger

20.00-21.00 Mottakelse med Kristiansand kommune,
Christiansholm festning

Lørdag 16. august

09.00-12.00

PLENUM II DIGITAL AESTHETICS
*Nostalgia for a Digital Object. Regrets
on the Quickening of Quick Time*
Vivian Sobchack, University of
California, USA
*The Illusions of Illusions of Reality: Or
What Difference Does the Digital
Make?*
Tom Gunning, University of Chicago, USA
Kommentar ved Karin Becker, Univer-
sity College of Arts, Stockholm

PLENUM III MEDIER, GLOBALISERING OG
IDENTITET

*Art against Media. The Image of the
Other in Globalised Journalism and
Aesthetics*

Stefan Jonsson, Dagens Nyheter,
Stockholm

*Globaliserende medier. Kanaler,
budbringere og infrastrukturer*
Stig Hjarvard, Københavns Universitet

Kommentar ved Hilde Arntsen,
Universitetet i Bergen og Ullamajja
Kivikuru, Svenska social- och
kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors
universitet

12.00-13.00 Lunsj

13.00-17.00 *Grupper*

17.00 Utflukter A: Bragdøya B: Grimstad

Søndag 17. august

09.30-12.00

PLENUM IV RHETORICS IN MEDIA STUDIES –
MEDIA STUDIES IN RHETORICS

*Rhetoric in Media Studies. The Voice of
Constructive Criticism*

Christian Kock, University of
Copenhagen

*A Counter-statement to
Depoliticization. Mediation and
Simulational Politics*

Barry Brummett, University of Texas at
Austin

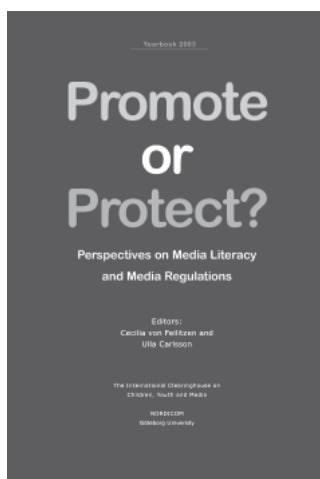
Spørsmål og kommentarer

12.00-13.00 Lunsj

13.30-17.30 *Grupper*

17.30-18.30 Møter i nasjonale
medieforskerforeninger

20.00 Festmiddag



New Book

Promote or Protect. Perspectives on Media Literacy and Media Regulations.
 Cecilia von Feilitzen & Ulla Carlsson (Eds)
 Price Paperback: SEK 250 € 25, \$ 25
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Den 16. Nordiske medieforskningskonferansen
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Nya böcker från Nordicom

Ny bok från NORDICOM

**Utkommer
sommaren 2004**

MEDIE SVERIGE 2004 *Statistik och analys*

**Red: Ulla Carlsson
& Ulrika Facht**

Nordicom-Sverige
Göteborgs universitet

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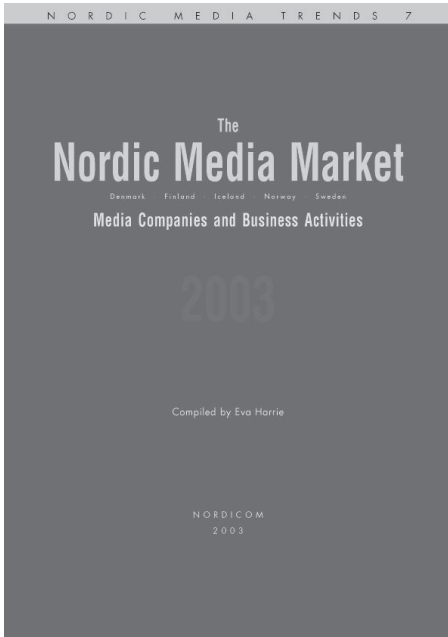
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Nya böcker från Nordicom

The Nordic Media Market 2003. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden. Media Companies and Business Activities

Compiled by **Eva Harrie**, Göteborg, NORDICOM, 2003, 166 p., ISBN 91-89471-21-0 (Nordic Media Trends; 7), ISSN 1401-0410.



The Nordic Media Market 2003 is the seventh publication in the Nordic Media Trends series. This new volume examines the media markets in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Focus is on the major media companies operating on the Nordic arena, and on ownership in both regional and national perspectives.

The volume offers detailed data on the top 25 Nordic media companies: ranking in terms of volume of business, main media activities and geographic diversification. Company charts map each company's structure and media holdings. An understanding of the Nordic media market requires a broader framework; therefore, the largest European and international corporations are described as well.

Moreover, *The Nordic Media Market 2003* includes commentary and analysis on four media markets – newspapers, consumer magazines, radio and television – with regard to important features of, and changes in the media structure and structure of

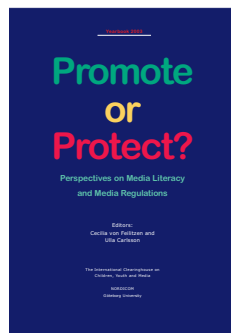
media ownership. The analysis is accompanied by statistics for each of the media with respect to structure, penetration/reach and consumption: what media are on the market, who owns them, how many people have access to the respective media, which titles and channels have most readers/listeners/viewers, and which companies are largest in the respective branches. The statistical data cover the years 1992-2002, whereas the commentary and analysis extend through the third quarter of 2003. Thus, *The Nordic Media Market* provides basic data and a framework for further analysis and prognoses.

Observing media developments in the Nordic countries in a unified context affords some interesting insights. The five countries have experienced similar trends, and the regional market is becoming increasingly integrated. The same players recur in the different countries, several national television services are outgrowths of essentially the same concept, some magazine titles recur throughout the region, and so forth. The trend toward increasingly “pan-Nordic” markets is, moreover, accelerating.

The information and data presented in the publication were collected and collated in a joint effort by Statistics Finland, Statistics Iceland, medianorway/Nordicom-Norway, and Nordicom-Sweden.

Promote or Protect? Perspectives on Media Literacy and Media Regulations

Cecilia von Feilitzen & Ulla Carlsson, Göteborg, NORDICOM, The International Clearing-house on Children, Youth and Media, 2004, 260 p. ISBN 91-89471-23-7 (Yearbook; 2003), ISSN 1651-6028.



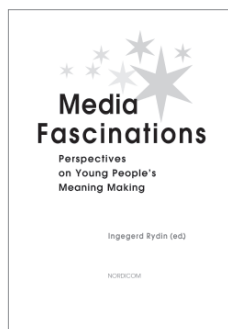
The aim of Yearbook 2003, *Promote or Protect? Perspectives on Media Literacy and Media Regulations*, is to contribute to reflections on the whole range of ‘measures’ to promote children’s, young people’s and adults’ media competence and to protect them from potential harmful media contents. What do scholars say about the responsibility of parents in this regard, about the state of media education in and outside school, about media professionals’ awareness of children and media, and about the effectiveness of media regulations? The collection of articles also gives rise to the question if ‘promote or protect’ is a pertinent dichotomy in this context. Apparently, existing initiatives are not mutually exclusive in the sense that only one ‘measure’ is sufficient to support children and young people in their interactions

with the media. Moreover, the meanings of ‘promote’ and ‘protect’ tend to converge.

Following articles are included: *Ulla Carlsson: Foreword*, *Cecilia von Feilitzen: Promote or Protect? Perspectives on Media Literacy and Media Regulations: Introduction*, *Divina Frau-Meigs: Media Regulation, Self-Regulation and Education. Debunking Some Myths and Retooling Some Working Paradigms*, *David Buckingham & Kate Domaille: Where Are We Going and How Can We Get There? General Findings from the UNESCO Youth Media Education Survey 2001*, *Joanne M. Lisosky: Managing without a Mandate. The Grassroots Momentum of Media Education in the USA*, *Matteo Zacchetti: Media Literacy and Image Education. A European Approach*, *Midori F. Suzuki & Kyoko Takahashi: Media Literacy Initiatives in Citizens’ Rights to Communication – the Case of Japan*, *Thomas Tuft: Entertainment-Education in HIV/AIDS Communication. Beyond Marketing, Towards Empowerment*, *Guillermo Orozco Gómez with the assistance of Daniel Medina Jackson: A Pedagogical Deconstruction of TV Audiences in 21st Century Mediated Environments. A Latin-American Perspective*, *Karin Larsson: Children’s On-line Life – and What Parents Believe. A Survey in Five Countries*, *Angeline Khoo, Tyng-Tyng Cheong & Albert Liau: Understanding Our Youths and Protecting Them. Singapore’s Efforts in Promoting Internet Safety*, *Ferran Casas, Mònica González & Cristina Figuer: Parents, Children and Media. Some Data from Spain, Brazil, Norway, South Africa and India*, *Ulla Carlsson: Attitudes toward Media Violence and Protective Measures in Sweden*, *Carmen Palzer & Alexander Scheuer: Self-Regulation, Co-Regulation & Public Regulation*, *Piermarco Aroldi: Television and Protection of Minors in Some European Countries. A Comparative Study*, *W. James Potter: The Myth that the Rating Systems and V-chip Will Help Solve the Problem*, *Santiago Barilá: Regulation of TV Contents in Argentina*, *Audrey Gadzekpo: The State of Broadcast Regulations on Children in Ghana*, *Des Clark: A Practical Response to Classification of Convergent Media in the Australian Context. The Combined Guidelines for Films and Computer Games*, *Suzanne Shipard: A Brief Look at the Regulation of the Broadcast Media in Australia*, *Mike Barnard: Internet Content Regulation in Australia. A Co-regulatory Approach*, *Aidan White: Raising Media Professionals’ Awareness of Children’s Rights*.

Media Fascinations. Perspectives on Young People's Meaning Making

Ingegerd Rydin (ed.), Göteborg, NORDICOM, 2003, 167 p., ISBN 91-89471-20-2 (Nordiska medieforskare reflekterar; 4), ISSN 1650-5131



The media have always fascinated children and young people. The starting point for this book is to situate media research on children and young people in contemporary discourses on childhood and growing up in modern society.

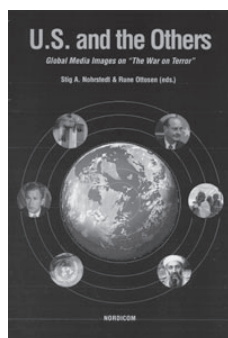
The authors present recent Scandinavian qualitative studies, sometimes case studies, on how children use, interpret and negotiate the meaning of popular television programs, computer games and Internet. Media Fascinations provides insights into such diverse issues as media literacy, the gendered nature of the media, the role of children's socio-cultural background as well as how programming content influences meaning making.

It also brings up issues concerning commercial versus public service programming for children as well as specific content features such as children's interpretations of irony and parody. Throughout the book, as a subtext, the authors show their awareness of the methodological issues involved in studying children's media use.

Following articles are included: Jesper Olesen: *Why do We Study Children's Use of the Media the Way We do? Discussions on Methodological Reflexivity*, Karin Hake: *Five-year Olds' Fascination for Television. A Comparative Study*, Elise Seip Tønnessen: *Meaning-Making in a Changing Media Culture*, Ingegerd Rydin: *Children's Television Reception. Perspectives on Media Literacy, Identification and Gender*, Elise Seip Tønnessen: *Entering an Interpretative Community*, Karen Klitgaard Povlsen: *From Beverly Hills 90210 to Ally McBeal: Irony Everywhere. American Series and Their Audiences in Denmark in the 1990s – and after 2000*, Barbro Johansson: *Good Friends, Merry Fighters*, Ulrika Sjöberg: *Making Sense of Screen-based Media. The Uses and Readings of Television, Computer Games and Internet among Swedish Young People*.

U.S. and the Others. Global Media Images on "The War on Terror"

Stig A. Nohrstedt & Rune Ottosen (eds.) Göteborg, NORDICOM, 2004, 316 p., fig., tab., ISBN 91-89471-24-5.



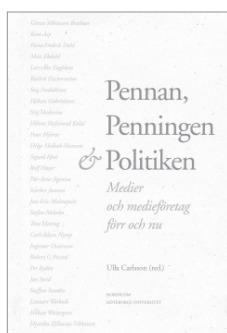
The 'War on Terror' declared by President George W. Bush after the terrible events of September 11, 2001 has already had profound consequences on world political developments and global opinion. Media both report and promote the spiral of violence that has been released in the wake of the terrorist attacks. Media are – either actively or passively – actors in the resultant propaganda war and can as such influence public opinion. How images of the U.S. and the Others are portrayed by media in various countries after September 11 and the attack on Afghanistan is at the focus of this volume.

This is a follow-up to a larger project titled 'Journalism and the New World Order' focusing on the Gulf War 1990-91. Two volumes have emerged from this project: *Gulf War, National News Discourses and Globalization*, edited by Stig A. Nohrstedt & Rune Ottosen, published in 2001 and *Studying War and the Media*, edited by Wilhelm Kempf & Heikki Luostarinen, in 2002. The present volume will be followed by a fourth volume on the War in Iraq 2003.

Following articles are included: Introduction by Birgitta Höijer, Stig A. Nohrstedt & Rune Ottosen: *Media and the 'War on Terror'*, Toby Miller: *Being Ignorant, Living in Manhattan*, Noam Chomsky: *Terror and Just Response*, Robert Fisk: *My Beating by Refugees Is a Symbol of the Hatred and Fury of This Filthy War. A Report from Kila Abdullah after Afghan Border Ordeal*, Johan Galtung: *USA, The West and the Rest after September 11 and October 7 2001*, Ivar A. Iversen: *Portraits of Evil. Timothy McVeigh and Osama bin Laden in Time and Newsweek*, Karmen Erjavec: *The Newsweek War on Terrorism. A Construction of Risk*, Rune Ottosen: *Mr. President: "The Enemy is Closer than You Might Think"*, Sophia Kaitatzi-Whitlock, with Dimitra Kehagia: *"All that is Solid Melts into Air". How the September 11 Tragedy Was Presented in the Greek Press*, Snezhana Popova & Evelyn Vato: *The Bulgarian Press and the 'New War'. A Study of the Dailies 24 Chassa and Dnevnik*, Sean Phelan: *"No Room for Neutrality". September 11 and the Irish Times*, Greg McLaughlin & Stephen Baker: *Alternative Media, the 'War on Terror' and Northern Ireland*, Marina Ghersetti: *A Question of Partisanship? Swedish Radio on September 11*, C. Anders Johansson: *Media, Ethics and Terrorism. A Study of Swedish Media's Ethics in Relation to September 11*, Peter Berglez: *Disconnection. On Mass Media and 9/11*, Elisabeth Eide: *Warfare and Dual Vision in Media Discourse*, Jörg Becker: *Afghanistan: The War and the Media*.

Pennan, penningen & politiken. Medier och medieföretag förr och nu

Ulla Carlsson (red.) Göteborg, NORDICOM, 2003, 286 s., ISBN 91-89471-19-9.



Denna bok tillägnas Karl Erik Gustafsson, professor i massmedieekonomi, Handelshögskolan vid Göteborgs universitet. Boken har titeln *Pennan, Penningen & Politiken. Medier och medieföretag förr och nu*. Det är en titel som avspeglar bredden i Karl Erik Gustafssons intresse för massmedier och det är massmediernas ekonomi som står i centrum för hans forskning i såväl ett historiskt som ett samtida perspektiv. Frågeställningar som belyses i Karl Erik Gustafssons forskning rör såväl press- och etermedier som reklam och nya elektroniska medier. Det är dock dagspressens villkor som ligger honom varmast om hjärtat och här handlar det om en omfattande forskning där en rad olika ansatser och metoder används. Arbeten som ofta är framsprungna ur offentliga utredningar.

Följande artiklar ingår: Ulla Carlsson: *Några inledande ord*, Lennart Weibull: *Kan vi behålla den höga dagstidningsläsningen i Norden?*, Barbro Fischerström: *Tidningen i den digitala medievärlden*, Lars Åke Engblom: *Mer eller mindre lokalt när allt blir digitalt?*, Stig Fredrikson: *Börsen och Katedralen*, Göran Albinsson Bruhner: *Från pluralism till konformism – en irreversibel process*, Stefan Melesko: *Den heliga produktionsapparatens – funderingar kring en branschlogik*, Peter Hjärne: *Om bubblor, tidningar och framtiden*, Per Ryden: *Ekonomi och struktur i nyaste Svenska Dagbladet*, Håkan Gabrielsson: *Samhällsdygden som affärsidé*, Pär-Arne Jigenius: *Utgivarskapets anatomi*, Robert G. Picard: *Press Support and Company Performance. The Swedish Case*, Rolf Høyer: *Medieregulering och näringsverksamhet. Pressestøtte i et større regulatorisk perspektiv*, Håkan Westergren: *Ekonomi, presstödet och mångfalden. Flerdagars-tidningarnas utveckling 1990-2001*, Sigurd Høst: *Liten, nær og uunnværlig lokale fjdagersaviser før og nå*, Helge Holbæk-Hanssen: *En mediebetragtning sett fra Stord – et bysamfunn i Norge*, Henrik Zilliacus-Tikkanen: *Samarbete mellan de finlandssvenska dagstidningarna. Två rapporter och en mångfald åsikter*, Helene Hafstrand Kolås: *Populärpressen möter nya hot och möjligheter*, Kent Asp: *TV-tittande i kris?*, Jan Strid: *Radions lokala roll*, Hans Fredrik Dahl: *Orkla mot Shipsted. Kampen om den norske TV2-konsesjonen*, Tom Moring: *Från torparbeting till nationell policy. En*

finsk historia om reklamtelevision, Stig Hadenius: Tidningsägande och makt, Mats Ekdahl & Carl-Adam Nycoop: Några dagboksblad från 60-talet, Ingemar Oscarsson: Sillfiske och yttrandefrihet. En incident från den svenska tryckfrihetens år 1, Sverker Jonsson: Störst och bäst. Den svenska pressens egenannonsering i slutet av 1800-talet, Staffan Sundin: Att studera dagspressens utveckling. Några reflektioner, Jan-Eric Malmquist: Artikelaccess som massmedieekonomiskt komplement.

Nordicom-Sveriges Mediebarometer 2003

Göteborg, Nordicom, Göteborgs universitet, 2004, 120 p., fig., tab., (MedieNotiser; 2004, 1), ISSN 1101-4539.



Mediebarometern är en årlig räckviddsundersökning, som avser att belysa hur stor andel av den svenska befolkningen som en genomsnittlig dag under respektive år har tagit del av ett antal enskilda medier: radio, TV, text-TV, video, bio, ljudkassett, CD, morgontidning, kvällstidning, vecko-månadstidning/tidskrift, reklam och Internet. Syftet är att beskriva tendenser och förändringar i människors nyttjande av massmedier. Undersökningen bygger på telefonintervjuer till ett slumpmässigt urval av befolkningen mellan 9-79 år. Urvalet 2003 omfattar ca 4 000 personer. Mediebarometern genomfördes första gången 1979 och har sedan genomförts varje år.

25 år med Mediebarometern visar att det svenska massmediesystemet håller på att fragmenteras i en ökande takt. Visserligen håller de stora medierna sin position i människors vardag, men publiken fördelar sig över ett allt större antal olika kanaler. Förändringarna mellan enskilda år är vanligen små men i ett längre perspektiv är det möjligt att se hur tillkomsten av nya medier påverkar publikens medieanvändning. Det finns dock en grundläggande tröghet i publikens medievanor som gör att det tar tid att ställa om när mediesystemet ändrar sig. Detta kan utläsas av *Nordicom-Sveriges Mediebarometer 2003*.

När tidningarna blev moderna. Om svensk journalistik 1898-1969

Gunilla Lundström, Göteborgs universitet, Nordicom-Sverige, 2004, 403 p., (Sylwan; 13 (Den svenska pressens historia)), ISSN 1403-3585.



Avhandlingen *När tidningarna blev moderna – om svensk journalistik 1897-1969* syftar till att öka kunskapen om några av de fenomen som in- gick i den svenska 1900-talsjournalistikens utveckling och expansion. Även om den svenska journalistiken naturligtvis moderniserades i olika steg, och flera av dem togs redan under 1800-talet, så infaller viktiga delar av denna modernisering under de ungefär sju decennier som författaren valt att studera. Framförallt uppehåller Gunilla Lundström sig vid allmänjournalistikens expansion, med den successiva populariseringen som viktig förutsättning. Nya ämnesområden introducerades, presentationsformerna förändrades och journalistrollen både stärktes och differentierades. Genom strategiska val av personer och material prövar belyses en del

av dessa fenomen. I centrum står de tre tidningsmakarna Carl Gustaf Tengwall, Ewald Stomberg, och Sigfrid (Sigge) Ågren. De var pådrivande när deras respektive tidningar utvecklade strategier för att stärka sina positioner hos läsarna. De var det i kraft av sina personligheter, och för att de framgångsrikt förstod att samspela med både marknad och till buds stående produktionsresurser.

De blev dessutom mönsterbildande för andra. Med Tengwall, verksam i Svenska Dagbladet 1898-1907, introducerades den moderna tidningsdraken i Sverige. Stomberg, också han i Svenska Dagbladet, blev under 1910-talet framförallt en ivrig tillskyndare av så kallad aktiv journalistik, arrangemang av olika slag som tidningen själv tog initiativ till. Sigge Ågren, centralredaktionens starke man på Expressen från starten 1944 och 25 år framåt, var bland annat en av eldsjälarna bakom en nyhetsjournalistik som särskilt ville utgå från den/de berördas perspektiv.