INTEGRATED MEDIA IN CHANGE

Edited by Riitta Brusila,
Ann-Kristin Juntti-Henriksson
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Foreword

Our mediascape is changing at a rapid pace; it can be hard to keep up with. More and more people are reading newspapers and magazines on the Internet using laptops, tablets, mobile phones and other devices, devices that progress in technology has provided – and will continue to provide. At the same time, people are increasing their use of social media to keep in contact with friends and relatives.

The new communication channels enabled by digital media allow people to both consume and produce media. Our everyday practices relating to news consumption, leisure reading and lifestyle interests continue to play a key role in defining how we use media. The increasingly central role of digital media technologies compels us to pose new research questions, and it was to open up such issues that the present volume was conceived.

The traditional media industry is highly dependent on rapid adaptations, which means that media companies are in constant need of new, updated knowledge. The number of social media applications is increasing, bringing new requirements by the day. This rapid development places great demands on research and innovation, making robust research and educational environments essential if we are to create opportunities for maintaining a vital media sector.

The project that produced the present volume set out to develop a well-functioning cross-border network in the media field between universities, research institutes and industry. Additional aims included creating a joint research platform, stimulating the development of knowledge and generating topical research results.

By cooperating across the borders in the Nordic countries (Sweden, Finland and Norway), we set out to enhance efficiency and quality in research on the rapid changes occurring in media. This volume can trace its inception to a collaborative project between Luleå University of Technology, the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi and Norut Research Institute in Tromsö; together they formed an interdisciplinary environment fostering research on topics such as media culture, media design and journalism, and media technology.

While the present work was designed in part to summarise the results of this Nordic cooperation, it has a wider international reach. We have brought

together original articles that make visible international and cross-disciplinary research results, putting forward an interesting variety of findings that offer a look into the possible future of media. It is our hope that the diversity of perspectives offered will increase knowledge in the field and inspire new, progressive thoughts that might motivate future research.

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The book is structured around two themes: [1] Information structures in design and visual communication and [2] the relationships between traditional and social media.

Starting off the volume is a contribution from Professor Suvi Ronkkainen of the University of Lapland. Its insights on the nature of knowledge and mixing methodologies are a sound reflection of the interdisciplinary character of the work. The problems to be tackled in studying increasingly integrated media are intractable when approached using traditional methods; they almost always require an interdisciplinary approach. Here we see an opportunity for philosophy and the social sciences to join forces with communication, design and social media technology.

Professor Riitta Brusila and PhD student Yiyun Zha contribute articles exploring some of the broader and more specific meanings produced by visual structure and visual elements. In her more theoretical contribution, Professor Brusila illuminates the ways in which visual structures produce cognitive meanings. Ms Zha, for her part, takes an empirical look at the design of Finnish online journals from three perspectives: hierarchy, sequence and coherence.

University Lecturer Silja Nikula and Adjunct Professor Hannu Vanhanen, both from the University of Lapland, examine the different genres of visual narration: graphic images and photographs. Dr Nikula reflects on the narrative potential of the art images she has created, while Dr Vanhanen, with a focus on quality and slow journalism, studies pictures of northern Finland taken by National Geographic photographers.

Altti Näsi, a PhD student at the University of Lapland, contributes an article looking into the role of readers' images in Finnish newspapers. Drawing on interviews and image analyses, he concludes that newspapers are increasingly using images taken by amateurs as news photographs. In her contribution, Dr Ann-Kristin Jutti-Henriksson of Luleå University of Technology opens up a

perspective on social networking among media students in northern Sweden. She applies methods of discourse analysis to illuminate the Facebook culture among the students.

A team from the Norut Research Institute in Norway – Marit Aure, Ellen Brox, Ingar Arntezen and Njål Borch – investigate the potential of new technology in shaping community. Their article discusses a publishing platform developed at Norut, one bound to time and place, which the team tested at a youth film festival in Tromsø.

Assistant Professor Fahmidul Haq, of Dhaka University, and Mohammad Ofiul Hasnat, a PhD student at the University of Lapland, both take up the topic of online journalism. In his article, Professor Haq presents a case study assessing the potential of network journalism in a developing country, specifically Bangladesh. In his contribution, Mr Hasnat discusses journalists' views regarding the impact of social media on mainstream news journalism. His research draws on interviews with journalists from the media houses participating in the Media Interreg project.

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This second, revised edition of the book will also be published on the Internet for a wider audience as an open-access work. We – the authors and editors – hope that you will welcome this step towards engaging a broader readership for peer-reviewed research on integrated media.

February 2015, Rovaniemi, Luleå and Tampere
Riitta Brusila, Ann-Kristin Juntti-Henriksson & Hannu Vanhanen

1.

INFORMATION STRUCTURES IN DESIGN AND VISUAL COMMUNICATION

Goals, Tasks and Uses of Knowledge: Mixing Methodologies in Interdisciplinary Research

Suvi Ronkainen

During the last decades, scientific knowledge production has encountered several changes. The established disciplinary boundaries have become problematized and blurred. Both the research fields and the academic institutions have become restructured by new, expanding multi-, inter-, trans-, or post-disciplinary fields. Questions about what can be taken as scientific knowledge have become more urgent and central. The traditional definition of scientific knowledge as "justified, true belief" has been questioned by several challengers who have also been able to create new methodological approaches, conceptualizations, established research networks and methods. These challengers – that I call for the sake of convenience, methodological approaches – are by no means uniform. Their importance can be grasped by recalling several "turns" inside the methodological discussion: the qualitative turn, the linguistic and discursive turns, the narrative turn, and the practice turn. The most recent "turn" from this respect is the expansion of the mixed methods approach(es).

These changes are derived inside the scientific realm. Therefore they can also be understood as the outcomes of the normal kind of development of scientific inquiry – that of the paradigmatic changes. Instead of one dominant paradigm, the research field is accepted to be a multi-paradigmatic entity; nowadays, there are several ways to produce scientific knowledge. New science and innovation policy has had effects on the conceptualization of scientific knowledge. The university's position as both an outsider and an insider of society, as both a participant in and observer of society (Burawoy 2011, 27) has been eroded. The effects of it have been discussed extensively (e.g., Sörlin & Vessuri 2006) but one of them is of importance for the idea of this article: The traditional distinction between "pure scientific knowledge" and applied knowledge or

practice-based knowledge has been diluted. Higher education politics is considering scientific knowledge production belonging to the larger knowledge and innovation system, and it is expected to create socially (economically, politically) relevant research results (Sörlin & Vessuri 2006).

Media and communication research is one good example of these trends. This research area is at the same time interdisciplinary, trans-disciplinary or even post-disciplinary. It moves across the borderlines – so dear to the traditional philosophy of science – of scientific knowledge production and practice-based research theory – building and designing services. Its research questions and aims, and the time of its development, encourage a transgression of traditional distinctions between qualitative and quantitative methodologies, or a creation of new ways of doing research: Since the research topics operate in new areas that are tightly embedded in the rapidly changing communication technologies and their innovations, the limits of the older methodological traditions also become visible.

The aim of this article is to use the discussion on mixed methods research to address the challenges of doing research within this new, interdisciplinary field. I argue that both the research that is done by combining different methodological traditions, and the research navigating in the new interdisciplinary field share the same question: How to understand different traditions of knowledge production and forms of knowledge in such a way that they can be combined for the current research purpose. Basically, I am saying that instead of conceptualizing mixed method research as a new approach (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007, 1–2) or a combination of the old approaches (that of qualitative and quantitative approaches, Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003) or calling it a new paradigm (Morgan 2007; Pearce 2012), the question is much more practical and complicated at the same time: We need to understand what kind of knowledge the different research practices and methodological choices are producing. What are they good at? What are they valid for? The starting assumption of this article is the rejection of uniformity of scientific knowledge (c.f. Greene & Caracelli 2003, 95) and the pragmatic approach to scientific knowledge.

Firstly, I sum up the idea of mixed methods research. My aim is to make a review of this topical methodological discussion. Secondly, I refer to an important background discussion in relation to both mixed methods research, that of the practice turn and pragmatism. They are important for the third section where I elaborate on the discussion about the research purpose and how it

affects the research design. I end up with a discussion on knowledge. Research is a knowledge producing practice. Still, what is knowledge? What kinds of forms does it take when it is produced using varied forms of methodological approaches? The article is based on the social scientific methodological discussion even though it aims to more generally tackle questions of knowledge production. This is due to the fact that the methodological discussion as well as the empirical analysis on scientific knowledge have been very brisk within the social sciences and the sociology of science. The uses of the different methodological approaches have a long history especially within sociological research. Social scientific research has also come across the challenges of the expansion of interdisciplinary research, emerging new applied research areas and demands of the innovation policy while trying to conceptualize the specific value of scientific knowledge.

What Is Meant by Mixed Methods Research?

Mixed methods research – also known as multimethod research along with several other terms[1] – has gotten more space in the methodological discussions during the last few decades. However, it is not a new practice, not at least in the social sciences where already the history of case study research (for instance, the Chicago School and important sociographic studies like Marienthal (Jahoda et al. 1971/2002); see the short history Brewer & Hunter 2012, XVI–XXXI) included the idea of using different approaches and collecting different kinds of research material in order to be able to analyse, describe and even explain complex social phenomena and processes.

The idea of mixed methods research is simple. Since all the research methods and methodological approaches are in one way or another partial, the

1. In the article I will be using the term mixed methods research as a general term ignoring the attempts to colonize certain terms and link them to the specific way of understanding the combination of research methods (see, for instance, Morse 2003, 190). Several textbooks introduce a range of synonyms or corresponding terms. For instance, multi-methods, multi-strategy, mixed methods, mixed methodology (Bryman 2006); triangulation, mixed methods, multiple strategies (Layder 1998); mixed methods approach or design, multimethod/multitrait research, methodological triangulation; mixed methods research, mixed methodology; combined research (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007); multimethod strategy; multimethod approach (Brewer & Hunter 1989).

combined use of several different research methods or approaches could help to assure better research and thus more valid research results. This partiality is analysed very well by Norman Denzin (1978) who describes both concepts and research methodology acting as empirical sensitizers of scientific observation. They open new realms of observation, but concomitantly close others. Because each method leads to different features of empirical reality, no single method can ever completely capture all the relevant features of that reality. This is the reason he urges researchers, especially sociologists, to learn to employ multiple methods in the analysis of the same empirical events, calling this kind of approach triangulation. (Denzin 1978, 1.)

The interests in mixed methods research started to grow rapidly during the 1990s gathering several spokespersons for the epistemological importance of "mixing" All the advocates of "mixing methods" agree about the value and idea of combining. They debate what is combined, and what this combining means (see, for instance, Greene & Garacelli 2003). The question could be asked like David Morgan does it:

> *To what extent is combining qualitative and quantitative methods simply about how we use methods, as opposed to raising basic issues about the nature of research methodology in the social sciences?* (Morgan 2008, 30.)

For some, like Cresswell and Plano Clark (2007, 6) mixed methods research involves both collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data. They also consider mixed methods research to form a unique methodological approach, comparable to survey research, ethnography or case study. They say that putting both qualitative and quantitative forms of data together as a distinct research design of methodology, is new. The idea of mixing the data, the specific types of research designs, the notation system, the terminology, the diagrams of procedures, and the challenges and issues in using different designs are features that they list as new ones (Cresswell & Plano Clark 2007, 1).

This way of understanding mixed methods research is based on the structural relationship between different datasets as part of the overall research design. The choice of whether the different datasets are used to answer the same question, related questions or different questions forms the core for the structure of the research design. Accordingly, the research design can be based on merging, converging two datasets, connecting two datasets or embedding the datasets, for instance, so that one type of data provides a supportive role for

the other dataset (Morse 2003; Cresswell & Plano Clark 2007). This thinking becomes visible by the notation system that is used to describe the relationship between datasets (QUAL + qual; QUAL + quan etc. see Morse 2003, 197–199).

Others, like Brewer and Hunter (1989; 2012; see also Howe 2012) argue that researchers are actually mixing different research styles or methodological styles (op. cit. 1989, 25), not only qualitative and quantitative research material. "Methodological styles reflect not just differences in technique, (such as qualitative versus quantitative procedures) but also different views of the epistemology of science and its ultimate goals and contributions to human thought and endeavour." (Brewer & Hunter 1989, 26). They prefer the use of the term multimethod research instead of mixed methods research.

What is important is that these styles of research are not an individual researcher's methodological choices, neither individual research techniques, nor datasets, but they refer to the practiced research approaches of research communities. Therefore they are more general methodological approaches or research traditions. One of them is fieldwork that focuses on people and events in their natural social settings. Another style of research is survey that is focusing on the populations where the phenomena of interests occur. Furthermore, there is the tradition of experimental research that uses differently controlled experimental trials or tests, and nonreactive research, which includes research communities specialized in the use of the "natural by-products of past social life" like archives, documents, official statistics etc. (Brewer & Hunter 1989, 13–15). Even so, the distinction between the "research styles" could be done differently, which Brewer and Hunter actually do in their latest, re-edited book (2012). Interesting and important is their idea that if the researcher wants to combine methods in order to use their individual strengths and in order to compensate for their particular faults and limitations, combining or mixing datasets or individual methods is not enough. What should and could be combined are certain lines of action, that is, different research strategies that are good for different purposes.

According to this, the multimethod approach affects every phase of the research process, most importantly the formulation of the research problem. The challenge is to state new problems and restate old ones in terms that make it possible to synthesize the different research styles. This actually means that to design good multimethod research the researchers need to analyse a social phenomenon thoroughly: the structure, settings, social processes, actors etc. (Brewer & Hunter 1989; 2012).

Norman Denzin, whose book *The Research Act* (1987) has been very influential in theorizing the methodological benefits and idea of mixed methods research, sees several different possibilities as well as sites in the research process for "mixing" He defines different research procedures as "lines of action" and suggests four possibilities – that could also be combined with each other – for triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation or methodological triangulation. The latter can get forms within methodology triangulation or between methodology triangulation (see also Howe 2012; Hesse-Biber 2012). He also – like Brewer and Hunter – places emphasis on lines of action, suggesting that what is combined cannot be understood as pieces of material or some technical elements of research. Instead the question is more on practices, that is, certain kinds of activity, strategy or orientation in doing the research.

> *Hence, when sociologists adopt any one of these methods, they are necessarily led to lines of action different from those they would have pursued had they employed another method. Each research method reveals peculiar elements of symbolic reality. When sociologists adopt a method, their definition of that method serves to make their final observations in some way different from those of any other users – past, present or future. Thus, not only do methods imply different lines of action, but their sociological users lend unique interpretations to them.* (Denzin 1987, 292.)

Norman Denzin justifies mixed methods research for getting a more valid picture of the phenomena when research can analyse the correspondence of the differently produced results. However, this is only one possible rationale for creating a research design that employs several different methodological approaches. In some research, the different approaches are used in a more complementary way: To clarify or contextualize each other. It is also possible to use the results from one type of research to help to develop another type of research or to initiate a totally new kind of thinking by seeking to discover paradoxes or contradictions. Sometimes the value of "mixing" comes from the fact that the differently produced research results can uncover the complexities and discrepancies of the phenomena, thus enabling to deconstruct taken-for-granted knowledge (Wagner et al. 2012) and opening space for subjugated knowledge (Hesse-Biber 2012). "Mixing" can also be done by dividing the research problem into different types of questions and sub-questions. Methods are chosen on

the grounds of how well they answer the question. (Greene & Caracelli 2003; Bryman 2006; Todd et al. 2004; Peace 2012.)

Already this short summary of mixed methods research tells that there are several possible answers, strategies, and uses for mixed methods research. The most important reason for the various understandings comes from the battles over "qualitative" and "quantitative" research approaches and from the inconsistent and varied uses of such basic terms as method (whether it is a technique or a more general procedure, or whether the researchers are making choices between one approach or several approaches during the research process), methodology (whether it is the theory of scientific methodology or something that every research creates, and what the role of the theoretical approach is in relation to calling something a methodology), research design, etc. (see, for instance, Bauer et al. 2005; Moses & Knutsen 2007) not to mention the constant question about the relationship between epistemology and methodology.

Is it so that the whole ideal description between qualitative and quantitative approaches – that is important in textbooks (Bryman 2006) – is misleading? Perhaps we should speak about more tangible and easily recognizable research traditions, like narrative research, discursive research, field study, ethnography, interview research, survey research, semiotics etc. This kind of picture would fit much better with the everyday activity of the research that is divided into these different methodological traditions or "lines of action".[2] These traditions consist of practices maintained by "knowing communities" (Longino 1990; Code 1995). They have formulated procedures for proper research acts, methods, criteria for good knowledge production and history that point out the best examples from the field. In this sense, they could be called research paradigms, but paradigms in a weak sense that David Morgan calls "paradigms as the model examples of research" (Morgan 2007). They could also be understood as the styles of scientific reasoning remembering that reasoning is also a certain kind of practical activity (Hacking 2009; Tanesini 1999, 13–14), and still that the concept "styles of reasoning" refers not only to thinking but also doing. Styles of reasoning are historically formed "ways of finding out" (Hacking 2009).

2. From here on, when I use the term methodological tradition I will be referring namely to the kinds of genres of research activity that are identifiable, form networks, have published methodological books and journals, and have a tradition of exemplary research. The term methodological approach is more open and general referring to any attempts to describe types of scientific inquiry and reasoning.

The notions of qualitative and quantitative research are good for textbook purposes. Nevertheless, they do not reveal how research has really been done. Researchers or research groups do not do "qualitative research or quantitative research" per se – like we do not eat fruit per se – but research always uniquely combines certain choices. Furthermore, research is usually positioned in a much more detailed way than using the qualitative-quantitative distinction affords. Many researchers actually refuse to use this old-fashioned and metaphysical distinction (Peirce 2012). Instead, they position themselves in the methodological traditions like narrative research, discourse analytical approaches, or they give a more detailed description of the methodology of the research that clarifies how different elements (e.g., overall theoretical approach, research material, methods for analysis, and methodological tradition) work together. So, a researcher can use statistics but read them in a deconstructionist way, or employ a grounded theory approach applied to open-ended questions, or use ethnographic methods for gathering data combined with a practice-based orientation and service design. Still, research is often described by referring to the research design it employs, like longitudinal, cross-sectional, comparative etc. Fiona Devine's and Sue Heath's (1999) book Sociological Research Methods in Context gives several good examples of best practices from the field about real-life research choices. It is interesting that most of the examples come from research that employs several different research approaches or materials but would not be described as mixed methods research.

The Practice Turn and Pragmatism

Lisa Pearce (2012, 934) sums up the recent discussion on mixed methods research saying that what seems essential to the new paradigm is a willingness to see research methods and designs as a set of tools that should be selected and evaluated based on their own specific practical merits (e.g., level of structure, involvement of the investigator, type of data produced), not on any connection to the so-called quantitative or qualitative research approaches. Her argument reflects the more general orientation of the practice turn that is partly connected to the pragmatism that has recently caught on. Both methodological traditions and the scientific method are looked upon as certain kinds of practices that are contextually bounded.

The sociology of science and pragmatist philosophy and feminist epistemologies argue – even though their arguments vary – that the questions of research methodology and what is taken as knowledge cannot be answered

by only using logical thinking and theories from the philosophy of science. These are more empirical questions focusing on research practices. The research in the sociology of science (e.g., Law 2004), pragmatism (Pihlström 2008) and feminist epistemologies (Longino 1990; Code 1995; Tanesini 1999), all – in their own way – highlight that instead of giving the privilege for the philosophy of science to set norms for scientific knowledge, we should look at the empirical world of research inquiry and ask what the criteria are for knowledge that scientific communities, or knowing communities, accept. The pragmatists claim that the practice of science is, simply, a realistic practice, and the pragmatist should follow it, instead of instituting external norms foreign to it. (Pihlström 2008, 43.) What are the procedures and practices that are used when creating the research results? What kind of knowledge is pursued and considered worth producing by different methodological traditions? This kind of reasoning overcomes the dead ends of rationalism and idealism or relativism and realism. There are no knowledge or research results that could reveal the truth about the phenomena – even though some research does produce better or worse warranted knowledge claims. Instead of analysing scientific knowledge from the perspective of truth (correspondence with reality) we should focus more on the processes of how knowledge is done and what criteria are used for the evaluation of the knowledge. This pragmatist and practice-oriented idea is suggested by David Morgan (2007). He reminds researchers that there are few reasons why purely epistemological issues should be of major interest to a methodologist – that is the province of philosophers, and he points out the virtues of the pragmatic approach that would treat issues related to research itself as the principal "line of action" that a methodologist should study, with equal attention to both the epistemological and technical warrants that influence how we conduct our research. (Morgan 2007.)

Research methods are not innocent techniques but practices that formulate and produce knowledge. Furthermore, these practices are embedded in the knowledge they are used for producing. All knowledge carries the marks of it productions. This means basically two things. Firstly, because all knowledge is done, it is important to understand the actual processes and practices of research: the contexts of the research, the choices that the researcher has conducted, and the effects of the research techniques. Secondly, methods are not only "techniques" or catalysts from which meaning vanished during the research process, but they are part of the research results. They can be metaphorized as tools if we remember that as a tool a method enables a certain kind of activity,

not any kind of activity. Therefore, methods, like tools, also give a certain kind of shape to the knowledge. The question is not about truth, but validity. Validity, it should be remembered, is not an inherent property of a particular method. There is no validity of a method *per se*. Validity demands a more general evaluation of the research choices pertaining to the data, accounts or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose (Maxwell 2010).

Alessandra Tanesini (1999) points out that all knowledge – including scientific knowledge – is socially constituted. This social constituency means knowledge is practice that is linked to, or embedded in, some larger social practices. In the field of research methodology, this can be seen in the way how methods are part of the methodological approaches and traditions. For instance, ethnographic research is not only a set of tools and techniques to conduct interviews and observations but it is also a tradition that already has established some ideas regarding the research design, the role of the researchers, ideas regarding what kind of research questions are possible and how to evaluate a research result's knowledge claims. The same is true – even though to varying degrees – in other methodological traditions, like discourse analysis, narrative research, action research, phenomenological approaches, survey research etc.

Methodological traditions are not the only practices that socially organise or constitute scientific inquiry. Research takes place somewhere and it is practically organized in a certain way. Academic institutions and research institutions are organisations with their own – often gendered and hierarchical – practices. Everyday work needs to be organized in a certain way. These aspects have their effect on the production of knowledge even though they are much more invisible, silent and mundane aspects of the process that institutionalize the world of the "known". (Tanesini 1999; Longino 1991; Law 2004.)

I still want to add one aspect that is important especially in relation to new research fields, that of creative aspects of research methods and methodology, which is often forgotten. John Law, in his book *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (2004), concludes that:

> *Method is not* [---] *a more or less successful set of procedures for reporting on a given reality. Rather it is performative. It helps to produce realities. It does not do so freely at whim. There is a hinterland of realities, of manifest absences and Othernesses, resonances and patterns of one kind or another, already being enacted, and it cannot ignore these. At the same time, however, it is also creative.* [---] *Enactments and the realities that*

> *they produce do not automatically stay in place. Instead they are made, and remade. This means that they can, at least in principle, be remade in other ways.* [---] *The consequence is that method is not, and could never be, innocent or purely technical. If it is a set of moralisms, then these are not warranted by a reality that is fixed and given, for method does not "report" on something that is already there. Instead, in one way or another, it makes things more or less different.* (Law 2004, 143.)

I understand Law's statement in two ways. Methods create realities, even though this creation does not appear in vain but echoes, resonates, illustrates the possible realities. The social life of human beings is multi-layered, which means that sometimes seemingly contradictory knowledge claims can be true "of their own kind". It is more important, however, that different methodological approaches have different powers in uncovering different aspects of reality. They are differently competent in elucidating different possible realities. Secondly, methods and methodological traditions and new practices can be recreated, made anew. This is important especially in media and communication research that is tackling a world that is in the state of becoming reality. We do not know the future technological innovations in the field of communication. We do not know all the possible social innovations that the users will create. What we know for sure is that communication is a multi-layered social and cultural, human phenomena with all its richness and creativeness. To do research in this field demands the same kind of creative attitude, the invention of new research methods, new research practices – and understanding the existing knowledge.

There are several different methodological traditions with each using different practices to produce knowledge. They usually also prefer different purposes of the knowledge, thus setting their own criteria for the evaluation of the knowledge. Therefore, it is logical to claim that the knowledge produced by research is varied. Scientific research does not produce one kind of knowledge but different types of knowledge. However, there is no well-established way to grasp the qualitative differences between the different forms of knowledge. The most common methodological discussion locates the main difference between objective and explanatory, and subjective and interpretative knowledge. This distinction is often tied to positivism and hermeneutic approaches and to the two overall purposes of scientific inquiry, explanation and understanding. More recent and specific is the distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge that has been used to legitimate practice-based "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi 1966/1983).

Ian Hacking's concept of styles of scientific reasoning (1982) that he later (2009) renewed as "the styles of scientific thinking and doing" considering this to be a better label, offers important background discussion for understanding differences within scientific knowledge formation. His idea about scientific reasoning works on the abstract level showing how in the history of science the different styles of reasoning have made certain things debatable and have excluded others, considering them as taken-for-granted facts or setting them outside the scientific realm. Of importance is, however, his idea that styles of reasoning make speaking about objectivity possible by setting what it is to be objective, what is truth "of a certain kind".

Research Purposes and Different Forms of Knowledge

If, as I have suggested, using mixed methods research is best for conceptualizing the combining of different lines of action, what does this mean for the planning of research? How can researchers make sense of whether some kind of mixed methods approach could be useful for their projects?

In the section above, there is one important, innocent looking concept. This is the concept of research purpose. The idea of research purpose is implicitly part of the argumentation for the use of several research methods. If one research method or one research approach cannot fulfil all the objectives and goals that are set for the research, and especially for the knowledge the research is supposed to produce, there is a genuine need to use several tools, several methodological approaches. This, according to Newman et al. (2003, 168) argues the use of multiple methods. Because purposes are complex, the research questions frequently require multiple methods that adequately reflect this complexity. There is a logical link among what are often complex research purposes, the questions that are necessary to reflect those purposes, and the potential need for mixed methods. In new interdisciplinary fields that aim to produce knowledge that has practical, applied and scientific uses, the purposes of the research can be quite complex. The field of communication research with its extensions to service design and applicability is a prime example of this progress.

All research, despite disciplines, shares one common feature – in order to plan the research and understand what kind of knowledge is needed in answering the research questions, the researcher should understand both the purpose and the epistemological task of the research. They are not the same thing, even though it is logically obvious that they are interlinked. This is also

the key for the evaluation of the validity of the research results. The purpose is the focus of the reasons why the researcher is undertaking the study. It is connected – or it should be connected – with the research question and the methods (Newman et al. 2003, 173). One can find the purposes of the research by, for instance, looking at the vocabulary of the research plans. In the research plan, the purposes are often expressed under the title "aims of the research", "objectives of the research" or "rationale of the research".

I use the notion of "epistemological task" to stress the fact that the different purposes of the research also demand different types of knowledge; hence, they often require different kinds of research material and sampling and the use of different methodological traditions. Thus, different procedures are necessary for different types of knowledge production.

The purpose of the research implicitly encompasses the need for specific kinds of knowledge. Research is a knowledge-producing endeavour, and the only way to satisfy the purpose is via knowledge. In mixed methods research there are often several purposes. Moreover, the fulfilment of the general objective of the research might demand different types of research questions to be answered. This creates the rationale for using several methodological approaches and/or combining different materials that cannot be analysed using methods of the same kind. We are addressing a situation where the form of knowledge is not necessarily the same and the researcher should notice that.

Most of the texts on methodology are very silent in conceptualizing knowledge. This question is left to the philosophers. However, the philosophy of science has traditionally concentrated much more on the general problem of demarcation: What is the difference between scientific knowledge claims and knowledge claims of other kinds? Most of the writings within epistemology – understood as a subfield of philosophy – have been interested in the cognitive conditions for the possibility of knowing or the universal conditions when something can be said to be know, that is, what conditions must be satisfied and how they may be satisfied in order for a person to know something (Lehrer 1990, 4–8). In Anglo-American philosophy, the standard view of knowledge has long been that knowledge is a justified, true belief (see Code 1995 for an excellent analysis on this).

In the following, I offer tentative descriptions of different forms of knowledge. Moreover, I suggest how forms of knowing, and therefore methodological choices, are connected to research purposes. I argue that if the research is aiming to fulfil several purposes, then it probably needs to produce and use

several forms of knowledge that are suitable for and valid for different purposes. The application of mixed methods research thus becomes reasonable. The idea behind this kind of tentative endeavour is very practical. While considering the question and purpose iteratively in planning mixed methods research, one can eventually get to a design or set of designs that more clearly reflect the intent of the question or the purpose of the research (Newman et al. 2003, 168–169). Furthermore, I argue more generally that since the scientific research endeavour at large utilises several different research practices (= methodological approaches), and is partly divided into different ways of finding out (= methodological traditions), understanding and using such differently produced pieces of knowledge demands a better sense of knowledge. Otherwise we will end up in the world of incommensurable knowledge claims (see, e.g., Longino 2013). My aim is thus to give some words to recognize the differences between forms of knowledge to cultivate a sense of knowing. I think that sense of knowing is especially important for research that is exploring new trans-disciplinary research areas and trying to combine traditional scientific research aims with more applied ones.

Keith Lehrer (1990) describes his approach to epistemology as a critical approach. In his book *Theory of Knowledge*, he makes a distinction between three forms of knowledge: competence sense of "know", acquaintance sense of "know", and information sense of "know". The knowledge as competence means knowing how to do something. This kind of knowledge can be attain by doing, practicing. The criteria for it – whether it should be called knowledge – comes from the practical experience: Does this "knowing" allow us to act? When we say that we "know" somebody, we are referring to the acquaintance sense of knowing. This kind of knowledge can only be acquired in a relationship: To get to know people and their lives – in one way or another – or to become familiar with their different life-worlds and circumstances. The specificity of that kind of knowledge is that it is relational. The third, the information sense of knowing refers to knowledge that can be proved to be wrong or right. Traditionally only this third type of knowledge is recognized as real, scientific knowledge since the answer can – in principal – be true or false. (Lehrer 1990, 3–6.)

This epistemological conceptualization is, however, too general to apply directly to the planning of research. Therefore we need to go back to the concept of purpose. Newman and others (2003) claim that methodological texts are writing extensively on the "what" of research explaining what kind of research questions demand which kinds of research methods. There is less, however,

conceptualization of the "why" of research. Even though Newman and others are definitely right in claiming that the "why" of the research has not been conceptualized well enough within methodological discussion, some textbooks do give a list of possible purposes (see, for instance, Ragin 1994; Marshall & Rossman 1999). The discussion on purposes and their meaning to knowledge production can also be found on the more general level in the field of the sociology of knowledge. For instance, Jürgen Habermans analyses the objectives of social research and their relation to methodological paradigms using the concept of knowledge interests (Habermas 1987; Bauer et al. 2005, 12–17).

According to Newman and others, the list of the research purposes (Newman et al. 2003, 168–169) could include several different aims. The research could aim to:

1. Predict
2. Have a personal, social, institutional and/or organizational impact
3. Measure change
4. Understand complex phenomena
5. Test new ideas
6. Generate new ideas
7. Inform constituencies
8. Examine the past
9. Deconstruct some previous assumptions

Charles Ragin (1994, 32–33) would agree with most of the suggested research purposes in his influential methodological textbook. However, he reminds us that social sciences also aim to identify general patterns and relationships, elaborate ideas, interpret culturally and historically important phenomena and explore diversity. The goal of the research could additionally be formulating new theories or giving a voice to a certain group of people. It is clear that the list of the aims could be elaborated and some recurrent and important aims are missing. I leave the list open for further elaboration trying only to put forward the basic idea: There is a logical link between the purpose of the research and the form of knowledge that the fulfilment of the purpose demands.

Research that aims to test or prove something, or to identify general patterns and relationships, needs knowledge that is factual. It needs to present evidence to support claims about states of affairs, and it needs to show that the evidence is not random or contextually bounded. Perhaps the experimental

methodological traditions, or certain quantitative traditions like survey research and the use of comparative research design can, when well done, produce this kind of knowledge.

Research that seeks to create practical solutions, affect certain practices, or create usable insights, needs competence – a kind of knowledge. This knowledge could be called practical knowledge, which is a more established expression. The research procedures need to be such that they make it possible to see and feel real-life activity, get direct feedback, and collect experiences and tacit knowledge from the field. Perhaps, then, action research, practice-focused constructivism, problem-based approaches, and observations are able to create this kind of knowledge.

Research that wishes to speak for some other groups, to give a voice, or to decipher subjective experiences, needs the acquaintance kind of knowledge. To be able to present research results as plausible representations on behalf of some other group or subjects, the researcher needs to get to know the research subjects, to get such a rapport with them that he or she has been able to deeply understand the other people. Perhaps research traditions that focus on the relational and dialogical ways of producing knowledge and on creating trust could allow that. Ethnography, certain kinds of interview research, biographical narrative research, and case-study practices might be included here. Sometimes the research task demands to overcome the cultural or historical Otherness and to open the world of possible interpretations. The hermeneutical approaches, understood more broadly than philosophical hermeneutics, have already been favouring – and problematizing – this kind of aim for knowledge production.

Research that wants to create knowledge that aims to understand or open new interpretations or enlarge the field of communication, needs knowledge that is valid in the communicative, inter-subjective field. It is important for this kind of knowledge production to show that it is based on a dialogic perspective and offers results that are culturally and socially evocative, thus belonging to the world of speaking, talking, or writing. Narrative research is one of the methodological traditions that specialize in the acts of narration as well as the narrative form and narrative imagination.

Researchers who want to use knowledge production for the deconstruction of the established ways of thinking or talking should be able to keep a critical distance from their research material and to understand how the "self-evident" is created and maintained. Perhaps some discourse analytical approaches or methods from evaluation research could be of use. The validity of this form of

knowledge, "deconstruction", does not come from what it claims but from what it does: Can it be used to show the flaws of the taken-for-granted?

The above is only an example of how the idea of the purposes of the research, epistemological tasks and methodological practices can be used when planning the research. I am able to give only a tiny glimpse of the world of methodological traditions, and, for instance, the areas of visual and virtual research have been left untouched. The planning of research includes, of course, several other aspects. It is not a one-way process; rather, it is more like an iterative process that includes several decisions. For instance, different types of research material allow and restrict choices. Real-life research choices are much more concrete, they are done in several phases and with different logic than making decisions about approaches. The basic idea, however, is important: Practices form knowledge. In the research that is using several different practices for knowledge production, this means a combination of different forms of knowledge that are not valid in the same way.

When we combine different methodological traditions in one research undertaking, we combine different research practices that are good at creating certain kinds of knowledge and are good at fulfilling certain kinds of research purposes. When we create new methods and new methodological practices, they will also be good at grasping some levels of reality, not any level of reality, neither some kind of general knowledge. All the new practices formulate knowledge. To evaluate the validity, demands the understanding of the kind or genre of the knowledge. Therefore, understanding the epistemological tasks of the research helps the researcher to recognize what kind of knowledge she or he would need in the research process and thus helps in finding the best possible methodological traditions when planning the research.

To Conclude

> *Furthermore, we need to use our study of methodology to connect issues in epistemology with issues in research design, rather than separating our thoughts about the nature of knowledge from our efforts to produce it.* (Morgan 2007, 68.)

Sometimes it takes a lengthy route to be able to say something that could be put into a few sentences. In the article I have tried to sketch the world of research methods and mixed methods research by understanding methods as practices

and giving descriptions – although very tentatively – for different forms of scientific knowledge. I argue that what is at stake in using mixed methods approaches is not methods, neither methodological approaches nor epistemological commitments, but is the understanding of what the purpose – or purposes – of the research is and what kind of knowledge – or different forms of knowledge – is needed to answer the research problem. This implies recognition of the epistemological tasks of the research, as well as understanding of what kinds of roles the different forms of knowledge have in the argumentation, as a part of interpretations and conclusions. This forms the "chain of evidence", a logical chain of questions and answers, helping to construct the plot for understanding the phenomena, and research results and their generalizability.

Media and communication research is an interdisciplinary field that importantly transgresses the traditional distinction between scientific knowledge – technology, or scientific methods – and practice-based solutions. Often the purposes of the research combine both theoretical and descriptive aims and practically oriented, contextually bound problems. This means that researchers in this field face the challenge of how to understand different forms of knowledge, what their validity areas are, how to combine, and when to generalize. The question does not become which is the best or better methodological solution, but how different methodological practices contribute to the route in answering the research problem. This all demands the cultivation of a sense of knowing.

The task, however, is demanding. In methodology, in the philosophy of science and even in (social) epistemology, the vocabulary for naming, and thus identifying different forms of knowledge, is very limited. In the methodology – at least in the social sciences – the discussion concentrates mostly on the procedures and techniques and general differences between approaches, that is, what can be asked and the history of the approaches. In the philosophy of science, the main focus has been on the demarcation between scientific knowledge and other kinds of knowledge without asking and analysing the differences within scientific knowledge itself. Therefore, there are no very established ways of describing the differences between the forms of knowledge. Several methodological traditions have, however, developed their "ways of finding out" as well as their justification for the methodological choices and validity of knowledge.

Partly I think that the discussion on mixed methods research is analogous with the previous attempts to conceptualize interdisciplinary orientations. This discussion was especially important in the feminist research that gave several concepts to understand what happens when research expands beyond

the realm of established disciplines (see, for instance, Allen & Kitch 1998). Multidisciplinary research combines several existing disciplines, often to add information. The boundaries of disciplines are left untouched. Interdisciplinary research, however, asks questions that are new, not "owned" by some disciplines. Therefore it combines concepts and methods from different disciplines, trying to create a combined perspective in understanding the phenomena. Trans-disciplinary research consciously "forgets" the disciplinary boundaries it is trying to integrate with the result that several disciplines become part of the same research task by using a new or more abstract research viewpoint, possibly creating a totally new discipline (Allen & Kitch 1998 comp. Howe 2012, 89–90). The post-disciplinary way of thinking about the combination of different disciplines goes beyond that: It urges us to forget the ideas of disciplines, or the discipline boundaries should make some kind of sense. This post-disciplinary orientation follows the research questions and collects the arguments ignoring their disciplinary backgrounds. The aim of the research is to create a more comprehensive picture and give the most satisfactory answer to the research question, not to honour disciplinary borders. (Sayer 2000.)

I believe that the aspiration behind the act of transgressing disciplinary boundaries and seeking to combine methodological approaches to create new ones is the same: the wish to understand and engage the complex and changing dynamics of the world in which we live and act, and the wish to enlarge our agency and to give space for a more holistic picture about humans in their environments. This picture is more complex, more partial, and more detailed, at the same time.

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Design Structures and Meanings

Riitta Brusila

There are differences in visual representations between [1] graphic aesthetics and persuasion and [2] graphic information visualization. Both of these fields are forms of communication constructed from objects, the properties of objects, and the space where objects are situated. There are certain differences, but what are they like? The purpose of this project is to compare existing knowledge and provide some theoretical openings to the basic knowledge of visual communication design (graphic design).

Visual communication design can be understood as an act of communication, creating meaning in messages, especially in printed and digital environments, but also it has cases everywhere in cultural built environments (wayshowing systems etc.). In critical works, visual communication design has been understood as fulfilling two functions: it can be a means of [A] conveying aesthetic pleasure and manipulating/persuasion, or [B] conveying information. Richards (1984) and Engelhardt (2002) see the first function [A] as encompassing works created for entertainment, experience and advertising, as well as contemplative art. The second function [B] of visual communication design is to describe, explain, and inform. But what kind of difference is this really at the level of representation? Is it only a question of context and function, so that the objects and spaces can be quite similar? Graphic design is usually seen as an aesthetic act and is categorized in group [A] above; its roots are in the visual arts. One of the purposes of graphic design is to present imaginative illustrations, but it is also a form of factual communication, which is closely connected with the information it contains.

In this article I will discuss printed and online publications. One of the keywords is visual information structure. It means the structure that is created by organizing objects into a certain space of surface. Practically, surface means printed material (papers magazines, books, etc.). Space means digital space, for example, electronic publications, web-pages etc.

The objects of the structure are in these cases text blocks, images, graphics and other element used in communication purposes.

The structure is managed by creating composition or layout. In visual arts this is a creative act, and the composition is seen as a meaningfully organized space. In design practice – for example, news journalism and textbooks – composition/layout has not been seen as a meaningful space. It is usually considered simply a technical act of putting material objects together.

Why can we not see aesthetic artifacts as graphic objects occupying a meaningful space with their properties? What is the difference between the functions of conveying aesthetics [A] and conveying information [B] within the context and genre of the media they represent? Are graphic representations similar for all kinds of communication? What is the role of layout in the signification process?

I argue that the knowledge basis is rather the same in both of these functions ([A] and [B]). But there must be differences as well. Works belonging to either group carry meaningful messages that are denotative, connotative and can even include a naturalized myth (see Barthes 1981). A sign is layered so that the denotative sign (its signifier and signified) creates a new sign on the connotative level; this becomes a signifier that acquires a new signified. At the next level there is the so-called myth (the third level of signification). We can also call the signifier the "expression" and the signified the "content" (Eco 1979). A code is a concept that connects the content and the expression.

Engelhardt sees information artefacts as graphic representations that are not included group [A] above (2002). He also argues that graphic representations contain three features: [1] graphic objects (e.g., a dot, pictogram or arrow), [2] the meaningful spaces in which these objects are arranged in meaningful graphic patterns, and [3] the properties of these objects (colour, size, etc.) (2007). This leads to the conclusion that the meaningful space is the same as the layout.

Engelhardt's cases are information graphics and it is clear enough that if you change the place of an arrow or make it longer, the meaning of the image will change. What happens if we change the colour of an object or the place of an image? Works categorized in group [A] are also constructed from objects (shapes), the properties of objects (colour and form), and the meaningful space in which these objects are organized (composition or layout).

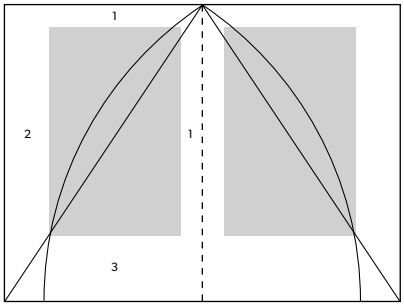
Kandinsky states that a composition is formed from shapes and colours. The shapes limit the colours. The shapes can exist independently, but not the colours (1952, 61). The shapes themselves constitute objects.

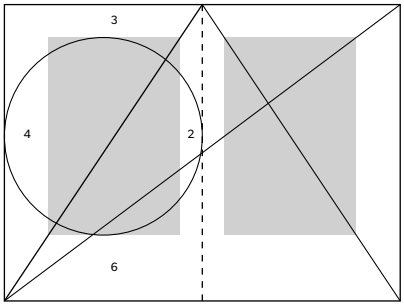
Layout is a communicational message, as well as a meaningful space. I see layout as a graphic space participating in signification in the design and interpretation of the whole message constructed by texts, pictures and other visual material. In visual art we can speak of composition, which has often been seen as an aesthetic matter.

When we introduce composition into a communication environment – for instance, in journalism, marketing, advertising or some other functional environment (usually a printed or Web-based environment) – it is called layout. Journalism has traditionally been included group [B], since its function is to describe, explain or inform, whereas marketing and advertising are seen as belonging to group [A]. But journalism, marketing and advertising all use the same kind of material. The difference lies in the function and modality of the elements. By "modality" I mean the expression of the representations of the information: for instance, realistic or imaginary (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, 160). The layout and composition organize material in a certain arrangement including information, and they are tools for signification. So does the graphic space. Behind the structure is an invisible base on which a grid is constructed. The grid system is an example of tight surface control in which space has meaning (Butler 1995).

Traditional Rules

The Golden Mean (see, e.g., Harris 2007) is still one of the most widely discussed (and used) principles of composition in formal aesthetics. The placement of objects is not arbitrary. There is, however, a certain basic construction or layout which is considered suitable for most compositions. Tschichold (1993) has studied the mathematical basis of composition in medieval printed books. He argues that readers prefer proportions based precisely on the Golden Mean (Figure 1), or 2:3 (Figure 2) (or 1V3 or 1 1:V2; V = square root), to haphazard compositions. The function of the book is related to its layout proportions. Tschichold submits that the mathematical basis of the layout is pleasant and beautiful, and that the model of a good book has changed very little over the centuries. We can ask whether it is only a matter of beauty, or whether it also satisfies our genetic memory of pleasant things in some way. Very often the layout, and other visual communication design as well, is done by intuition, not by thinking based on knowledge. So layout is usually intuitive in this meaning, but not always; it should be based on a proper knowledge of aesthetic principles. The golden mean is also one of the basic principles for web page designers.





↑ Figure 1. Example: the golden canon in a medieval book (Tschichold 1993, 53).
↗ Figure 2. Another example (Tschichold 1993, 53).

Stebbing (2004) has argued that we feel pleasure from certain forms due to our genetic memory. Forms we like correspond to something which helped our ancestors survive. Stebbing postulates that our aesthetic behaviour in creating and appreciating visual compositions has evolved from our innate ability to recognize the diversity of organic forms through the basic organizing principles of contrast, rhythm, balance and proportion that characterize organic organization (2004). These are the properties of objects and their positions in a space.

Signification is a semiotic process. There is always some uncertainty in the interpretation of signs. The coding in (designing of the material) and coding out (interpretation of the material) are usually not symmetrical (Eco 1979). That means that the sender/designer cannot be quite sure if the message or the sign is interpreted in the way in which it was meant to be interpreted. But there are cultural customs unifying interpretations. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) have analysed cultural schemes for designing and reading visual material. They postulate the meaning of composition through three properties: [1] information value, [2] salience, and [3] framing. Information value is closely connected with the placement of the elements. There are usually three horizontal values from left to right: given, mediated and new. Movement from left to right entails a movement from given to new. There are also vertical values from bottom to top: real, mediated and ideal. Precisely the same rule is used in information graphics: For example, timelines always start on the left and move to the right. Salience produces hierarchy by elements like rhythm and balance, and framing is something between the elements (1996, 212). Salience and framing seem to be part of the properties of the objects but also part of the composition and layout. The rules do not make any distinction between groups [A] and [B].

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 218) claim that in densely printed pages of text, reading is linear and strictly coded. This seems to imply that codes are closely connected with the customary way of reading, but I will return to this later. As a result, in linear texts the meaning of individual elements can be less strictly coded, whereas in non-linear texts more highly coded "texts"– for instance, images – can be used (1996, 223).

The sender sends messages intended to be understood in only one way. But how is this possible if there is always the process of signification, in which coding out is not the same as coding in? Does this mean that the receiver always acts correctly and makes no mistakes in interpreting, and that different cultural interpretations do not interfere with that process?

If we examine the objects themselves, it is obvious that graphic design uses the same material and is interpreted in the same way as information graphics. For instance, in designing logotypes it is important to reduce and simplify the form. So if the object is, for example, an arrow, we can ask what kind of arrow it is and in what context it is presented. Does it make us think of something other than just a direction? Furthermore, the properties of the objects can be similar. The colour can be coded more precisely in information design using, for example, the basic hues of colour. Of course, objects and their properties can be more complex and not so strictly coded in aesthetic works, but it is difficult to see any basic difference between graphic design and information visualization in this meaning. Even points and lines, which are the basic material of information graphics, are aesthetic tools (Kandinsky 1926).

Kandinsky also considered the relationship between basic shapes and colours, reaching a conclusion with which Brown later disagreed. Kandinsky believed that blue, red and yellow are related to the circle, the square and the triangle, respectively. But according to Brown (1987, 156): there is no such connection if there is no relationship in a certain context and function.

Both Kandinsky and Brown considered denotative meaning, which does not exist. But it can perhaps be argued that red and blue as warm and cold have some kind of denotative meaning (we have experienced things which are warm and cold, with cold things often being blue and warm or hot things red). Shapes may be either sharp or soft, but colours need a context (and form, as Kandinsky claimed) in which they are interpreted. Often there are also cultural conventions concerning meaning and colour, which must be learned.

The visual structure of journalistic (or other factual information) material has a traditional style of expression which genre rules. Pulkkinen (2008,

165–170) identifies different subgenres of dramaturges in the visual newspaper. He defines four types of styles: dramatic, didactic, lyric and epic. Dramatic representation emphasizes large pictures (photographs). Didactic representations emphasize the factual material; information graphics, fact boxes; and lyric uses large photographs stressing the personality (very often the eye contact).

Epic is more about the contents of the text and illustration. The differences of these four types are not so clear especially between the dramatic, lyric and epic. We are used to seeing headlines, body texts and images put into a grid. The grid is specific in newspapers and magazines but also on web pages. We recognize the visual genre immediately by this. But moving into the digital and web environments the layout reminds us of the printed material now. In future it will find its own way to introduce the genre and content.

But all the rules considering which one looks good and proper are connected to layout rules and genres. A designer has to know the genre and build up the combination of old aesthetic rules and that known genre. Furthermore, the genre has an historic aspect. We are used to seeing things like they have been. Linguistic text has been seen as more intellectual than images, whereas images offer more possibilities to interpret.

Finally, the objects and their properties or places are all the same. But the difference between conveying aesthetics and conveying information is more in quantity than quality when we organise the material onto surface of space.

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Editorial Creativity in News Websites: the Three Dimensions of Hierarchy, Sequence and Consistency

Yiyun Zha

Historian Daniel Boorstin famously said, "Our society is particularly ingenious at thinking up alternatives to the book" (1983). Indeed, we have thought up entire revolutions of communication, although these have been rare in human history. The first such revolution was the development of language hundreds of thousands of years ago; the second, the development of reading and writing in the Middle East about 5,000 years ago; the third, the invention of the printing press 500 years ago (Stephens 1991). However, today the death of printed newspapers is an increasingly common subject of speculation, which is the result of the fact that the general circulation of newspapers is dwindling dramatically. In surveys conducted by the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism[1], 34% of respondents said they read news online within the past 24 hours (as opposed to 31% who favoured newspapers), and a full 41% said they got most of their news online – 10% more than those who said they got most of their news from a newspaper (O'Dell 2011). We are witnessing the emergence of a new medium – the meta-medium of the digital computer. For a long time, we have been watching the web's impact not only on how newsrooms and newspapers are affected, but also on the way viewers and readers get their news.

1. The Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism is a tax-exempt research organization in the United States that uses empirical methods to evaluate and study the performance of the press. The News Coverage Index is a weekly report produced by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, which identifies the main subjects covered by the mainstream media in the United States, and analyses the percentage of the available space devoted to each major subject. The data sources were mostly collected from the United States, but it showed the general picture of the phenomenon worldwide.

With the networked personal computer as the condition of modernity, Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, was even wondering if they would stop printing the paper, and focus on the internet instead, when he was interviewed in 2007 (Avriel 2007).

Yet the reality is far from people's conjecture of the death of printed newspapers. Online newspapers have not completely taken over the market, even though they emerged early in 1994. In Finland, 2007 saw the launch of online-only newspaper Uusi Suomi (*www.uusisuomi.fi*), resurrecting a brand with a 100-year printing heritage, and the financial daily Taloussanomat (*www.taloussanomat.fi*) ended ten years of publication before concentrating solely on digital delivery (Thurman & Myllylahti 2009, 692). Logic might suggest that the readership of online news would increase when that of printed newspapers shrinks, as online newspapers eliminate the costs of the production and the distribution of a physical product. A common criticism of online journalism, however, centers on its failure to take into account the unique characteristics of the medium. Yet the concept of new media comprises the new interconnections of media technology. In this sense, media technologies have performed a "re-embedding", irrespective of the distance of space and time, in relation to distant others, issues, and arenas (Jensen 2002).

In spite of the advantages that an e-newspaper has (for example, efficiency, promptness, and convenient accessibility), digital newspapers as an alternative can hardly replace printed versions, since people become accustomed to experienced ways and behaviours. At the same time, one puzzle faced by practitioners today is their readers' low satisfaction with e-newspapers because of poor experiences with the newspaper's website interface. "It's changing, but it's still not there yet", said Juha Tahvonen (2013), the Creative Director of Seven-1 advertising agency based in Rovaniemi.

In Jensen's (2002) research of media and communication, he treats communication not as incidental, but as a necessary constituent of social life, which is relevant to theories of society and culture. From a historical and anthropological perspective, mediums – such as body language, active discourse, broadcasting and the internet – declare their functions in orienting a person's practical consciousness and everyday routines. In the online space, mediums tend to be generated under a hierarchy of levels for new media objects, as Manovich (2001) concluded: interface – content; operating system – application; web page – HTML code; high-level programming language – assembly language – machine language. This article focuses on the digitally processed

forms of representation and interaction (collectively performing a visual language through cybernetics), that are placed within modern visual and media cultures. I suppose each medium facilitates communicative process in specific ways, thus participating in the production of older cultural forms and languages. Furthermore, the expression of graphic narratives indicates a high-quality performance by breaking the ice between the old media and the new. My interest in this hypothesis and experiences as a practitioner leads me to question our perception of the visuals around us when a "bigger picture" is emerging, and I will illustrate how the visuals are able to create the illusion of reality. In the following sections, I outline how the visuals and texts of old media interrelate in new media. The discussion is based on some online-only newspapers, which serve as a corollary of today's publishing industry, although they suffer enormously from the criticisms of news reliability, authenticity, and the capacity to apply multimodalities compared to print media (Thiel 1998; Manovich 2001; Pulkkinen 2008). Since reliability and authenticity are beyond the remit of this article, I will instead make it clear that in communicative design practices there are certain fundamental principles to follow in applying new mediums. Because of the characteristics of the new medium, it is necessary to consider what the principles mean in relation to the application of the incidental multimodalities. It will be apparent throughout this discussion that it is possible to track the conceptualized layout by exploring how the news is informed and organized. Thus, finally I will consider how such design principles improve reading experiences, and how this knowledge might be manifested in useful practical work. It will be shown how designers develop a complete concept behind the dissemination of news instead of showing readers static images.

Learning from Two Online-Only Newspapers

To set the stage, this study explores two Finnish online-only newspapers, Taloussanomat and Uusi Suomi. A brief review of the page-view statistics of the two websites makes it easy to demonstrate the particular phenomena they are confronted with. Taloussanomat is the second largest online daily business newspaper in Finland, beaten only by Kauppalehti, owned by Sanoma Corporation[2]. Since 28th December 2007, it was only published on the internet,

2. Sanoma Oyj (Sanoma Corporation in English) is a leading media group in the Nordic countries with operations in over 10 European countries. It is based in Helsinki.

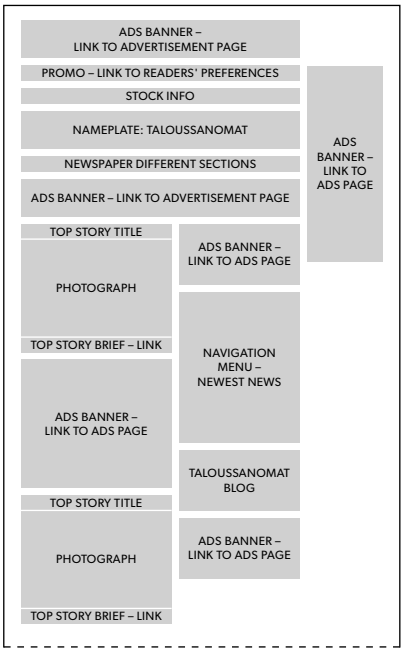
from Tuesday to Saturday, and concentrates mainly on financial and political news. Uusi Suomi was a Finnish daily newspaper, published from 1919 to 1991. In 2007, the publishers announced that it would start an online-only newspaper beginning in the autumn of that year. Today, *taloussanomat.fi* is relatively popular among Finnish users. According to Alexa Traffic Stats[3], direct visits to Taloussanomat are roughly 10% of those coming from a search engine, and visitors to *uusisuomi.fi* spend approximately 74 seconds viewing each page, and a total of six minutes on the site during each visit. In addition, both websites have measured a decline of traffic in the recent months (observation results from January to June, 2013).

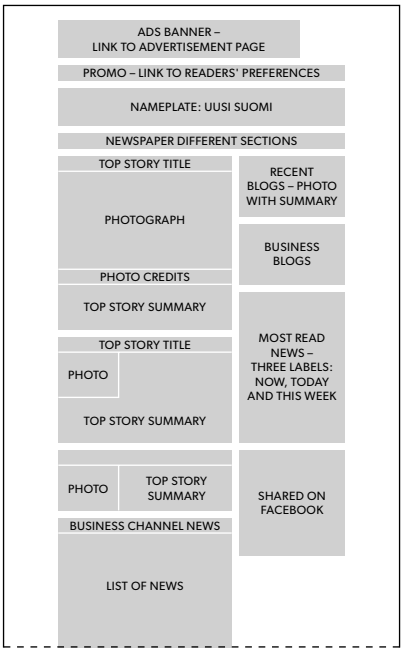
Centuries of experience trace the history of printed newspapers. Compared to today's web-focused newspaper design, there are formal and functional features for pages, headlines, columns, and fonts between different contexts or content in printed newspapers (Nielsen 2000). Each of these features combine to construct a user friendly and good-looking newspaper. In the new media era, news services require new design solutions in the graphic design discipline. With the emergence of the concept of experience and interactivity as central to user interface, recent methodological approaches to design practices have begun to investigate concepts of creating style. Media critic Howard Kurtz notes the common phenomenon happening to online news websites:

> *As you travel around the country, it's hard to tell where you are by reading the local papers. They all carry the same wire stories, with the same syndicated columns. When there were three or four newspapers serving each city, they had distinct personalities – eccentric or irascible, crusading or corny. Now most of them look like they're put out by the same faceless market research folks. Once you get beyond the dozen or so top markets, there are hundreds of breathtakingly mediocre newspapers out there. The growth of chains has stamped hundreds of one-newspaper towns with a certain ethos – what Jack Germond calls "corporate journalism" – that is not quite awful, but awfully boring.* (Kurtz 1993, 362.)

With the information explosion era in full swing, it is an urgent priority to create style in order to stand out from the "hundreds of breathtakingly medi-

3. Alexa Internet, Inc. is a California-based subsidiary company of Amazon.com that provides commercial web traffic data.





↑ Figure 1. Layout of taloussanomat.fi website, left align.
↗ Figure 2. Layout of uusisuomi.fi website, center align.

ocre newspapers". The point here is that a unique and appropriate style may attract more attention through its distinctiveness, rather by emphasizing style over substance (Thiel 1998). By a "creative style" I mean one that integrates the three dimensions (hierarchy, sequence, and consistency) of designing news website layout. These three dimensions are central both to the development of the online newspapers that participate in this research, and to the way that visual designers practice their craft. Nielsen (2000) argues that media workers must modify their skills for the interactive age, since reading online is different from reading papers. Therefore, publishers should adapt themselves for the digital realm by changing their style and learning to incorporate interactivity in news publishing.

Here I take up two examples, respectively *taloussanomat.fi* and *uusisuomi.fi*. To illustrate, I have made a clear outlined layout for both websites. As shown here, the newspaper section immediately provides readers with a series of discontinuous accesses to information, and appears as a collection of distinct components rather than as a coherent whole.

When we talk about what makes a good website, we usually go beyond the definition of layout to rethink visual experience through the following facets (Geest 2001, 131):

- *The features of the site work well. For instance, the site loads quickly, which requires photos to be optimised for the web; all links work well; the information is correct and credible.*
- *The site fulfils the functions the owner intended. For example, when the owner wants to offer visitors access to its services 24 hours a day, the site indeed offers its information and services at any time.*
- *The site fulfils the expectations of its visitors. Take taloussanomat.fi as an example: as a financial website, it has to offer readers access to its services, including real-time stock information, so that visitors value the site and get the information easily.*

From a functionality point of view, Geest identified a process-oriented checklist for website design. But, does that mean that web designers can fulfil all the needs of a website after they have read all the checklists? The designer's intervention in editorial products (here referring to website layout design) encourages consumers' attraction and improves sales because it adds value to the products both internally and externally (Martins 2010, 51). Website layout design is communication design. This is how communication design[4] (*Icograda Design Education Manifesto 2011*, International Council of Graphic Design Associations, 2011) practices and design thinking move into the day-to-day operations of traditional business.

When considering the two layouts of *taloussanomat.fi* and *uusisuomi.fi*, it is recognizable that the two designs fulfil the functions mentioned above. These two designs, however, fall below expectations as communicative tools. Evidence of this failure can be found in the absence of a style intended to create

4. Since 2011, the International Council of Graphic Design Associations (ICOGRADA) redefined the phrase "graphic design", changing it to communication design. In the US, "graphic design" can no longer be used in design discipline. However, in Australia and Europe, the phrase is still in use. For the purpose of this article I have adopted the following definition: "Communication design is an intellectual, creative, strategic, managerial, and technical activity. It essentially involves the production of visual solutions to communication problems." (International Council of Graphic Design Associations 2011, 8.)

an attractive design. Although the expression of the layout usually indicates it as being augmented by individual bits and pieces of personal vocabulary, visual variables are presented as scattered among different sections, rather than functioning to remind one of a "language" of graphic representations. Advertisement banners are squeezed into story sections, which fracture reading continuity. Their outlined layouts provide a basic sense of what a news website might do, without prescribing exactly how the information might be structured for readers to follow. To develop the concept of information structure, I will reflect on design areas in which journalists and media scholars' interests coincide in credible or critical commitments to news. It is my aim to investigate the visual information associated with what is referred to in the news. The information structure that is illustrated and proposed in this article is certainly not just sector arrangement in a fragmented map of website design, but in addition suggests colours, texts, and even interrelations between these two. Too many colours invite distraction, meanwhile knowledge of how colours interact with emotions helps designers control the power of colour, and systematically test variations of a concept (Lupton & Phillips 2008, 78). In other words, it is a complex task to follow news stories without a clear visual trail. "The graphic is no longer only the 'representation' of a final simplification, it is a point of departure for the discovery of these simplifications and the means for their justification. The graphic has become, by its manageability, an instrument for information processing", notes Jacques Bertin (cited in Lima 2011, 73). A website provides visual clues that enable users to conceptualize their form. In particular, the layout of a website contains distinctive features that alert users to the function of the website components and their part in the inclusive contents (Toms & Campbell 1999, 1). I hypothesize that the attributes of website layout introduce a trail for readers to follow, which determines the website's identity.

Working with Text-Image Relationships

From Social Semiotic Meanings to Semiotic Resources

Numerous studies examine the interrelated connections between text and image. Manovich (2001) argues that the acceptance of hyperlinking in the 1980s can be correlated with a preference for the aesthetics of collage in which radically different sources (texts, graphics, photographs, digital video, sound and the like) are brought together within a singular cultural object. The process is no longer

linguistic, but multimodal. It is important in the practice of contemporary design not to isolate text from the other communicative modes, such as images, with which it usually co-exists, after having witnessed that the boundaries between the formerly distinct specialism of design (illustration, typography, photography, etc.) are now eroding (van Leeuwen 2006, 144). Especially in the case of online newspapers as a new medium, the corresponding semiotic means of expression in text are no longer distinct territories, but are interconnected with many other modalities, for example image. In other words, if we are to be able to bring out the potential semiotic meanings of the interworking of images and texts, we need to extend the scope of linguistics and to incorporate it in a much broader theory of multimodality (van Leeuwen 2006, 145).

Folkmann (2010) puts forward that aesthetics in design play a significant role in the matter of how design relates to meaning, that is regarding design's relation to its content of meaning. His findings also suggest we care more about the performance of design meaning in the physical form. In this vein, it is not enough to consider only the interrelatedness between text and image, we must also consider how the interrelatedness performs and reflects the construction of meaning, used by designers to achieve their goals. Undoubtedly, the development of digital technologies has brought about profound changes in the transference of information, which leads to the speculation that the barriers between static and dynamic objects are collapsing. In the sphere of semiotics and technology, it is reasonable to question whether the enhanced capabilities of online news perform better.

Given the behaviour of viewers who create meaning while perceiving images, we may be tempted to trace visual segmentation to certain forms and practices by the social semiotic approach (Boeriis & Holsanova 2012). Some researchers (Boeriis & Holsanova 2012, 260) describe communicative resources as inter-subjective emergent phenomena, rather than normative rule-governed phenomena, according to the social semiotic approach. Others, particularly Engebretsen, investigate such resources as a means of studying online news within the framework of relevant contextual factors when confronted with modern genre theory:

> *In a media-sensitive context, one can thereby state that a particular genre is recognized by the patterns of certain sign systems (verbal, visual, audio…) used within the framework of certain media systems (interpersonal, mass*

> *and network media systems) to gain specific effects (make someone understand, agree, laugh, pay, dance…) in certain situations (news reading, discussion, stand up comedy, shopping, concert…)* (Engebretsen 2006, 4).

Engebretsen's notion (2006), in his study of news as genre in motion, has provided assets for building up a relation between semiotic resources (verbal, visual) and situational specifics (a user's expectations and needs). Through the relation – as the connection of adequate technical infrastructure and necessary skills – imagination, creativity and ideas of genre development and quality emerge naturally at all levels of innovation.

Today, the news-reading situation seems to be much tougher for news publishers. As the statistics above show, both Taloussanomat and Uusisuomi have faced a decline in page views. Since viewing the two news websites is free for everyone who has access to the internet, the problem is twofold: how to attract readers' to spend their valuable, limited time on their news content, and how to present news to readers in a manner that offers value for the time invested, together with viewable, trustworthy, understandable, and meaningful news (Engebretsen 2006, 5). Professional and highly hierarchic text layout with an intentionally information-oriented mode of reading is expected. I propose it is the driver behind an information structure offering a fresh perspective in textual-visual relations.

Meaningful Text-Image Relationships

Although, in his article *Rhetoric of the Image*, Roland Barthes (1977) asserts that we are still, more than ever, a civilization where writing and text continue to be dominant forms of communication in society, he claims that the image conveys a linguistic message (other than a coded iconic message and non-coded iconic message). The conception of a "civilization of writing" is already outdated, but I do agree that the viewer of the image receives at the same time the perceptual message as well as the cultural message. Therefore, the perceptual message implies a cultural progression through narratives. Any semiotic system (literal or visual) has varying patterns and communication capabilities, each with its own advantages and disadvantages (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, 17–18). Therefore, if we are to understand the way in which vital image-producing interventions in a new media context make sense of the text, a theory of language is no longer sufficient and must be complemented by theories that can make the visual principles explicit. For example, in postmodern advertising design, text and image join

together in an intricate syntax that combines typography, photography, graphics, and text, to compose the message and to convey it to viewers (Bartal 2013, 54).

Since the birth of online-only newspapers, many studies have investigated and analysed their development to ascertain whether online news is credible and whether it is fulfilling its stated goals, and other studies compare it with the traditional medium to determine the differences between them. Most researchers focus on the skills of editing and reporting; few people have turned their attention to the graphics. Rather than focus on one area at the expense of the other, it would be more valuable to assess how visual and textual information work together. Paivio's dual coding theory separates the modes of communication into two subsystems: verbal and nonverbal. It is a single theory according to which the two subsystems are structurally and functionally distinct, but at the same time interconnected (Paivio 1986, 54). When visual and verbal information is presented in more than one modality, cognitive processing of information is enhanced and simultaneously leaves more artistic latitude for improved memory and elaboration (Coleman & Wasike 2004, 459). Despite Barthes's (1977) notion that textual communication forms a more complex syntax and meaning compared to visual information, visual systems appear to provide additional learning cues (Sadoski & Paivio 2001; cited in Coleman & Wasike 2004, 459). In the layout design, rather than being viewed as a single object for producing an integrated representation of the news, the whole visual system, including the tight relations between image and text or between different visual units, consists of a network of perceptual and interconnected meanings for the website. In this sense, Paivio's analysis focuses on the concept of system, which is defined by structural integration and functional coordination (Paivio 1986, 57). One example is that of bilingual or multilingual people, who have one or several language systems, each comprising a set of subsystems of reading, speaking, understanding and writing. Each subsystem may work independently and coordinate with one another, so that the subsystem fills the gaps between conceptions. In his work *Syntactic structures in graphics* (2007), Yuri Engelhardt suggests that images can be regarded as "visualizing the non-visual" in an attempt to clarify information of some sort, and meaningful graphic space involves signification: a spatial position stands for something (Engelhardt 2007, 25). The embedding properties of dynamic graphics bear intent and purpose rather than merely appearance (Paivio 1986, 59). Importantly for this study, the affective direction of the theory extends to practical production issues such as visual placement, variables, the structural system, and editing skills.

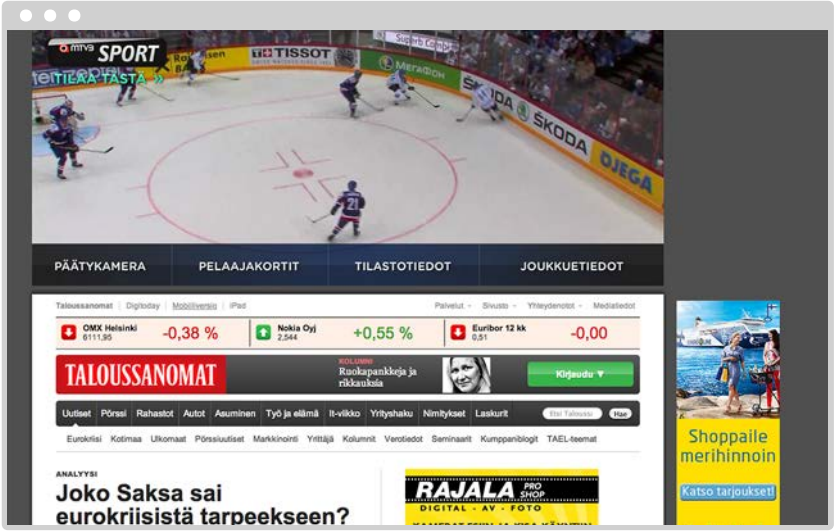
By expanding dual coding theory further to include newspaper website research, it becomes possible to predict how both verbal and visual elements are communicated, so that the process produces a better understanding for viewers, especially in the new medium while remediating the older cultural forms. In the next section, I identify how layout density is increased and by which means designers might create better experiences for readers. The rules illustrated below may become part and parcel of the guidelines for reading news websites as well.

Increasing the Layout Density

Adaption to Online Medium

In Finland, like elsewhere in the world, the circulation figures of newspapers have steadily decreased since the 1990s. Although several Finnish newspapers have revised their formats and redesigned their physical products – for example, both Helsingin Sanomat and Lapin Kansa changed over to a tabloid format – we find that the print media industry is situated in a moment of transition. Those dependent on printed words are now facing the fact that the monopoly of readability and information distribution, which lasted for over 500 years, is collapsing due to the ubiquity of internet access (Losowsky 2010, 4–5). This inevitable trend nowadays results in both challenges and opportunities for editors, visual designers and publishers. The concept of changing the format to seduce readers from traditional print to an online version requires new skills from both editors and visual designers that will hopefully one day become editorial conventions for online news. It seems desirable for two reasons: firstly, it is profitable and economical to seek digital solutions for the publishing industry; secondly, it stems from the changing conventions among digital and print designers.

> *For quite some time, the digital and the print world had nothing in common. Print designers used to look down on us. This has changed, not only because the last print designer must have realized by now that digital matter has become at least as influential as printed information, and digital designers are generally more experienced with structuring information for attention. On the other hand, it took digital designers quite some time to realize the value of traditional typographic theory. It was and is a slow process, but it is fun to watch how both worlds enrich each other.* (Oliver Reichenstein, Information Architects.)



↑ Picture 1. Screenshot of taloussanomat.fi website layout on May 2, 2013.
The advertising video element (in this case MTV3) takes over almost half of the window.

Pulkkinen referred to the notion of an "architecture of news" (Silverstein 1990; cited in Pulkkinen 2008, 99), suggesting an architecture in the overall structure of a paper and its sections, pages, and individual stories (Pulkkinen 2008, 253). This is consistent with the general picture of online newspapers. A well-designed newspaper must be edited to work on a functional-level and strive to attach importance to aesthetic values.

> *The makeup of a news page ought to reflect the news itself, imparting its sense of excitement, drama and importance* (Allen Hutt).

Pulkkinen has already examined the design structures of Finnish daily papers in 2000 to 2005 (23 papers), and comes to the conclusion that reforms in newspapers often tend to comprise mere face-lifts as it is difficult to reform the content, ways of presentation, and writing practices (Pulkkinen 2008, 254). From a content-oriented point of view, online newspapers presented in computerized and digitalized versions face more challenges for story length. Meanwhile, representation and remediation means not only creation or imagination, but also comes with limitations (Losowsky 2010, 15). Lukas Kircher once said, "every

newspaper has soul" (cited in Losowsky 2010, 82). Moving from traditional prints to digital formats requires not merely copying news from one place to another, but rather it asks for a visual elevation of structural information. That is to say, the distributed channel needs to be aimed squarely at the target audiences, while complementing the concept well. In the production process of newspapers, verbalization and visualization have often been in conflict. But perhaps if the news content were edited with visual editing as the core concept, it would be more easily for readers to achieve the news. The progress means that, the "cognition" in news is better understood as emergent in relation to the potential of visual designers for establishing a visual trace to reveal some of the influential disciplines and fundamental differences in improving reading experiences. As is evident from the snippet of the discussion above, designers are encouraged to apply the principles of hierarchy, sequence and consistency of visual trace in web design for a better use of new mediums.

Hierarchy

When talking about the visual hierarchy of layout design, the grid is the structure that bounds the whole design together. In the layout, the grid keeps text and images in position, as is the rule that every placement conforms to. The invisible threads keep text and images in place. Usually the clearest grid is visible in text-only publications, such as a calendar for example. The grid-based design is also evident in newspapers. As new generations of computer users grow up in a media-rich environment, space must be contributed to grand narratives, which has created some paradoxical problems. For instance, readers tend to be cautious when their focus and attention is shifted from news content towards advertisements. A lot of space is dedicated to advertisements, which is an understandable phenomenon, but this should complement the layout of everything else. When the online news website becomes a commercial product, visual reliability and hierarchy must be taken into account the design considerations more than ever.

In the case shown above (see Picture 1), the advertising element takes over half of the window. Furthermore, it is an advertising video. Advertising is usually part of the page view in an online newspaper, but for the analysis here, more pertinent to the discussion are the questions of: how the visual trace could be improved or produced; what changes designers could make to realize

the transfer (from print papers to screen); and how narratives might be digitized to guide a reader's attention. In my analysis, video adverts are not that common in *taloussanomat.fi*; dynamic advertising banners are used instead. In addition, the right side of the window always features an advertising banner. In news websites, grids are designed to include various advertising elements. Victor Papanek said, "Design is the conscious effort to impose a meaningful order." Typographical signs and elements are regarded as atoms to affect the visual hierarchy of the layout, as well as different units of layout, including the unit placement, colour and visual modality. Multimodal images are obviously higher in the order of importance within a context (e.g., text-image context). A good layout shows the designer's and publisher's personality. Today, computerized and digitized techniques produce hierarchic structure almost automatically. In this sense, it is the editor's and designer's responsibility to balance and perform the distinct character of the newspaper by establishing an outward appearance. In the case of *taloussanomat.fi*, there are quite many colours in the website, aside from the advertisements containing multimodalities. Besides, colour serves to differentiate and to connect, to highlight and to hide, but too many stimuli distract people's attention, rather than focusing it where it should be.

By marking space into numerous equal units, the grid makes the entire page available to use and easy to read (Lupton & Philips 2008, 175). As well as the text and the images in the layout, the grid also dictates the scope of what is left and the white space between different units. On the *taloussanomat.fi* website, the background colour is dark grey and the main body is white, with a dynamic advertising section at the head, and a side ads banner. As Engelhardt (2007) suggests, every graphic space into which these objects are arranged is meaningful. In this vein, the "white" spaces between the units fail to free imagination, but create more burdens, so that the "white" distracts attention in another way.

As Barnhust and Nerone (2001) point out, the persisting visible structure of a newspaper is that the form of the newspaper should be recognizable. Not surprisingly, this form has not yet been realized in online news websites. This can be proven through Pulkkinen's (2008) notion that there is little hierarchy in the news presented on the websites. What I try to focus on are the problematic elements, including grid and colour, which might influence the structure of online newspapers. It is the physical arrangement of hierarchic elements that partially allows newspapers to create their own ideal. In what

follows I explore the other two disciplines that design practitioners take into account in the construction of newspaper identities.

Sequence

If a complex hierarchy of units (advertising banner, news sections, columns, photos, and other components) define the horizontal axis of reading orders and empower readers to arrange the reading and information processing orders, then a sequence constitutes the vertical axis of story reading by clicking the hyperlink (text, images, columns, menus, highlighted parts and the like) to different web pages. Paivio assumed that smaller units are organized into larger units in a sequential or successive fashion (1986, 61). Readers may prefer deciding themselves what to read and how to read. The designer or editor's role is to facilitate news navigation, so that it helps readers to decide what the most interesting news/item/thing is, and assists them in finding the subjects that relate to their interests. This is something that can be partially achieved by a good hierarchy; at the same time, the sequence eases reading one step further, whereby articles are trailed and the structure is laid bare. Without sequence, the online news website is dead. The web designer's job is to make sequential layers simultaneous, unfolding multiple layers of image and text, even sound or video, in time (Manovich 2001).

The idea of sequence is closely tied to the architecture of a website, coming from the physical world. It maps the construction of the website design, employing overlapping layers and associating different levels of data. Like the text-image relationship, these layers also maintain their own identities, and contribute to the whole.

Consistency

The visual language of a publication shows how the publication sees the world. A good publication is detail-oriented; the audience requires a coherent experience. Part of the graphic designer's job is to maintain the visual consistency of the entire design – that is, to keep a clean, clear, and single visual language.

Creating a perfectly consistent visual language is not particularly easy. It requires skilful art direction, and careful editing ideas. A sound understanding of the process leads to good visual legibility, propelling the visual "story" by working out how photos are shot so that they correlate with the story, and establishing every scene in the photos and the ratio of the white spaces that are

left between different units. Every detail makes sense. As to the text-image relationship, consistency is emphasized more than ever since there are referential connections between the verbal system and the nonverbal system, though they can both work independently (Paivio 1986).

One characteristic of the *uusisuomi.fi* website is that the main story photo is the biggest and occupies the topmost location, while other photos are squeezed with texts into a much smaller size (see Picture 2 and Figure 2). In this reading, every website aims to establish its own unique visual language, so that it is distinctive and can be recognized by its readers instantly from a wider collection of layouts. In addition, the consistency of visual language aligns with the text-image relationship. Even though there is no specific photo for the news story in Picture 3, the imagery system constructs novel representations that do not correspond directly to contiguities of experience (Paivio 1986, 82). After reading the title of the story, we get the general picture of it, and we can imagine the interactive image even though we have never seen such an event. Can we therefore conclude that the *uusisuomi.fi* website has somehow created a successful interface language?

The answer is of course no. Users are able to acquire new cultural languages from many different details, including what one particular element is positioned next to. Looking at the news from the same day as Picture 2, Picture 3 shows two top stories listed below the main story section on *uusisuomi.fi*. In the middle news section, the photo and the text are top aligned, as well as bottom aligned. We can see this phenomenon frequently in the whole website layout design, as dictated by story length. If all the elements are regarded as different visual units (Figure 1 and Figure 2), then a set of graphic objects can be combined into a meaningful arrangement, together forming a single graphic object at a higher level (Engelhardt 2007). Randomly arranged constituents, for their part, may cause a collapse of eye tracking in reading. A sudden departing from the grid breaks the whole consistency of the layout. The lesson is clear: every part of the layout exists in the context of the others, no matter how long and how wide the layout has been constructed.

Conclusion

Steve Duenes once said that the infinite space available on a website is both a good and bad thing (Losowsky & Bolhöfer 2010). It is good to have as much space as we want to publish as many things as we like, but the finite space of the

↑ Picture 2. Screenshot of uusisuomi.fi website layout on May 3, 2013. The main story section of the day.

↗ Picture 3. Screenshot of uusisuomi.fi website layout on May 3, 2013.

newspaper forces us to edit. When newspapers become digital and have as much space as they want to publish, what do designers or publishers learn from the experience? As has been shown, the problem faced by Finnish online newspapers, at least the earliest incarnations (*taloussanomat.fi* and *uusisuomi.fi*), seems to be that there are some issues in the text-image relationships and their multimodality, and in the failure to make use of the characteristics of the new medium in order to improve. In addition, a news website's actions relate to its actual performance, especially when faced with the fierce competition coming from opponents.

As Boczkowski stated, "… [Because] what's important to [the potential users] was to communicate among their group and to put a face of their group to the outside world… It wasn't about technology, but about communication" (2004, 147). Therefore, it is clear that we need to draw on social semiotics to revisualize news practices from merely gathering all the information and fitting it into different settings. Communication should be the core issue for visual editors, especially when online news is examined for its credibility due to information flooding and rapid dissemination. In this sense, traditional print newspapers are still unbeatable as a source of authority. The solution for online news sites could be focused on how to make use of the new medium and multi-

modalities, rather than copying from other sources and applying what is copied to the website. The demanding requirements for visual designers are crucial in the process of remediation of the media. By analysing representations of online newspapers, the importance of increasing visual editors awareness of hierarchic, sequential and consistent design traces is raised, so that communication is accomplished by the representative dimensions of web news.

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Narrative Potential in My Graphic Images

Silja Nikula

In my article I deal with the concept of narrativity as it applies to drawings. As a graphic designer I see representational images as semiotic resources, used as a salient tool in visual communication. In them, designers have a wide variety of expressive charge to use in different situations. The concept of image is itself broad: as a general term concerned with identification and recognition, but sometimes used as an assertion of facts. W. J. T. Mitchell (1987, 10) classifies images in his genealogy tree, and presents the main branches as being either mental or material. Graphic images are material and concrete, and can be seen – even touched. Following Mitchell, I also see the term *image* broadly, and by *picture* I mean only concrete visual representations. Here I focus on pictorial, representational still images that are open to interpretation – more open than diagrammatical or conventional pictograms (Skaggs 2011). A "still image" can be seen to imply an aspect of resistance – "don´t move" – and it generates the possibility of other meanings included in the picture (Laakso 2003, 50–51). I concentrate on handmade drawings, and the term *illustration* is used with the same meaning as graphic image.

My point of view is that of an illustrator. I understand pictures as having an independent role in carrying meaning. They can work in relation to other means of communication, but are not submissive to them. The role of my graphic images is not only to repeat the written content as a slave, but also to create atmosphere and add new meanings. I use the potential of visual imagery as a means to communicate my main idea, direct the viewer´s attention, and maintain interest. I am committed to the constructivist point of view, and interested in the communicative use of images (see Hall 1997, 24–26). Pictures are their own kind of language, not as transparent windows to reality (see Mitchell 1987, 8).

Two Facets of Lapland

I started my artistic work when asked to illustrate a non-fiction book named *Lapinhullut* (transl. *Crazy about Lapland*). The manuscript was nearly finished, and the author didn´t want to use photographs as illustrations. We agreed that I should approach the design task rather freely, so the pictures would be able to follow their own stories, and I would be permitted to modify the content with my own imagination. I also knew the illustration technique would be woodcut[1], which I had also previously used.

After reading the manuscript I formed an impression of the main themes expressed in the content. The book was based on the history and experiences of people who had settled to live in Lapland. I had a brainstorming session: put words on paper, substantives and adjectives that came to my mind from the manuscript. They were my interpretations of the content and were intended to feed my imagination in order to find visual elements. I found concrete terms based on northern nature and old Lappish mythologies. Others were abstract responses, such as emotional feelings and my own interpretations concerning lifestyles in Lapland. Often those concepts were opposites. I found such contrasts as wilderness / mass tourism, surface / inside, everyday routines / freedom, myths / reality, genuine / fake, frustration / positive mind, new / old sources of livelihood. My aim was not to make my own opinion clearly visible, but to keep the images open for viewers to interpret. I had earlier seen books featuring romantic pictures of Lapland, but didn´t want to follow that style. The main idea expressed in the manuscript was that the people who settled in Lapland were at first enthusiastic, but after a while there came an adverse reaction. In the end, for them, moving was a process of seeking themselves, and they felt for a long time as if they were between two worlds. The relationship to Lapland has at least two sides, as I also knew from my own experience.

As graphic designers think practically, I too was well aware of the communication medium: the book. My woodcuts would be reduced in size, even if they were printed on a full page. My other aims were to engage with and create a dialogue with the written text, without repeating it in too much detail. In the

1. A block of wood cut along the grain and with a design, illustration, etc., incised with a knife, from which prints are made. Also a print made from a woodcut. (Farlex 2014.) In this article means the method and final print. Also term woodblock printing is used, as referring to the whole process, not only cutting.

layout the woodcuts would also provide short breaks for the readers. I can also consider my pictures narratives. Steven Heller (2012, 41) sees the whole design process as being rooted in storytelling, and that the terms *story* and *narrative* can well be adapted to graphic design. I use these terms in the context of individual pictures: I express something that I believe is interesting to a reader, a story to share with our audience. Seymour Chatman (1978, 21, 33) calls this process "transforming": a story or statement is composed by someone and "mediated" within the limits of each presentation medium.

In order to combine my illustrations with theoretical discussion I want to pay attention to the role of interpreters. I tested my artworks on my 4th year graphic design students, using open questions to allow interpretations that were not too regulated. I will present here short comments from students *Anna*, *Janne-Juhani*, *Jarko*, *Emma* and *Kaisa*. Comments and and interpretations of other students are dealt with on a more general level, according to my thematic classifications. Two of the 15 students were from outside Finland, from Australia and China. First, I showed the pictures in A4 size, without any additional information, and a second time including contextual information: that they were made as illustrations for a book. The reason why I selected my students as a test group was not only practical. As people normally tend to be less aware of the form and syntactic level of pictures, I expected that these students would be able not only to name concrete objects, but also to express their emotional feelings. They would pay attention to formal qualities and communicate the connotations arising from them. I will draw on these comments to clarify my definition of the concept of "narrative image" in the context of still images.

There Is Something Going On

The idea for the first picture came from an idiom: "crows from the south". It is used as a linguistic metaphor to describe people who come from other parts of Finland, especially white-collar workers, and people in managerial positions. When visiting Lapland during their holidays, they can be distinguished because they behave in a different way than the local inhabitants. People who moved to and settled in Lapland were also known by this idiom for a long time.

"There is a little house in the middle of the forest, an old woman living there and feeding these birds." Kaisa saw my picture as an illustration in a fairy tale book. There was an active moment: the birds eating something, one of them

flying away. This was one of the new stories born in the viewers' imaginations. In their interpretations many students mentioned a cold winter – perhaps due to the large areas of white.

The place was described foggy, as country scenery, and referring to wild nature and free life. All students recognized trees, and some mentioned the whole forest. The scenery was seen as a place for actions, presented in a metonymic way. When seeing one small part, the larger whole is signified (Fiske 1994, 128–129; Mitchell 1987, 27). The graphic image can be thought of as continuing beyond the frame. Metonymy is a way of creating a realistic impression, and of making viewers use their own subjective imaginations to interpret what is presented.

↑ Picture 1. Woodcut. Silja Nikula 2013.

In addition to that, the picture extends beyond its frame in another way: an event before and after this arrested moment can be seen. The trees at the back belong to the scenery, whereas the front part represents the event, the crows – or magpies, at least some birds – being the actors. For example Seymour Chatman (1978, 34) suggests that one cannot account for events without recognizing the existence of the things causing them, or being affected by them. According to narrative theory, people or other creatures must perform actions.

In this picture, all of my students identified the trees as spruces, due to the sharp edges that are characteristic for these Lapland trees. I had checked their appearance in a nature photography book. Here, the strength of visual presentation is clear: iconicity is based on similarities between elements and their referents (Fiske 1994, 70; Peirce 1991, 30). The forms also gave rise to connotations where the spruces were regarded as flames of fire.

After the elements had been clearly recognized it was interesting to hear the feelings that the combination of the scenery and the event evoked: *peaceful, silent, scary, gloomy, being in a hurry*. Some kind of conflict was also seen,

even death. One student paid attention to the eyes of the birds, seeing them as personal characters, perhaps identifying their emotional state. As Russian psychologist Alfred L. Yarbus has proved, our eyes fix first on those features that can help identify the person, and the fixations tend to cluster around the eyes and the mouth (Cairo 2013, 103). Eyes are not only physical features; they often indicate intention, giving rise to connotations. They hint at the kind of interactions that are taking place between characters. In this way iconicity can give access to a broad spectrum of emotional responses, because viewers can, in their mind´s eye combine the visual representation with their real-life experiments (Messaris 1997, XIV–XVII). A smiling face, perhaps, makes people react in a positive way – or irritates them. In spite of the fact that many viewers pay more attention to the content than to form and style, the syntactic level can be used as an indirect way of suggesting meaning.

Some of these connotations surely derive from the contents, as semantic relations of graphic elements. But the formal properties of visual elements also affect interpretations. The technique was described as angular, expressive and somehow traditional. Perhaps this last adjective came from the traditional printing techniques and my use of black paints. For those that saw the birds as magpies, the event reflected a conflict, based on their own experiences: in real life, magpies are beautiful but eager scavengers. The birds' action was described as chaotic, because they don´t focus on working together, but have their individual tasks to accomplish.

After informing the students that the illustration was intended for a book, the interpretations did not change significantly. Instead, they acquired a metaphoric dimension, and conceptual meanings were also attributed. Students began to think of peripheral location; a cheerless area, isolated in the north. Now, a conflict between wild nature and urbanity was seen. The impression of fantasy fairy tale vanished when the content was associated with a non-fiction book. For one international student the picture suggested the Winter War. The birds were seen as Germans, feeding death and burning places. When associated with the themes of Lapland, there came new interpretations of the sharp shapes of the spruces (called "candle-spruces"): they were seen to be ruined by heavy snow during the winter. In this way, events taking place before the moment depicted in the scene were imagined.

Iconicity is a strength and positive property of images. The combination of lines, shapes, and colours, recreate the kind of visual information that our eyes and brains experience when looking (Messaris 1997, 3). Images

are able to reproduce the appearance of reality or selected parts of it – that is to say some aspects of reality. The illustrator has a salient role in selecting those features.

While in written language the signs are arbitrary, a visual representation has the potential to more closely signify how things appear (Messaris 1997, 117). Images can simulate reality. A natural, mimetic image can closely represent its subject. Iconicity does not necessarily entail a precise match between the appearance of the picture and the appearance of reality. Sketches, black-and-white photographs, cartoons – there are many kinds of pictures and many forms of iconicity. Small hints can be enough for a person to interpret a picture using their imagination. A picture doesn't have to be identical to the referent, because it is only imitating the eye perceiving. In my woodcuts, the forms are reduced to a minimum and the presentation is simplified. Only meaningful elements are selected, and the most important ones emphasized. The image is black-and-white, but you can perhaps imagine the trees as dark green, if you have seen them in the real world.

Shaman Jumping in the Sky

On Lake Inari there is an island that plays host to mythic stories from the indigenous Sámi people of the Arctic region. The name of the island is *Ukko's Stone*. The name "Ukko" comes from the ancient god of thunder, but also, in Finnish, it means "old man". In my Ukko's Stone picture I connected real and fictive elements. As denotative elements, students identified a river, a lake, or just water. Most of them saw an island on the water, but one saw a hole in the ice. Now the scenery was seen as northern. The experiences evoked were described as: climbing up a hill, jumping, flying in the sky, leaving on a spiritual trip to find ancient relatives, hunting, or going to war. The feeling was experienced as dynamic, exciting, and even as fantasy. The event was seen as happening either in summer, winter or spring, and was associated with mythologies, old Finnish legends or traditional fictive stories, even during the first interview.

The interpretations did not change in the second interview. For example, Emma considered the picture to be suitable for the subject of the book: "The idea of being crazy by Lapland and things like shamanism belong together. Secret knowledge is dangerous and can make you go crazy." Only one international student was confused by the feeling of war, because she considered Lapland to be a peaceful place.

Representation is figurative, when the relationship between the referent and its representation is mimetic (Cairo 2013, 52). Using linear perspective emphasizes reality, because it is an effect achieved through the convention of mimicking the way we see with our own eyes. We are also used to seeing this kind of visual representation as documentation of real life. The hegemony of this perspective is in the way it lays claim to being a "natural" representation "showing the way things really are" (Mitchell 1987, 37). Even fictive events can be presented in a realistic way, giving the illusion of naturalness. Iconicity does not mean that the referent exists in real life. Picture 2 combines natural and unnatural elements. Together they give birth to a new visual story. In my picture, new ingredients come from old religious and mythic stories. The elements form a scene based on resemblance to the real island. Such scenes are often depicted in postcards, and this is the perspective for Ukko´s Stone to be most easily recognized.

↑ Picture 2. Woodcut. Silja Nikula 2013.

Janne-Juhani had read stories and seen photographs of the island, and recognized its silhouette. Stories and pictures serve as intertextual references. The theory of intertextuality emphasizes that representations are not closed systems, but kinds of mosaics. We also talk about intervisuality between images (Nikolajeva & Scott 2006, 227–228). It is a matter of images connoting images. One graphic element in a composition can lead to an association with something else, or the whole composition can refer outside itself. Meanings are woven in representations, and styles can be mixed – for instance, an original artwork used for parody. People who are aware of the original can complete the story with their own media knowledge. Sometimes illustrators are not even themselves aware of their influences, but in my picture I combined the ingredients deliberately. Frequently recycled imagery can become stereotypical, but a certain amount of familiarity can help audiences catch the intended message.

When combining elements from reality and the imagination, the role of the illustrator is essential in order to find a principle through which the idea is

expressed. There has to be certain *coherence* between the elements (Chatman 1978, 30). That coherence might be realized in the content or in the composition. Logical unity might be based on harmony, conflict, variation or repetition, or something else. In Picture 2, the elements fit together along the same diagonal line. Also the character and shadow belong together, sharing the same colour. The simplicity achieved by reducing the number of colours down to two emphasizes the main idea. The green colour of the island refers to the grass, moss and bushes of real life in an iconic way.

Anna was sure that "There is fiction behind the story, about war or a battle." Every student saw an event taking place. They saw a significant moment, a reference to a chain of events and time passing by (Mikkonen 2005, 21). Compositional structures have become established as conventions in the course of history, and they are used to produce meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Diagonal lines especially create a narrative impression, referring to movement. I emphasized this impression even more by using fading colours and "speed lines". We see things as resting when they are composed using horizontal and vertical positions, but a diagonal state usually means an aspiration to change the condition (Lindberg 1927, 112–113). This kind of visual structuring creates meaningful propositions by means of visual syntax (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 47).

Compositional conventions affect the interpretation of a picture. Valuations and meanings are deeply affected by the conventions of writing – in most Western countries from left to right and from top to bottom. The left and right sides have different informational values, as do the upper and lower parts. Whereas the bottom is seen as the real world, the upper side offers something new (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 4, 179–193). My students were aware of this theory and paid attention to the suggestion of flying upward. They described the representation of flying from right to left as "returning home with speed." But I have to confess that I didn't create this effect on purpose; the picture was changed into a mirror image during the printing process.

Bird Flying Through the Tree

The third picture came to my mind based on the chapter "Tree of Craziness" from the manuscript. The idea went something like this: there is a tree, with a bird's nest at the top, and there is an axe and a rucksack hanging in the tree. The combination of items symbolises the people who moved to Lapland. Actually, they are looking for themselves (Leppänen 2013). In this illustration my

aim was to give rise to an emotional response, so that viewers would actively participate in interpretation.

"There is a spruce growing out of the ground, the roots look like lightning", was a very common description of this picture. At the top viewers saw a phoenix or an evil bird, even a fossilized one or a carcass. Concrete elements were named: axe, roots of the tree, angel, fly, and fire. Once the combination of elements was described as a totem.

Each student saw an event happening: something magnificent, noisy, perhaps connected to shamans. "The bird was flying from the tree", thought, "entering the roots as a bird, emerging as a spiritual creature." The moment depicted was seen as a very significant one, just before the turning point of the event. The feeling was interpreted as being exciting, strong, bombastic, and quite depressing. Perhaps an earthquake? The axe was seen as threatening. The situation even led three students to think that I had set them a Rorschach inkblot test[2].

↑ Picture 3. Woodcut. Silja Nikula 2013.

Conceptual themes were also recognized: mythology, religion, and the abstract idea of "roots and wings". The tree was also seen as connected to Christmas and spiritual life, having connotations of hope. It was something more than what was seen in real life. Many of the impressions rose from the symmetrical composition. The tree is situated in the middle of the composition area, filling the whole space. I was satisfied with these answers, because they fit well with the ultimate idea.

During the second interview, the students understood where the brooding and pressing feeling came from. Otherwise their interpretations did not change much. "Again I see three levels, of which the tree is most important,"

2. The inkblot test or Rorschach test is a method of psychological evaluation, to examine the personality characteristics and emotional functioning of the tested people. During the test they are shown a series of inkblot images. (The Inkblot.com 2014.)

commented Emma. But now their thoughts were turned more to the north: the event depicted had something to do with northern lights or magical celebrations of the Sámi people. Traditional roots were also traced to Kalevala, because of the axe. Some students, who had earlier thought it suitable for a book of poems, were a little bit disappointed. Now, when seen in the context of Lapland, it was thought to deal with environmental protection or the forest industry as an important source of livelihood.

When, as in this case, abstract qualities are present, an image can be categorized as conceptual. Kress and van Leeuwen separate conceptual and narrative images in their grammar of visual design. Narrative images have vectors, compositional lines that express actors moving and an event taking place. Conceptual images express permanent qualities or a state of affairs. (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 45–113.) In my phoenix-tree you can see both: an event, because there is a vector moving upwards, but there is also a metaphorical meaning concerning a state of affairs. The visual qualities are similar to the conceptual images as Kress and van Leeuwen define them: depth is reduced or absent, the background is neutral and plain, the angle is frontal (ibid. 79). The colour in my picture is not natural, so it also works as a hint that the situation could be read metaphorically. When not imitating the environment naturally, it is possible to give birth to "internal" pictures.

This illustration was generally seen to have a metaphorical dimension among students. A physical situation was used as a means of evoking an analogous abstract concept (Messaris 1997, 9). W. J. T. Mitchell (1987, 10) classifies metaphors as verbal images in his image family, defining them as short descriptions, sometimes suggesting nothing more than a recurrent abstract idea. Abstraction, then, means moving away from simply selecting elements and framing the area, towards an implied logic (Laakso 2003, 133). It is a question of principles. The illustrator does not show how things are, but how things work (Cairo 2013, 135). When the expression is more poetic the interpretation depends on the situation and audience.

One of the surest ways to attract the viewer´s attention is to violate reality. Deviations can be slight, and made from familiar objects (Messaris 1997, 5). In advertisements, hybrid images are often made by manipulating photographs. Also in my picture reality is broken; the roots under the ground can be seen simultaneously with the upper part of the tree. I took another step away from reality by selecting one black colour that is not natural. Added to that, combining visual elements in different scales can make viewers think that there is perhaps a metaphor at work. A metaphorical dimension gives rise to an emotional response,

encouraging the audience to take an active role in interpreting the image.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 155) deal with realism in their concept of modality, referring to truth-value or credibility. Is the story a fiction, something outside reality? Naturalistic reality is defined on the basis of how much correspondence there is between the visual representation of the object and what we normally see with our eyes (ibid. 158). One modality indicator is colour, and reducing the amount of colours means lower modality. Other means include reducing depth, and removing details from the background.

Metaphors are based on associations in mental imagery. Creating new kinds of realities by using metaphorical expressions is challenging and interesting for visual designers: The representations have to be somehow communicated and understood – but still remain surprising and fresh. The expression has to carry the message and maintain a certain connection to the communication context, without becoming surrealist and odd (Messaris 1997, 9–10). In drawings it is easier to present subjective realities than in realistic photographs (Heller & Chwast 2008, 256; Seppänen 2005, 136). Visual metaphors have a special power, and can be used suggestively when put to persuasive use. In such circumstances, arguments are made through images, sometimes supported by words, avoiding a direct verbal association (Messaris 1997, 219–225). Images can be used assertively, but to be arguments, they need an interpreter to complete the argument by drawing the conclusion (Skaggs 2011).

Many students named this picture "roots and wings", indicating that these graphic objects were interpreted in a symbolic way. Symbols are the "sisters" of metaphors, but actually the border between a metaphor and a symbol is quite unclear, and depends a lot on context. A symbol is a sign when it is used and understood as such (Fiske 1994, 121; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 8). The relationship between the sign and its referent is based on habit, convention, or agreement. The sign's categories – icon and symbol – can also work together in one element, and the final character is defined by the context and the interest of the viewer. Symbols are useful in visual representations because they compress meanings. They normally give rise to connotations, but can still be used to limit the space of possible meanings.

Carving Leaves Its Marks

I have been dealing with the Peircean semiotic categories icon and symbol. What, then, does indexicality mean in my pictures? It is a question of traces left as indexical marks on the surface of a graphic image. Harri Laakso (2003, 132) deals

with indexicality concerning photographs, seeing it as an unseen frame, drawing our attention to an object, but having no content of its own. In my woodcuts indexicality is not unseen – it is a part of the content, carrying an expressive charge and intensifying the message. Indexicality refers to the process of constructing the image. In my work, both carving style and the material surface of the wooden block can be seen in the final artwork. The traces of can be sensitive or strong, rough or detailed. The kind of tools and how they are used both leave their marks. Carving the surface of wood often becomes spontaneous and offers surprises. When an artwork is drawn, it contains only meaningful elements selected by the illustrator (see Barthes 1986, 82). It enables a simplification and compression of expression. The method of woodblock printing in its many stages also reflects upon my constructing the image, because during the process I have time to consider the composition of elements. Meaning can be added element by element. While meaning at a denotational level can be expressed by naming objects, there is also connotational level that derives from forms and illustration techniques.

Simple and clear drawings can convey messages efficiently. Distilling the essential features of a complex object can be informative. Brushstrokes – or carving and colouring styles – can enhance the attractiveness of the final work, and the viewer´s attention is held for a longer time. This may be one reason to use a drawing instead of a photograph. An image works in a system that is loaded in both a syntactic and semantic level (Goodman 1976; Vuorinen 1997, 180). Many aspects carry meaning, for example, the shape of a line, thickness, roughness, or colour saturation.

In these works, I tried to depict the visual elements using as few details as possible. When testing the first picture with students, I was immediately caught by surprise. The element in the lowest part of the picture was intended to depict an egg. However, I couldn't convey the idea of a three-dimensional egg in my two-dimensional illustration, even by shading it with small white spots. The element was seen instead as a plate for seeds put out for the birds to eat – and once even as a stinking carcass, revealed from under the snow. The simplified graphic representation did not convey the intended idea in the interpreters´ minds.

Is It a Narrative – or Is It Design?

Finally, I will use two more cases to discuss the relationship between the concepts of narrative and design. Pictures 4a and 4b were not tested with my students.

↑ Picture 4a and 4b. Woodcuts. Silja Nikula 2013.

The following discussion is based on my own thoughts and previous theoretical discussion. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 45–113) make a separation between narrative and conceptual images. I showed earlier that Picture 3, the tree with a bird, had conceptual characters but also carried symbolic meanings. Of the 4th pictures, 4b is reminiscent of the "phoenix-tree", in that it has flat surfaces of colours. There are no graduated colours and no linear perspective. It can, then, be regarded as an arrangement of stylised ornaments or decorations. I would argue that 4b veers away from my essential substance of the concept of narrative in the context of a still image.

Agreeing with Alberto Cairo (2013, 51), I see functionality and decoration as existing at opposing ends of a scale. Sometimes visual elements are non-functional as decorations, and sometimes an image is functional. Picture 4b may well be visually pleasing, but 4a encompasses more emotional feeling. In visual communication, the use of stylised ornaments can interfere with the communication of information, if not handled well (Cairo 2013, 54).

The insects in Picture 4a are represented rather realistically, albeit still simplified – but in 4b they are abstracted, intended to convey "the idea of insect". The expression, in this case, steps away from the content or ultimate referent in real life. I understand narrativity broadly, as describing a state of affairs, expressing ideas, asking questions, awaking emotions, depicting how things are, or revealing flows of events. Still, ornamental elements are based on conventional presentation styles. When very stylised, they become "descriptions of descriptions", and lose their referent in reality (Uspenski 1991). Even if they are not stereotypical, they might appear to be complete, and seen as an expression

of the designer, not for viewers to interpret with their imagination. As very abstract figures, they refer mainly to the process of designing and to the designer. They present themselves as representations.

Also Steven Skaggs (2011) reminds us that there exists a full spectrum of choices open to designers. Visual representations carry huge potential for expression. Graphic images can be depictions, pictorial and figurative, and all these definitions mean that they carry diverse meanings and are open for interpretation. Marks, instead, are abstract and have a single denoted referent, losing a secondary meaning (Skaggs 2011). According to Skaggs´s scale between pictorial and figurative, I see my stylized insects as being close to abstract signs. When a designer abstracts a form, the picture loses a certain amount of its narrative power.

Some good examples of this effect are the visual creations of M. S. Escher. They are imaginative but detailed, often complicated, and repeating the same regular objects. Escher plays with geometrical rules such as rotation, translation, reflection, and mirror images. His visual work is based on patterns, symmetry, jigsaw puzzles, and metamorphoses. Mitchell defines this kind of representations as metapictures: "pictures that are used to show what a picture is" (1994, 35). The attention of a viewer is drawn to the forms of graphic elements, details, and the finished outcome, and that emphasizes the role of the designer. The ultimate themes and ideas as content elements are not yet finished or ready as decorative forms. The elements need to be stylized by putting the details in harmony with the whole composition. For instance, symmetrical or rhythmic compositions can be created. (Lindberg 1927, 124–126, 130.) When the forms are stylized and regulated like this, according to aesthetic principles, the images refer more to the code than the message (Uspenski 1991, 236; Kuusamo 1990, 150). The ornaments in my Picture 4b are rough because of the carving technics, but hopefully they show a difference compared with the first picture.

Illustrations are constructed by designers, and visual communication is always coded. There is only a myth of transparency. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 29, 35) differentiate the concept of design from narrative by arguing: "More abstract, more obviously coded." If the role of the designer becomes more important than the message, the final outcome might be seen as an artefact.

Narrativity requires a certain amount of referents based in reality, to reach the experiences of viewers from their real lives. Linear perspective is one means of achieving this, but properties of certain elements also contain narrative potential. Through connotation they can give the impression of reality, and

the audience can complete the image using their own imagination. To facilitate active interpretation, illustrations cannot be closed systems. The question to be dealt with in future research is, to what degree can abstract images carry the idea of content, or are they just ambiguous. My theoretical discussion here has been concerned mainly with ornaments, but the same question is relevant within the field of corporate identity symbols, and other detailed design work. Pictures that are left more sketchy and ambiguous invite viewers to participate in attributing meaning.

Conclusion

Like Mitchell (1987, 2005), I interpret the language of images broadly. However, visual language has to be seen as a metaphor, and not taken in a linguistic sense. Whereas spatial and even temporal connections can be presented through images, visual communication does not have an explicit syntax for expressing analogues, contrasts, causal claims, and other kinds of propositions (see Messaris 1997, XI). We cannot be sure how the eye moves around the surface of an image, picking up information from details. To some degree it is possible to lead eyes through composition or contrasting elements. Designers do have some tools available to them to manipulate and estimate how their work is perceived. But when entire elements are combined together, new meanings arise, which Paul Messaris (1997) refers to in his concept of "syntactic indeterminacy".

The strength of images comes from their iconic properties, their openness of language, and the way in which they connect to the conceptual and concrete. Paul Messaris (1997) also adds indexicality as a positive property of images, but I see him referring mainly to photographs that are usually seen as documents of real events. In my pictures, indexicality refers to the marks of illustration technique that are used to express feelings, evoke emotions, and give rise to connotations. A certain degree of reality is needed to evoke emotions. Iconicity can stimulate the visual appearance of reality.

Human societies use a variety of representational modes. Each mode and medium has different representational potential – creating both possibilities and limitations for making meaning. Conventions attempt to limit and constrain the semiotic scope of combinations (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, 10, 19, 41). Symbols, based on conventions, are useful in limiting meaning and directing attention. Whereas literature is an art of time and motion, a still image can be an art of arrested action, space, and stasis from the point of narratology. Stasis here

must be seen as having many different forms. There are always means to give a suggestion of movement on a two-dimensional surface, as I showed in Picture 2. Another way to suggest the passing of time is to construct the front and rear areas using careful composition and contrasting graphic elements.

In drawings it is possible to intensify the main idea through simplification, and the use of only meaningful elements. To use visual tools in a process of dramatization is intellectual as well as emotional work (see Walker 2013, 236). The illustrator arranges the elements into a coherent and meaningful whole. He or she also considers the gaps. These two concepts from narratology – *coherence* and *gap* – can be well adapted to still images. Gaps are common to all narratives, regardless of medium (Chatman 1978, 30). They make it possible for an audience to complete the story with essential or possible events or objects that have gone unmentioned. A narrative can never be totally complete (ibid. 28–29). I see the concept of "gap" having close connection to the concept of "syntactic indeterminacy" (Messaris 1997). From an audience´s point of view it gives the possibility to respond with an interpretation.

When trying to combine narrative theory with still pictures, I still find limitations. It is easier to adapt this theory to audio-visual presentations. But in spite of these limitations, I see it as important to seek areas that share something in common with narratology – theories that connect rather than disengage visual and verbal expression (Lupton & Miller 1999, 65). I see that meanings come not only through composition, but also through the properties of elements – both semantic and syntactic properties. Iconicity is a clear strength in visual presentations, but it can be also metaphoric. A metaphoric dimension creates the possibility for surprise and assists in keeping the attention. It is often used when things cannot be described or represented directly. The role of the illustrator is crucial. The principles of design are not dissimilar to classical rhetoric, as used by the ancient Greeks to produce persuasive language.

Semiotic modes of writing and visual representation may be based on similar semantic relations, but they have their own particular means of expressing the idea. What, in language, is realized by verbs, in a still picture is visually realized through elements, perhaps (but not always) using vectors as lines in a composition to make meanings. When, in literary narrative theory, living creatures make action possible, in a still picture action does not always need to be represented literally. Narrativity is not only dependent on arrested events. Instead, the properties of elements and illustration techniques carry expressive and emotional charges, giving rise to new connotations.

Finally, the viewer´s interpretation is a product of their own mind. In testing my pictures with my students, I noticed that they expressed a broad variety of interpretations. For example, in one picture the students named three of the four seasons as possibilities, without asking about time of the year. Similarities in interpretation come from our similar experiences and cultural influences. They also have another effect: they give birth to certain conventions of representational style. We regard the kind of mediated images that we are used to seeing as natural.

It is difficult, as both an illustrator and a researcher, to deal with the concepts that were originally defined for the perspective of a viewer. One example is the term *punctum* as defined by Roland Barthes (1985), and paired with *studium* (see also Laakso 2003, 128). The designer cannot create Barthes´s punctum intentionally in an image. As Barthes argues, the punctum "is there in the image waiting to be found". What, then, could be an appropriate term from the constructive designer´s point of view, for when such eye-catchers are deliberately placed in an image? As Steven Skaggs (2011) points out, making the transfer from the verbal concept of narratology to the visual world is not easy, and needs further attention.

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The Paradoxes of Quality Photographs: Slow Journalism in National Geographic

Hannu Vanhanen

Internet publications focusing on investigative and slow journalism have begun to publish extensive reports using a stronger narrative voice. Whereas traditional printed media and media houses have outspokenly declared themselves as the advocates of quality journalism, paradoxically those same media houses are laying off employees and competing with social media and "fast" online contents.

National Geographic (NG) is one of the most renowned media houses in the world, a brand associated with the distinctive features of investigative and slow journalism. National Geographic magazine has depicted and analysed the developments of global geography and nations over 125 years. In the following article I will analyse three pictures published in NG, which were exhibited in Helsinki, Finland as part of the National Geographic exhibition in 2013, of which I was the curator. From my point of view, National Geographic's nature photography represents a transition from the neutral observation of nature and people to a more critical examination of the cycle of nature and ecological change. In addition, I will consider the ways in which photographers utilize time in taking photographs.

In this essay I focus only on one theme of National Geographic exhibition: *At Home in Nature*. Jean and Franc Shor's images tell an adventurous story of two staff journalists from National Geographic magazine that travelled to Lapland in 1954. Alongside the Shors' image of Lapland I will analyse two nature photo essays published during the 2000s, namely Peter Essick's photo essay of Oulanka Park from 2009, and Kai Fagerström's photo essay of abandoned houses in Suomusjärvi from 2012.

> *On the Teno River, far north of the Arctic Circle, Antti Paltto lives by salmon fishing. His nets, spread between birch poles and weighted with heavy rocks, sometimes yield a thousand pounds of fish a year. Although*

> *he had never seen a camera before, Antti showed no surprise when Jean Shor's Polaroid camera produced his picture in one minute. "Why should it take longer?" he asked.* (National Geographic Magazine 1954, 259.)

Editors Jean and Franc Shor made a reportage trip to Lapland in the early 1950s. Their way of portraying exotic "otherness" will be familiar to readers of National Geographic. The photograph is an illustrative example of the kind of images National Geographic magazine typically publishes of remote cultures and people. The image of a fisherman and a photographer (Picture 1) and the whole 31-page photo essay represents NG's way of seeing and interpreting "others" – in this case the natural, exotic, but sometimes also straight-talking people of Lapland.

> *This was what brought us north – a strange and primitive people living in the ways of their ancestors and stoutly resisting the inroads of civilization* (NG Aug 1954, 249).

The origin of this essay derives from the exhibition *Flashes from Finland – Finland in National Geographic*, which I curated for the Museum of Päivälehti in Helsinki in October 2013. It was not a big surprise to realize that in numerous photographs and essays, Finnish Lapland was depicted as an exotic place with plenty of wilderness.

> *The form and interpretation of the national landscape with an ideological background has become a natural part of the visual presentation of Lapland* (Lehtonen 2011, 152).

Researcher Kimmo Lehtonen argues that the ideological image of Lapland has become natural in the eyes of the audience. This ideological position is connected to Finnishness and national self-image. I would say that the Finns themselves, with their touristic imagery, have strengthened the image of an exotic Lapland. National Geographic is partly repeating the same old story.

My aim in this essay is to discuss the quality and ideological dimensions of the photographs of National Geographic. The main question is: what do the representations of NG stories tell about the people and nature they are depicting? What kind of interpretation can we make of the gazes of people in these images? I also investigate the context of the images, and finally, I examine the quality of journalism. How can we understand time as a concept in a single photograph, and within the long-term photographic projects of freelance photographers?

↑ Picture 1. Photo: Jean and Franc Shor/National Geographic Magazine, August 1954.

Time is an important factor affecting quality and slow journalism, and is a central issue in the pertinent discussion of media (r)evolution – not only in academia, but also in media houses. National Geographic is a living example of traditional investigative journalism, which still attracts people to read in-depth stories and look at visually strong photographs presented in a stylish and colourful layout.

At the same time it is paradoxical to see how the National Geographic Society as a media house is shifting from slow and investigative journalism to a more entertaining and fast-paced style of documentary in their television programs as well as their online productions. Is the 1888-founded magazine the last medium trying to save the traditions of quality photojournalism, or can it simultaneously deepen its storytelling online?

The Intersection of Gazes in a Photograph

Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins (1993) have investigated how National Geographic's photographers, editors, and designers select images and text to produce representations of Third World cultures and non-Western people.

In their profound study of the National Geographic Society they emphasize that the institution promotes a kind of conservative humanism. National Geographic's photographs are related to the imagery of "The Family of Man", the exhibition curated by Edward Steichen and first shown in 1955 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The exhibition underlined the philosophy of the global village, and is one of the world's most influential photography exhibitions ever.

The Family of Man, as well as National Geographic, has been criticized of pictorialism, and of trying to represent the whole world in one visual package from a narrow American, colonialist standpoint. *The Family of Man* tried to show that people are the same all over the world – as in a global village. However this kind of humanist approach adopted by the exhibition could not tell whole truth – that the world is full of different (sub)cultures and contradictions. Today, mainstream global media faces the same kind of problem; the internet connects the whole world, and makes us almost blind with its hectic speed.

Gabriel Menotti and Antonio Fernandez-Vicente discuss the myth of perpetual contact (2013). In a way, the digital age is a kind of myth. The meaning of digital communication and digital devices are naturalized objects, and those "artefacts are becoming our environment, our objective world that is the expression of time and space domination." (ibid. 45.)

Lutz and Collins developed a typology of seven kinds of gaze that can be found in the photograph and its social context (Lutz & Collins 1993, 192–215):

1. The photographer's gaze
2. The magazine's gaze
3. The magazine readers' gazes
4. The non-Western subject's gaze
5. A direct Western gaze
6. The refracted gaze of the other: to see themselves as others see them
7. The academic spectator

The typology of Lutz and Collins is a valid method for analysing a multitude of gazes. In the picture of the Lapland man and the photographer we can consider many of these gazes. My focus lies at least in the gaze of the photographer, the magazine's gaze, and of course the gaze of the researcher. In his classical and polemical study of photography, Roland Barthes did not analyse photographs from the point of a photographer, or "operator". Barthes was much more in-

terested in the subjective and sensitive attributes of a receiver, or, as he says, the "spectator" (Barthes 1985).

But let us return to the image from Lapland. In this image taken by Franc Shor, the eyes of Jean Shor meet those of the fisherman Antti Paltto. The fisherman was presented with a Polaroid print in a matter of moments. The magazine, however, published a photograph of Franc Shor taking the picture, to highlight how its reporters were conquering the world, and revealing the way his wife takes a portrait of a stranger.

The magazine explains in the caption that a 78-year-old fisherman is sitting for his first portrait. Whether this is true or not, Antti Paltto's comment about the Polaroid photograph astonishes the journalist Jean Shor. However, what really interests me as a researcher is the intersection of gazes in this image.

When examining "the lines of sight" in National Geographic photographs, Lutz and Collins point out that "it is not simply a captured view of the other, but rather a dynamic site at which many gazes of viewpoints intersect" (Lutz & Collins 1993, 187). In the picture of the fisherman, the viewer of the image starts to read the image from the point of view of the photographer, Franc Shor. Then, the viewer might look at Jean Franc on the right side of the boat, and finally see the fisherman sitting on the left. The intersection of the gazes can be visualized as a triangle between these three people.

The photographer in the boat tries to show how the then-modern technological apparatus (Flusser 1984) can make a picture visible in only a minute. The journalists might think that the Polaroid camera is a kind of *camera obscura* or *laterna magica* that can reveal reality almost instantly. But the reaction of the fisherman astonishes them: "Why should it take longer?" The comment is straightforward and reveals the fisherman's understanding of the photographic process with a typically "Lapland" sense of humour.

Very often we think that exotic people in far-a-way places are living in a pace set by nature. Actually, a fisherman sometimes has to react very fast to catch a fish, although it can take a minute (or even an hour) to draw the fish into the boat. It is possible to juxtapose the process of fishing with that of photography: the exposure time for a picture can take anything from from 1/1000 second to minutes, or in some cases hours.

Photography, and especially today's equipment utilising digital technology, has changed our understanding of time dramatically. Today, photographers can show images from a camera's LCD screen to the people they have photographed almost instantaneously. The situation now is in many ways similar

to the discussion between Antti Paltto and Jean some 60 years ago. It is not a surprise for us to see the digital image immediately. Today, the fisherman's comment would not astonish us. But when the photo essay of Lapland was published, the situation was different.

In addition to this, the most relevant point of this image is the way that the image and the magazine (including the journalists and editors in Washington DC) present the culture and time. From this image one can even comprehend how the fisherman and the American journalist understand and position themselves relative to the flow of time. The fisherman sits relaxed and at peace in his own boat, while the journalist does her job in a hurry. It would have been revolutionary to publish both Jean's Polaroid image and Franc Shor's images on the same spread in 1954. Then we might have seen even more gazes and attitudes on photography and photographs.

The relationship between time and photography has long been discussed by the likes of Roland Barthes (1985) and John Berger (1987), but written or "slow" journalism has undergone something of a renaissance in recent years. As an example, in January 2013 the Helsinki-based longplay.fi began releasing one non-fiction e-book each month. According to the Huffington Post's Howard Polskin, Long Play's focus is "strictly long-form journalism, with an added emphasis on investigative work." (Huffington Post 09/03/2013.)

The first e-book article Long Play published was about international soccer corruption in RoPS, a Finnish football team from Rovaniemi, Lapland. The second article was about a political scandal surrounding the funding of philosopher Pekka Himanen's research, and sold more than 4000 units. Long Play advertises their brand as a platform for slow journalism on the net. There is a similar publisher in Denmark called Zetland, and Long Play and Zetland currently sell each other's stories.

Qualitative journalism goes hand-in-hand with investigative journalism. If we look back in the history of magazine journalism, National Geographic is one of the oldest and most well-known picture magazines, relying heavily on investigative journalism and high-quality photojournalism. In my opinion there is only a thin line separating classical reportages or essays from the long stories published by e-publishers. In their first stories, Long Play did not use any visuals except a cover illustration for each story.

Actually, when the National Geographic Society began publishing, they did not use any illustrations either, just like Long Play. Gradually, however, illustrations became an essential part of National Geographic Magazine.

While National Geographic identifies itself as a scientific and educational institution and a brand, Lutz and Collins think that NG is a product of mass culture, pointing out that the high-quality and colourful photographs are the vehicles for its popularity. "National Geographic sits near the top of the hierarchy of taste or status. Among all cultural artifacts, it would be considered high middle brow." (Lutz & Collins 1993, 7) People collect the yellow-framed magazines and display them on their bookshelves. NG is a coffee table magazine with a high status and stylish design comparable to the Danish B&O hi-fi devices. However, National Geographic is not a static institution, although it changes slowly. Their publishing strategy has widened from the printed magazine to television documentaries, digital media, and films. The magazine is now printed in 36 different languages, including Finnish since 2001.

The first great visual turning point of National Geographic occurred in 1905. In the first edition of 1905, NG published an 11-page-long photo reportage. The editor, Gilbert Grosvenor, wanted to publish photographs from Lasha, Tibet. He received images from two Russian explorers, and Grosvenor feared that when the magazine and these photographs were published with only short captions, he might get fired. But what happened? People loved the photographs, and Grosvenor was stopped on the street and offered congratulations (Jenkins 2013, 26–27).

Three months later the magazine published 138 photographs from the Philippines. This issue was so popular it had to be reprinted. In June 1911, NG published an exceptional panorama of the Canadian Rockies. The supplement was 2.4m long (Jenkins 2013, 25–31). NG developed their style and structure of storytelling along with the evolution of photographic and printing technologies. National Geographic made huge efforts to get pictures from around the world – on Earth, underwater and in space.

Today, we are experiencing the latest "visual turn" as we communicate using mobile phones, Facebook, and Instagram. But these creations hardly count as slow journalism. They are much faster ways to react, reveal, communicate, and share – in some ways like the first instant images. But the images we share today are also documents of our ordinary life, and they make our lives transparent.

In October 2013, the Photo Issue of National Geographic included a booklet illustrating the history of NG's photojournalism. The 125th anniversary issue celebration covered mainly the printed magazine, so there is still a great need to study the evolution of NG's publishing policy in electronic media. But what I found in these special issues was not surprising – for example, the slogan on the cover of the Photo Issue (NG, October 2013) declared "Photography

can change the world", and a reference to Alexander Graham Bell was made in the supplementary booklet: "Many an exotic shore heaves into view, of course, when your beat is "the world and all that is in it," to quote our second President, Alexander Graham Bell, but the unfamiliar, the unexplored, the unknown has always spelled opportunity for National Geographic." (Jenkins 2013, 6.)

National Geographic still adopts the humanistic and global village philosophy mentioned earlier in this essay. James Estrin (2013, 156) argues in his article *The Visual Village* that we are all photographers now. He is absolutely right, but there is a paradox at the same time in this statement. Although there are more and more images around us, we live in a visual world pretty much the same way as before. We still go to photograph the same touristic and beautiful places, and take the same iconic images. Little has changed in the motives behind the pictures, but the number of photographs published on social media has exploded exponentially. The technical quality of the digital pictures is better than before, but the gap between professionals and amateurs is wider and more complex than ever. We live simultaneously in a visual village and a virtual world, where everybody can feel that they are mastering images. The large media houses no longer rely only on staff photographers. Increasingly, freelance photographers and even readers are providing the images.

The publishing strategy of the National Geographic Society has long been bound by a strong defining concept that has applied to everything printed in the magazine, throughout the 125 years of its existence:

> *Clearly the selection and framing of stories is one of the strongest ways that the National Geographic Society shapes the work of photographers and imposes an ideological line. This is why the process is seen as highly political, that is, as a site of struggle within the institution. The process is nominally democratic and open, in that anyone can propose a story; but for proposals to succeed they must be tailored to perceptions of "what will fly" with the council.* (Lutz & Collins 1993, 56–57.)

NG's Diverse Picture of Finland

I wrote in the exhibition text for *Flashes from Finland* that Finnish people are sensitive to what others think about their country. For this reason, the image that a popular American scientific magazine presents of Finland arouses interest, respect, and even fear. The strict editorial policy and North American

perspective of National Geographic adds a distinct tone to the stories about Finland. Senate Square, icebreakers, Lapland, and the Åland Islands are all recurring themes. Finland is also portrayed as a Nordic, nearly Arctic country, and a coastal state of the Baltic Sea. (Vanhanen 2013.)

Despite the postcard clichés of the exotic North in the images, that National Geographic printed in their earlier editions, NG paints a diverse picture of Finland. The eyes of an outsider always see more: fresh perspectives, new insights. The photographic essays published between the 1960s and 1980s reflect the trademark narrative style of National Geographic: high-quality Kodachrome and black-and-white images, explorative journalism, illustrative maps, and informative captions create a comprehensive and impressive experience for the reader. When the political tensions between the East and the West subsided in the early 1990s, National Geographic lost interest in Finland. It rediscovered the country in the early 2000s. Today, its freelance photographers immerse themselves in extensive projects that the editorial office in Washington DC integrates into the illustrious concept of the magazine (Vanhanen 2013).

In this essay I am focusing only on one theme: nature. In its exhibition titled *At home in nature*, Jean and Franc Shor's images from Lapland depict an adventurous story of two staff journalists from National Geographic Magazine. During the 1950–80s, NG usually sent both writers and photographers to create stories about Finland. It was the golden time of photojournalism, and the era of great picture magazines such as LIFE and LOOK. National Geographic, Paris Match (France) and Suomen Kuvalehti (Finland) are among the few big magazines that survived after television established a permanent place in all households.

Alongside Shor's image of Lapland, I will also analyse two of the nature photo essays published during the 2000s. The biggest change in the journalistic process of storytelling is that NG has not sent any writers to Finland. Freelance photographers work independently on their photo projects, and NG, after seeing the photos, considers whether or not to publish them. Below you can see a photograph from Peter Essick's photo essay of Oulanka National Park, and one of Kai Fagerström's pictures from the abandoned houses in Suomusjärvi.

Peter Essick's story from Oulanka National Park is a perfect example of a freelance photographer who has spent a long time working on a photo essay or a portfolio of Finnish Nature. Peter Essick blogged on the net about his trip to the Oulanka National Park, and his photos were published in National Geographic in June 2009.

↑ Picture 2. Photo: Peter Essick, Kitka River, Oulanka National Park, Finland, 2009.

> *For a story on the Oulanka National Park in Finland, I arranged three two-week trips. The first was in early summer, timed for the best hiking season, the midnight sun on June 21, and the wildflowers. The second trip was in fall for the autumn colors. The last trip was timed for two weeks in February, when there is usually still snow on the ground, but there are more daylight hours than in December or January. That two-week period also was chosen to include the full moon.* (Peter Essick 2013.)

In his photographs, Essick concentrates on beautiful natural areas, but also documents major contemporary environmental issues, such as climate change and nuclear waste. His photo book *Our Beautiful, Fragile World* (2013) features a look at the images taken while Essick was on an assignment for National Geographic magazine. In the book, Essick showcases a diverse series of photographs, from Finland to the Adelie penguin breeding grounds in Antarctica.

There are two photographs published from Finland in the book. The first is the same photograph that opens National Geographic's photo essay (NG June 2009, 60–61) – a moonlight picture of snow-covered candle spruces and the northern lights in a bluish sky. Here I am more interested in the second photograph, which depicts the Kitka River (Picture 2. ibid. 74–75).

In all seasons, nature photographers patiently wait in their hiding places and lookouts. The magical winter landscape captured by Peter Essick in Oulanka needs time and patience in order to find the right moment to capture the picture. As Essick explained, he made three, two-week trips to Finland. This is a lot of time, if we consider that a magazine is sending its photographer for commissioned work. We can therefore call Essick's work slow photojournalism. It requires time and good contacts with local people who can organize, "fix", and interpret for the photographer.

The headline of Peter Essick's blog (2012) illustrates another side of the story: *Creative Anxiety – The Joy of Self Expression*.

> *For the young photographer, the thoughts are often those of asking oneself if they will be able to do the job, or fears that if they blow the assignment and they will never get another chance. For the experienced photographer the anxiety takes a different form, with thoughts of can I still produce the way I have in the past, or is my work still current and relevant.*

Essick admits:

> *It is hard to understand why someone would love to do creative work, while at the same time having a fear of failure about it.*

Essick also reveals that the Oulanka river picture was partly an accident.

> *The photo of the circular pattern in the Kitka River in Finland came about by accident. I was standing by the river in the afternoon watching the small icebergs in an eddy. It looked like they were turning in a large circular pattern. I told my assistant, Olli, that I wanted to come back to this spot and photograph at dawn the next morning. I thought that the icebergs might make a circular streak then with a long exposure.*
>
> *It required getting up at 3:30 am, getting dressed for the -20 °C cold, and then driving to the trail head and walking back to the site. At dawn I could do a 30 second exposure and sure enough, the streaks occurred. When the editors saw the photo, it was a unanimous choice for a two-page picture in the layout. Many asked how it was done and said they had never seen a similar picture before. This is always a nice feeling, since they are the ones paying the bills.*

> *When I look at the Kitka River picture now, I think about watching those icebergs and discovering in my mind that they might make a circular pattern. I think of standing in the -20 °C dawn and after taking the 30-second exposure seeing the circular pattern on the camera's LCD. It was pure joy. It was the joy of self-expression. It felt great and that affirmation is all the motivation I need to continue to photograph. I wish that feeling would happen more often, but when it does it is special and makes the initial feelings of anxiety almost seem worlds away.*

This long quote tells the story of Essick's Kitka River photograph. It also illustrates how the photographer reflects on his work after the trip, and sees the creativity and self-expression in it. When you read the "making of" you discover more expressive levels in the image, and you can almost feel the coldness of the winter scene. If we decode the image from the journalistic point of view, this image is neither a traditional news image nor a reader's snapshot for the newspaper. The Kitka River image is really no accident; it is much more a constructed image – one that needs plenty of thought and the right timing to perfect it. It is a clear example of professional slow photojournalism. Were you to show Essick's image to a Finnish audience, you would be sure to hear that the photograph was not the first picture seen of this place and its particular atmosphere – many Finnish nature photographers have taken similar images of Kitka River.

My point of view in this essay is not to analyse the aesthetics or truthfulness of Essick's photograph. As a nature photographer, it is clear that Essick reproduces and replicates the classical canon of nature pictures. As nature photographer and researcher Juha Suonpää says (2001, 110):

> *The wilderness scene is one of the most striven-for and photographed subjects among nature photographers, although a century of human activity has fundamentally altered the physical landscape recorded by the national-romantic painters. But in the nature photograph the landscape is in its original state.*

National Geographic's caption for the photograph informs us that Kai Fagerström's image was taken in an isolated house in Suomusjärvi:

> *On a summer night a family of badgers file into the kitchen from a tunnel they dug under the fireplace. It took four years before Fagerström finally*

↑ Picture 3. Photo: Kai Fagerström. Suomusjärvi, Finland.
Published in National Geographic, October 2012.

> *caught the skittish, nocturnal weasels. For this shot he set his camera on a windowsill, then stood outside on a ladder for hours before pressing the shutter via remote control.* (National Geographic, October 2012, 140.)

"When I go into these houses, it's like stepping back in time – the past lingers in the corners," (NG ibid. 138) says the 48-year-old Kai Fagerström, who works by day managing properties for a parish in his hometown of Salo, Finland. Because Kai Fagerström's main occupation is not a photographer, he might be considered an amateur by NG, although his way of working is similar to Peter Essick's work as a professional nature photographer. Both have carried out long-term photographic projects, and their stories have been published in the National Geographic and in their own monographs (for example, Fagerström's book *House in the Woods* from 2011).

> *Typically, Fagerström envisions an image, then plans the photo shoot. He'll set his camera at the perfect angle, throw out peanuts as bait, and wait for wildlife to wander into the picture frame. "Sometimes you get lucky, but often it takes all night."* (National Geographic, October 2012, 142.)

There are also some basic phenomenological differences between these two pictures. Essick's image is about wild and untouched nature, while Fagerström's image details how wild animals have taken over a house whose residents had relocated. As Fagerström puts it: "But there's consolation in the idea that nature is reclaiming the places it has lent to people." (ibid. 140.)

Fagerström's photographs are a strong statement about what is happening today in Finland's countryside. At first glance, the abandoned houses appear to be empty, but mice, squirrels, foxes, badgers, and numerous species of birds live in the nooks and crannies. By recording some of the latest residents of these decaying houses, Fagerström has managed to create a magical and fabulous pictorial world, and one that is full of empathy.

Slow and Quality Journalism

Franc and Jean Shor's photographs were only published in the printed magazine of National Geographic in the 1950s. In the 2000s, media is much more integrated and photographers can present the same images on several platforms. Peter Essick's and Kai Fagerström's photographs have been published online in their respective blogs, in the NG magazine, and finally in their books. Quite often you can also see the same photographs on the walls of museums in photography exhibitions.

Journalism and documentary photography are going through progressive transformations, but slow journalism is looking back to a more classical way of telling a long story. Often, it means that editors work independently as an auteur. National Geographic publishes stories that can be considered slow, quality journalism. But there is an increasing amount of new slow journalism publications, such as the magazine Delayed Gratification in the UK, and the Finnish Long Play, which publishes online. Slow journalism can be seen as a continuum of the slow food movement, which began in Italy during the 1980s.

Johanna Vehkoo, the founder of Long Play e-books, is an advocate of quality of journalism.

> *Professional high quality journalism is now under threat both from the outside (the Internet, the broken business model) and the inside (staff cuts, impoverished newsrooms)…. We need to make sure that during the revolution of journalism we don't lose its most important standards and values.* (Vehkoo 2009, 68.)

Although Vehkoo refers to writing, the way that writers and photographers work in slow and high-quality journalism have a lot in common. Professional photographers (both staff and freelance photographers) concentrate on and develop long-lasting photographic projects. This issue becomes complex when we are dealing with news photojournalism.

French photography critic Christian Caujolle has problematized the issue of amateur and professional photojournalism, when assessing the quality of photojournalism in Paris Match concerning the tsunami that devastated parts of Southeast Asia in 2004.

Caujolle juxtaposes the final Paris Match cover from 2004 with its first cover of 2005. He argues that, when placing these covers side by side,

> *They tell much more about the current state of photography and its relationship with the newspapers and news magazines than many analyses. The first reproduces an image taken by an amateur photographer, while the second carries a black and white photograph framed with a white border – by Philip Blenkinsop, an incisive professional reporter – reflecting a humanist point of view that respects both the fact of the event and the victims it created.* (Caujolle, Christian 2006, 377.)

Although both of the cover images from Paris Match are strong and remarkable, there is a great difference between the two. The tourist snap shot is a first hand reaction and instantly transmittable digital document, and the other is a photograph "developed by professional photojournalists working in an auteur tradition, using their point of view to assert a dialectical reaction between ethics and aesthetics" (ibid.)

Johanna Vehkoo uses a similar tone to Caujolle, when she comments:

> *What professional journalists ought to be doing is giving context to news. This means analysis, interpretation, criticism – creating understanding and knowledge. Any medium can adhere to fairness, accuracy, balance and so on, but that does not guarantee high quality journalism.*
> (Vehkoo 2009, 66.)

Amateur images have always been a part of media imagery, especially in news photos. Today it is almost impossible for news media to function without using readers' images. This phenomenon could be considered a democratization

of journalism. The distinction between amateur and professional photography has become blurred. National Geographic, as a traditional and conservative form of investigative magazine, puts more effort into professional commenting on what is happening to the world and in nature. It is possible to see this evolution in National Geographic's images of Finland.

Roland Barthes, the man of myths, has considered the amateur vs. professional question. He gets close to the paradoxical essence of photography:

> *Usually the amateur is defined as an immature state of the artist: someone who cannot – or will not – achieve the mastery of a profession. But in the field of photographic practice, it is the amateur, on the contrary, who is the assumption of the professional: for it is he who stands closer to the noeme of Photography.* (Barthes 1985, 105.)

In my analysis I have shown that the perspective of National Geographic towards nature has changed from presenting postcard scenery to commenting critically in favour of nature. This is evident in Cotton Coulson's image of a Greenpeace activist chained to the door of a chemical company in Helsinki (NG May 1989, 624). The Finnish photographer Kai Fagerström offers an even more poignant perspective. His photo essay of abandoned houses taken over by animals in the countryside is a strong statement on the cycle of nature in the era of television and the internet (NG October 2012, 140–141). The imagery of Natural Geographic may seem a little too familiar and self-evident for Finns, but is not so for the American or global readership of the magazine.

In National Geographic we can see the photographic style and working method of slow and investigative journalism. I have shown some methods that photographers use to achieve qualitative journalism in time and space, and I have also analysed, how the media depicts "the others" through the colourized filter of America.

National Geographic's senior photo editor, Elisabeth Krist (2013), puts it this way:

> *…one of the reasons that we're such a fortress for photojournalism is because we're still willing to dedicate the time and the money to these stories. I think that's why there are so many photographers who want to work for us, because there are very few other places in the world where a publication would be willing to give a photographer eight weeks, ten*

> *weeks. It's very unusual and I really hope with all my heart that it's one aspect of National Geographic that never changes.*

But there is never a magazine without readers. That's why I will give the final words to Christian Caujolle (2006, 379):

> *The print media's most striking and unique asset is the opportunity it affords the viewer to decide how long they spend on an image. Moreover, it can be revisited and reconsidered at leisure. The amount of time spent on the consumption of information and images is the prerogative of the reader rather than of a media terrified by emptiness and silence and obsessed by the supposed efficiency of speed.*

Even though the Finnish online publication Long Play has reached the status of quality journalism by publishing extensive reports and essays, the competition between traditional printed media and internet publishing with its new forms and expressions is still ongoing.

National Geographic has solved the technological problem of media competition by integrating different types of media within the yellow frame of the brand. Similarly, in recent years the major Finnish media houses have brought their various operations under the same roof. For example, Helsingin Sanomat publishes a printed monthly supplement, which with good reason can be considered the flagship of Finnish quality investigative journalism. The transformation of photojournalism in National Geographic and Finnish magazines is first and foremost visible in the fact that extensive photo reportages, which require a lot of time, are mostly made by freelance photographers.

Unlike the pictures from 1952 of the Lapland fisherman taken by National Geographic's staff photographer Franc Shor that emphasize the moment of taking the photograph, the photographs of Peter Essick and Kai Fagerström, published in NG in 2009 and 2012 respectively, are examples of slow photojournalism and the process of waiting for the right moment. Photographers may work on these projects for months or even years. The portfolios of these self-sustained projects by the photographer are then published in National Geographic magazine and its online presence as photo essays, captioned by NG. The photographers may later utilize the same material to compile and publish a book and an exhibition, in which case the artistic and personal ambitions of the photographer are highlighted over the characteristics of photojournalism.

The time spent taking the photographs is in direct correlation to the quality of the journalism.

I do not see the competition between traditional and new media over quality journalism as a negative thing. The recent media revolution has brought about healthy competition between media houses and the new communications companies. At the same time, a need for examining authorship has emerged; an individual photographer is more than a subordinate whom the media houses take advantage of. Will we perhaps return to the era of the heroic photographer with the re-emergence of quality journalism? Although the quality of digital pictures on social media is technically better than before, the gap between auteurs and amateurs is also wider and more complex than ever. The quality of the picture has to be examined as a question of content as well. Peter Essick and Kai Fagerström's nature photographs, which are of a high quality both content-wise and aesthetically, provide their own answers to this question.

In her essay on the The Press Photos of the Year 2103 competition in Finland, "The Hero Photographer's New Coat" (2014), Hanna Weselius gave her excellent answer to the question of the hero photographer and authorship.

Even though the actual hero photographer may not exist, the myth of the heroic photographer lives on at least as an ideal (for example in the form of W. Eugene Smith and Robert Capa). The series of photographs of female circumcision in Kenya by Finnish Press Photographer of the Year 2013, Meeri Koutaniemi, is an example of a long-term photographic project that aims for high quality, and reaches beyond simply scratching the surface of an unfamiliar culture and its "otherness". (Weselius 2014) Koutaniemi's (Koutaniemi & Nousiainen 2014) bold and explicit black and white photo reportage, published both in the Helsingin Sanomat newspaper and on their website, caused an unprecedented stir in social media raising issues concerning the right to publish the pictures, their aesthetics, and ethics. At the same time, Koutaniemi's report deepened the discussion concerning the interpretation and quality of photography in photojournalism.

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2.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA

The Reader's Image: Amateur Photographs in the Finnish Newspaper

Altti Näsi

Within professional journalism, the value of the amateur photograph has undergone a marked shift during the last decade. One indication of the increase in its value is the small advertisements in newspapers that encourage ordinary people – the readers – to send in photographs and thus participate in the organized flow of visual communication. In Finland, of the ten biggest newspapers by circulation, nine ask readers to send in photographs. The one exception is *Kauppalehti*, which is the biggest financial newspaper in the country. The rest are regional newspapers or tabloids that cover all areas of life.

Some time ago, seeing an image taken by an amateur photographer in professional newspapers was rare. Encouraging people to take photographs on such an extensive scale strongly suggests that we are witnessing a significant change in attitude. The process of publishing amateur photographs reflects a new approach towards non-professional photography and its potential as a source of images. At the latest, the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 can be seen as a milestone, when much of the video and photographic evidence of the impact was obtained by amateurs using video camcorders and pocket-size cameras (Zelizer 2002, 48; Marshall 2011). Regardless of whether we can point to a definitive breakthrough where this development is concerned, it is clear that the use of amateur images in professional publications has increased markedly during the last ten years.

In academic research, the focus on amateur images and the examples of them typically relate to media spectacles that have a massive, even worldwide audience, as was the case with the attacks on the World Trade Center. War imagery, candid photographs of celebrities and politicians and footage from significant accidents or catastrophes are often the core of such studies. The contribution of this paper differs in that it examines published amateur photographs

taken in a Nordic country not involved in warfare and not suffering from any major internal state of emergency. This paper concentrates on defining more precisely the current and future value of amateur images within the sphere of regional newspapers in Finland.

As this research has been conducted to elucidate the focal phenomena from the newspapers' point of view, such issues cannot be brushed aside as [1] the impact of amateur images on the quality of journalism, [2] the newspaper as a media business and [3] the use of power. All of these considerations are fundamental pillars of journalism, as described by John Wilson:

> *The proper relationship between a journalist and a politician is the same as the relationship between a dog and a lamp-post. No one believes, though, that news and journalism are simply a service to democracy. They are products, commercially judged even when, as with the BBC, they are paid for by a tax, not the money earned in the market place. News is a way of making money just as selling bread is a way of making money. News is also in some hands a way of exercising power. The social importance of news remains. In industrial society, which may be called scientific society, news is, for all its failings, a major branch of the information business, not an option, a basic necessity.* (John Wilson 1996, 28.)

In general terms, the present research is an explorative study. While the three values cited by Wilson above form the foundation of the paper, today the traditional sphere of journalism is subject to more outside influences than ten to fifteen years ago. One such influence disrupting the *traditional* threesome of values is the rise of amateur photographers. Ordinary people are self-determining in that they communicate with ease using photographs regardless of what happens in mainstream media. This has caused newspapers to perceive their readers as possible eyewitnesses and even performers of predetermined photographic tasks. Whether this type of action is called *crowdsourcing* (Howe 2008), *networked journalism* (Beckett 2008) or *co-creation* (Aitamurto 2013), the fundamental idea is the same: A job traditionally performed by employees is outsourced to a large, undefined group of people in the form of an open call. Towards the end of this paper I discuss how some newspapers have gone to very extreme lengths in outsourcing photojournalism to their audience.

As mentioned, amateur images highlight bystander presence at a news scene and thus create witness value for the newspaper reader (Salo 2002, 108;

Peters 2001, 719). Live or nearly live images, authenticity and cogency are features used to describe this value (Frosh 2006, Frosh & Pinchevski 2009, Puustinen & Seppänen 2011, Bock 2012, Zelizer 2012). Other functions of amateur images within newspapers have been less actively discussed and researched. What needs to be taken into account is that not all amateur photographs are published solely because of their witness value. In fact, Finnish newspapers today are interested in amateur photographs for rather different reasons. In the three newspapers examined in this paper, two sources – [a] empirical material consisting of 95 photographs and [b] the answers given by staff who were interviewed – indicate that only a fraction of all of the amateur photographs appearing in the newspapers are published because of their news value and thus their witness value.

In Finland, engaging with readers and involving them in making the publication currently seems to have become at least equally important to publishing exclusively amateur news photographs. Established newspapers are interested in building a social bond with their readerships and direct the media time the readers consume towards the newspaper. Naturally the link between the printed paper and the online version is stronger than ever. As newspapers shift towards digital news services, they simultaneously crave a strong position in peoples' everyday lives. This is why the theoretical background in the latter part of the discussion section of this paper brings in the perspective of contemporary social networks and especially society's transition from spatially defined communities to relationally defined ones. This transition, researched by Barry Wellman, has inevitably changed peoples' consumption of news and information (Chua, Madej & Wellman 2001, 101). Understanding personal communities also helps understand the possible future role of a newspaper.

The newly emerging journalistic environment that we can all participate in enables news audiences to interact with both professional and amateur journalists. This adds new value to communication in the form of entertainment, peer support, expertise and social capital (Dahlgren 2005, 151; Nah & Chung 2012, 715). Thus, for newspapers publishing amateur images it is a conscious business strategy that could be analyzed as an act of marketing directed towards their readers (e.g., reader engagement and stimulation of local discussion).

Research Question

This paper discusses the values that determine which amateur photographs are published in traditional Finnish newspapers. The approach looks at the pro-

cess from the newspapers' point of view. The questions addressed are: What kind of a publishing platform does the local newspaper provide for amateur images? What kind of value do these images give to the newspaper? How often do these images correspond with the customary or traditional values of news images? and Have the amateur images started a new class or a genre within photojournalism? Overall the aim of the paper is to build an idea of the role of non-professional images in relation to contemporary photojournalism. The phenomenon is also discussed as part of modern visual and socio-cultural behavior in digitalized Finland. As we know, a phone-integrated camera seems to be ever-present – in time and in place.

Methodology and Empirical Data

The conclusions of this paper have been achieved through mixed methods research on three different sized newspapers: [1] *Aamulehti* from Tampere, with a circulation of 130 000; [2] *Kaleva* from Oulu, with a circulation of 72 000; and [3] *Keskipohjanmaa* from Kokkola, with a circulation of 25 000.

The first stage in the twofold methodology is a quantitative visual analysis that reveals the types and amounts of amateur images published in three significant Finnish newspapers. Applying visual analysis to the empirical material was considered useful with a view to making some generalizations – if possible – about image content (van Leeuwen 2004, 13–18). The hypothesis was that the published amateur photographs could be categorized using some sort of variables as well as more detailed values. In the process of dividing the images into categories, it was noted that visual content is highly open to interpretation. Accordingly, many images were categorized as falling under more classificatory variables and values than just one. Moreover, in many cases defining some variables, such as gender, proved uncertain. Regardless of these uncertainties, the trends that emerged from the visual analysis (Figure 1) provided informative data and formed the basis for detailed interview questions in the second phase of the research.

The three newspapers were chosen for this survey based on their varied circulations and geographical target areas. The aim was to build a comprehensive understanding of how many and what types of readers' images are published in general. During the 21 days of observation (1–21 January 2013), a total of 95 readers' images were published in the selected newspapers. This amounts to an average of about four photographs per day. *Aamulehti* is most consistent with pictures of the day, as it has a reserved slot for one reader's image

per day. The paper quite rarely publishes readers' images as news photographs, the number being an average of two per week. *Kaleva* is the most active in publishing readers' images and the newspaper often even publishes two pictures of the day. The average for amateur news photographs in *Kaleva* is the same as for *Aamulehti*. *Keskipohjanmaa* is the most reserved when it comes to publishing photographs from its readers and may have days without any readers' images in the newspaper.

The qualitative second part of the research methodology consists of three theme interviews with the staff executives responsible for publishing amateur images. The face-to-face interviews shed light on the motivation and standpoint of newspapers in the use of amateur images. The interviews were conducted from an interpretive constructionist perspective, since the study is concerned with the lenses through which the publishers look at amateur images (Rubin & Rubin 2005, 28). It was expected that employees from different media houses would view the phenomenon somewhat differently. The responsive interviewing encouraged by interpretive constructionist is particularly appropriate in such cases. Inspired by previous answers, additional and more detailed questions were posed during the interviews, which proved to be very helpful in discovering the similar and opposing viewpoints that the three newspapers had towards their own publication (Gubrium & Holstein 1997, 171). Owing to the flexible interviewing style, the reasons behind certain work practices were thoroughly discussed.

The responses obtained from the newspapers are discussed and analyzed in relation to the visual content analysis. The employees interviewed at the newspapers were:

- Informant 1. Communications Director and Executive Editor of the Reader's section at Aamulehti, Tampere.
- Informant 2. Reader's Section and Online Executive Producer at Kaleva, Oulu.
- Informant 3. Managing Editor and Executive Editor of the Reader's section at Keskipohjanmaa, Kokkola.

Terminology

The beginning of this paper has used the terms *bystanders* and *amateur images* to distinguish those sources from the members of the newspaper staff and the images and footage they take. I would like to introduce another term that I would prefer to use in this paper: *reader's image*. This term seems to be in use

↑ Picture 1. Bats' nest. Published in Aamulehti, Pasi Alanampa.
↗ Picture 2. The savior of the mosquito summer: pantyhose and a fan. Published in Kaleva, Riitta Marttila.

quite widely, although *photo*, *photograph*, *picture* or *pic* often replaces the second part of the term. For example, *The Guardian* utilizes the term *readers' photographs* widely while *USA Today* describes these images as *reader photos*. In the French *L'Express*, these same photos are referred to as *vos photos*, ("your photos"). In Finland the term *lukijan kuva* ("reader's image") has established itself in all discussion forums and thus become a part of the everyday language.

The term *reader* correlates rather well with the intended photographers since it makes no reference to the photographic skills of the photographer. Significantly, a professional photographer of some sort could be behind some of the readers' images. *Reader* is also a convenient term, because it reveals that the photographer has had to read the newspaper to know about the publication's interest in publishing his or her snapshots. The term *reader's image* also indicates clearly that the photographer and the newspaper do not have a typical working contract but that the photograph has emerged from among the readership. An interesting remark was also made during the interviews to the effect that the newspapers' own professional photojournalists demand that the term *reader's image* be clearly displayed alongside such photographs:

> *Our own photographers fear, or should I say they are concerned about, the overall standards of the newspaper's visual appearance as the numbers of readers' images increase. That is why at least our own photojournalists feel it is important to mark prominently the published amateur photographs as readers' images.* (Informant 3, Keskipohjanmaa.)

Even though this concern was brought to my attention in the interviews, readers' participation was seen as something normal and necessary for the survival of the newspapers in the study. Attitudes toward and the status of readers' images are discussed later.

The Two Purposes of Readers' Images

1. Pictures of the Day Decorate the Newspaper

> *The criterion for the pic of the day is that it has to give our audience a good feeling, so in other words the content has to be in someway positive. It can be for example a smiling kid swimming. We also like those photographs that make you wonder and even puzzled, like this picture from a bat's nest. And of course we have nature photographs, like those of birds and squirrels. It's part of the quest to create a favorable atmosphere. Then lastly there can be an artistic premise so that the picture has rhythm, maybe some geometric elements; or maybe the image is just esthetically pleasing. Of course it also depends on what people have to offer us.* (Informant 1, Aamulehti)

Informant 1, from *Aamulehti*, speaks of the criteria that the paper has set out for the readers' images that are published in the "Opinions" section as "Pictures of the day". The two other newspapers follow very similar principles with regard to such photographs. Furthermore, they have very similar fundamental tasks: to create a positive sensation for their readership. Most of the pictures are nature photographs representing scenery or perhaps domestic animals or wildlife. Some of the photographs are from the city, showing empty bus stops, buildings and streets. These images also typically represent a pictorial window on the season at hand and encapsulate the weather from the previous day.

> *Sometimes I admire how good the photographs are that normal readers are able to take. They are not professionals and their photographs display the beauty of our region so well… We've thought of it also as a way for the bond between us and the reader to become stronger and closer, which is something we would like. We know that these readers' images touch the circle of friends and family that know the photographer. In villages many people notice the familiar photographer and hopefully this brings*

> *the process of making the paper as well as the final product closer to our audience.* (Informant 3, Keskipohjanmaa.)

Complementing the sample images in this article, the following table demonstrates quantitatively what sort of content was found in the images surveyed. The purpose is to show what kind of trends were the most popular.

Variables

Person	Animal	Setting	Shot location
• Male (8) • Female (5) • Uncertain (4)	• Birds (8) • Squirrel (4) • Cat (1) • Bear (2) • Deer (3) • Sheep (1) • Rabbit (1) • Dog (1)	• Domestic (9) • Public (66) • Uncertain (20)	• Forest (8) • Ocean/Lake (12) • River (4) • Field (4) • City center (6) • Suburb (12) • Mountain (2) • Uncertain (48)

Values

↑ Figure 1. The trends found in the image content of 95 images.
Values may fall under more than one variable.

As the table shows, the setting in many photographs is a forest, waterfront, field or home garden. Out of the 95 images, 26 had an animal.

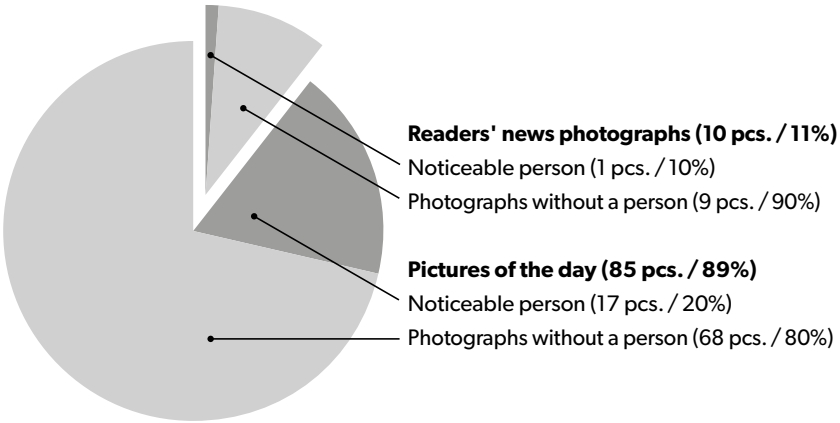
Photographs of nature and animals have an esthetic value. The interviewees at all three newspapers share the esthetic achievements of their readers and believe that the photographs decorate the pages of the newspaper, as put into words by Informant 3 in the interview excerpt above. The pleasures of visual culture are nothing new (e.g., Walker & Chaplin 1997, 147; Sontag 1999, 92). As Walker and Chaplin state in their book, humans would pay no attention to visual culture if it did not provide esthetic pleasure. This esthetic value is closely related to the notion of building a social bond between the reader and the newspaper. Locality is important, because feature-type photographs taken by amateurs strengthen the social bond between the media house and the reader as well as among the readers themselves. McCallum (2007, 27) and Meadows (2013, 51) use the term *local talk* in describing local news that is produced from within the community of the medium's audience. The audience values news stories that are made by and/or introduce someone they know or know through

↑ Picture 3. Ocean view under the winter sun in Himanka.
Published in Keskipohjanmaa, Satu Joensuu.
↗ Picture 4. Aurora Borealis. Published in Kaleva, Teemu Puolitaipale.

a shared friend. According to McCallum and Meadows, at least a news story should be local and have a *community-level narrative* to make it important for people (Meadows 2013, 51). This all makes sense in that positive familiarity through identifiable locations, people and nature add interest in the publication. In other words we are interested in seeing news from our own neighborhood.

There is another aspect to nature photos. In terms of data protection, these pictures offer an image genre that is a convenient and low-risk channel of participation to get readers involved. As people are excluded from the photographic content, it offers newspapers quick and easy material for publication with little fear of legal repercussions. This is somewhat contradictory compared to the other content of the paper's opinion pages, because nature photographs express very little in the way of opinion. As the sample from the three-week period reveals, only 18 out of 95 images show a discernible person.

The lack of persons in readers' images was one of the topics discussed in the interviews. Since the written content of the "Opinion" sections (nowadays called "From the reader") is highly confrontational and charged with a particular agenda, the question arose of whether images could similarly take a stand and



↑ Figure 2. The number of readers' images and the number of discernible persons in these photographs in three Finnish newspapers between 1st and 21st of January, 2013.

have a role other than just to decorate the pages of the newspaper. The ideas for the future development of the "Opinion" section were not uniform among the newspapers studied. The two bigger newspapers, *Aamulehti* and *Kaleva*, are cautiously interested in publishing images that also take some sort of a stand or, for example, that point to social wrongs that people have come across in life. In this way in the future readers' images could be compared with any opinions and thus evolve to elements serving as hardcore journalism, making society face its ills wherever they are (Wilson 1996, 28). The smallest newspaper, *Keskipohjanmaa*, is more reserved on this issue and brings out concerns with data protection and publishing images that have an identifiable person or that readers might find offensive in some other way.

> *So for example if there's a reader's image of a person celebrating the end of the school year and we publish that online, it could be that in three or four years this person is applying for a job and knows that if you put her name in Google, the search engine will bring up this photo third in the results. It would be a typical situation that was ok in the first place but became inconvenient later and this person would want that photograph to be removed. We're cautious on this issue.*
> (Informant 3, Keskipohjanmaa.)

The newspapers are clearly prepared to deal with peoples' requests concerning earlier issues. Informant 2, from Kaleva, also addresses this question but

does not see it as a problem. According to him, if the article or the image has mistakes or false information, removal is possible. Otherwise there is no legal necessity to remove old image material. Moreover, according to Informant 2, as readers' images are increasingly published, the norms of correctness regarding images and captions must apply to them as much as to all journalistic work.

2. Readers' Images as News Photographs

The second major use of readers' images is in their role as news. To begin with, a reader's image can either function as a starting point for a longer news story or it can support and reveal more information about an event that has already happened.

> *The technical demands for a reader's image are much lower than those for our own photographers. I don't see this as a weakness, because the idea of a reader's image is to enrich the story and increase the amplitude of the event.* (Informant 2, Kaleva.)

Where news coverage is concerned, the "cutting edge" of readers' images lies in the ubiquitous presence of pocket-size and cell-phone integrated cameras. Each reader is a potential photojournalist everywhere and at any time. For a regional newspaper this can be very useful indeed, because readers' images allow the newspaper to take another step in retaining its role as chair when it comes to sharing local information. If bystander photographs are published in some forum in any case, then newspapers should be interested in offering an attractive site for this. Informant 2 describes well how they do not have the resources to send a photojournalist to all the small villages and their happenings around the Oulu metropolis. He perceives readers as a resource that on their own initiative or with very little guidance share occurrences through snapshots. It is very probable that people share interesting photographs anyway, so for *Kaleva* it is important that people want to send the pictures to its editing office in particular. Informant 2 continues describing that often readers need no incitement, as in the case where streets were flooding in downtown Oulu in 2012. In a few hours the editing office received hundreds of photographs, as people were simultaneously astonished and cheerful about the incident. *Kaleva* published some of the photographs in the paper and put up a gallery online. The web gallery had the highest ranking that year in visits of any of the newspaper's sites.

↑ Picture 5. Deluge in Oulu in 2012. Published in Kaleva, Pekka Ala-aho.
↗ Picture 6. Electrical center on fire. Published in Kaleva, Marko Kanniainen.

Informant 2 admits that sometimes journalists end up guiding their readers with photo tasks, as in the case of a thunderstorm in 2013. The editing office had received information about an electrical center on fire some 20 km from the office. This resulted in a wide power outage in one of Oulu's suburbs. One of the newspaper's journalists posted a request on Facebook for an image of the burning center. Informant 2 says that they received a photograph (photograph on top right) only 5 minutes after the post and it was published online, but due to its very poor technical quality it was rejected for publication in the print version of the paper. Thus, newspapers take advantage of social media forums where people are active. On the other hand, Facebook, just like any other social media forum where people can publish images, poses a challenge to and sparks a rivalry with traditional newspapers. It is important for newspapers to be present and active in major social media forums, as these are becoming something like notice boards for ongoing social debates.

> *I see the criterion for a reader's news image as being the same as that typical of any news. It's the importance and the weight of the event that counts – and of course its appeal. We look at the image and apply the same news criteria as with all breaking news. We might emphasize locality and certainly image content is important. Sometimes it comes down to personal decisions and it's the chief of our editing office who decides. And one more thing about the criterion: Technically the photograph doesn't have to be great if it has an authentic grasp of the situation that highlights presence at the scene – as if it's a documentary from the venue.* (Informant 1, Aamulehti.)

The comment by Informant 1 is in a way surprising, because it demonstrates that the notion of photography in relation to realism is twofold: Newspapers (and even the general public) today still adhere to authenticity and truth-value in photographs when for decades this idea has been undermined by semiotic analysis. (Kember 1998, 17; Lister 2004, 328; Price 2004, 71.) Arguably, from the newspapers' point of view publishing a photograph is generally better than having nothing. Especially with readers' images many incidents are unique occasions and are quickly over. Any visual image of a scene produces one view of what happened regardless of whether it is all-embracing or not.

In sum, when readers' images are published as news photographs, above all this is because the images possess witness value. The content analysis and interviews conducted in this research support this contention. News-like readers' images are straightforward visual evidence of an event that has happened. They represent a window of sorts on reality and authenticity (Salo 2002, 108). Puustinen and Seppänen (2011, 189) demonstrate in their study that amateur images in newspapers are equally trustworthy or even more trustworthy than photos taken by a professional photojournalist. According to their research, readers' images provide immediate and authentic testimony to the fact that the bystander has been on the spot. According to their study, pre-planning, assignment, briefing and skilled image editing degrade this authenticity.

The question of *who takes the photograph* seems to have posed a bigger challenge inside the editing office. Informant 2 and Informant 3 both recognize a rising but often ephemeral rivalry between amateur and professional images:

> *Sometimes we might have a slightly problematic situation if, say, there is a house on fire 10 km from here. If we send a photographer there, we've probably received plenty of readers' images of the incident by the time our own photographer has left the editing office. Some of these images can be more splashy and visually stronger than those taken by our own photographer. This is because the readers' images have been taken when the fire was still uncontrollable. Certainly readers' images are typically lower in technical quality but anyway these situations may sometimes become awkward when deciding which picture to publish in the newspaper.* (Informant 2, Kaleva.)

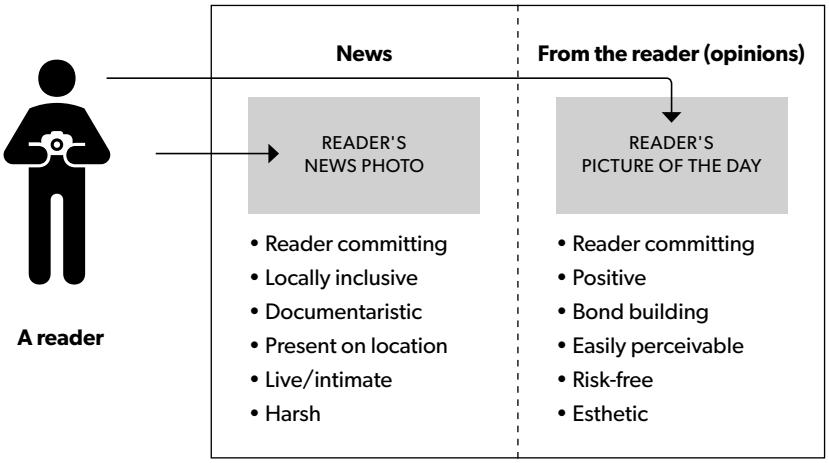
Although challenging situations sometimes occur, a printed newspaper sets some restrictions on how many and what type of readers' images can and should be published. The interviews suggest that the restrictions on readers' images are

considerations such as technical quality in image resolution and file type, image aspect ratio and dimensions in relation to the newspaper layout and size. Most importantly, newspapers are interested in achieving the appearance and visual impressiveness of traditional newspapers. As the interviewees stated, modern newspapers are compact and use large and effective photographs to avoid scattered and unorganized pages with many little photographs. Clarity and impressiveness are the criteria that typically set limits for readers' images in print newspapers. Naturally, these restrictions are less of a limitation online; space is no limit, and low screen resolution and web-style short news stories in some way favor readers' images. Merely the possibility to build an online picture gallery of tens and hundreds of photographs makes digital publishing different from publishing in a traditional newspaper. For example, the *Aamulehti* picture gallery has over 130,000 photographs taken by over 4000 photographers. The gallery was established in the beginning of 2009 (August 2013) and it is the source from which *the newspaper* selects the pictures of the day for publishing.

Discussion – Participatory Image Sharing

From a journalistic point of view, newspapers face some serious fundamental questions about how to deal with readers' increasingly active role in visual communication. If we think of present-day digitalized networks and their communication possibilities, we see that a modern person is not merely a photographer but increasingly a producer and publisher as well. The Internet provides ordinary people with an environment that could once be accessed only by professional journalists. This means that ordinary people not only have the opportunity to create, combine and send visual content to one another but can also deliver desired information online in a variety of social media forums. What is more, social media, personal websites and blogs offer a limitless audience as long as the marketing and the content is well planned and executed. With this new digitalized journalistic environment being exploited by many talented private individuals and groups, traditional newspapers have to eventually – if not already – compete as one publishing channel among others. The question that must be asked by both a newspaper and its readership is: What more does a newspaper offer to readers' images compared to other publishing platforms?

For newspapers the question also leads to questions regarding what part of ordinary peoples' visual communication should be presented on their pages. In other words, when is an amateur photograph too insignificant to not



↑ Figure 3. The categories and characteristics of readers' images in Finnish newspapers.

get published? There is a danger that if the bar for publishing readers' images is set too high, people will learn that their images never or rarely get published on the pages of the regional newspaper. This will most likely direct the readers' attention elsewhere in order to get their images "out there". Where a newspaper neglects readers' images completely, the question to be considered becomes whether a modern newspaper can remain, as regards images, completely self-supporting with only its own photojournalists. According to *Aamulehti* and *Kaleva*, this vision is highly improbable. Informant 1 and Informant 2 foresee that the number and types of readers' images are more likely to increase in the future. As a matter of fact, they anticipate that all types of reader participation will grow and diversify.

An interesting observation from the interviews is the similarity among all three newspapers concerning a handful of photographers that send in their work weekly. For example, according to Informant 1 from *Aamulehti*, it is clear that this group consists of individuals that consciously have a camera prepared. They look for the smallest news-like images and are eager to send in the results. They are typically excited about having had their photograph published recently and wish to be successful in doing it again.

This raises cautious thoughts of a situation where amateur photographers are prepared beforehand to serve the newspaper. How extensive and how organized could such a practice become? The division of readers' images into two categories –pictures of the day and news photographs – is significant in

this respect as Informant 1 continues that in the case of its "Pictures of the day" *Aamulehti* tries to avoid publishing photographs taken by the same photographer. With news images, there is no such evaluation and potential news photographs are only considered for their news value; the photographer's name is insignificant.

The Change in Communication Is Restructuring Newspapers

As stated in the previous section, the anticipation is that all types of reader participation in newspapers will grow and become more diverse. In some cases readers' images can become essential. New stock photography applications for social media such as *Scoopshot*, *Foap* and *EyeEm* are good examples of digital applications that stimulate reader participation on an entirely new level. The basic idea with these applications is the same: Anyone can upload interesting images online for sale. Furthermore, one can create photo tasks for mobile photographers to carry out. For example, a local free newspaper, *Uusi Lahti*, uses *Scoopshot* on a daily basis. *Uusi Lahti* crowdsources its readers in order to illustrate news stories with photographs. This is one form of strategic outsourcing of photojournalism. *Uusi Lahti* also advertises for readers' images aggressively since *Scoopshot* has a permanent, prominent place on the paper's front page that encourages readers to participate in current photo tasks assigned by its editing office.

The three informants for this paper were aware of the new stock photograph applications, although none of the three actually utilizes them. Yet, the informants are ambitious in that they assign slightly similar photo tasks in the form of photo contests for their readers online through their own website. Informant 2 pointed out that preplanned, assigned photo tasks require certain kinds of news stories because assigning tasks for unexpected and surprising events is quite impossible. Another practice is guiding people to photograph everything abnormal and interesting in life in order to send the results to the regional newspaper's editing office. This again brings up questions concerning the attractiveness of the newspaper compared to other publishing platforms. Ordinary people might start to see the potential revenue in unique shots.

If investing money in readers' images is not seen as attractive enough by newspapers, some other kinds of motivation for the readership must be created to get them to interact. From what has been said so far in this paper, the issue could be considered in two interesting perspectives. First of all, the number of readers' images submitted as pictures of the day represents a significant appetite

for positive, locally recognizable images. This kind of participation, which falls well within the category that could be described as community media (Forde et al. 2010; Meadows et al. 2007; Meadows 2013), interests the readership and seems to be highly engaging if not even empowering (Grossberg 1987, 95; Meadows 2013, 48) If there is any cultural legacy of reluctance towards reader participation in the editing office, described here by Michael Meadows, newspapers should carefully question such traditions:

> *The editorial policies of the vast majority of news rooms, if not all, discourage active engagement with audiences (and sources) over meaning. In fact for most, this is seen as editorial interference.* (Michael Meadows 2013, 51.)

Unlike this tradition would have it, in order to keep a steady, high level of interest in the publication, a regional newspaper should fully exploit the possibilities of digitalization in offering people an easy channel through which they can approach the editing office. The engagement principles of community media according to the audience are that [1] they perceive it to be accessible and approachable; [2] they like the laid back, "ordinary person" perspective in the presentation; [3] they want to access local news and information; and [4] they appreciate the diversity represented in terms of both format and content (Meadows 2007, 1).

Secondly, we are forced to take into account the remarkable communicational changes that are taking place in Finnish society as in all Western countries. Modern social network analysis explains the importance of contemporary personal communities, where a shift has occurred from spatially defined to relationally defined communities (Chua et al. 2011). We use personal networks to maintain a mental network map showing who our friends – and even our enemies – are. Who are the people and institutions that we contact and, for example, what social media services do we use? Personal communities (both offline and online) exist between individuals, groups and organizations. For a newspaper, it should be important to establish a firm position on people's personal network maps. Maintaining and strengthening the newspaper's position as a bond between individuals would increase the newspaper's status as the moderator of public debate (Bovée 1999; Carey 1997).

With a glimpse of what can be expected in the future, newspapers will shift from print towards online versions. As this occurs, the importance of the bond between the newspaper and its audience will only increase, because the

online rivalry will become keener. With printed newspapers people rarely have a vast range of regional newspapers to choose from. This does not change the fact that already now we tend to satisfy our news hunger from familiar news sites with which we have developed a bond; but with many options to choose from, changing habits and creating new bonds is much easier.

If regional newspapers succeed in maintaining their role as chair in public discussions, it creates reason and motivation for individuals to participate in the making of such web services. In this scenario the social bond between the online newspaper and its sphere of influence is generally acknowledged, as is its power and impact on society.

Conclusions

One of the principal findings of this paper is what can be considered the surprisingly small proportion of published readers' news images. As modern printed newspapers easily have up to ten professional photographs per page, publishing two or three amateur news images per week is a rather modest acknowledgment of that category of image. On the other hand, as readers' images overall are rather uncommon, perhaps each of the individual shots published has more weight. The clear separation into two main categories – [1] *readers' news photographs* and [2] *pictures of the day* – was surprising in that it shows how similarly Finnish newspapers classify and view pictures taken by amateurs.

Secondly, the research provided the classifications used in Figure 2, which depicts the values and the functions of amateur photographs in contemporary newspapers. Newspapers perceive readers' images as an essential part of audience participation in the making of the publication. As discussed through the example of the free newspaper *Uusi Lahti* in the preceding section, stock photo applications make it possible to increase the significance of readers' images even to the point of making them a primary photo source, with the newspaper editing staff creating photo tasks for mobile photographers to carry out. In the near future it would come as no surprise if more of the images produced by professional photojournalism were replaced by photographs taken by amateurs.

Thirdly, readers' images provide a real-time window on what is happening within the newspaper's target region. For example, photographs of a house on fire taken on location and instantly sent to the editing office [1] work as a news

tip on what is happening and [2] are also possible material for the next day's paper. Sometimes readers' images can work as the impetus for journalists to build a longer and deeper news story on the subject.

The content of readers' images was analyzed in light of the interviews conducted with the three informants. Pictures of the day have a fixed place alongside other material sent in by the newspaper's audience in "From the reader". Most of the images submitted were nature photographs featuring landscapes as well as wild and domestic animals. There were also many pictures of empty city streets. These images typically possess little news value or express little in the way of an opinion in contrast to the written material on the very same page. The interviewees at *Aamulehti* and *Kaleva* expressed keen interest in amateur photographs with a distinct standpoint, such as pictures that indicate a failure in society, instead of images that have no more than esthetic or meteorological value.

Lastly, in any event the number of pictures of the day attests to people's interest in visual representation of their own community. As discussed in the previous section, community news is highly engaging and even empowering. As newspapers progressively shift to increased online delivery, valuing community news could be seen as a prospect for a profitable future newspaper. Providing people with "hyperlocal" news in the future should become much easier technically, unlike the case with print content. Ordinary people are already members of relationally defined communities. They have full control in that they may pick and choose what type of news they read and from where.

Strengthening the bond between the publication and individuals should be a high priority for newspapers today, since reinforcing that bond also buttresses the role of the newspaper as chair of public discussion. This results in higher attractiveness for the publication and heightened interaction between the audience and the editing office.

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Social Networking among Media Students in Northern Sweden: Facing the Facebook Culture

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Since the introduction of social networks on the Internet, millions of people around the world have been attracted to join different network services. Different social media in the form of various networks offer members and users various functions to communicate and interact with each other.

As of February 2013, Facebook was by far the most popular social networking site with over 975 million users who spent more than 10 billion minutes per day on the site (Facebook 2013). Sweden reached over 4.5 million users in 2013. Furthermore, in 2012 Facebook was integrated with over seven million websites and applications (Facebook 2012; Tsotsis 2011).

For this study, interviews were conducted with media students enrolled in the Media and Communication Studies programme at Luleå University of Technology in northern Sweden. The purpose of this paper is to study how media students use Facebook and how they feel about their use. This study will help to identify why Facebook is used, how much time, emotion and thought is spent on Facebook, why Facebook is important and how Facebook affects students in their lives. Efforts have been undertaken to study how these experiences are explained in positive or negative meanings and how Facebook shapes their everyday lives. The results are interesting for a number of reasons: Many media students will work with media companies in the future; they are educated in seeing social media from different perspectives; and they might use Facebook in their professional lives. On the whole, media students form an especially interesting group to study concerning Facebook.

The study uses in-depth interviews in order to find nuances about various aspects of the use of Facebook. Most Facebook studies are based on statistics from quite basic questionnaires. Media students have been interviewed and to my knowledge no such study has been performed before.

Facebook has been studied by social scientists for a number of years. Wilson et al. (2012) suggest that there are a couple of broad reasons why studies of Facebook are of specific interest. First, activities performed on Facebook (e.g., connecting to others, expressing preferences, providing status updates) can leave a wealth of concrete, observable data on the way people communicate. Therefore, the domain provides many new opportunities for studying human behaviour that previously had to rely on behaviours that were difficult to assess (e.g., making friends, chatting). Second, the tremendous popularity of Facebook makes it a topic worthy of study in its own right. Facebook and other social networks are interesting to study because they reflect existing social processes, and the way the digital culture affects people.

However, despite the fact that research on Facebook is quite common, the questions, methods, and perspectives are very diverse and fragmented. Social media has become a part of daily life of some people so that their online and offline worlds have become at least partially integrated (Lampe, Ellison & Steinfield 2006). Facebook is by far the most popular social media (Kreutz 2009), making it especially interesting to study.

A wide variety of disciplines – ranging from law, economics, sociology, and psychology, to information technology, management, marketing, and computer-mediated communication – have recognized the importance of studying Facebook. For qualitative research practice it might be interesting to identify possible directions for future research on Facebook.

The aims of the present article are to present results and findings regarding Facebook use where there is a gap in knowledge. The purpose of this study is to examine the similarities and differences between students' uses of social media and their perceptions and opinions about the phenomenon of social media. What motivates the students to use social media? How do students use social media? How often do students use social media? What do the students think is positive with social media? What do the students think is negative about the use of social media?

Methodology

Interviews

Interviews with eighteen media students were carried out in northern Sweden during 2011–2012. The respondents were of similar ages, 23–28 years old.

All respondents were promised anonymity. The intention of these interviews was to collect information about the impact of Facebook on media students' lives. The majority of respondents were pleased to have the opportunity to express their views about Facebook and seemed enthusiastic about sharing their thoughts.

The interview situation creates circumstances that can be specific for each particular interview. Each interview has its own discourse vis-à-vis how the interview is done, what kinds of questions are raised, and what kinds of answers follow (Widerberg 2002). By using open-ended interviews I tried to avoid too much influence: the interview questions were, on the whole, broad and the respondents spoke in a rather free style.

Analysing Narratives

The interviews included an enormous amount of information about various aspects of the use of Facebook and represent narratives as told to me about the students' use of Facebook, anecdotes of particular events, and lots of other information. The resulting narratives were analysed under the influence of discourse analysis and poststructuralism.

Discourse Analysis and Poststructuralism

The word "discourse" means conversation, speech or statement. Discourse analysis is a general term for a number of approaches to analysing written, spoken or signed language use. Researchers using discourse analysis typically work with texts. Texts include, perhaps most commonly, transcripts of recorded conversations such as interviews. Discourse analysis enables a deep look into empirical material without losing contradictions and nuances. Discourses are systems of communication that make use of language as well as the activity of daily life. Discourse analysis builds mainly on the works of Foucault (e.g., 1979; 1982; 1990; 1994). His development of discourse analysis builds on people's imagination of reality and in the way it is expressed (Foucault 1994). According to Foucault (1994) several discourses exists at the same time, but with different levels of importance. Foucault states that a discourse is anything that can carry meaning, such as language, images, stories, scientific narratives and cultural products. Discourses are systems of communication that involve the use of language as well as the activity of everyday life (Alsop et al. 2002).

According to this view, people's lives are constructed through language and practical methods, which can be seen as a form of socialization into ways of acting and thinking. Thus, a person's consciousness and experience can be seen as being determined by the discourses to which he/she is exposed. Thus, to give a discursive account is to examine how individuals, within specific social settings, create and negotiate their own lives. Through discourse analysis, I aim to look for contradictions and variations as well as trying to determine the general meanings of the respondents. Fairclough (1989) introduced critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is a variety of the more traditional discourse analysis. I, however (seeing myself as a poststructuralist), choose not to use CDA due to its link to structuralism.

Poststructuralism is closely related to discourse analysis. Poststructuralist theory focuses on language, where language is understood as the place where our sense of ourselves is constructed. According to this range of theories, subjectivity is socially produced in language and is a site of conflict between different meanings ascribed by different interest groups. Individuals are seen only as inhabiting subject positions within language. A poststructuralist analysis conceptualizes identities as subject to constant change and as not merely a product of our experiences but also the meaning we give to our experiences in our social world (Sarup 1993).

Being inspired by discourse analysis and poststructuralism, I search for contradictions and nuances in the material. In the analysis, I use the language expressed by the respondent to connect to their understandings, thoughts and feelings. At the same time, I use language as my tool to give the reader my understanding of the person's thoughts, feelings and choices. Furthermore, I have chosen to use poststructuralism in a somewhat broader concept that includes both looking at each individual as well as the interviewed media students together as a group.

Results

The Narratives

Each student interview resulted in a personal Facebook narrative. The narratives include a series of exciting texts, some words more expected than others. The text deals with themes where similarities and/or differences between students' ways of looking at these show up. Each student/respondent has a multiple view

of Facebook and a unique feeling related to this use. The quotes taken from the interviews were sorted into themes related to various thoughts and feelings of the respondents. Quotes are followed by a short analysis.

Motivations for Using Facebook

It is obvious that Facebook is extremely popular worldwide, and millions of people choose to be included in the social network. Why are media students using Facebook? Different motivations occur when discussing why one is on Facebook:

> *It is so fun to find people who you might not know as much about otherwise* (Female, 26 years old.)

Communication across boundaries is seen as very positive. The absence of clear boundaries and the ability to be in touch with people who were not previously well known is something that makes some students feels good. This person finds excitement and joy in making new acquaintances on Facebook.

> *What I like about Facebook is that you automatically receive information on what people have done and what people do* (Female, 27 years old).

Facebook is used by students to update things about themselves, what is going on in their lives, either through text or images. This also forms a curiosity, with the result that the students would like to update themselves about what their friends are up to. Some do this more often than others.

> *My best and positive experiences with Facebook is that you can get in touch with old friends* (Male, 27 years old).
>
> *And then whatever purpose you have, to reach out to people, to have contact with people, I can imagine that many use Facebook just to talk about or write about themselves, as a way to feel better about their everyday lives* (Male, 28 years old).

The students use Facebook at different levels of updating and they express different emotions in their updates. On Facebook it seems they can write quite freely, although, most often positive updates are performed.

Students think that a positive thing with social media is the ability to be

able to share videos, images or links. Another positive thing with social media the students brought up is the ability to have a large network of contacts.

To find out what is going on in the lives of others without even having to talk with that person is something that attracts some of the students.

> *It is fairly straightforward to make contact, even if it is someone who perhaps you wouldn't go up to and ask how things are going. So it is easier via a Facebook contact, if you are wondering about something; you get a little braver.* (Female, 23 years old.)

Students agree that there are several positive aspects of social media, which they see as possibilities that could simplify everyday living. Several students stated that it is a quick and convenient way to communicate, either to a group of people or individuals.

> *It is also that as a journalist, if I should do an interview. I use Facebook pretty much to find people and it is easy to make contact and, it is also like this sometimes, you see; that you have read something in an article, and think this is a person I would like to interview, but there is no contact information. Then they are usually on Facebook and you can email them there.* (Female, 26 years old.)

This person sees big opportunities in using Facebook for contacting people to interview for professional purposes.

> *I think it is good to have contacts, and yes you can create contacts and you may be able to find a job and then you know what is going on. I want to work in the media business; I think it (Facebook) is pretty important.* (Female, 24 years old.)

This is another quote showing a student who sees professional possibilities in the potential to make contacts with employees through Facebook.

How Often and How Much? Addicted to Facebook?

The use of Facebook is popular among media students and they spend a lot of time on the social network:

> *I am maybe on Facebook between ten and twenty times a day, if my day is as usual. I am not on so long each time. But, I log in to check if something has happened. So after a few hours again, I check again. It becomes like a routine.* (Male, 27 years old.)

For all students interviewed, it is a matter of course to be on Facebook. Social media is seen as an ultimate tool to show that you exist. Many seem to use social media in order to obtain confirmation and attention from their surroundings. Students use social media daily; and several times a day. Some are online almost all the time and get so-called "news items" whenever something new happens on Facebook. In this way, some are always available and never logged out from Facebook.

The majority of the students check their accounts as soon as they have a minute, while waiting for the bus or if they just feel bored. It has become a habit to check the social network as soon as they can. This most often does not have to be about updating anything about themselves, but to check regularly in order not to "miss" anything.

It could also be that some students use social media to pass the time, as soon as they have nothing to do, they connect to Facebook.

> *If you cannot check all the time, then you feel incredibly out of date. And you don't really know, you feel you have not kept up with things, and you feel the pressure on you that you must update yourself about what happened so you can participate in the discussion when you come back to school, and so that you know what people are talking about.* (Female, 26 years old.)

Some students explain that it is obvious that you have to be updated on Facebook in order to participate fully in discussions in your ordinary social life, otherwise you feel problems. They mean that they can feel excluded if they do not have updated news from Facebook. If they miss things or events they feel outside of their normal social group of friends. Comparisons between students suggest that there are differences in the importance to "keep up". Also the importance of being updated seems to change over time for some students.

The students also talk about one's circle of acquaintances all having a user account on Facebook. It is much more unusual to encounter a person who

does not use Facebook than people who have an account. Students believe that if one is not on Facebook, it is easy to be pushed out from the friends group.

> *What a great deal I would have done if I had not had Facebook. You awake yourself with that reminder; what have I done today? Nah, all day has gone to watching Facebook, what's new in there? Then you sit there and so you think, Nah, now I will grab it here, I'll go and do the dishes, I thought that I would do that all day." One step up from the chair and you go two steps and so one hears that beep from the Facebook chat. Oops! So you have to turn around and see what was it now, what happened? Oh well it was just that, but oh what is this link? And then you are stuck and back with the computer and then a couple of hours passes. Then I think, I have to do (more important tasks), of course, I could do this and then you notice that I would have wanted to do this (more important tasks). But, now I have to go (explaining how she thinks in this moment, pointing her fingers), but then (she explains with her fingers) I'm doing it tomorrow instead, then I shall be very efficient, but then again it becomes the same thing.* (Female, 26 years old.)

This person explains how she has difficulties escaping from Facebook and how she often gets stuck being on Facebook. She continues to use Facebook though she feels embarrassed by the fact that it takes so much time and that she sometimes gets frustrated.

Many students say that it is almost like an addiction to use social media; they use Facebook all the time as soon as they get a spare moment. Students take the time to check and update their accounts and give priority to social media prior to other things, such as doing household work or school work. The students feel their "online world" is truly important.

What some of the students took up as something negative about social media is that social media is addictive. Facebook seems to "help you" become addicted since you "need to" update things about yourself; or you "have to" update yourself about what other people do all the time. This may contribute to a feeling of stress; not wanting to miss anything.

A couple of students expressed that it is not so common to visit each other anymore and spontaneously drop by. Instead they use Facebook to communicate with each other. And when they do see each other and socialize, even then at that particular moment, there is a need to constantly keep themselves updated.

Reflections on Integrity Issues and Surveillance on Facebook

All narratives included a vast amount of thoughts about integrity issues, surveillance and commercial interests on Facebook. It therefore seemed suitable to expand this part in order to give room for views intensively brought forward by many media students:

> *It is this thing with integrity and to post pictures and I think they own the rights to any images you post and I think that can be a bit tough and I have, well, felt this more and more. Then one begins to reflect on how much one gives of oneself and maybe I do not write as much nowadays as I did before. Nor do I put up an equal amount of pictures now, because you know that these will be public and that Facebook can, of course, but I do not believe that they're going to, use it. We don't really know what's going to happen with this information, and it makes this more than enough to grasp. I have become a bit more cautious. I reflect and think a bit carefully about what I give of myself and my privacy to Facebook. Perhaps, above all, giving this to Facebook as a company, this is a commercial company, which must earn money and cooperate with other commercial firms that also must make money. So it is, well a bit more with this integrity, which can be a little scary because you don't really know what's going on and what, yeah it's like what a hidden agenda can feel like, but it may not be all this dangerous, but it may be. It's the thing, we cannot know, so yes, it's a negative experience.* (Female, 26 years old.)

This person is hesitating a lot about how Facebook works and what intentions the company has. She is going through her own mind and sort of discussing with herself in order to clarify for herself how and why she is acting in a specific way. She seem to be frightened of the fact that she does not know how Facebook can or will use the material that she puts up on the site.

Another negative thing that students discussed was that anything you "do" on Facebook is saved. The students discussed that it feels uncomfortable that what you write will be saved and that you may not be able to undo what you wrote years ago, and that your words might still be found. The students have quite mixed emotions regarding this phenomenon.

Some also felt a stress about using social media. One student explained

that he did not feel stress by the need to constantly keep up to date, but by the fact that he felt monitored by the social network.

> *I have not experienced any problems myself, nothing negative. But on the other hand, I think it is negative, it is here that they have so much control on everything and it's a little scary when you log in and you can see the advertisement on the page, as if it is made for you. And then you know how they have an eye on you and the right to all images that you have submitted, they have the copyright, Facebook. They have so much control over everything, and I think there are many who do not know about how they oversee everything and that Facebook controls your behaviour, because it's also a forum for other companies to make money. There is no one who does anything only for the good of people, but everyone is doing it to make money. But, by having this knowledge about Facebook it is much easier to know if someone (companies) is trying to make money. I still believe that, if we are aware of it, so I think it is like, yes I will not be tricked. At least I think you can't be fooled with equal ease. However, if you are unaware of it, it is probably a bit more dangerous. And so this too, what we have heard that chiefs and superiors can buy the details of a Facebook account to see really who (says her own name) is, and they will get the information from Facebook and then they can see just my whole profile and everything. So I'm really careful what I write, to whom I write, how I express my thoughts and my opinions in print, and what pictures I post. I feel that each time I publish something on Facebook, I always think, is this is something that I feel I can show to the whole world, can I stand for this? Can I, if so, Yes".* (Female, 24 years old.)

This illustrates concern about what Facebook is doing and how this should be approached. She thinks it is easier to avoid commercials if you know how Facebook works. Also she expresses concerns about other people who she believes are unaware of surveillance on Facebook and how commercial companies work together with Facebook.

> *For my own part, I have thought a lot about how I present myself on Facebook. My own private life, it is something that I try not to present. It will be something you have to choose, for example, yes a relationship, but you need not comment on it. I have nevertheless chosen to display it, if it*

> *is a relationship and with whom, but how my day looks and what I eat, what time I got up, what I'm doing right now, which book I'm reading, and more and more it's nothing that I share on Facebook. But I see very many other people doing it.* (Male, 27 years old.)

Integrity and privacy matters are often mentioned in the interviews and it is something that many of the media students think is up to everyone to display. To be selective in what you present to others is important to many.

> *I have become a bit more sceptical about this now, my personal life (on Facebook). It might only have come to me in the last year, I think much more about what I write (on Facebook) and I do not upload some of the pictures. And I do not accept friend requests, people I don't know what I feel about now; I think it is a little scary.* [---] *I think of it myself as well, there have been moments when I have been thinking that I should not be using it (Facebook) anymore, that you want to be anonymous, you don't want everyone to know what you do. At the same time, of course, you do not want to lose contacts; you do not want to miss any information. So I am thinking that I, rather than in that case, can be more anonymous in that I don't upload some pictures, write nothing, no information about myself. But I can still keep in touch with the people and see what happens.* (Male, 24 years old.)

A quite dualistic view of the use of Facebook is explained here. He has been thinking about quitting Facebook, still he wants to be part of things that happen.

Cultural Changes due to Facebook

Perhaps Facebook use makes people "live" in a culture that is strongly influenced by being on the social network. Facebook is used daily and media students live in a more or less digital culture:

> *Facebook is with you everywhere. Yes, it is clear that everyone is there and shares things, all want to interact on Facebook, all businesses and all other things, you have to keep up to date. It's less real contact with people because they are on Facebook you do not need to be in contact in any other way anymore.* (Female, 25 years old.)

Facebook is with you everywhere – meaning that one is thinking of Facebook and often checking it on computers and mobile phones.

> *I don't really know (about liking Facebook), I think about reality, I enjoy real life. But I think I, almost, have become a bit fearful of people because everything is on the Internet. So I shut myself inside my own world, I never go out, never have to meet people at all, because I have it all on the computer.* (Female, 26 years old.)

This person says that she enjoys real life, but still is using Facebook and that she finds things going the wrong way for her. It is difficult to know if she is referring to herself or if she is referring to other people when she states that she shuts herself in her own world.

Discussion

Through discourse and poststructural analysis I have tried to express my understandings of the respondents; on the one hand, they have common characteristics shared with many, and on the other hand, they express many different and unique views. This means that each person is, in fact, part of a bigger (and common) context, but still has many underlying differences that cannot be ignored in my analysis. I believe one has to see all possibilities opened up in poststructural analysis. Still, not only can the differences be important to my analysis, but also the common characteristics.

The media students' narratives display differences and similarities. Each student is shaped by a variety of discourses. Therefore, each interview, and the resulting narrative, is unique and shaped by specific discourses. The media students, as a group, also inhabit a specific discourse in both using Facebook and studying new media (including Facebook) in their education. This particular media student discourse shaped their narrative in different ways and the results will be discussed.

Social media is seen as a convenient way to keep in touch with friends and family. To communicate via social networks is seen by the students as sometimes easier than other communication. The results show that satisfaction is a factor that influences the use of Facebook. Among other things, to connect to friends and relatives has a significant effect on the intention to use Facebook. Users feel both joy and discomfort in using Facebook. The interviews also clearly show that users are in favour of being part of the network. But, one

can also see that they do not like the pressure they may feel by using networks beyond their level of comfort. Surveillance, for example, is seen as a factor that has a significant and negative impact on the intention to continue the use of social networks.

Living in a Digital Culture

Even though statistics and questionnaires provide information about Facebook users, they sometimes do not seem detailed enough to give answers to questions about the deeper feelings of Facebook users. Previous research has shown that people find joy and satisfaction in using social media (e.g., Curran et al. 2011). The results obtained in this study are similar, and students expressed their satisfaction in different ways. The students' needs are met in varied ways on Facebook.

Most students are strongly motivated to use Facebook. Some students use Facebook mainly for private use. Most students use many more functions on Facebook than just keeping in touch with friends and family. Some students want to use social media in their future work and have some ideas about how this will work.

Some students feel that social media is fun because they can see what their friends are doing at the moment. Other students get their needs met by communicating with other, sometimes, more or less, unknown people via chat features. Some satisfy their needs of being seen and heard via updates about themselves and post photos on social networks.

There are both similarities and differences between students with regard to motivation and use of social media. Everything is based on the needs of each individual. It all depends on how you are as a human being, which is based on personality and identity (discourse). In this perspective it is easy to see that different people use social media in different ways.

All media students use Facebook both for social reasons and entertainment. Some say that they also use social media for educational or professional reasons. Almost all of the students interviewed log onto Facebook many times each day.

Curiosity is a need that motivates students; they want to "keep an eye" on friends and relatives, but also long-distance acquaintances or sometimes even famous people. There is certainly a feeling of curiosity to stay up to date on the lives of others. While some students were clear about their interest in other people's lives, some students expressed a kind of embarrassment to admit that they were interested in other people's updates.

The students mainly claim that their motivation for using social media is to communicate with their friends. However, the narratives also point to other things, although they are certainly using social media to communicate with friends and relatives. It seems other things driving their motivation include meeting their needs for confirmation or to make up for feeling lonely or being bored. Some students are possibly using social media to satisfy their need to get noticed and be seen. To post a picture is about portraying something about oneself for others, and this picture is often carefully chosen to represent a positive image. The students express, mainly indirectly, that they need some kind of confirmation after posting text or pictures. Some students seem to have created a certain need that can only be met via social networks.

Addicted to Facebook?

Reading the narrative, one could argue that Facebook controls the students' lives, at least to some degree. As many of the students put it, "you have to have Facebook". There is seemingly a pressure among the students to belong to and use the social network not to be ruled out in the real world.

Past research has linked consumption of social information on Facebook to such undesirable outcomes as jealousy (Muise et al. 2009), increase in social tension (Boyd et al. 2006), social overload (Maier et al. 2012), isolation (Burke et al. 2010) and even depression (O'Keeffe & Clarke-Pearson 2011).

A negative side that the students took up was that they could feel stress related to social media. Everyone felt some kind of stress, but for different reasons. Several of the students feel a stress related to missing anything happening on the social network. Others feel stress over constantly having to update their accounts. Not having access to the Internet and the ability to check social networks caused stress among some students. The students are experienced users of social media and it is no longer about going onto social networks for a moment of entertainment, for some it has become a kind of addiction. As soon as they get a spare moment they quickly log into Facebook. Students want to know what others are doing right at the moment and others would probably know what they are doing.

The results show differences between the students; some spend a lot more time on Facebook than others do. Some students take more time to view Facebook; they log in if they have a moment to spare. Students feel they must update often and feel stressed when they do not have access to Facebook.

Students mention that what they think is negative with social media is that it is addictive, for various reasons, with the result that they feel stressed. There are media students who claim to feel no stress, however these persons' narratives tell a somewhat different story and they also feel that they need to follow updates and other things happening on Facebook.

Other studies have reported that students have been using Facebook simply to pass time, and boredom was stated as a reason for Facebook use (Lampe et al. 2008). However, students used Facebook regardless of how busy they were, suggesting that boredom is unlikely to be the only factor influencing Facebook use (Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert 2009).

A 2010 survey of 1,193 participants found correlational evidence that users who engaged in directed interaction with others, such as leaving wall posts or messaging friends, reported lowered feelings of loneliness and increased feelings of social capital (Burke et al. 2010). The researchers found that users who engaged in extractive social searching (e.g., directed clicking on a friends' profiles) showed greater physiological evidence of pleasure than users who browsed passively, for example, undirected viewing of a news feed (Wise, Alhabash, & Park 2010). According to (Krasnova et al. 2013) passive following on Facebook is likely to reduce users' life satisfaction in the long-run, as it triggers upward social comparison and invidious emotions.

An interesting part that came up in many of the narratives is the fact that the use of Facebook is important in order to socialize and hang out with friends and family in real life. Basak (2010) also claimed that different socialization activities on the Internet contributed to identity and development processes for young people.

In contrast, non-personalized use of Facebook – scanning your friends' status updates and updating the world on your own activities via your wall, or what Burke (2010) calls "passive consumption" and "broadcasting" – correlates to feelings of disconnectedness. Burke (2010) describes being on Facebook: "It's a lonely business, wandering the labyrinths of our friends' and pseudo-friends' projected identities, trying to figure out what part of ourselves we ought to project, who will listen, and what they will hear". According to Burke (2010), passive consumption of Facebook correlates to a marginal increase in depression.

Social media can probably create anxiety, stress and addiction in people who use it daily. The narratives suggest that there is some link between social media, stress and addiction, which is also concluded in earlier studies. Addic-

tion here is about how online communication can create dependence in the people who use it and how they are influenced and affected by social media.

Questioning Surveillance on Facebook

The media students think and behave in a certain way when it comes to Facebook; they enjoy the possibilities on Facebook. At the same time, some students are clearly bothered about sharing photos and personal information. Some media students clearly thought for an extra minute before they posted pictures on Facebook. The students know they are losing the rights to the image and a third party owns these images instead. Media students think of the consequences of the fact that everything published on the Web can be saved and used by other persons for different purposes. They are aware of the fact that Facebook is using surveillance to follow their interests and that this is used by companies for commercial use.

According to Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg, the rise of social networking online means that people no longer have an expectation of privacy and privacy is no longer a "social norm". He also said "People have really gotten comfortable not only sharing more information and different kinds, but more openly and with more people" and "That social norm is just something that has evolved over time". Zuckerberg said that the rise of social media reflected changing attitudes among ordinary people, adding that this radical change has happened in just a few years (Mark Zuckerberg talking at the Crunchies Awards in San Francisco, 2012).

Facebook has met criticism on a range of issues, including online privacy, and there have been many concerns expressed regarding the use of Facebook as a means of surveillance for commercial use. Christian Fuchs (2010) pointed out that users of Web 2.0, such as Facebook, can be seen as productive workers because they create media content that results in profit.

Perhaps the media students are a bit more cautious in their use of social media than other people. However, none of the students say straight out that these matters will make them leave Facebook.

Conclusions

The students feel that it is important to take part in what happens on Facebook. The students spend a lot of time on social media and use it daily; some a few

times a day; while some are logged on more or less all the time. The students are motivated to use social media to satisfy their needs of confirmation through a variety of features on the social networks. Some are motivated to use social media to keep in touch with family, relatives and friends. Some also want to satisfy their need of curiosity, through "keeping an eye" on people in their environment.

The students use social media to update themselves about what is happening in their daily lives, such as posting pictures or making status updates. Some use social media mainly to communicate with family, relatives and friends. Many also use social networks to share photos that others post. However, some prefer not to update anything about themselves. The media students think a positive aspect of social media is that it is useful for spreading information quickly and sharing links.

For many, Facebook has turned into a cultural habit that has become quite an important part of their lives. However, they also feel that the use of Facebook is quite problematic, for them and for others. On the one hand, many keep up social connections with friends and relatives. On the other hand, they think critically about some Facebook phenomena as integrity and copyright issues and commercials. Another thing that the students think is negative with Facebook is that they feel it is addictive and that it contributes to stress. They also think it is negative that everything they publish is stored and owned by Facebook and that Facebook spreads a lot of "false" information and advertising.

The study shows that students have different needs, and based on these, they use social media and networks in various ways. This can be associated with using Facebook to find a certain kind of satisfaction. The result shows both differences and similarities in terms of use and motivation among the media students as well as how they are affected by the use of Facebook.

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Shaping Community and Technology: Testing New Technology at a Norwegian International Youth Film Workshop

Marit Aure, Ellen Brox, Ingar Arntzen & Njål Borch

This article analyses how a group of young filmmakers, supervisors, and staff at an international youth film festival (NUFF) put ComDoc, a new community documentation application currently under development at the research institute Norut Tromsø, into use. We will look at what happened when a group of young people from around the world gathered for a week to make films together using this newly developed technology. We will examine whether the technology influenced the interactions taking place, see what the youths did with the technology, and ask why some engaged with the technology while others didn't. The article will demonstrate how the youths were able to make use of this new technology even if they lack the device (a smartphone) needed to run the application. It will show how technology can enhance a sense of community and strengthen group experiences, and how its use in the sharing of experiences can be extended to the home environment. The approach is inspired by Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), and analyses the relations and networks in which technology is but one of several parts that allow actors to be constituted. The study draws on quantitative data from the application's usage log, and qualitative open dialog interviews, field talks, and observations. The aim of the article is to determine whether a basis in Actor-Network-Theory can help us understand more of what happens in encounters between youth and new technology.

These encounters can be approached theoretically in several ways. We will present a few of these theories in order to sketch out the issues they raise and address how they deal with these questions. One immediate question arising from such encounters is why do some people start using new technologies while others don't? The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) (Davis 1989) – represents

a significant theory for information and communication research – that tries to understand this. It describes factors that facilitate the use of information and communication technology (ICT) and how those different factors relate to each other. The perceived ease of use, usefulness, and different internal and external factors are all accounted for in order to understand and explain the acceptance of technology, and to determine and predict technology use. TAM is simple to apply and commonly used in the study of specific technologies, for instance, in collaboration technology adoption (Olschewski et al. 2012). Recent versions of the model have included subjective norms, and have tried to isolate specific personality factors and the impact of behavioural intentions (Svendsen et al. 2013), and the effects of social influence (Olschewski et al. 2012) etc. However, several reviews have stated that the model, even after these adaptations, does not accurately predict technology use (Legris et al. 2003; Bagozzi 2008; King & He 2006).

The Technology Acceptance Model, in all its versions, sees technology as an entity with certain qualities. People, on the other hand, are considered to be distinct and detached while their use of the technology depends on and is determined by factors such as [1] qualities of the technology, [2] certain personal characteristics, e.g., personality, or [3] specific characteristics of the environment (e.g., social pressure, costs). The development and adaptation of the theory specifies the factors, and adds new and often situational, social, cultural, as well as personal elements to the model.

The Community of Inquiry (CoI) framework approaches the use of technology from a learning perspective. CoI examines the way e-learning is facilitated by the learning environment. This theory was developed in the context of computer conferencing in higher education – and the point is that contrary to face-to-face teaching and learning, e-learning is asynchronous; it is text based and facilitates on-line group discussions (Garrison et al. 2012). CoI is based on three main building blocks: social presence, cognitive presence, and teaching presence (Garrison et al. 1999), which together are expected to explain students' use of technology and help create a learning friendly environment and courses. These are thus important aspects of encounters between students and technology.

Yet another set of theories takes a broader approach relating to what is known as the "internet paradox" (Kraut et al. 1998). The paradox is that a social technology that is supposed to increase social contact and psychological well-being seems to lead to, or is accused of generating, negative social and psycho-

logical effects. More recent longitudinal studies have nevertheless shown that any negative effects dissipated over time, even though more social and extrovert persons gained the most from internet use (Kraut et al. 2002). The studies that follow this line of thinking thus focus on how ICT disturbs, weakens, or changes social relationships. This approach may serve as an example of studies into the perceived negative impact (especially on children and youths, but also on families and other social groups) of internet or technology use. Titles like "Psychology and the Internet: Intrapersonal, interpersonal, and transpersonal implications?" (Gackenbach ed. 2011), "Psycho-pedagogical aspects of the internet addiction" (Andrei 2013) and "The supportive role of social media networks for those out of work" (Suphan et al. 2013) indicate the themes and focus of these studies.

These three theories have different goals, and are based in different disciplines. We will nevertheless argue that their point of departure is that, [1] face–to–face interaction is considered the normal, and thus the normative, method of interaction. That is to say that face-to-face interaction is the preferred approach as opposed to one that is mediated by technology. [2] Technologies, materialities, and people are seen as distinct and defined entities separate from each other. And finally, [3] the main perspective is that social and humanistic studies of technology deal with how technology impacts and influences socio-cultural processes and interaction. The logical conclusion is that ICT has an effect on social relations and issues from outside, so to speak. ICT is not seen as an integrated part of the socio-cultural domain. This makes analysing adaptation and the use of technology a question of identifying different characteristics related to technology, people, and the environment, even though the theories applied in the studies may sometimes adopt a broader perspective.

These assumptions are challenged by alternative approaches such as *Social Shaping of Technology* (SST) (Mackenzie & Wajcman 1984; Williams & Edge 1996), the social construction of technology (Pinch & Bijker 1984), and a variety of Actor Network Theories (Callon & Law 1997; Law 1999; 2009; Latour 2005). These are, broadly speaking, frameworks based on a reciprocal relationship where things and technologies, people and contexts – "entities" (and multiple other "things" and concepts) – get their meaning from, and are shaped, constructed or produced by, each other[1]. According to Law (2009, 141), these

1. ANT distinguishes itself from social constructions by denying the human as the primary constructor of technology (a position in common with many constructionists).

approaches "treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of webs of relations within which they are located". To put it simply: the qualities and effects of technology are the result of how it is used, enacted, and enrolled in networks of relations and entities. Other elements and relations in the network are constituted in the same way through these results and technologies. People are thus not only influenced by the technology, but also shaped and produced by it while enacting and shaping the technology in networks and assemblages – to use the terms of ANT and material semiotics. Hence our question aimed at determining what happens in encounters between youth and technology. The implication is that entities, meanings, actors and identities are all in the process of becoming, and are "simultaneously a point (an individual) and a network (a collective)" (Callon & Law 1997). SST and ANT thereby try to overcome the dualisms between individualism/holism and actor/structure in social science. In these approaches entities, materialities, and technologies are active actors in the networks with people, language, meanings etc. Humans and non-humans are thus treated equally, although in our interpretation this does not mean they are all equal in terms of "exactly the same", or relating the same way, for instance, to power. The ontologically "same" position ascribed to all actors makes it possible to focus on how technologies are enacted and given meaning in relationship to young people, staff volunteers, other technologies, tasks, aims, broadband networks, location, organization, size, distances, etc., and again – these enactments give meaning and produce people, events, the broadband network etc. This makes it possible and necessary to tell stories about how relations are "reshuffled" and how they "reassemble" – or not (Law 2009, 141). However, having the same ontological position does not mean they are played out in the same way. Broadband access enables (or disables) the use of the application, and this perspective makes it more active than simply being perceived in a "passive" context. It is also becoming an issue and a problem for the developers, the house, and the participants during the festival. This again draws the internet provider, municipal support, and financing system into the network of entities and relations.

This way of thinking makes the networks and the different actors unstable (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer 2005), because they and their meaning are in the becoming. The technology, people, and other actors enact, produce, make, and do "things", and when focusing on these processes of doing we also collect information on the systems involved (Mik-Meyer 2005). ANT-inspired approaches thus describe and tell stories about how technologies are used (enacted) by "exploring

and characterizing the webs and the practices that carry them" (Law 2009). It helps us understand contemporary systems and societies, and the technologies involved, through stories of relations in a co-constitutive (co-productive) network. It thereby presents an alternative to studies that treat people and technologies as single independent entities, where the one (technology) influences the other. This study, then, applies an ANT-inspired perspective in order to understand the use of new technology among a group of youths. It thus asks if such a framework might enhance our ability to understand encounters between technology and youths.

The Research Question

This case study analyses how a group of young filmmakers taking part in a Nordic youth film festival in Tromsø (NUFF 2012) tried out a prototype of a tool called Community Documentation (ComDoc). It is, then, a story of how new technologies (actually under development) and different socialities are enacted. The aim is to see how people and a new technology interact and shape each other within a wider network of relations. We analyse how a new tool is shaped, used, given meaning, and understood during a few intensive days of a filmmaking workshop in Tromsø – a city in the north of Norway and far away from the homes of most participants in the festival. At the same time we ask how technology usage might shape the relations, people, entities, and situations, not only during the workshop, but afterwards when the participants are (re)distributed across a vast geographical area. We thus explore how actor-networks produce people, environment, and technology, and the forms they take once produced. Finally, we ask if this approach produces any theoretical knowledge about how to understand encounters between youth and technology, and why some use the technology while others don't. This is not a comparable study of different social media, but a description of, and an attempt to understand what was going on among youths using a new social technology in a particular situation, through an ANT-inspired approach.

The next section provides a short background description of the technology being tested and the setting of the demo. We will then present the methods applied in the follow-up research, before the analysis deals with the usage of the web and the perceptions of the screen – the view/projection, showing the images – and addresses questions of access, including how access was shaped and negotiated. There will then follow a paragraph on the relationship between

technical issues, practicalities, usage, the view, and design, before we look at how the use of the technology participates simultaneously in the production of the technology, and ask what form future encounters with it might take. This is developed into a section on how users and technology co-produce, and are co-produced by each other, in different ways. In the end, we will sum up the main findings of this trial.

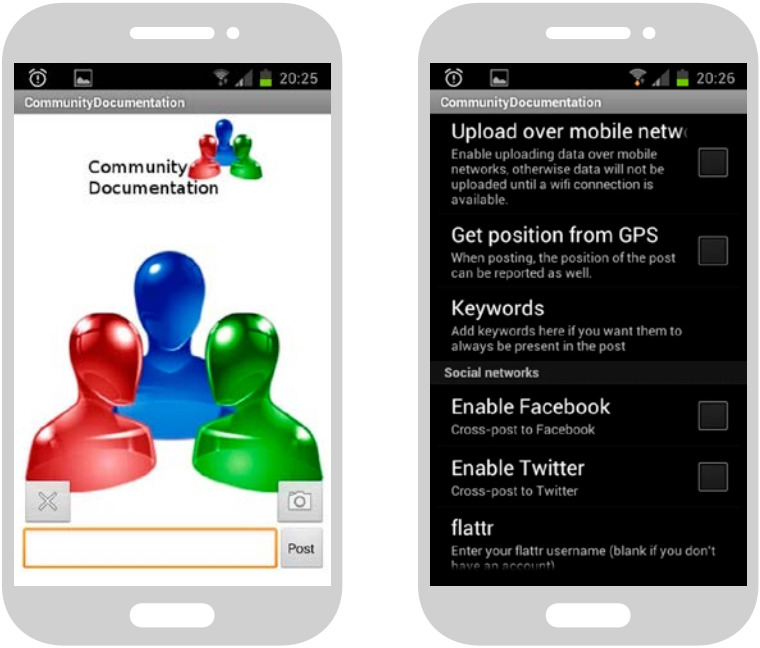
The Technology as Produced by the Developers

The developers present ComDoc as a new technology enabling collaborative, time sensitive documentation and presentation of real-life events/processes along a time line. Users are able to document relevant experiences with their smartphones. Situations and reactions are captured via photography or text-based comments. These are then time-stamped and uploaded to a shared repository, and made available for immediate presentation. Different presentation views are available, both for smartphones and regular PC web browsers. This enables group members to follow the photos and comments contributed by other group members as they happen. The technology also allows the data to be navigated in time, thus allowing flexible, time-sensitive re-play and presentation of contributions from the previous day, that morning, or perhaps just the last 5 minutes.

↑ Picture 1. ComDoc projection in the canteen area.

At the film festival, a screen was erected to show photos in the canteen area, and people could also view it on their personal smartphones, tablets, or PC's. One view gave an overview of the entire timeline of the festival, in which users could see activities as curves, or as "piles" of photos in periods of high activity. Another view presented photos as a navigable slide show.

From the point of view of users, the tool consists of an app that can be downloaded to a smartphone (for free), as well as all the screens that present views of the activity. Users' apps are dedicated to a particular project, so when



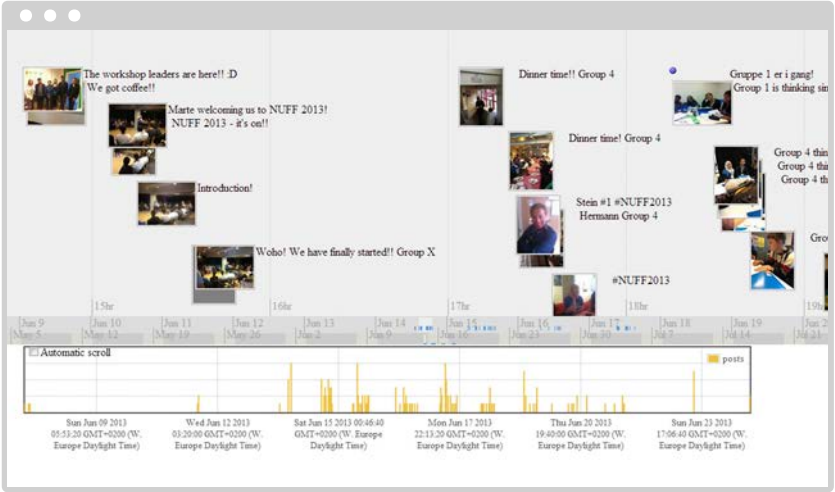
↑ Picture 2. ComDoc app on an Android smartphone.

this project app is open, all photos will be presented on the project timeline web page. The projects are defined by an administrator –a role adopted by the developers at this stage – meaning that individual users do not have administrative access. In this trial we created a NUFF 2012 (and later, 2013) project where all photos were uploaded. The photos are taken using the app, and uploaded instantly (or when the device gets a network connection).

The app was made both for Android and iOS (iPhone), with the iOS version having a few limitations compared to the Android version. For instance, it was possible to upload photos to ComDoc from the image gallery on Android, but not on iOS. Android allowed apps to run in the background, which was not the case for iOS.

NUFF: The Nordic Youth Film Festival

NUFF is a Nordic Youth Film Festival arranged every year in Tromsø (Norway) by the municipal youth culture house Tvibit. Before the main film festival starts, about 30 young people from all over the world meet to make short films during



↑ Picture 3. The timeline in the viewer, with photos.

a week-long workshop. The filmmakers are aged between 15 and 25 years old, and they are divided into five groups for the workshop. They do not have classes as such, but are rather assigned tasks and roles in the group, and are supervised by an experienced Norwegian or international film director. During the week the participants agree on an idea, write the script, find actors, shoot the film, add sound, and in the end the films are screened in a competition program during the opening ceremony of the NUFF festival. NUFF has been arranged annually since 2005.

Tvibit and the managers of NUFF agreed to test ComDoc during the workshops in 2012 and 2013. The main idea was that the project would help document the workshop, but also that this technology might serve as a tool for the participants in different ways. The ComDoc app was not presented with instructions to the users, but rather offered to them in such a way that they would find their own way to use and produce the technology themselves – an approach in line with Actor Network Theories.

There were five groups, and they each had their own room at Tvibit where they worked, met and hung out when they were not working on their film at other locations. At Tvibit there is also a café (that served as a canteen for the filmmakers) staffed by volunteers and part-time workers, often other youths who use the film house on a regular basis, former participants, or young people interested in film, design, music etc. Many of them were involved with

NUFF and in some senses were treated like (and acted like) participants. The café served as a meeting place, and served lunch as well as snacks and drinks throughout the day.

Methods

The research study mainly utilizes qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews based on a short list of questions and themes were conducted during the workshop week. Additional conversations and observations were made to expand our data and impressions during five visits to the Tvibit culture house in 2012, the venue of the workshop. A young volunteer at the festival and key source of information was interviewed several times before and after the workshop (at the research institute) and additional informal talks with him took place during the week, and during the workshop in 2013. This volunteer presented and introduced the application and tool to staff, other volunteers, workshop leaders and participants, and communicated with the developers and researchers before and during the workshop. The general manager of NUFF and Tvibit was involved in the research project from the beginning, but has not been formally interviewed. The manager, researchers, and developers initiated the trail and the follow-up research. After the main trial in 2012, they agreed to test a modified version of the application in 2013. We made a few observations and carried out interviews at this event, but this article mainly draws on the material from 2012.

The workshop participants and professional filmmakers were busy making their films during the week, so the interviews with them had to be conducted in-between other tasks or in their spare time. As filmmaking is dynamic and organic and involves a lot of waiting, the participants spent a lot of time hanging around before bursting into action and working intensively together. This made it impossible for them to make formal appointments with us during the workshop. We thus talked to people when we could access them, mainly just before lunch or in some free moments, and they were seldom alone. Consequently, what we hoped would be in-depth, focused interviews mostly turned out to be casual conversations among several people. We approached them in the canteen, hallways, and in their communal rooms and asked to interview them, although we made sure they understood the interviews were optional.

At the beginning of the workshop, the project leader informed participants about the follow-up research that would be made on the use of ComDoc. They were told that all personal data would be anonymous, and only the

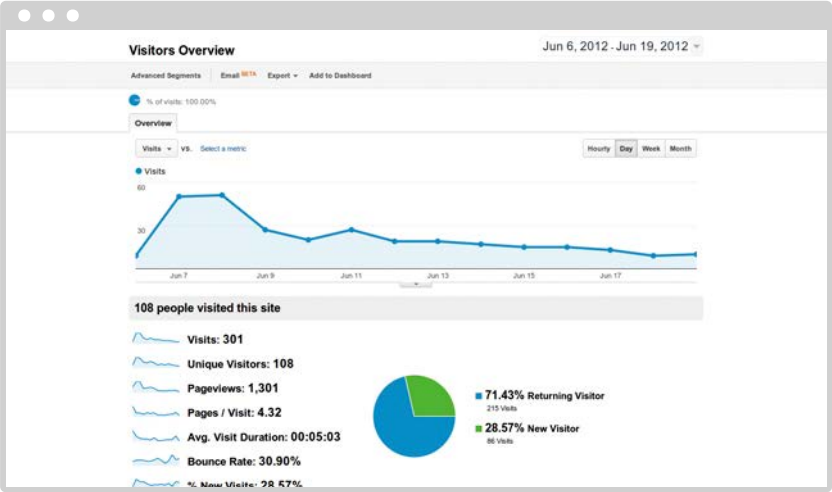
country or region of origin was requested (in addition to data relating to their use of the technology) in order to ensure the results included people from different places.

We interviewed both users and non-users about ComDoc, but concentrated on those who had actually tried it because they had the most useful experience. Some of the non-users also had strong opinions, and their opinions were included as well. We interviewed 12 people, and made notes after the interviews were completed. Certain observations, as cited in this paper, were written down as soon and correctly as possible, but the interviews were not transcribed due to resource limits. All in all, we talked to 25 people, all of whom participated in the workshop in one way or the other – some as volunteers, a few leaders and staff, and the young filmmakers themselves. We strove to talk to at least one participant from each group, and found that one of the five groups did not possess a smartphone, and consequently did not upload any photos.

Most of the interviewed participants were fairly young – under 20 years old. In total, there were equal numbers of women and men, but more men than women seemed to have tried the app. The interviews with the men tended to be longer and provide more information, even if some of the women that had not tried the app had spent time viewing the interactions and had some reflections about it. More than ⅓ of the interviewees were workshop participants; three were professional filmmakers and group leaders. The rest were distributed between staff and volunteers, who also took part in the filmmaking at the youth culture house. Interviewees were from Russia, Finland, Denmark, Germany, South-Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Haiti, France, Italy, Sweden, and different places in Norway. A quantitative description based on the log from the project follows below.

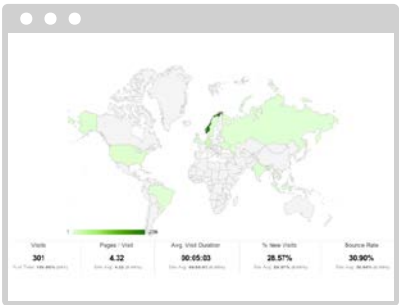
The Production of the App, the Web View and the Use According to the Log

The log shows that 21 posters uploaded 253 photos – however some changed their nicknames during the project; the number of unique devices was 15. There were also 22 anonymous posters. 30 photos were deleted, not because the content was unsuitable, but because they had only been partially uploaded due to problems with iPhones (iOS). Altogether 108 unique devices visited the site over 301 visits, and there were 1301 page views. The average time spent on a visit was just over 5 minutes.



↑ Picture 4. Number of visits and unique views.

When trying to analyse these numbers we found that the log did not differentiate between users/people/viewers and devices, and we therefore easily jumped to incorrect conclusions about the number of users involved in the test. For our research purposes, it was important to evaluate the number of people involved. We started out by equating posters with persons, and also unique devices with users. We also thought that since the number of 108 unique devices was higher than the numbers of participants, it indicated that many more people than those involved in the workshop viewed the pages. However, the interviews and observations we conducted made us think twice about these statistics. Each person could upload from more than one device, and more than one person could use the same device, either as the original user, or by creating a new user. Each person could also view the site from more than one device, and conversely several people might share the same device or view collectively (on different smartphones, PC's, and tablets [iPads]).



↑ Picture 5. Geographical distribution of the views

Other data from the log added to these statistics: 137 of the visits came from the NUFF page – 113 went directly to the address, and the rest visited via 8 different sources, including the Far North Living lab (a research tool to keep in contact with partners). Most of the views – 256 – were from Norway (that is, located in Norway – this does not determine a person's nationality), 23 from Germany, and the rest from Sweden, UK, USA, Denmark, Netherlands, Brazil, Indonesia, and India. Only 55 out of the 301 visits were from a mobile platform. Of those, 29 used an iPhone, 13 used an iPad, and the remaining 13 used other smartphones.

Nevertheless, the conclusion drawn is that the actual numbers of users and viewers are hard to determine based on these data, as it is not possible to directly translate devices to actors/persons; in reality it is necessary to work with a non-human basis of devices and visits.

Accessing and Using the App and View Through a Network Approach

Less than half of the workshop participants had smartphones. Our observations and interviews indicated that they were evenly distributed among the participants, professional filmmakers (group leaders), volunteers, and staff members, but in one of the five groups nobody had one. As expected, it seemed that more participants from the southern hemisphere lacked a smart-phone than participants from Europe, although there were several exceptions to this. This made us worry that only a few select people could participate in the test. But the picture was more ambiguous; there were people among both the professional filmmakers and participants from the Nordic countries that said they purposely did not use or have a smartphone for ideological reasons.

After collecting some background information, we asked the interviewees if they had been using ComDoc. This was understood to be a question about them using the app – the technology was thus seen primarily as the app used to *upload* photos. We therefore also asked if they had used the viewer to look at the uploaded images, and subsequently learned to ask for their experiences of both the app and the viewer, if they had a smartphone and used it, their experience with other ICT, what they liked and did not like about the app, what they used it for, why, and with whom. We also asked if they saw any potential in the app, whether they would use it after the workshop, and for what purpose.

It turned out that many more people had used the app than those with phones. Access was not solely a question of owing a smartphone, but was also

influenced by the relations and networks users were part of – having access through others, for example, borrowing from other people. Access to phones in this network turned out to include sharing a phone. Use of the phone and app was not considered a private and individual matter, at least not among all the participants. They borrowed the phone from other people in their group, or from the workshop at large: i.e., people whom they were recently introduced to at the workshop. The 15 unique devices identified in the log actually represent more users in flesh and blood. We do not know how much device sharing took place when using the app, but at least three persons reported that they did not have a phone, but had uploaded several pictures several times. The seemingly objective count of devices did not account for the sharing of a technological device – the participants' practices. This shows that the participants' enrolment in the social networks of the NUFF workshop, and the social relations – like trust and sharing – makes a difference in understanding access to, diffusion, and use of technology. On the other hand: the technology made it possible for them to share, build, and perform and experience trust – thereby enhancing it. For example, one participant might share an item with another that was originally produced as personal – e.g., looking at photos in the camera – and thus signal trust to each other. Technology and social relations were co-constituting each other in the assemblage of this network between humans and non-humans. We do not suggest that all participants and staff were part of these practices – networks can exclude as well as include – but this may serve as an example of how people and other entities mutually produce each other rather than influence and "impact" on each other. This is also an example of how our approach helps us see and understand the practices taking place.

Staff, volunteers, and probably also other participants made sure the group that did not have access to a smart phone were photographed and able to upload pictures, enabling participants in this group see themselves on the screen. Uploading posts and deciding what to upload were, however, undoubtedly different from being "portrayed" by people outside the group. Access to the technology in this case seems, regardless of the practice of sharing, to be mainly a question of having and being able to use a smartphone (which was required to upload). We have reason to believe from our data that there were only a few participants from the southern hemisphere with access to a smartphone. Rather than just being a question of having a smartphone or not, this is related to operating costs in different countries and makes the location of the workshop an issue. Even with Wi-Fi access widely available, many participants

had problems connecting to the network, and found it expensive to use their phone's data connection outside the country of subscription. Some pay-as-you-go phones did not work, and some of the participants decided not to use their phones. The specificity of the upload problems on iPhones also meant that they were unable to upload after returning to Tvibit on the (free) Wi-Fi-access there or at the hotel.

These examples show that economic differences, the payment structure of telecom services, the economic situation of each participant, and practical issues such as the availability of internet connections at Tvibit had significant impact on peoples' access and use of the technology. More than that: these networks are partly shaping and making the technology – since they are a pre-condition to practical use, which, again, is the technology. If it is impossible to upload a photo, the technology does not work for them. It does not matter why it turns out to be useless – the broader network of which the use, the person and the technology are part constructs all of them in relation to each other – as a user or non-user, functioning or non-functioning, or as a technology that can be used for documentation and communication or not. The technology becomes an actor – relating to other actors in its own way – the programming made some users become more active, while technologies, and payment structures made some devices useless. Thus, technology plays a far more active role than merely being the background or context of practices, and indicates how different entities play important roles.

The Internet Connection and Access to the Stream

Each film group in the workshop had access to several PC's. In addition the stream was projected on a screen in the canteen area. This meant that all participants had access to viewing the stream, and from our previous discussion about uploading practice, we know that only a limited number of participants actually used the app. The main use during the workshop, then, turned out to be viewing the stream. This required, of course, that something was uploaded. The lack of capacity and the unstable network at the youth culture house delayed the screening of the timeline and the photos, and made this less interesting and up-to-date. Several participants said that this made them post fewer photos. It also made them uncertain whether it worked or not, and it seemed that this limited their uploading activity. Their practices were related to functionality, which is well known in studies, based on a variety of theoretical approaches.

Our approach focuses on how the (lack of) internet connection produced the technology as malfunction. It affects how it is perceived, understood, and acted upon. The use of the app is dependent on the ability to view the results (the stream), and the vice versa – so the technology "itself" co-produces the technology. They mutually constitute each other, and are at the same time formed by the social, economic, technological, and cultural networks that they are a part of. This includes the social network of friendship, where the idea and practice of sharing devices broadens access. The internet connection became an issue – a problem and was talked about like a difficult person: "he is not performing" – clearly being considered an actor in a problematic relationship with the owners, leaders, and funders etc. of the youth culture house that we decided not to include in this study, even if including them would perhaps create a better analysis.

The log shows that there was far more viewing – referred to as viewers by us – than the unique app users who had posted content. There were a total of 108 devices used, and 301 views, although as we saw and were informed, more than one person may have viewed the stream at the same time from the same device. For example, a girl told us about her family in Indonesia, who could sit together and view her whereabouts in Norway. In the interviews this was reiterated; parents "back home" used the viewer to follow their children's activities. This partly explains the international distribution of the views. On the one hand this expanded network of viewers may indicate that the documentation of the activities included a wider international network that used the stream in a way the developers did not plan. On the other hand, the enrolment of these users – facilitated by the technology – may have made the participants more (or less) active users of the app. This use included asking friends to take more or fewer photos of them to upload for the parents to see, and thus also affected the content of the uploads. The participants that talked about their parents watching said that both they and their parents got a feeling of safety in this. Some of the participants were very young, and some were abroad for the first time, far away from home. They wanted their family and friends to be able to "join" them in the experience, and this made them feel secure. Other participants and professional filmmakers also told about enrolling friends and colleagues in the workshop network and encouraging them to use the viewer. Age, geographical and social distance, and the type and practice of family relations were thereby drawn into the network creating the technology and the workshop itself.

Again, one person may have used several devices to view the stream, so the number of users might be far less than indicated above. The log tells us only part of the story of numbers. The interviews and our observations add to this information, but would have to be fare more extensive to be complete. This also shows that in order to include these relations and how they are assembled, we must follow the links and connections forming the expanded network.

Issues and Practicalities: the Relationship Between Viewing, Design, Use and Co-Construction of New Technology

This study reports on a test of unfinished technology – it is a work in progress. A lot of the information gained from the interviews is actually feedback about the technical implementation, and suggestions for future use and development. There are aspects that do not function well, and we know that there are issues with the iPhone app in particular. We suspect that some of the reported problems were due to the very bad internet connection at Tvibit, but we also uncovered bugs that have to be fixed. The screening of uploaded photos, for instance, was delayed because of the lack of internet capacity at the venue. This made it difficult to see pictures in real time.

Some asked for simpler navigation, the possibility to scroll through the timeline, and the provision of a search function etc. Others got upset, talking about the problems, or were reminded about the problems with Facebook's beta versions, and concentrated on future possibilities – inventing functions that seemed useful to them. This process made the user become part of the development; their feedback actually influenced the construction of the technology – they became co-constructors, and consequently involved in the construction of social media. This made them proud, and some said it was particularly interesting to be part of a trial group in this sense.

There was also a lot of feedback about the layout and usability of both the app and the viewer – particularly the viewer. The users asked for the possibility to be allowed to administer more themselves, for instance making their own groups, choosing who should be allowed to see what they post, etc. Some interviewees found the timeline "so untidy that it is difficult to orientate, and photos [are] on top of each other". They could not find what they uploaded, found the "layout too bad", and said, "It looks pretty messy." As is well known, usability is closely related to design and layout. The users still seemed willing and able to take part in a pilot along with the associated problems and frus-

trations, but also with a certain pride and curiosity. They became accustomed to the technology through use, but also by giving feedback and engaging with its development.

What is This Technology?

The key interviewee said that it was difficult to understand and communicate to others what this technology was all about before seeing how it was actually used. After using it, he said it was very easy both to understand and use. He stated an important point – that the technology is created through its use. To him it actually worked. Other users backed this up as well. They found it difficult to get the initial idea at the presentation, but afterwards found it really easy to use. This illustrates the relationship between technology, networks, relations, identities, and other actors – including the users. Presenting something new is difficult, this interviewee said. In this case, several of the other users agreed with him, and went on to elaborate their impressions: you cannot explain what it looks like, and what it is similar to (because it is new and something different). You lack the concepts and associations that help you understand the idea. You understand ComDoc through using it – it (the technology) comes into being through use, the user makes the technology. At the same time, the technology makes a person a user – a test user – and practitioner of a certain technology, and thus a documentarist and community builder. This key participant felt uneasy promoting something that was hard to explain and understand. The launching of this new technology connected strongly with his identity. He felt partly responsible for the success of the pilot, but mainly also towards his friends and the other participants. He seemed worried both about the practicalities and the user friendliness which was so necessary for its success, but which he had no control over – the design etc., and the overall idea. He was somehow at risk of losing his credibility – the technology was co-creating identities.

Explaining something totally new also concerns how the different actors see the technology and what they perceive it to be. Is it useful and useable for their specific purposes and aims? The developers' main intention was that this would help to document the workshop in a more dynamic way, as requested and suggested by the leader of NUFF. More people would be able to take part in the documentation process and the process of filmmaking, and the workshop could potentially achieve more visibility through this documentation effort. NUFF's organizational position was within a network of professionals plan-

ning and running such events – local leaders and producers, board of directors, funding agencies, politicians etc. – all of whom asked for some kind of documentation. Experience garnered from earlier workshops had proven this to be a difficult task.

The ComDoc documentation would, then, serve the three main purposes: [1] to learn about and develop the workshop; [2] to monitor, describe, and disseminate information, and [3] control and report results (Albæk & Rieper 2001). According to the researchers/developers that have created the app, ComDoc has the potential to be a somewhat more democratic method of reporting (rather than a report written by one or more persons), since more participants have the opportunity to document the workshop. The app would help the community to collectively document their experience. At the same time the leaders, developers, and researchers also wanted to keep the technology "open" to allow space for the users to develop their own uses. We expected that the users would easily find other uses for the technology in other areas of the filmmaking workshop. This technology, then, was not seen as something that changes people, but something that, from the very beginning, was open for interpretation and the discovery of new uses. This technology is intended to be given meaning through practice and interaction. The different uses and appropriations outlined in the statements from users in this test strengthen the interpretation of this approach. Some of these uses, as well as an assessment of what the technology achieves, will be discussed below.

What Did the Network Make the Technology Do in the Workshop?

The somewhat formal and complicated formulation of this question is intended to capture the complex relationship between the different actors (the technology, the broadband, the access are all actors) in the network. A variety of agents – the app, the devices and their possible uses, the stream, the participants, volunteers, staff, leaders, the researchers, developers, and the internet connection – make the test possible, and are "made" by this test.

According to a staff member, "This [the app and a particular use of it] makes the NUFF workshop feel smaller because everyone can see what is going on." He, along with other participants, continued by explaining how it "increases your view", and how this makes the community feel smaller in terms of being closer knit, more personal, with a more inclusive overview, and sharing more information – as if everybody saw and met each other more often. The

youths, talking in this way, did not talk about how the technology changed (affected) the workshop. Their talk about "this", and "it", consisted of several things that were enacted as part of an experience they share. According to the key interviewee, this was a new and different experience compared to previous workshops: "The groups have a tendency to get very isolated, but this [the app and its use] gives the groups the possibility to see what the others are doing. People are posting from where they are, and it happens almost in real time." However, he also added that only half of the participants had smartphones, and that one of the groups had not used it – that is, uploaded – at all. During the workshop he also questioned the democratic aspect, and he seemed worried that while the use of the app may make contact and information shared between the groups better, thus making the groups "smaller", some were unable to be included in this.

Such exclusions based on lack of access are commonly referred to as "digital division" (Norris 2001). This describes an inequality occurring between groups and countries, as well as between individuals, in terms of access to, use of, or knowledge about information and communication technologies. It concerns who is able to connect with whom, their characteristics, to what and how they are connected, and why they are connected. According to Buente and Robbins (2008) this is a division of connectivity. It obviously has an economic basis and is related to gender, age, ethnicity, skills etc. It seems fair to say that the digital divide follows established processes of differentiations and divisions rather than representing a break with these. In our case, more participants from northern and western Europe had access to the app, but there were also individual divisions among the participants not related to international divisions of wealth. Many of those who stated that they were sceptical about ICT and the use of smartphones and the app were European. This scepticism illustrates how a life spent increasingly online affects social and cultural relationships, and highlight issues of control, misuse, stolen identities etc. These questions are concerned more with matters of control and the power to withdraw, and will therefore not be discussed here.

However, it seems quite clear that it was a different experience to add to the ComDoc timeline by uploading photos than to view it, at least in terms of the power to define what is going on. Looking at the numbers from the log there are nevertheless 15 unique devices, and we have established that at least three more than those have uploaded photos. This accounts for less than half the total number of people involved in the workshop producing the content at ComDoc.

As for viewing the stream, there were 108 devices used in 301 views of 1301 pages. Most users of the app were staff, professionals, or volunteers at the workshop/ NUFF or NORUT research institute. Most of the participants and other people associated with the workshop mainly viewed the timeline. The accounts they gave of the meanings, possibilities, experience, and their understanding of what the technology is, is thereby based on viewing more than uploading.

Several interviewees found it "interesting to watch pictures from others and see what they are doing." The volunteers and staff took and uploaded the most photos, and made sure to include something from the group without access to a smartphone. In this way there were images from all participating groups in the stream – although, as mentioned, some were being portrayed rather than portraying themselves. We were told in the interviews that the opportunity to see what the others were doing gave them inspiration, and made it possible to get to know the other participants better. This is not only about knowing what others are doing, the participants also talked about seeing "what's going on", and "what's up – right now", which involves more being part of a common process, and thus part of a group. To get access to the process the other participants are engaged in – to see how they perform their work – is also an aspect of creating a group dynamic. This can be understood as shaping communities between the groups. Conversely, as one young woman explained, it was also a little stressful and scary: "We saw the other groups finishing shooting when we hadn't even started." This comparison and competition is also part of building a sense of community. At the same time it strengthens a group feeling while taking part in the common experience of the NUFF workshop.

The view of the timeline also extended outside the workshop to different places and, according to some of the participants, was used later. Some shared their experiences and activities with people not present, e.g., parents, friends, colleagues and journalists back home. Some interviewees pointed to the possibilities for other people arranging similar events to follow this one, without being present, or look examine the timeline later for information the might be helpful in the planning of future events.

Another potential benefit identified was the possibility to keep in contact with the whole group after the end of the workshop. Compared to Facebook, it would, according to them, be easier because it would not be necessary to create another group on social media. You could instead look through the timeline to remember, recall, and re-live the whole experience and process. Some looked forward to doing this and sharing it with friends and people when

they had more time at their home "film house". The timeline could also be used to advertise this event and encourage more people apply for participation in future years, according to one of the leaders. The timeline makes the process more visible and is appreciated. We have not checked this later use – the point here is that some saw this potential.

Making a Tool for Filmmaking

"What I like the best? I can send a person out to find a location; he can take photos and we see it [in the office] at once." A group member considered in this way that the technology could be a useful tool in the process of filmmaking. Another one suggested that it could be used as a "movie behind the movie" to document the film production as well as the workshop and the event. They told the developers that this function would be improved if it were possible to upload short videos, tag the locations, add to the timeline from your PC in addition to real time, and add more tags in general.

Back in his home, one of the young male participants works as a volunteer with people and younger children in an environment with very limited economic resources. He said he planned to use the app and the documentation from NUFF in his work. Others said they would share this experience and use ComDoc for similar festivals back home. This (the activity and the result) would allow them to learn, gain experience, evaluate the organizational issues, and draw on the ambience from NUFF for inspiration. The sharing elements were highlighted in several interviews – and the ease of sharing experiences was appreciated. They found this form of documentation (again) more realistic and useful – maybe rather as a supplement – to written reports which do not give a very vivid impression of what is actually going on. Another participant said he would use this particular timeline in a film he is making.

Participants, leaders, and staff imagined professional uses for the app and the timeline, and the possibility of establishing new groups was an important part of this, as was the realistic nature of the documentation. According to one of the participants and one of the leaders, ComDoc invites more realistic documentation than other alternatives available at the time. They were able to upload in real time, for a specific group, and have a process-based approach along the timeline. The experience of "realness" seems also to be connected to the ease of uploading, which again is associated with pace. One leader pointed out that because so many processes are going on at different places and loca-

tions during the workshop, documenting and sharing it has to be able to keep up with places, people, tasks, and time. This includes a multiplicity of differentiated actors and factors, agents and networks, locations and situations.

Concerns – Constructing Risks

Several participants had concerns about the app being open – that you did not need a password to sign in. As one young man said, "When anyone can upload, the result can be a lot of garbage." When asked, however, he said had never seen anything on the timeline that shouldn't be there. Our key interviewee had the task of flagging inappropriate photos for deletion, but in the end he did not have to flag any improper pictures. The photos deleted were all a result of technological problems. Some are also worried that everybody could see everything, and wanted the possibility to make and administer groups. It may be that the community constructed in this particular situation "self-administers", preventing the misuse and problems some participants were familiar with from other contexts. Again, the network involved aims, concerns, and actors of different kinds that appropriated the technology in certain ways. This created some risks that were real, but also others that were not.

Conclusions

This case study demonstrates that the trial of an emerging technology creates feedback into the technology and its functionality which clearly shows how technology use is produced in a network. The trail uncovered bugs that need to be fixed, and we also received feedback on the layout and usability of both the app and the viewer – particularly the viewer. The users asked for the possibility to administer the app themselves, for instance, to make their own groups, and choose who is allowed to see is posted, etc. Using the technology created a desire for more control over defining the use of the technology.

Access to devices is important, and the digital divisions among those involved in the international workshop in Tromsø excluded some from the southern hemisphere – as well some from the northern hemisphere – based on the economic differences of such services. These difficulties were partly negotiated through the practice of sharing devices. The network made the youths, professional filmmakers, group leaders, staff, and volunteers involved in the workshop able to engage with the technology even if they lacked one of the

essential tools: a smartphone. This was achieved by sharing devices, and this in turn was possible because of the social relations and trust existing in the network. We have established that even though only a few participants uploaded photos, many more people around the world – including parents, friends, colleagues, and journalists –viewed and somehow followed the event as it progressed. We have shown how, through using the technology, people co-construct and shape its use as a social media that increases a sense of community. Working in concert, the location, geographical distance, people, and technological potential constitute each other reciprocally. Access to the app and the stream strengthen the group experience, and show how they are able to use and share their experiences in Tromsø in their roles as filmmakers, instructors, and event leaders back in their home environment later. The network thus stretches outside Tromsø and this specific week.

The open platform facilitates a multitude of participants, creates a realism defined by the pace of the workshop, establishes a process timeline, and emphasises ease of use. In doing so it creates a relationship and encounter between technology and other actors.

We have learned that understanding ComDoc requires actual use; that is, it is constituted through its use in a network. From this we can determine that the technology is co-produced through practice, and becomes a certain technology through its use. Even though the participants are creative in appropriating the "tool", the layout might still hinder their utilization and limit some of the technology's potential – there is much more to the network than we have focused on here. The technology, design, and functionality are thus part of the network that shapes the technology. As such, this pilot is also a co-production between the technologies and other actors, but also the NUFF workshop and the existing networks they are all a part of. They interact with and are shaped by each other. The technology is a part of the event and the community, and is shaped by the practice and community, rather than an influence upon it. However, the community and the workshop are also co-produced through the use of the emergent technology – and all this takes place within a wider network. In this analysis, we have attempted to highlight this reciprocal relationship between actors and networks, and by the co-produced and co-producing, by showing how an ANT-inspired perspective can give agency (the ability to act) to different kinds of actors in a network. This helps us to understand more (or maybe different) things than the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), the Community of Inquiry (CoI), and the internet paradox allow for. It has given

space to focus on the social co-production of networks and technology, the creativity of use, and their definition through use. It is not simply a question of how technology influences youth and their social relations, but the co-production of technology and sociality. These processes of production will continue, since management and staff at NUFF want to continue to test, use, co-produce, shape, and be shaped and co-constituted through access to "this technology" next year as well. The technology is being modified, and some other agents are also changing and emerging. The network develops.

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Online Journalism in the Developing World: the Case of Bangladesh

Fahmidul Haq

In Western and developed countries, many print newspapers have stopped publishing, but journalism continues on in cyberspace. Even if the print version is not completely shut down, newspapers are strengthening their online versions. Increasingly, new online news sites are being created without any corresponding print version. In addition to these two types of news media – online and print – there are also instances of either independent or alternative news media in cyberspace. Such independent news media do not have the backing of corporate investment, but practice conventional journalism, often offering a radical or left-leaning perspective. These new examples of online journalism can also be seen in developing countries, but their practices might be seen as slightly different to their Western counterparts. In the Third World and developing countries, internet penetration is lower than in Western countries; hence online journalism is developing more slowly there. Indeed, in many countries print media is still expanding. However, online journalism is gaining traction even in developing countries.

Following the invention of World Wide Web by Tim Berners-Lee, online newspapers and other online news media grew rapidly, especially during the last half of the 1990s. The hypertext links and other hyper-media elements of the Web enabled the placement of text, graphics, audio, and video onto the same site. This prompted news media organisations to offer live and archived content on their websites, and opened the door to online journalism. New technology has always influenced and sometimes brought changes to the mode of production and patterns of journalism, and, as John V. Pavlik highlights, journalism has always been shaped by technology (Pavlik 2001). The genre of online journalism differs from traditional journalism, and it is the technological options available that have created these differences. Deuze and Paulussen have summarized in

their research that this new type of journalism is based on ideas of speed and immediacy, hypertext and multimedia, and the more traditional roles of journalism – such as gatekeeping and agenda-setting – are becoming less important (Deuze & Paulussen 2002; cited in Mitchelstein & Boczkowiski 2009, 571).

The first instance of online journalism was the online version of an established newspaper, first with only the news published on the site, but later with user-generated content, such as providing blogging options for readers. *The Chicago Tribune* (www.chicagotribune.com) was the first newspaper to go online when it began providing same-day editorial content to AOL in May 1992 (Carlson 2003; cited in Garrison 2005, 5). Now almost every renowned newspaper in the world has an online version, and many of them have different sections that appear only on the online version of the newspapers.

A few alternative and independent news sites are changing the face of journalism in cyberspace. Among them, Independent Media Centre (IMC) and WikiLeaks have set examples of alternative journalism. The IMC was launched by anti-globalization activists while protesting against a meeting at the World Trade Centre (WTO) in Seattle in 1999. Through the IMC, these activists-turned-journalists introduced open source reporting, a new kind of journalism free from market forces or government control. There are now over 150 independent media centres situated in about 45 countries across six continents (Allan 2006, 126). Because of global networking and its larger size, IMC has not only become a unique example of participatory journalism, it has democratized the news media. WikiLeaks initially leaked secret files relating to Afghanistan, the Iraq War, and later US state department's diplomatic "cables". The "leaks", published through globally renowned newspapers like *The New York Times* or *The Guardian*, received special attention from the general readership. However, some people consider the activities of the site as mere "leaking" or "hacking". However, Julian Assange, the founder and editor-in-chief of the site, claims it is a news organization. The website describes itself as a "not-for-profit media organisation", and its "goal is to bring important news and information to the public". Sites such as IMC and WikiLeaks are radically changing the pattern of journalism.

Online Journalism in the Developing World

Online journalism is also growing in the Third World, although internet penetration is lower in comparison with the Western world. Though there are

an increasing number of online journalism practices with traditional journalistic ethics and norms, it is the vibrant participation of citizen journalists in the dissemination of news and information that is really significant. This is perhaps the first time in the world that an internet user has access to "self mass communication" as Manuel Castells (2007) says, and users are engaged in "horizontal communication". Even the relationship between the source and the receiver has been altered; the receiver has gained the same power as the sender. There are some good examples of radical online journalism practices in the Third World. One such site is *OhMyNews*, which offered "a combination of the merits of the blog and the merits of newspaper" (Scofield 2004; cited in Allan 2006, 130).

The South Korean[1] online news site *OhMyNews* has become a global example of effective participatory journalism. *OhMyNews* began in February 2000 with the explicit objective of bringing about a shift in the balance of media power in South Korea (Hauben, not dated). Allan mentions a comment by Oh Yeon-ho, the founder of the site. While discussing participatory journalism, he talked about saying farewell to 20th-century Korean journalism, and considered the possibility that every citizen could be a reporter (Allan 2006). In another place, Oh Yeon-ho says:

> *Every citizen is a reporter. Journalists aren't some exotic species, they're everyone who seeks to take new developments, put them into writing, and share them with others.* [---] *Privileged reporter who come together to form massive news media wielded power over the whole process of news production, distribution and consumption.*
> (Yeon-ho 2004; cited in Hauben, not dated.)

Articles that were accepted were fact-checked, edited, and then published. The citizen reporters whose articles appeared on *OhMyNews* were paid a small fee. This "guerrilla strategy", as Oh describes it, has indeed proven to be remarkably successful, not only financially – rather unusually for an online news organization – but also in journalistic terms within Korean society (Allan 2006, 129). The priority for news coverage in *OhMyNews* is given to politics and society,

1. Nowadays, South Korea is considered as a developed country; but considering the immediate past economic status and some similarities in cultural and journalism practices, the writer describes South Korea a developing nation in this article.

as well as international news, business, and culture. But the specific aim of the site was to target corruption and privilege. *OhMyNews* has really brought innovation to journalistic culture through a revolution in the culture of news production, delivery, and consumption.

Citizen journalism not only serves a purpose for political news; sometimes, social networking sites may be used as the platform to bring a political change in society. The inventors of *Facebook* or *Twitter*, perhaps, never thought that their "non-political" networking sites would be used to bring about political change in different countries. The forum of casual friendship turned into a platform for protesters. It was the creativity of people that led to the adoption of these sites as a platform on which to share opinions, design political programmes, and update and broadcast their movements when ousting repressive regimes in North Africa and the Middle East. This movement of establishing democratic rights is now known as the *Arab Spring*.

The *Arab Spring* may be infected by the involvement of foreign imperialist forces, but the desire of the Middle Eastern people for democracy is very significant in contemporary global political history. The movement started when a young vegetable merchant, Mohammed Bouazizi, set himself on fire in front of a municipal building as a protest against unemployment and corruption in the Tunisian government. Bouazizi's self immolation was one of several stories told and retold on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube in ways that inspired dissidents to organize protests, criticize their governments, and spread ideas about democracy (Howard 2011). After analysing more than 3 million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content, and thousands of blog posts, a study from the University of Washington found that social media played a central role in shaping political debates in the *Arab Spring*. Focused mainly on Tunisia and Egypt, and led by Philip Howard (Howard 2011), the study showed that social media was used heavily by a key demographic group in the revolution: young, urban, relatively well educated individuals, many of whom were women. Bloggers also used the internet to publish information that was critical of the governments in Egypt and Tunisia. The activists used social media to connect with others outside their own countries. They attracted followers in other countries where similar democratic protests would later erupt. The report says:

> *We find that there were over 2,200 tweets from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Morocco, and Yemen about Ben Ali's resignation on the day he stepped aside. Over the course of a week before Mubarak's resignation, the total*

> *rate of tweets from Egypt – and around the world – about political change in that country ballooned from 2,300 a day to 230,000 a day. Interestingly, the relative contribution of people not living in the region diminished significantly over this period. On the day Mubarak left office, February 11, there were more than 225,000 tweets outside the country that spread the news of his departure. In the two weeks after Mubarak's resignation, there were an average of 3,400 tweets a day about the political crisis in Egypt by people living in neighbouring countries.* (Howard 2011.)

The report also says "our evidence suggests that online conversations played an integral part in the revolutions that toppled governments in Egypt and Tunisia. We find that conversations about liberty, democracy, and revolution on blogs and on Twitter often immediately preceded mass protests. In Tunisia, for example, 20 percent of blogs were evaluating Ben Ali's leadership on the day he resigned from office (January 14), up from just 5 percent the month before. Subsequently, the primary topic for Tunisian blogs was "revolution" until a public rally of at least 100,000 people took place and eventually forced the old regime's remaining leaders to relinquish power." (Howard 2011)

However, social media was not used in the same manner and intensity in every country. A *Guardian* report said, "if Twitter had negligible influence on events in Tunisia, the same could not be said for Egypt. A far more mature and extensive social media environment played a crucial role in organizing the uprising against Mubarak, whose government responded by ordering mobile service providers to send text messages rallying his supporters." (Beaumont 2011) In Egypt, details of demonstrations were circulated on both Facebook and Twitter, and the activists' 12-page guide to confronting the regime was distributed by email.

In Tunisia, attempts were made to block Facebook and other social media sites, and arrest bloggers and others who used social media to spread criticism of the government. In Egypt, too, the government attempted to shut down the internet and cell phone network. But the movement went on. The *Guardian* report says that the Mubarak regime – like Ben Ali's before it – pulled the plug on the country's internet services and 3G network. What social media was replaced by – oddly enough – was the analogue equivalent of Twitter: handheld signs held aloft at demonstrations saying where and when people should gather the next day (Beaumont 2011).

In Asia, there were 11 newspapers reported as publishing on the web as early as 1995 (Carlson 1995; cited in Contreras and Maslog, not dated). Today most of the Asian countries practice online journalism. Research (Xiaoge 2008)

carried out on nine Asian news websites from nine countries (Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, India, Japan, South Korea and China) analysed the features of the online newspapers. Online features such as a blog, podcasts, vodcasts, wikis, Flash, RSS, and Instant Messenger were all utilised in designing and delivering news online, allowing greater user participation, user-generated content, and the creation of user-friendly online environments. The results of the research show that Asian online journalists have not received any substantial or solid training in online journalism and publishing. Most of them had simply been transferred from the traditional newsroom to the online newsroom without further training in web journalism. The knowledge gap about web publishing encountered by journalists – especially the gatekeepers of the site – had left the sites less attractive and less user-friendly. Broadband is still something luxury in much of Asia – in such an environment websites cannot run complex graphics. For this reason, news sites often look simpler from a graphical and design perspective. The sites show that more "media-rich" web features were used on the homepage than on story pages. Another reality is that the moment a page goes online, the site becomes a rival of the parent newspaper. It is perhaps internal competition that has stopped Asian news media from fully utilizing available web features in the design and delivery of online news.

Indian media made its first tentative foray into cyberspace in 1996. *The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, and *The Indian Express* were among the first few newspapers to set up websites (Saxena 2004, 1). During the first stage of online journalism in India, the websites were low-tech and did not carry all the news featured in the newspaper. There was also no round-the-clock updating. Sunil Saxena (2004) defined three stages of online journalism in India. In stage one (1996–1998) the general opinion was that online journalism held tremendous potential, but its time was yet to come. In the second stage (1999–2000), for the first time since the arrival of the internet in India, newspaper publishers started looking seriously at the web. An important step was the setting up of independent companies to handle internet operations. *The Times of India*, and *The Hindustan Times* were among the first to do this. This period also witnessed the arrival of new news media companies in cyberspace, for example, *Rediff.com*, which was the first to set up a major news site in the early nineties, strengthened its operations. Other sites providing news were *Sify.com*, *Indya.com*, and *Indiainfo.com*. Television companies also made their presence felt on the net with *NDTV* and *Zee News* playing a significant role. In stage three (2001 onwards), although the dotcom bubble burst, internet usage was still increasing even in

small towns, and consequently online journalism began gaining popular acceptance. The media houses set up portals to cater to the needs of their users. *Indiatimes.com* from the Times Group, *Hindustantimes.com* from the Hindustan Times Group, and *Indiavarta.com* from the New Indian Express Group are examples of how media publishers diversified in order to capture larger audiences.

There were also a few independent news sites in India based only on the web. *Tehelca.com* – established in 2000 – found prominence because of its investigative reporting. It first received local recognition in 2001 when it exposed match fixing in Indian professional cricket. The same year, an investigation into Operation Westend – defence procurement programme – received international attention, and led to the resignation of the Indian Defence Minister. In 2012, the former BJP President, Bhangaru Laxman, was sentenced to imprisonment after the court found the *Tehelka* sting was valid and Laxman had taken a bribe. After this, *Tehelka* began publishing as a print version as well.

Bangladesh Perspectives

Bangladesh is a country of low internet penetration[2], however, it has a substantial amount of people online. Most of the internet users look for news online, and sometimes they create or share it. As in many other parts of the world, online news practices in Bangladesh can be categorized in four ways – online versions of the print newspapers, online newspapers without print versions but with significant investment, independent online newspapers run by entrepreneurs, and citizen journalism by bloggers or people using social media (e.g., Facebook).

Online Versions of Newspapers

The first online newspaper in Bangladesh was *Thedailystar.net*, the online presence of a leading English-language daily. The newspaper opened its online site in 1997. Today, the leading newspapers like *Prothom Alo*, *Ittefaq*, *Shamokal* and *The Daily Star* all offer independent online news publication. The inclusion of independent online news sections has enabled the newspapers to serve up-to-date news around the clock. Although every print newspaper has an online version of the paper, not all newspapers have *independently operated* online

2. According to www.internetworlds.com as accessed on 16 May 2013, total number of internet users in Bangladesh is 8,054,190, and that number is 5% of the total population.

↑ Picture 1. The screenshot of the first online newspaper
The Daily Star (www.thedailystar.net); accessed on 26 June, 2014.

news departments. However, these online versions are usually not very interactive. Readers can comment under the news, and they are able to share items on Facebook and Twitter, but the sites do not suggest any related stories to articles, nor are any hyperlinks added within the news text. The sites also make very limited use of video – multimedia is rarely seen on the sites, the slow internet speed being the main hindrance. Continuous news tickers, opinion polls, and a few archival articles are among the features that differentiate online news from the print editions.

Prothom Alo started publishing a small scale version online on 4 November 1998. In the beginning, it only published news from the 1st and 2nd pages, but later it expanded to cover the whole newspaper. From 16 September 2006, the newspaper started uploading two editions – midday and evening, and in 2009, the site added interactivity by including readers' comments. At this stage, photos accompanying news articles were also introduced. In its first phase of online journalism, *Prothom Alo* was a paid service. People outside the country had to purchase access to the news through a PayPal system. Within a year, however, the content became free. The online service of *Prothom Alo* has a few sub sections – the news desk, reporting, sports, features, and web coding – employing 40 persons. The correspondents of the print newspaper throughout the country also contribute to the online service, and they receive additional payment for that.

↑ Picture 2. The screenshot of the online version of the highest cirulated newspaper Prothom Alo (www.prothom-alo.com); accessed on 26 June, 2014.

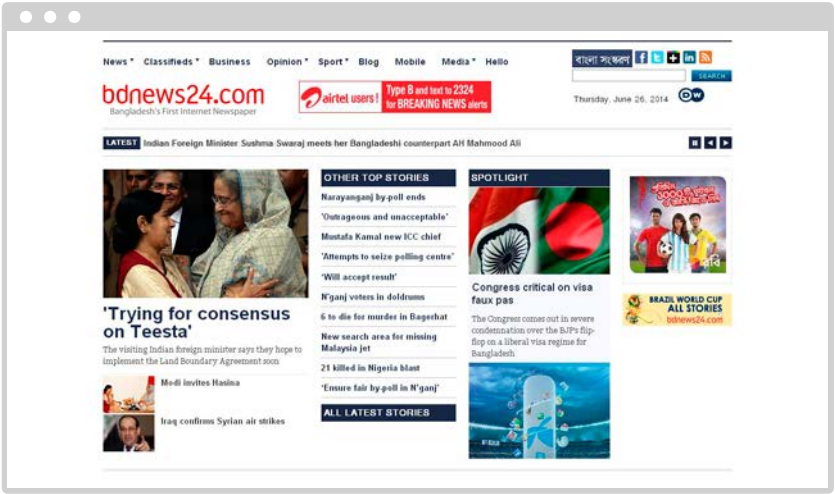
Now almost every newspaper in Bangladesh has an online version, but a very few have a separate online news section. The online version of *Prothom Alo* (www.prothom-alo.com) is one of the leading news sites in South Asia. Though its print circulation is less (0.48 million) than *Times of India* (3.14 million, the highest circulation of English language dailies in the world), *Anandabazar Patrika* (an Indian daily in Bengali with a circulation of 1.28 million), and *Jang* (A Pakistani daily in Urdu having a circulation of 0.8 million), *Prothom Alo*'s world ranking (1,109) of the online news site, according to Alexa.com, is ahead of the online versions of the other South Asian newspapers (*Times of India* 3,840, *Anandabazar Patrika* 9,437, and *Jang* 1,515). The news editor of the online section of *Prothom Alo* claimed the news site is accessed from more than 200 countries in the world. In Bangladesh, it ranks sixth after Facebook, Google, Google.com.bd, Yahoo, and YouTube. News-hungry Bengalis from home and abroad have significantly increased the traffic of *Prothom-alo.com*.

However, the online version of *Prothom Alo* lacks hyperlinks and multimedia. It does not provide related news links, or the links within the text. Neither does it use audio or video regularly. Only occasionally do they use video clips with permission from the TV channels. *Prothom Alo*'s online news editor, Selim Khan, says, "it is very difficult as well as expensive to run a video unit. We have camera and other technologies, but we found it not feasible to run the

video unit. One journalist cannot cover both text and video at the same time. You need different people to do that but it would be expensive." (Khan 2013.)

Online Newspapers with Big Investment

The first online newspaper without any co-existing print version in Bangladesh was *Bdnews24.com*. It began operating in August 2004. The newspaper was started by some journalists, but later the corporation Advanced Data Network became a majority shareholder in the newspaper. Another prominent online newspaper without any print edition is *Banglanews24.com*, owned by the Basundhara Group, a large conglomerate in Bangladesh. A few other newspapers have been established with big investments such as *natunbarta.com*, *poriborton.com*, *dhakatimes.com*, *atnnews.com*, and *primekhobor.com*.



↑ Picture 3. The screenshot of first online-only newspaper BDNews (www.bdnews24.com); accessed on 26 June, 2014.

If journalism is literature in a hurry, online journalism is even more hurried than that. This is equally true for online journalism in Bangladesh. Online newspapers publish stories 12–13 hours ahead of print newspapers. A print newspaper can check the facts of an incident and can provide authentic and credible reporting. Conversely, online newspapers get a very small span of time to write and edit news, yet still have to maintain credibility and authenticity.

↑ Picture 4. According to Alexa rating the top online newspaper is Banglanews (www.banglanews24.com); accessed on 26 June, 2014.

There is a pressure from the online community for online newspapers to deliver credible and valuable news. While citizen-led journalism might produce the first reports of information in cyberspace about an incident, readers then look for credible reporting from a professional news site. This demand for a rapid, credible news flow creates competition among online newspapers to serve news as fast as possible. If a site is slow to respond, the users will leave and will not come back. This situation has resulted in a change in the presentation of news both online and in print journalism in Bangladesh. Online journalism follows the regular "5 Ws and 1 H" and gives brief information of the incident. Then, the next morning, after 10 to 15 hours, the same incident is presented in the print newspaper in a more descriptive and interpretative way.

The pressure of immediacy has brought a few changes in journalistic practice, for example, the extensive use of cell phones in journalism. Reporters today record news stories on location using their phones, and then upload them to the office where they can be edited. Mahmud Menon Khan, the head of news of *banglanews24.com* says without a phone, online journalism is not possible (Menon 2013). Similarly, online newspapers – especially *bdnews24.com* and *banglanews24.com* – are often bilingual. There is also a unique case in Bangladesh where a newspaper is published both in English and vernacular languages. In online journalism, journalists are expected to have skills in both reporting

and editing. Photography is also popular with readers in the case of online journalism; the city office of *banglanews24.com* has as many as 14 photographers. Multimedia presentations are also expected in online journalism – online news sites in Bangladesh upload video clips occasionally, and even sometimes provide live streaming of important events.

Of the two leading online newspapers *bdnews24.com* and *banglanews24.com*, the readership of *banglanews24.com* is higher, but the reporting offered by bdnews24.com is more credible. According to *alexa.com* (a site that provides information regarding web traffic) on 20 September 2013, *banglanews24.com* overtook *prothom-alo.com*. Readers are not offered any options for commenting on *banglanews24.com*, whereas on *bdnews24.com* the option is available but the scope is limited. Other than still photographs, the use of multimedia is limited on all Bangladeshi news sites. One reason might be the slow internet speeds that limit video streaming, but at the same time none of the online news sites have their own audio-visual units.

Independent Online Newspapers

A lot of online newspapers based in Bangladesh have an artisanal outlook. These offer limited news, and, in most cases, are run by less than 10 personnel. In many cases, they copy news from other professional sites, with some modifying or re-writing the copied texts before uploading. These can be considered as independent initiatives by individuals or small groups of people with a passion for journalism. This type of online newspaper received wider attention after the initiative by the Government of Bangladesh to introduce an Online Media Policy in 2012. Although the proposed policy excluded blog sites, online users started speaking against it, and especially against the proposed annual fee for online newspapers. The significantly higher fee, it was argued, could be paid by the professional and corporate newspapers, but not by the small enterprises. The debate argued that smaller online newspapers would be forced to close because of the proposed higher annual fee. The discussion also revealed that there are more than 200 small online newspapers in Bangladesh. Abdullah-Al-Shafi, the editor of *Newsnetbd.com* says, "We formed an association during the debate regarding Online Media Policy and got 215 members." (Shafi 2013.)

Newsnetbd.com is a small online newspaper that started operating in 2007. The site covers six or seven business events daily. The specialized news site employs four journalists at its office, and three contributing photographers.

↑ Picture 5. An example of online newspaper as a small enterprise, Newsnet (www.newsnetbd.com); accessed on 26 June, 2014.

Most of the smaller online newspapers function as news portals, trying to cover every type of news on the site. Some of the newspapers begin operating with a company registration, but without any permission from Department of Film and Publications (DFP) of the Government of Bangladesh. Usually, the DFP must give a declaration or official permission for the print media in Bangladesh. Many of the online newspapers do not have any trade license; after buying a domain and hiring a server, the site is uploaded and operational.

The owners of these small enterprises come from different backgrounds. Shafi says, "Either they are small-town journalists recently migrated to the capital city, or journalists who lost their job recently, or small businessmen who think the site might help their business." (Shafi 2013) But the small enterprises are yet to be profitable. Advertisers are not interested in small newspapers. If any site starts to become popular, it may cause problems for the newspaper: it has to increase the volume of its reporting, and has to use a higher-capacity which costs more. The server system might also change, meaning they have to switch to another platform, which is again a question of expenditure. Due to these various constraints, many small online newspapers have now ceased operations.

Whatever the prevailing situation for small newspapers, this is nevertheless an indication of the democratization of media, as well as a signifier of the plurality of media in society. Small newspapers might have to plan their

projects according to needs and demand. If a small enterprise acts as a big enterprise, it will not flourish. Small newspapers can, however, be subject specific and focus on particular section of society. In the near future, more people will use online news, and print circulation numbers will continue to decline. This trend is clearly visible in Bangladesh since the advent of smartphone technology. Some companies are introducing low-priced smartphones that offer internet browsing. This has dramatically increased the number of internet users, which in turn has increased the number of people seeking online news. This trend indicates a bright future for online newspapers, even if it they are small, independent enterprises.

Citizen Journalism

Citizen journalism refers to journalism practices with user-generated content. "The proliferation of communication technologies and new media has transformed contemporary journalism by harnessing the power of audiences and citizens to participate in news reporting and dissemination, leading to the rise of citizen journalism" (Douai 2014, 274). "Some relate the origin of citizen journalism with civic journalism or community journalism. With roots in the civic journalism movement of the 1990s, as well as earlier Deweyan inspired forms of community journalism, citizen journalism gained momentum from the explosion of web-enabled forms of citizen expression" (Rojas & Kim 2008, 106).

With the development of Web 2.0 features, online users have turned into "prosumers" – both consumers and producers of news. Previously passive audiences now play the role of active citizen journalists. Citizen journalists may be non-professional and often lack journalistic ethics, but amateur journalism has two aspects that traditional journalism often cannot achieve – citizen journalists can broadcast photographs or video just after an incident takes place, and in so doing they democratize the production, consumption and dissemination of news. Citizen journalism has reversed the traditional relationship between the audience as consumers and reporters as producers of news.

Partly as a reaction to critiques of news coverage by traditional media, partly a process of individual expressive motivation, and partly an exploration of new business models for news, different forms of citizen journalism are emerging worldwide (Rojas & Kim 2008, 106). While in the mainstream media, news or opinions are edited, polished, and sometimes censored by gatekeepers, the opinions published in a blog or on Facebook are found in raw form without

← Picture 6. An example of online propaganda by the supporters of Jamaat-E-Islami, the party of alleged war criminals; The picture of "Prophets of Love" rallies has been used in Facebook as the rally of people of Turkey demanding the release of Jamaat leaders (Source: The Daily Star, 17 March, 2013).

any moderation. In the context of Bangladesh, the presence of grassroots news reporting by the people and for the people has enabled bloggers to performing as citizen journalists. In late 2005, before the advent of Facebook, a blogging community developed. The online community, comprising Facebook users and bloggers, regularly serve news and analyse contemporary issues, thus performing citizen journalism, writing in Bangla (Bengali), the vernacular language of Bangladesh. In the last few years, Facebook has become the most vibrant platform for citizen journalism and activism. Very recently, Bangladesh experienced several movements and counter movements that bloggers participated in.

The Shahbag movement has become famous globally, and is described as a movement initiated by bloggers. It began on 5 February 2013 and later spread to other parts of Bangladesh, as people demanded capital punishment for Abdul Quader Mollah, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment by the International Crimes Tribunal. Mollah was convicted for five charges out of six, including murder, torture, and rape, but the protesters considered the punishment of life imprisonment was given as a result of an entente between Awami League – the party in power – and Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, the leaders of which committed war crimes during the Liberation War in 1971, a few months before the general election. Later demands made by the protesters included banning Jamaat-e-Islami from politics, and a boycott of institutions supporting (or affiliated with) the party.

The protest was initiated by the Blogger and Online Activist Network, and participants included bloggers and young cultural and political activists. Soon, tens of thousands of people joined the demonstration, which gave rise to protests across the country. However, a counter protest arose from the right wing and Islamic block immediately. A pro-Shahbag blogger named Ahmed

← Picture 7. The cyber war of pro-Shabag bloggers. The Facebook page "Shahbage Cyber Juddha" (Cyber War at Shahbag) claims they have hacked the website of Islami Chhatra Shibir, the student wing of Jamaat-E-Islami, the party of alleged war criminals. It was claimed on 22 February, 2013 from the page.

Haider Rajib was killed brutally on 15 February 2013, and a few online materials written by the murdered blogger were published by the right-wing newspaper, *Amar Desh*, suggesting that Rajib was an atheist and hater of Islam, and that more atheist bloggers were leading the Shahbag movement. Because of this propaganda, the movement started to lose mass support. The situation worsened after a death sentence was given to another convicted leader of Jamat-E-Islami, Delwar Hossain Saydee, who committed war crimes in 1971. Saydee is, perhaps, the most popular Jamat leader, and had general support from the mass of people through his speeches interpreting Islam, and spread using audio cassettes. After the verdict, Jamat-E-Islami called strikes, became violent by destroying public and private properties, attacked temples and the homes of Hindu minorities, and also attacked police on duty. The police killed nearly a hundred protesters, and the country experienced alarming political upheaval. In March 2013, another Islamic force, Hefajate Islam – a group with Madrassa background – emerged demanding death sentences for atheist bloggers. Their 13 points also included demolishing sculptures in the universities, cancelling women's development policies, and the segregation of women and men in public spaces. The major opposition party, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), was initially hesitant to support the Shahbag movement, but later started supporting their political ally Jamat-E-Islami, as well as Hefajate Islam. The continuing protests, strikes, and vandalism by both the Islami groups, supported by BNP, created a tumultuous environment of murder, terror, violence, and intolerance in Bangladesh. The conflict grew to resemble the fight between Islamists and secularists, which was reminiscent of the fighting between two

ideologies in and before the Liberation War in 1971. The future of Bangladesh might well be determined by the results of the on-going conflict between the followers of these two ideologies.

The Shahbag movement re-established the ideology of the Liberation War, the components of which included democracy, nationalism, communism, and secularism. However, the movement primarily concentrated on demanding capital punishment for war criminals. This demand is a much-discussed topic, and one of the oldest discourses in the Bengali blogosphere. Since the inception of Bangla blog in late 2005, the pro-liberation bloggers spent much of their energy fighting against the anti-liberation forces. It is to be noted that pro-liberation bloggers are more vocal and dominate the Bangla blogosphere, so it is no surprise that Shahbag movement was initiated by the bloggers. This virtual community worked together and dared to openly reject the sentence given by the court against Abdul Qader Mollah.

A lot of posts, news updates, and analyses were uploaded with the aim of curbing the anti-liberation force. Their fight sometimes crossed limits of decency, and their approach often seemed fascist. But the nationalist jingoism made the community blog sites feel alive and frenzied. During the Shahbag movement in February–March, 2013, the young bloggers created a Facebook group titled "Cyber War at Shahbag", the members of which continued to live blog and stream video from the areas of unrest. Numerous activists, bloggers and Facebook users served news, commentary, and analysis of the movement minute-by-minute. However, anti-liberation bloggers and Facebook users also started to publish propaganda. For example, a Facebook page titled "Basher Kella" posted several Photoshopped pictures, including young boys and girls dancing at Shahbag at midnight wearing obscene dresses, a picture of Delwar Hossain Sayeed on the moon after his death sentence, the Imams of the mosque of Mecca taking part in a procession against the atheist bloggers of Shahbag, and so on. The propaganda also tried to stigmatize the boys of Shahbag as drug addicts, and the girls as whores.

Citizen journalism continued in blogs and on Facebook after the Shahbag incidents – covering strikes and violence by Jamaat and the BNP, police killings, an attack on the Hindu minority by a BNP-Jamaat ally, the rise of Hefajate Islami, their huge demonstration on 6 April, 2013, their enormous Dhaka blockade programme on 5 May 2013, and their 13 points which were considered as anti-progressive and misogynist. Fresh posts and statuses were written, pictures and videos were uploaded, and links were shared around the clock

on Facebook and blogs. The interaction among citizen journalists is very important here, and contributed to the formation of discourses, the moulding of opinions, the creation of political programmes, and inciting resistance in the real world.

A strong base of citizen journalism had been established in pre-Shahbag period. In fact, the experiences and continuing practices of citizen journalism online resulted in the Shahbag movement itself. Renowned blogger and advisor to *bdnews24.com*, Kowshik Ahmed, describes citizen journalism in Bangladesh from a South Asian perspective:

> *Since 2006, we experienced citizen journalism through blog sites. But in the last two years Facebook produced a lot of news, and citizen journalism has started influencing mainstream media. Mainstream media now follows Facebook so that no news is missed. News here in Bangladesh spreads so rapidly online, it can be described as viral. In comparison to other countries in South Asia, in Bangladesh, blogging occurs on a community basis. In India, information spreads through SMS or through closed networks. In Nepal, this practice is low. In Bangladesh, citizen journalism is as vibrant as it is in Pakistan.* (Ahmed, 2013.)

The Bangla blog community are aware of global events despite their apparent insularity, but it is national events that really attract their attention. During 2008–2009, one of the most discussed issues in blog communities was the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) mutiny. On 25 February 2009, a group of soldiers in the BDR, the paramilitary border force, killed around 60 military officers. Civilians and other soldiers were also killed in the mutiny. The apparent reason for this tragic massacre was the soldiers' discontent about their conditions and the role of their officers. The soldiers of the BDR were not accorded conditions similar to other soldiers, and there was a perception among the ranks that the officers, who were career soldiers seconded to the BDR, had done little to alleviate the miserable life of the soldiers in terms of salary and other facilities. A war situation prevailed in the country for two days during the mutiny. The real picture of the BDR tragedy became clear later through the mainstream media, but as the events unfolded, the blogging communities were flooded with posts and comments. Some of the information was hearsay, but other reports included eyewitness descriptions of events, and others sought to analyse the reasons behind the event.

Blogging communities were also very active and vibrant during the general election in December 2008. After two years of a non-democratic regime, the importance of the election was well understood by blog administrators, as well the bloggers themselves. The *Somewherein…* blog introduced microblogging during the election. It was expected that bloggers would blog from the voting centre via SMS, briefly describing how the election was unfolding. During the election, *Amarblog* introduced web TV for expatriate bloggers. They broadcast live election results with the collaboration of ATN Bangla, one of the leading news channels. In addition, the blogging communities provided live election results through data and graphs on the front page of their blogs.

Conclusion

The increasing number of online users has tempted journalism into cyberspace. The unique characteristics of the internet, such as interactivity, hyperlinks, and the ability to instantly transcend geographical boundaries have, in some cases, created a new kind of journalism which is different to the traditional forms seen in print and broadcast media. Journalism has become participatory, as cyberspace makes journalistic practice available to everyone. The independent and participatory journalism carried out by *IMC* and *OhMyNews*, and the radical journalism of sites such as *WikiLeaks*, are examples of a new kind of journalism. Some recent democratic and political movements have evolved using the platform of social media – where activists practice citizen journalism – and this has become the integral platform of the resistance movements. Examples range from the Occupy movement in the West, to the Arab Spring and Shahbag Movement in the developing world.

In Bangladesh, online journalism is emerging from its early stages with limitations, but at the same time showing strong potential. This study finds four types of online journalism practice in Bangladesh. Almost every daily newspaper has an online version, and a few have established separate online departments in the publishing houses. Today, even some of the television channels have an online news presence with up-to-date news. Moreover, a good number of online-only newspapers without any associated print circulation are currently operating in Bangladesh. However, these independent services lack the professionalism of traditional journalism. The newspapers, backed by big investments, still do well in terms of the quality of journalism and their perceived legitimacy among online users. Unlike in other areas of the world,

the smaller online news publishers have not yet shown any specialisation. By contrast, participatory journalism practice is vibrant, especially on Facebook and social media, and in community blogs.

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Digital Transformation of News Media: Social Media in Mainstream Journalism

Mohammad Ofiul Hasnat

Despite being a private medium for sharing opinions, most social media are disseminating information publicly and playing a significant role in the modern form of journalism. The Internet creates scope for everybody to be involved in journalism using social media, thus creating a possibility for citizen journalism to emerge as a form of mainstream mass media. The nature and form of news production in social media are different from traditional mainstream journalism since professional journalistic practices are rarely seen in social media, which might be a barrier to the new communication system becoming established as mainstream news media. Compared with the existing mainstream news media, the initial shortcomings of citizen journalism are the lack of organizational practice, professionalism, credibility and ethics, as most of the communicators in social media are not professionals. This article is based on the results of theme interviews with selected journalists from four newspapers published in Finland. The results show that people are getting news from social media, which creates scope for citizen journalism to find a place in the arena of mainstream mass media and journalism in future.

Introduction

Online journalism in social media is helping a number of people get information regarding current events around the world and has reduced people's dependency on mainstream news media. In some cases, social media play an advance role in disseminating information publicly, causing private media (that is, social media) to emerge as an alternative to the established media houses in the arena of journalism.

The mainstream news media are also practicing journalism on the Internet to disseminate current news rapidly using technological advances and

resulting in two types of online journalism: professional and nonprofessional, each playing a separate role in the field of mass communication from the perspective of different systems of news production. The absence of professional knowledge and reputable brand names raises the question of the credibility of the information produced by social media, as, in most cases, the encoders are not professional journalists. Moreover, there is no systemic gatekeeping process in social media for checking the facts, resulting in the risk that decoders may not get authentic and credible information from these media.

The traditional news media are facing a challenge in Finland, as in the rest of the world, due to the expansion of digital media, which has forced the traditional media to think about alternative ways to survive. Most newspapers have already started online versions in addition to their printed versions. The shape of the traditional newspapers is also changing. The development of new communication tools has led to the establishment of cooperation between mainstream and social media, so that the social media are using the contents of mainstream media, while professionals in the mainstream media are getting primary sources of information from social media.

This article, which is based on the results of theme interviews with journalists working for four newspapers in Finland and some theoretical analysis, argues that social media are gradually gaining a foothold in the field of journalism. The article discusses the credibility and authenticity of the information produced, the importance of transparency in the news management process, and professional and ethical practices from a journalistic perspectives. It also focuses on how social media are playing an important role in journalism and gradually becoming mainstream news media, despite various positive and negative factors.

Methodology and Subject Matter

The qualitative data analysis method was followed in the study. Qualitative research generates statistics using the results of structured interviews. It was not difficult to link the answers as the respondents were from the same profession, although their job titles, positions and experience differed. The opinions of news professionals regarding social media as part of journalism were analyzed following thematic analysis of the qualitative research data. Focusing on the characteristics of social media and comparing them with journalistic norms made it possible to observe journalists at work closely, thus resulting in rich empirical material containing first-hand information about newsroom pro-

duction. As the study was limited to only a few cases, it is difficult to generalize the results of the research. The case studies, therefore, serve primarily as a "reality check" on the theoretical discussions in the article. The theme interviews were conducted with professional journalists at four of the leading newspapers in northern Finland: *Kaleva*, *Lapin Kansa* (the leading newspaper in Lapland), *Keskipohjanmaa* of Kokkola, and the Swedish-language newspaper *Österbottens Tidning*.

Theme Interviews

The structured theme interviews were conducted with working journalists involved in both the online and printed versions of the newspapers. The face-to-face interviews were conducted separately from March 2012 to October 2012 at the respective newspapers' offices, allowing for subjective answers to most of the questions. A total of twelve journalists were interviewed.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire for the interviews consists of 30 questions, including some supplementary questions. Before proceeding to final analysis of the data, answers to the five key questions were marked to get results based on the goals of the study. The key questions were:

1. How do you understand social media as a part of news media?
2. How do traditional and social media impact on each other?
3. How are social media playing a role in journalism?
4. Are social media an alternative to traditional news media?
5. How could social media become full-fledged news media in journalism?

New Social Media and Main Stream Journalism

As part of the new phenomenon of citizen journalism, social media are defined as web-based media where people engage in journalistic practice by disseminating information on the Internet. Some social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and personal blogs, can be seen as social media where ordinary people share information, photos and videos on current events as a part of practising citizen journalism.

The traditional purpose of main stream journalism is to inform the general public about recent events and opinions though mass media like radio, television and newspapers run by organized media houses in systematic ways. However, private social media have become important sources of information, having a significant impact on mass media, although citizen journalists (generally non-professional) very seldom follow the journalistc and ethical norms. Even they do not have monitoring authority and professional obligation for sharing information and views. The traditional news media are trying to cope with new communication tools, while the social media are using traditional media content in various ways. Social media have added a new dimension in the field of journalism in the last two decades where ordinary people play a role in disseminating information swiftly and, in some cases, even before the mainstream media.

Despite the fact that social media are private media, the availability of Internet access and the rapid supply of information have turned them into popular tools for the exchange of both private and public information. The journalistic role of social media has also prompted the traditional mainstream news media to change their way of working so that they behave like social media with online publication. The chief editor of *Lapin Kansa*, Antti Kokkonen, during an interview conducted as part of this study, said that traditional media are feeling pressure from social media:

> *Traditional media are facing challenges as social media are producing more information.*

But the content produced by ordinary people has created controversy as the amateur encoders are still far from professional practice (e.g., Örnebring 2008; Thurman 2008). Baym and Burnett (2009) have raised questions regarding the quality and credibility of the contents of social media, as well as ethical issues. Media researchers have also pointed out the need for organizational structures to engage in mainstream journalism. Defending mainstream journalism, Keen (2007) sees organizational structure as a safeguard for the professional practice of journalism and points out that independent content producers seldom care for journalistic aspects. Lowrey (2012) and Garber (2011) also emphasize the importance of organizational structures in order to work efficiently, expressing concern about the near-total lack of such structures in social media. Despite having various limitations, however, social media have created a revolution in the information world, particularly in some regions such as Arabic and

non-democratic countries where the mainstream media are not free. They have also become widely used in free societies, where freedom of expression has been guaranteed by technological advances and the rapid supply of information has made social media extremely popular. Almost all of the traditional media in Finland now have Internet versions, while the largest daily newspaper in the country, *Helsingin Sanomat*, and the leading newspaper in Lapland, *Lapin Kansa*, have gone to a tabloid format. Piet Bakker (2013) describes the move to a tabloid format as intended to make newspapers more convenient, modern and tailored to young readers, with a view to increasing circulation. The cessation of the printed version of *Newsweek* raised the question whether the era of the print media is coming to an end. The traditional newspaper houses are currently trying to adopt some innovative ideas like using the iPad tablet to cope with the situation (Krumsvik et al. 2013).

The emergence of new media has not only brought changes in the channels of news presentation but has also prompted the whole mainstream journalism industry to think of ways to adapt to the new situation. Lowrey (2012), along with other scholars of mass communication, sees development in various areas, including change and stability, innovation and tradition, calculation and mimicry, variety and homogeneity, financial gain and legitimacy.

Many citizen journalists, particularly bloggers, have shifted from individual production to a more organized form in order to adapt to mainstream practice and earn commercial viability (Lowrey & Latta 2008; Lowrey, Parrott & Meade 2011), which has helped bring social media into the mainstream of journalism. Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009) argue that mainstream media took up online news, motivated in part by their concern about the presence of new entrants in the digital arena.

The Finnish journalists who were interviewed for this study express different opinions regarding the existing situation and the possibility of social media to become tools of mainstream journalism. Most of the journalists see social media as a good means of disseminating primary information, but do not yet think of them as full-fledged media for journalism. However, they believe there is huge possibility for social media to emerge as mainstream media for journalism in future.

Meanwhile, Public participatory journalism where traditional journalism is practiced through coordination between the professional journalists and ordinary citizen created acceptance of the information gathered by non-professionals.

Ahva (2010) pointed out different types of participatory elements for public journalism, which can connect journalists and readers. In this regard readers could be asked for making comment on stories, write e-mail, contact the newsroom by telephone or visit the concern professional journalist.

Referring to *public* deliberation as an aim of public journalism, he emphasized that public journalism is connected to the idea of improving possibilities for discussion that is public in the sense that it is accessible, open and equal. Another characteristic of public journalism is that conceives readers as citizens. He also pointed out that in public journalism citizens are taken as *actors* in the public sphere.

Although journalism professionals have mixed opinion regarding the citizen journalism where anyone is allowed to disseminate information using various tools of technology, most of them showed positive attitude towards the public participatory journalism where the information from the none-professional is being used by mainstream media after playing gatekeeping role. They viewed that social and traditional media are using each other and credibility of social media information could be ensured, if it is belonged to traditional media. As example the information of the facebook page of Kaleva or Lapin kansa could be more credible compared to the credibility of the facebook of unknown users.

On the other hand, some of the journalists see social media as essentially private media and are reluctant to see the new communications tools as part of mass media. The majority of the journalists pointed out some shortcomings of the new social media and provided suggestions for making social media part of mainstream journalism.

Following the discussion above, it can be argued that social media are expanding their activities in the arena of journalism, and opinions differ when the role of social media is compared to that of existing traditional mainstream news media or they are seen only as a new means of communication. There is also a big question whether the new social media will operate in parallel with the existing traditional mainstream news media or influence the older communication system, causing it to be transformed into an e-form in order to cope with the new situation.

Strengths and Shortcomings of Social Media as News Media

Karlsson (2011) draws attention to two important features of online news – user participation and the rapid, continuous news cycle – as essential norms

for transforming social media information into contents of online journalism. Most of the Finnish journalists interviewed for this study also saw the rapid dissemination of information as one of the main strengths of social media. The news producers of social media sometimes get information from primary sources, resulting in news that is very close to the facts, and some information from both known and anonymous sources may be exclusive. The mainstream news media often use information obtained from social media as the primary sources of their own news. For example, the first news of the abduction of a Finnish couple and an Austrian national in Yemen came via social media, when the abductors demanded ransom through video footage on YouTube. The three Europeans were abducted from Sana'a in late December 2012 and released in May 2013. The Finnish journalists also said that information obtained from social media is free of cost and people's willingness to pay for news is gradually decreasing in the age of the free flow of information. Like Antti Kokkonen, Erkki Hujanen, the community news editor of *Kaleva*, discussed the strength of social media:

> *Social media have opened* [many] *more issues and* [brought] *them before the people to let them know*.

The Finnish journalists who were interviewed expressed positive views concerning the role of social media as tools for sharing information and see a bright future for the new media in the journalism arena. However, they have mixed feelings regarding the journalistic role of social media at present. They appreciate the rapid supply of information by social media, which helps the mainstream news media obtain information quickly.

Mazur (2009) says that the media signal is more important than the content and that social media easily attract an audience by using digital technology. The significance and value of news are also changing, following the development of journalism due to social changes brought about by advances in science and technology. Galtung and Ruge (1965) emphasize the news value of the content. Melican and Dixon (2008, 163) argue that not all information found online is news.

The need to introduce gatekeeping in the flow of journalistic information was raised when the accuracy of information began to be considered important in the 1950s (Shoemaker & Reese 1996). But journalists, particularly in social media, generally do not see a need for gatekeeping since the "gate-opening"

process began in the early 1990s. The quick, user-generated news in social media have been part of the gate-opening from the very beginning (Boczkowski 2004). Oliver and Myers (1999) emphasize the differing value of news to professionals and non-professionals, comparing the assessments of reporters and editors with respect to the value and importance of news. They see collective effort as an important factor.

Milla Sallinen, the web producer of *Lapin Kansa*, focuses on the positive and negative aspects of social media in journalism:

> *Speed is the advantage of social media from where we get primary information of news including contacts* [and] *addresses of persons.*

However, she considers the availability of rumours and misleading information in social media as a disadvantage.

Pointing out the limitations of social media in practicing journalism, researchers have raised questions regarding credibility, authenticity and professionalism, emphasizing expertise and knowledge in news production as important factors. Kohring and Matthes (2007, 239) argue that when recipients trust news media, their assessment is based on four dimensions: trust in the selection of topics, trust in the selection of facts, trust in the accuracy of depictions, and trust in journalistic assessment. Trust is related to accuracy, and it is important that those who disseminate the news ensure its authenticity. The Finnish journalists interviewed for this study also raised the issue of the credibility of the news sources, as social media allow anonymous users and people with false identities to share information. Jukka Lehojärvi, the head of the visual department of *Keskipohjanmaa*, insisted on the need to verify the identity of the encoders and the transparency of the information dissemination process:

> *The sources should use real identities and ensure transparency of the information to earn people's trust.*

Other limitations of social media, like the absence of fact-checking or gatekeeping and the potential for large volumes of disinformation were highlighted by the Finnish journalists, who observed that the possibility for error is high in social media, as there is no editing process for the information. Concerning the huge amount of information that has no news value, the journalists stressed

that news sense and the selection of topics are very important factors in practicing journalism in the mainstream news media. Suvi Tanner, the news desk editor of *Lapin Kansa*, discussed this issue:

> *We get huge disinformation in social media also, which wastes* [the] *time of the readers to select the news item.*

The Finnish journalists said that social media have yet to become news media as they play a vital role as media for entertainment. Some researchers, however, have pointed out the negative impact of some professional activities like the gatekeeping process on impartial journalism. Kenneth and Neal (2010) argue that, despite its usefulness and necessity, the gatekeeping process in news organizations sometimes influences the news item by colouring it with the view or ideology of the authorities. This argument claims that the lack of gatekeeping might sometimes be positive in terms of keeping the information free from the influence of the gatekeepers.

The gatekeeping process of journalistic organizations gives preference to official information in most cases, which could sometimes lead to a distortion of the information, but information disseminated directly by citizen journalists is free from authoritative distortion, although there is a risk of human error due to the lack of fact-checking. However, Bennett (1990) and Bennett et al. (2006) emphasize, with respect to credibility, the importance of citing authorized sources in news presentation.

The Finnish journalists interviewed for this study also pointed out that easy access to modern technology and quick information have made social media especially popular among members of the younger generation, which they see as one of the most important aspects of the bright future of social media. Antti Ylönen, the web manager of *Lapin Kansa*, pointed out that young users of social media in the younger generation are reluctant to use mainstream news media:

> *The possibility for social media to turn into mainstream news media in future is high as the next generation may use social media as sources of news.*

Following the discussion above, it can be argued that social media have both merits and limitations in serving as news media, while the traditional mainstream media are also facing difficulties to cope with the new situation which has emerged following the expansion of new media. Dissemination of rapid, firsthand and pressure-free information and low production costs are positive

aspects of social media, whereas lack of credibility and organized news structures and the absence of authority are barriers to social media becoming established as mainstream news media. Echoing the words of Antti Ylönen, it can be said that the future of social media is bright in the arena of digital journalism.

The Impact of Social Media on Existing Mainstream News Media

Mazza and Pedersen (2004) call attention to the issue of pattern change and question whether the organizational form of media is changing to e-media. The increasing role of social media in disseminating huge amounts of information is having a significant impact on mainstream news media.

According to the chief editor of *Lapin Kansa*, Antti Kokkonen, social media are running at their own pace while the traditional mainstream media are beginning to behave like the social media in their flow of information. Goode (2009) also argues that citizen journalism presents a challenge to mainstream corporate media. However, he sees citizen journalism not as an exclusively online phenomenon, not as confined to exclusively "alternative" news sources, but as a form of "metajournalism", wherein citizen journalism itself is becoming an institution with its own special characteristics that will gradually overcome the existing limitations in present journalistic practices.

As part of the impact of social media on the established media houses, Bock (2011, 601) points out the revenue crisis of newspapers, which have had to reduce the number of employees, including journalists. Researchers of mass media and journalism (Ahlers 2006; Cawley 2008; Chyi & Sylvie 2001; Garrison 2005) have studied the market environment of online journalism, where business opportunities may be found despite the lack of an adequate business model. Singer (2003, 154), on the other hand, argues that online media sites are integrating contents that generate revenue from advertisers and marketers with news content in an attempt to fulfill their professional obligations. Some positive aspects, however, are helping social media move ahead as, despite significant changes in the external environment, social media have successfully resolved the bureaucratic complications of journalism (Benson 2004, 283).

Various innovative efforts by online news services have made it possible to create an institutional structure for digital media (Domingo 2008; Singer 2010; Cook 2005). Some researchers (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, 105) also suggest

that more marketing research should be conducted in order to provide new media with an institutional organization. Some researchers (Lowrey, Parrott & Meade 2011; Robinson 2011) also emphasize the need to create a sufficient organizational structure and institutional capacity for social media in order to permanently establish the new communication system.

Based on a study of 24 online news providers in European countries, Quinn and Trench (2002, 33) and Riley et al. (1998) emphasize the significant impact social media are having on traditional media. Newhagen et al. (1995) describe the effects on traditional media when two-way communication poses a threat to the social status of journalists.

Citizen journalism includes practices such as blogging on current events, photo and video sharing, and posting eyewitness commentary on current events and participating in the news process without necessarily acting as "content creators" (Goode 2009). Goode explains that citizen journalism is seen as presenting a challenge to mainstream corporate media. The media houses in Finland are interested in using the content of citizen journalists when they pick up information and photos from an event which a professional journalist has missed. Some newsworthy events that are exclusive to social media are also being carried by the traditional news media.

The Finnish journalists interviewed for this study said that the public demand for mainstream media has decreased as people easily get information from different social media. As Erkki Hujanen, the community news editor of *Kaleva*, said:

> *Many people get information only from social media now.*
> *They need not read or hear main news media.*

Some journalists, however, believe that social media are not full-fledged news media and consider citizen journalism as a new phenomenon in the flow of information but not as part of journalism. They see social media as a good means of mass communication, rather than true journalism.

Stressing the lack of credibility, Björklund argued that freedom and the unregulated flow of information are responsible for the presence of non-credible and even false information in social media.

I agree partially with Björklund's views regarding the role of social media, but the fact is that social media are also disseminating serious news in addition to their entertainment and public relations roles. The journalists who were

interviewed for this study pointed out some positive impacts of social media on mainstream news media as social media have made the process of gathering information easier. The mainstream news media get primary information from social media quickly.

The journalists interviewed for this study also see some negative impacts on business as the circulation of printed newspapers has fallen significantly.

The discussions above make it clear that social media have had a significant impact on the traditional news media. On one hand, they challenge the traditional media by producing huge volumes of information rapidly. On the other hand, the circulation of printed newspapers is gradually declining, particularly where Internet access is available, prompting traditional newspapers to think of alternative ways to survive. However, the representatives of the established media houses in Finland who were interviewed for this study see the change in a more positive light, calling the situation reality. Some of the journalists said that the strong position of social media compels the traditional media houses to work in cooperation with the social media. Fruitful cooperation in the future could lead to both the social and traditional media playing roles as news media.

Cooperation between traditional and new media

The active participation of ordinary people in the communications system of social media increases effectiveness, encouraging the traditional news media to become more involved with their readers and audiences. As part of the contemporary developments in the field of journalism, an unwritten trend of cooperation had developed between social and traditional media wherein the traditional media use information from social media as news sources while the social media use the content of traditional media, disseminating it rapidly to large audiences. Traditional media have already sensed that any Internet user can be a source of information that can be brought into a systematic flow of information, although some journalists have yet to take the role of social media seriously.

Karlsson (2011) argues that user participation and the fast continuous news cycle are important for transforming journalistic norms when journalism moves online. Although the involvement of the users in news production has reduced the control and authority of news media to some extent, traditional journalists feel the need for cooperation with the new media as part of the new reality of their work.

But the traditional media houses still feel that the direct use of unedited information from social media may be risky, emphasizing the need to ensure the credibility of the information. Most of the journalists who were interviewed for this study said that despite social media being good sources of information, they still need to check the authenticity of the information before using it in mass media, as the credibility of online media is still open to question. They also said that the news value of the information provided by social media may sometimes be questionable, due to the lack of news sense of the individual communicators.

As social media encoders are mostly non-professionals, they may place huge amounts of information in social media news, but it sometimes becomes disinformation and may not fulfil people's expectations. Professionalism can also be a vital factor in satisfying public demand through the style of presentation: in a professional presentation, the most important information is presented first and the less important information is presented later. But the standards of traditional media also depend on practicing professionalism as a number of traditional news media do not maintain proper journalistic standards from a professional point of view.

Markku Mantila, the editor-in-chief of Kaleva, said that people over 45 years old generally like traditional news media, whereas people under 30 years prefer digital media. He thinks that the next generation will be reluctant to turn to traditional media due to the massive expansion of social media in the arena of digital journalism. He also hopes that the credibility of social media will gradually increase:

> *The social media will be credible, but it will take time.*
> *After certain developments the digital media may lead in journalism.*

I agree with Mantila, as the transformation of news media to digital versions seems to be gaining in popularity and earning credibility.

Gilbert (2005) discusses the online ventures of print newspaper organizations and proposes that the perception of a threat from newcomers in the media industry has helped the incumbent media companies change their investment patterns. But, at the same time, and in yet another example of how tradition impedes change, they have failed to modify organizational processes that could have helped them take advantage of those resource investments in an innovative way.

Most of the media houses in Finland have initiated direct communication with their readers in order to get feedback, sensing the impact of social media and using social media to interact with people. As the social media often use content from traditional media and traditional media also use social media, the coordination process is being maintained in various ways. Every newspaper has created social media pages on Facebook and Twitter, which helps increase acceptance of the information contained in social media. However, in the Scandinavian context, newspapers seem to be embracing the concept of interactivity slowly (Engebretsen 2006). As the traditional media have good reputations and brand names, cooperation between the old and new could help social media earn credibility.

Results

The data show that eight respondents out of twelve say that social media are part of news media but not full-fledged news media. Three journalists see social media as news media, while one respondent does not consider social media as news media at all. The eight journalists who believe that social media are part of news media say that social media play a significant role as a source of primary information for journalists and for the public as well. They also opined that social media will become full-fledged news media in future. Regarding the impact of social media on traditional media, eleven of the respondents believe there has been a significant impact with both positive and negative features. As an example of the positive effects, they pointed out that traditional media are using social media as sources of information while social media are using the content of traditional media, although they admit that there is also a negative side as the circulation of printed newspaper has gradually declined. One of the respondents, however, considered social media to be private media and did not see any impact on traditional news media. Eight of the journalists said that traditional media are facing challenges as social media are producing more information, and they see the impact as positive, considering the situation as reality in the development of journalism in the digital age.

Regarding the role of social media, eleven journalists say that social media are playing a significant role in disclosing information and informing readers of events directly in the digital world, while one does not see any role of social media in journalism other than in public relations and advertising. Eight out of the eleven who think social media have a journalistic role to play raised

questions, however, regarding the credibility and authenticity of the information in most cases due to lack of transparency in the process of preparing and sharing information and the lack of proper identification of the encoders. Three of the eleven, however, consider the information-sharing process in social media as a new form of digital journalism. These three say that the lack of authenticity and credibility is one limitation of social media, but they said such problems also occur in traditional media. Eleven out of the twelve respondents believe that easy access and rapid dissemination of information are key advantages of social media over traditional news media as far as journalism is concerned.

Three out of twelve respondents believe that social media are an alternative to traditional news media, while the other nine believe that social media are a different type of news media but not an alternative to traditional news media. Seven out of the nine, however, believe that there is a possibility for social media to emerge as mainstream news media in future. Three respondents think that in future there will be only digital media in journalism, as the age of the traditional printed newspaper is coming to an end.

Regarding the possibility for practicing ideal, professional and mainstream journalism, nine respondents believe that social media will achieve institutional status in future by earning more credibility and practicing professionalism. They say that social media have already started to cooperate with reputable traditional news media and are achieving more communication skills and credibility and disseminating information in a journalistic way. They believe social media will become mainstream news media and will be established as alternatives to traditional media. But two journalists believe that social media will continue to operate as they are currently doing and that there is no need for them to be established as full-fledged news media, while one journalist does not know how social media could acquire an institutional form in order to practice full-fledged journalism.

Eight journalists emphasized the need for social media to earn credibility and verify the authenticity of information, proposing the editing process as a possible solution. They said that editing could take place discretely before or after publishing information. It could even be checked by the readers themselves. Transparency should be ensured by identifying the source of information and describing the process of gathering and preparing it. The encoders may verify the information with available online sources. Three respondents have no specific idea how the editing of social media information could be done, but they believe some sort of editing process could be applied to ensure the credibility of

social media in future. One of the journalists, however, believes that it is not possible to edit social media information and that there is no need to edit the information produced by individuals in social media.

Discussion

All of the journalists who were interviewed for this study see online social media as sources of information, although they wonder whether all of the information is news or not. Most of them still believe that social media are mainly a source of entertainment but that some of the information has news value. They also think that social media have a journalistic function in part, but that the trend seems to be towards becoming full-fledged news media in future. Most of the journalists believe social media are a good means of getting primary information.

I agree with the interviewed journalists on most of the points, including their opinion that all the information contained in social media is not news. But I would like to mention that newspapers and other news media also have a number of sections and contents that are not news, so that information that is not news is available in both media; the principal difference is that there is a huge amount of personal information in social media.

Some of the journalists who were interviewed are very optimistic about the future of online digital media in journalism, emphasizing people's interest in digital media due to its speed. Pointing to the new generation's interest in social digital media, they believe the coming generation will not turn to printed newspapers as a source of news. Most of the journalists have a very positive attitude concerning the present role of social media, saying that the information contained in social media is credible, but they believe social media need more credibility in order to be considered as journalistic media. Some of the journalists emphasize the importance of earning public trust by ensuring the real identities of their sources. For example, they said that the identity and nature of the information it disseminates have already made Twitter more credible than any other social media. Some of the journalists say that the type and nature of media are not important; what matters is whether people have confidence in the media, whether traditional or digital. They say that the continued existence of media depends on how well they earn trust by ensuring authenticity and objectivity. They believe that social media could become mainstream news media if they ensure transparency by providing the names and identities of their sources.

Some of the journalists emphasized that social media should narrow the difference between amateurism and professionalism in order to emerge as full-fledged news media and focus on selectivity in the dissemination of news. Although most of the journalists foresee the end of the printed newspaper in future, a few believe that printed newspapers will survive in some form. Most of the journalists believe that brand names and quality production will help traditional newspapers survive, while one of the journalists expressed a more flexible opinion, saying that printed newspapers will continue to exist for at least the next 30 years. Some of the journalists argue that the traditional newspaper will not disappear due to the emergence of new social media, since radio and television failed to replace them earlier.

The observations of Margareta Björklund, however, differ from those of the other journalists: her impression of social media as news media is not positive, although she said that some information in social media could be useful in some cases. She sees a lack of professionalism in social media and believes that people can easily distinguish real journalism from marketing and public relations.

Following the above discussion, it could be argued that most of the journalists who were interviewed for this study see social media as amateur journalism and emphasize the need for a professional attitude in order for social media to emerge as mainstream media of mass communication and journalism. They underscore the need to ensure the accuracy, authenticity, objectivity and overall credibility of the information by following transparent processes of information gathering, preparation and dissemination. They also propose a discrete fact-checking process whereby information could be checked by the sources themselves as an alternative to the traditional editing process. If there are some contradictions, the news producers could gather knowledge from other online or traditional news sources before making the information public.

Conclusion

The discussion above makes it clear that online social media are having a significant impact on mass communication and journalism and becoming a means of getting and sharing information regarding various events. The professional Finnish journalists interviewed for this study who believe in the possibility that social media will emerge as mainstream news media still think there are various drawbacks to social media that keep them from practicing full-fledged journalism. They point to a lack of professionalism and proper authority, as well as a lack

of public confidence in the authenticity and credibility of the information as major barriers to social media becoming established as mainstream news media. They suggest the introduction of some kind of discrete editing process to ensure the credibility of the information, thus into account the public's desire for information and news from social media. Experience and knowledge of suitable journalistic structures and ethical norms might pave the way for social media to achieve recognition as full-fledged news media if the encoders take responsibility for each and every piece of information, disclosing their real identities. Technological advances, effective information processing systems, the rapid dissemination of news, and cheaper production costs are the main reasons for seeing social media as having a future as mainstream news media. If they can overcome their limitations, there is no reason why social media cannot dominate the journalism sector in future as mainstream news media.

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