Doctor Honoris Causa
Peter Dahlgren

PETER DAHLGREN
Doctor Honoris Causa

Laudatio

Domini Peter Dahlgren

Facultatea de Jurnalism și Stiințele Comunicării propune acordarea titlului de Doctor Honoris Causa unui reprezentant de seamă al științelor comunicării, profesorul Peter Dahlgren, *professor emeritus* la *University of Lund*, Suedia. Propunerea de față vine să consacre o viață dedicată construcțiilor teoretice referitoare la rolul mass mediei în construirea spațiului public și întărirea democrației, precum și dezvoltării învățământului universitar de profil. Menționăm că în cei 27 de ani de existență FJSC nu a propus acordarea acestui titlu decât unor mari personalități, care au marcat evoluția și dezvoltarea societății și a mediului științific: Elihu Katz, unul din părinții cercetărilor privind efectele mass media, Philip Kotler, unul din fondatorii studiilor de marketing și publicitate, Bernard Miege, creatorul teoriilor industriilor culturale, James Grunig, creatorul modelelor teoretice ale relațiilor publice, Peter Gross, reputat specialist în studiile de comunicare politică și transitologie. Profesorul Peter Dahlgren s-a distins prin abordarea inovativă a unor aspecte fundamentale ale relației dintre media, noile tehnologii și democrație.

Ca o recunoaștere a contribuției sale științifice, profesorul Peter Dahlgren a primit titlul de Doctor Honoris Causa al *Université de Lorraine*, Metz, Franța, și premiul Fundației Wahlgren pentru opera sa în domeniul științelor comunicării. În acest context putem menționa și faptul că în 2010 a fost profesorul suedez cu cel mai înalt indice de impact în domeniul științelor sociale.

Opera științifică a profesorului Peter Dahlgren se individualizează, în peisajul științelor comunicării, prin efortul de a realiza o sinteză teoretică, în măsură să desprindă studiul relației dintre mass media și spațiul public de cadrul normativ, mult prea restrictiv, al primei construcții teoretice elaborate de marele filosof german Jurgen Habermas. Profesorul Dahlgren a insistat constant asupra faptului că media nu poate fi redusă doar la dimensiunea de furnizor de informații și spațiu al dezbaterii argumentative. Politicul și problemele de interes civic în general pot să fie comunicate și în formele specifice "popular culture", iar dezbaterile pot lua forme variate – mai ales în spațiul deschis tuturor oferit de Internet. Referindu-se la efectele noilor forme de comunicare din sfera publică, el a arătat că și „jurnalismul popular", „divertismentul", „emoțiile", formele de construcție a cetățeniei ca

identitate culturală, dialogul (nemediat de instituții) dintre actorii sociali sunt tot „activități comunicaționale". Noile tehnologii și, datorită lor, noile media, corelate cu transformările socio-politice ale post-modernității conduc la modificări esențiale ale sferei publice contemporane: "If the public sphere, on the one hand, is implicated with the market, on the other hand, this space has become increasingly interwoven with private space, to the point that the distinctions between public and private space are not always as self-evident as they seem to have been in the past" ("Public sphere: linking the media and civic cultures", in E. Rothenbuhler, M. Coman, *Media anthropology*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005, p. 322).

Reflectând asupra acestor transformări, Peter Dahlgren arată că spațiul privat al omului de azi devine unul cosmopolitan, în care oameni de pretutindeni se intersectează pentru a dezbate temele de interes comun: "The web enables new forms of civic and political participation, and even if there are many contingencies that set limits on the character and extent of such participation, this marks a new historical phase in the history of democracy" (*The political web*, Palgrave-McMillan, 2013). Astfel întreaga sa operă de cercetare se concentrează pe analizarea acestor serii de transformări ale spațiului public, transformări datorate tranformărilor din mass media: deschiderea sferei publice către forme de exprimare simbolice (care folosesc alte mecanisme argumentative în raport cu modelele aristotelice ale argumentării) și lărgirea acesteia prin oportunitățile oferite de Internet.

Profesorul Peter Dahlgren a absolvit cursurile *Bucknell University*, Pennsylvania (1967) și programele de master de la *International Graduate School*, *Stockholm University* (1968) și *International Communication*, *American University* (1970). A obținut titlul de doctor în științele sociale la *City University of New York* (1977) și abilitarea la *Stockholm University* (1985). De-a lungul unei prestigioase cariere a predat la *Stokholm University* (1980–1997) și la *Lund University* (1997– prezent; din 2010 în calitate de *professor emeritus*), precum și la *Queens College, City University of New York* (1975–1980). A fost *visiting professor* la *Université de Paris 3* (2009), *Université de Grenoble 3* (2009 – catedra Unesco), *Annenberg School of Communication*, *University of Pennsylvania* (2007), *Libra Università di Liungue e Communicazione* (ILUM), Milano (2002), *Institute Français de Presse*, *l'Université de Paris 2* (2001), *Department of Journalism and Media*, *Rhodes University*, Grahamstown, South Africa (1996), *Dept. of Film and Media Studies*, *University of Stirling*, Scotland (1992), *Dépt. de Communication*, *l'Université du Québec à Montréal* (1983).

Peter Dahlgren a publicat șapte cărți de autor și a fost coordonator al altor șase lucrări. Între titlurile care s-au bucurat de o largă recunoaștere internațională amintim: *The Political Web: Participation, Media, and Alternative Democracy* (2013), *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication, and Democracy* (2009), *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation* (2007, coordonator),

T*elevision and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media* (1995 – tradusă în România în 2005), *Journalism and Popular Culture* (1992, tradusă în România în 2001). De asemenea, profesorul Peter Dahlgren a publicat 129 de articole și capitole în cărți coordonate și a contribuit la prestigioase enciclopedii în științele comunicării: *Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, *The Sage Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Totodată, el a susținut 92 de prezentări la conferințe internaționale și a fost organizator, panelist sau *chairman* la numeroase alte manifestări științifice.

Peter Dahlgren a obținut numeroase granturi de la organisme europene între care amintim: The Sixth Framework Programme, The European Union 2006–2009 *Young People, the Internet and Civic Particpation (CIVICWEB)*”; The LearnIT research school (the Swedish Knowledge Foundation) 2003–6; *Civic Engagement and Learning* “Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar (SPF), 1995–6. 1997–98; Nordiska smmarbetsnämden för humanistisk forskning (NOS-H) 1989–91; Brottsförbygganderådet (BRÅ, Council on Crime Prevention); 1985–87 etc. De asemenea, este expert în comitetele științifice ale unor importante organisme internaționale de finanțare a cercetării precum *European Science Foundation Networking Programme: Evaluator for competition*, *The Baltic Sea Foundation, Humanities and Social Science Research Council: Political science and media studies, The Wahlgren Foundation: media studies, Humanities and Social Science Research Council: Political science and media studies, The Wahlgren Foundation: media studies, Economic and Social Science Research Council, National research councils of Norway, Denmark, and Belgium.*

Prestigiul internațional al profesorului Peter Dahlgren este evidențiat și de faptul că este membru în “Editorial Board” al celor mai importante reviste stiințifice din domeniul științelor comunicării: *Critical Studies in Media Communication, Digital Journalism, International Journal of Electronic Governance, Journalism Studies, Javnost/The Public, Media, Culture & Society, Questions de Communication, Reseaux, The European Journal of Cultural Studies.* Recunoașterea contribuției sale la dezvoltarea cercetării în științele comunicării este confirmată și de faptul că a fost invitat în calitate de *keynote speaker* la 36 de conferințe internaționale.

Importanța contribuției sale la dezvoltarea științelor comunicării a condus la traducerea în română, între primele titluri teoretice din acest domeniu oferite publicului autohton, a două volume de referință, *Jurnalismul și cultura populară* (Polirom, 2001) și *Televiziunea și spațiul public* (Comunicare.ro, 2005). De asemenea, profesorul Peter Dahlgren a sprijint dezvoltarea cercetării în științele comunicării din cadrul FJSC prin participarea la colocviile stiințifice internaționale organizate în cadrul universității și prin consilierea și dialogul cu tinerii doctoranzi ai FJSC.

Laudatio
Domini Peter Dahlgren

The Faculty of Journalism and Communication Sciences proposes the awarding of the title of Doctor Honoris Causa to a representative of honour of communication sciences, professor Peter Dahlgren, emeritus professor of University of Lund, Sweden. The present proposal is meant to pay homage to a life dedicated to theoretical constructions related to the role of mass media in the construction of the public space and the consolidation of democracy, as well as the development of academic education in this field. We mention that in its 27 years of existence, the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Sciences proposed the awarding of this title only to several great public figures, who have marked the evolution and development of the society and the scientific environment: Elihu Katz, one of the founding fathers of mass media effects researches, Philip Kotler, one of the founders of marketing and advertising studies, Bernard Miege, creator of cultural industries theories, James Grunig, creator of theoretical models in public relations, Peter Gross, reputed specialist in studies of political communication and transitology. Professor Peter Dahlgren has stood out through his innovative approach of some fundamental aspects of the relation between media, new technologies and democracy.

In recognition of his scientific contribution, professor Peter Dahlgren has been awarded the title of Doctor Honoris Causa of Université de Lorraine, Metz, France, and the Wahlgren foundation prize for his work in the field of communication sciences. In this context we can mention as well the fact that in 2010 he has been the Swedish professor with the highest impact factor in the field of social sciences.

The scientific work of professor Peter Dahlgrense stands out, in the landscape of communication sciences, through his effort to create a theoretical synthesis, meant to separate the study on the relation between mass media and the public space from the overly restrictive regulatory framework of the first theoretical construction developed by the great German philosopher, Jurgen Habermas. Professor Dahlgren has consistently insisted on the fact that media cannot be reduced to the status of supplier of information and space for argumentative debates. Politics and matters of civic interest in general can be communicated in

the specific forms of "popular culture" as well, and the debates can take various forms –particularly in the space open to everybody offered by the Internet. Referring to the effects of the new forms of communication in the public sphere, he has showed that also "popular journalism", "entertainment", "emotions" (as an important ingredient in a political debate), the forms of constructing citizenship as a cultural identity, dialogue (not mediated by institutions) between the social actors are "communication activities" as well. New technologies and, due to them, new media, correlated with the social and political transformations of postmodernity lead to essential changes in the contemporary public sphere: "If the public sphere, on the one hand, is implicated with the market, on the other hand, this space has become increasingly interwoven with private space, to the point that the distinctions between public and private space are not always as self-evident as they seem to have been in the past" ("Public sphere: linking the media and civic cultures", in E. Rothenbuhler, M. Coman, *Media anthropology*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005, p. 322).

Reflecting on these transformations, Peter Dahlgren shows that the private space of today's individual becomes a cosmopolitan one, in which people from everywhere come together to debate topics of common interest: "The web enables new forms of civic and political participation, and even if there are many contingencies that set limits on the character and extent of such participation, this marks a new historical phase in the history of democracy" (*The political web*, Palgrave-McMillan, 2013). Thus, his entire research work focuses on the analysis of these series of transformations of the public space, transformations owed to the transformations in mass media: the opening of the public sphere towards symbolic forms of expression (that use other argumentative mechanisms in relation with the Aristotelian models of argumentation) and its widening through the opportunities offered by the Internet.

Professor Peter Dahlgren has completed the courses of Bucknell University, Pennsylvania (1967) and the Master's programmes of the International Graduate School, Stockholm University (1968) and International Communication, American University (1970). He has obtained a PhD in social sciences at the City University of New York (1977) and supervises PhD thesis at Stockholm University (since 1985). Throughout a prestigious career he has taught at Stockholm University (1980–1997) and Lund University (1997– present; from 2010 as emeritus professor), as well as Queens College, City University of New York (1975–1980). He was visiting professor at Université de Paris 3 (2009), Université de Grenoble 3 (2009 – Unesco chair), Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania (2007), Libra Università di Lingue e Communicazione (ILUM), Milano (2002), Institut Français de Presse,

l'Université de Paris 2 (2001), Department of Journalism and Media, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa (1996), Dept. of Film and Media Studies, University of Stirling, Scotland (1992), Dépt. de Communication, l'Université du Québec à Montréal (1983).

Peter Dahlgren has published seven books and has coordinated other six so far. Among the titles that have been widely and internationally appreciated, there are: *The Political Web: Participation, Media, and Alternative Democracy* (2013), *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication and Democracy* (2009), *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation* (2007, coordinator), *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media* (1995 – Translated into Romanian in 2005), *Journalism and Popular Culture* (1992, translated into Romanian in 2001). In addition, Professor Peter Dahlgren has published 129 articles in scientific journals and of communication studies: *Encyclopaedia of Political Communication*, *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Political Communication*, *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication*, *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. At the same time he has presented his works within 92 international conferences and has assumed the roles of: organiser, panellist and chairman for numerous other scientific events.

Peter Dahlgren benefited from a number of scholarships granted by various European institutions such as: The Sixth Framework Programme, The European Union 2006–2009 *Young People, the Internet and Civic Participation (CIVICWEB)*; The LearnIT research school (the Swedish Knowledge Foundation) 2003–6; *Civic Engagement and Learning* "Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar (SPF), 1995–6, 1997−98; Nordiska smmarbetsnämden för humanistisk forskning (NOS-H) 1989–91; Brottsförbygganderådet (BRÅ, Council on Crime Prevention); 1985–87 etc. Furthermore, he is an expert member in scientific boards of important international financing institutions for research, such as: European Science Foundation Networking Programme: Competition Assessor , The Baltic Sea Foundation, Humanities and Social Science Research Council: Political Science and Media Studies, The Wahlgren Foundation: Media Studies, Humanities and Social Science Research Council: Political Science and Media Studies, The Wahlgren Foundation: Media Studies, Economic and Social Science Research Council, National Research Council of Norway, Denmark, and Belgium.

Being a member of the Editorial Board of the most important scientific magazines in communication studies is another hint at Professor Peter Dahlgren's international prestige: *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *Digital Journalism*, *International Journal of Electronic Governance*, *Journalism Studies*, *Javnost/The Public*, *Media*, *Culture & Society*, *Questions de Communication*,

Reseaux, *The European Journal of Cultural Studies*. His being invited as the keynote speaker for 36 international conferences is yet another recognition of his contribution to research in communication studies.

His important contribution to the development of the field of communication studies has led to two of his most important books being translated into Romanian, among the first theoretical titles of this field of research that have been offered to the Romanian Public: *Journalism and Popular Culture* (Polirom, 2001) and *Television and the Public Sphere* (Comunicare.ro, 2005). Furthermore, Professor Peter Dahlgren has supported the growth of research in communication studies field, within The Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies, through his attending of international scientific sessions held within the University and also through his counselling and dialogue with young PhD students from FJSC.

Excerpt from the speech on the occasion of being awarded the Title of Doctor Honoris Causa

Peter Dahlgren

...I feel I have been fortunate to be working in the field of media and communication studies that has been so open, eclectic, indeed 'undisciplined', that permits, even implicitly encourages, that we 'import' theories and methods from other fields. This, even while our field struggles to define its core and establish its borders against other fields. (Every decade or so we have have seen an airing of these fundamental questions about our identity). There is a tension here: institutionally our field must define and position itsef against others (e.g. in the politics of the university and the competition for research funding), yet intellectually, the field benefits from contact with the older 'mother disciplines' as well as the newer relevant (e.g. computer sciences, informatics, artificial intelligence).

The establishment of disciplines and fields in the misty past was done as a convenient division of labour at universities. This division has becomes increasingly inconvenient, as knowledge grows in ways that are often indifferent to the boundaries. Indeed, to the extent that just about all disiciplines in the social sciences and humanities today are adressing the Internet in some way or other, they can be said to be engaged in media research. So, while we today have less of a monopoly, we have much more opportunity to grow scientifically. I have found this openness intellectully exciting; it has permitted me (and many others) to explore and integrate a number of theoretical currents outside – or at least on the borders – of our own field.

In terms of theory, the field is permeable, resulting in a productive "free flow" across its borders. It is useful to keep in mind Denis McQuail's formulation, that theory is not just formal propositions, something to be 'tested'. They also comprises "any systematic set of ideas that can help make sense of a phenomenon, guide action or predict a consequence" (McQuail, 2000:7). Such a view highlights theory's function as the intellectual scaffolding for the research we do. It serves to orient us, to pull together sets of facts and assumptions, and offers normative dispositions. It helps to provide significance to that which we observe, and to suggest the implications of various types of actions or interventions.

Media theory and the allies that it mobilizes have an obligation to help us better understand not just the institutions of the media or the processes of communication, even if these are central, but also the fundamental features and processes of the modern world (which, I would underscore, are increasingly known to us via the media). This world – our societies, our cultures – is not only in rapid transformation, but also in many ways in a profound malaise, a reality that theory cannot ignore. Thus, useful theories, while they can make no a priori truth claims and must remain dialogically open, should strive to articulate empirical social reality with notions of better possible alternatives. It is thus imperative that in the theories we use we can find helpful normative guides that can prompt question-asking and inspire research that might help reduce our collective distress.

In my own work, which has focused to a great extent on the role of media in the dynamics of democracy and civic participation, I have drawn from the range of media theories, as well as some other currents. These all have some to contribute, while each has its limitations.

Political communication derives from its mother discipline of political science, and much of the research work done still reflects this heritage. While perhaps not the most central toolbox in my own work, I find this horizon indispensable, since it addresses the important realm of formal, democratic politics from a media and communications angle. It even has the theme of nonparticipation as a part of its research agenda. Yet, like all traditions, political also has its lacunae: 'politics' is seen largely in terms of the interplay between these institutionalized actors, thus often ignoring other domains and forms of politics. Also, this tradition usually does not probe deeper into the cultural construction of meaning and the subjectivity of citizens.

The public sphere tradition that derives from Habermas includes a range of interests and approaches that take up not only the public sphere, but also related themes such as communicative rationality, deliberative democracy, and civil society. Habermas' early work on the public sphere was influenced by the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and emphatically asserts the norms of democracy in the face of the historical and social forces that threaten it. The public sphere tradition often looks critically at institutional arrangements, especially in the media, as well as constellations of power and patterns of communication that can support or hinder democracy. However, with its normative emphasis, this tradition is often removed from the actual everyday socio-cultural circumstances of citizens.

A third tradition builds on various currents within late modern cultural theory; I call it 'culturalist'; it has elements from Cultural Studies, but is not identical with it. What the culturalist approach offers is perspectives on such key themes as

meaning, identity, and practices – highlighting the idea of sense-making agents. The culturalist orientation can turn our attention to topics such as the subjective realities of citizenship, their processes of sense making in concrete settings – via discourses, for example – and how these may impact on participation and the modes of engagement. However, it tends not to address in detail the structural, institutional dynamics of democracy and political communication.

To these three complementary strands I add perspectives on social structures and relations of power, group dynamics, as well as on media technologies – their political economy, their affordances and limitations, how they are used in people's practices.

Following this overview of theory, I feel I should offer just a few very brief remarks on the ever-problematic notion of 'methodology'...

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

Advanced research title of 'Docent' ('Habilitation'), Stockholm University, **1985**

Doctor of Philosophy, Sociology, City University of New York, **1977**

Master of Arts, International Communication, American University, **1970**

Diploma, International Graduate School, Stockholm University, **1968**
Bachelor of Arts, Bucknell University, Pennsylvania, **1967**

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Media and Communication Studies, University of Lund
       Professor, **July 1997–June 2010**. Professor emeritus, **July 2010–**

Dept. of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK), Stockholm University
       Acting professor of mass communication, 20%, **autumn 1995–1997**
       Principle lecturer in media studies 50% **1990–97**
       Acting professor of journalism, **1989–90**

Dept. of Film Studies, Stockholm University
       Acting professor of film, **spring, 1989**

School of Journalism, Stockholm
       Lecturer, 50%, **1980–1989**

Dept. of Communication Arts and Sciences, Queens College,
City University of New York; Assistant professor, **1978–80**; Instructor, **1975–78**

Audience and Programme Research Dept., Swedish Broadcasting; research assistant, **1970–72**

AWARDS/HONOURS

September 2016: Honorary doctorate (Doctorate Honoris Causa), Université de Lorraine à Metz.

Nov. 2012: awarded the tri-annual Wahlgren Foundation prize for contributions to the field media and communication studies.

Dec. 2010: ranked first among Swedish professors in our field in terms of international academic citations and impact.

Selected Publications

Peter Dahlgren

Monographs

Dahlgren, Peter **(2013)** *The Political Web: Participation, Media, and Alternative Democracy.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Olsson, Tobias and Peter Dahlgren, eds **(2010)** *Young People, ICTs and Democracy.* Göteborg: Nordicom.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2009)** *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication, and Democracy.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dahlgren, Peter, ed **(2007)** *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation.* New York: Routledge.

Dahlgren, Peter ed. **(2002)** *Internet, medier och kommunikation.* Lund: Student litteratur.

Weiten, Jan, Graham Murdoch and Peter Dahlgren eds., **(2000)** *Television Across Europe.* London: Sage.

Dahlgren, Peter, Gunilla Carlsson, Lars Uhlin **(1997)** *Mediernas bevakning av händelserrna vid Hallandsåsen, 1997.* Stockholm: SPF. (Media coverage of the environmental disaster at Halland Ridge).

Dahlgren, Peter and Birgitta Höijer **(1997)** *Medier, oro och medborgarskap.* Stockholm: Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar. (Media, anxiety and citizenship).

Dahlgren, Peter **(1995)** *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media.* London: Sage. Romanian translation, Bucharest, 2005.

Dahlgren, Peter, & Colin Sparks, eds **(1992)** *Journalism and Popular Culture.* London: Sage.

Dahlgren, Peter and Sparks, Colin, eds **(1991)** *Communication and Citizenship.* London: Routledge.

Dahlgren, Peter **(1987)** *Pressens bild av brottslighet.* Stockholm: Brottsförebygganderådet. (The press' portrayal of crime).

Journal articles and anthology chapters

Dahlgren, Peter **(2016)** 'Moral spectatorship and its discourses: The "mediapolis" in the Swedish refugee crisis'. *Javnost/The Public* vol. 23 no. 4 382−394.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2016)** 'Web-based political participation: Engagement, emotion, expression, efficacy'. *Revista Media & Jornalismo − Cidadania e Democracia na Era Digital.* http://www.cimj.org/images/stories/docs_cimj/2015_5_web-based%20political%20participation.pdf

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Dahlgren, Peter **(2016)** 'Civic cosmopolitanism and political communication: Media, activism, and agency'. In Rita Figuieras and Paula Santos, eds. *Beyond the Internet.* Routlege, pp. 7–30.

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Slavko Splichak & Peter Dahlgren **(2016)** 'Journalism between de-professionalisation and democratisation' *European Journal of Communication*, Feb., 31: 5–18.

Claudia Alvares & Peter Dahlgren **(2016)** 'Populism, extremism, and media: Mapping an uncertain terrain'. *European Journal of Communication*, Feb., 31: 46–57.

Dahlgren, Peter & Joke Hermes **(2015)** 'The democratic horizons of the museum: citizenship and culture'. In Kylie Message & Andrea Witcomb, eds., *Museum Theory*: Maldon, MA: John Wiley & Sons: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 117–138.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2015)** 'Internet as a civic space'. In Stephen Coleman and Deen Freelon, eds., *Handbook of Digital Politics*. Cheltanham: Edward Elgar, pp. 17–34.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2015)** 'Civic cosmopolitanism as political agency: Media, practices, identities'. In C.C. Lee, ed. *Internationalizing International Communication.* Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, pp. 281–301.

Dahlgren, P. **(2014)**, 'Political participation via the web: Structural and subjective contingencies', *Interactions: Studies in Communication & Culture* 5: 3, pp. 255–269, doi: 10.1386/iscc.5.3.255_1

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Dahlgren, Peter **(2014)** 'Civic engagement'. *International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Splichal, Slavko and Peter Dahlgren **(2014)** 'Media research paradigms: Conceptual distinctions, continuing divisions'. In Fabienne Darling-Wolf, ed, *International Companion to Media Studies Methods in Media Studies.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 39–64.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2014)** 'Social media and political participation: discourse and deflection', In Christian Fuchs, ed. *Critique, Social Media and the Information Society.* New York: Routledge, pp. 191–202.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2013)** 'Sociala medier och demokrati: vad är ett 'realistiskt' perspektiv? (Social media and democracy: what is a 'realistic' perspective?' *Nordicom information* 35(1–2): 49–54.

Vobič, Igor and Peter Dahlgren (2013) 'Participatory journalism: possibilities and constraints', *Medijska Istrazivanja – Croatian Journal for Journalism and the Media* 19(2): 9–30.

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Dahlgren, Peter **(2013)** 'Do social media enhance democratic participation? The importance – and difficulty – of being "realistic" '. Berlin: The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Policy Paper 04/23

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Dahlgren, Peter **(2013)** 'From public to civic intellectuals: Political agency and emerging media landscapes' In P.Thijssen, C. Timmerman & W. Weyns, eds *New Public Spheres: Recontextualizing the Intellectual.* London: Ashgate.

Dahlgren, Peter **(2013)** 'Forward', in Bart Cammaets, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy, eds., *Mediation and Protest Movements*. Bristol: Intellect.

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RESEARCH FUNDING

PEDAGOGIC ACTIVITIES

Advising of doctoral students – completed dissertations:

Nuri Widyasari: *Les Hackers d'AirPutih dans la Reconstruction de Aceh, Indonésie: Anthropologie d'Infocom* Université de Paris 8, Oct. 2014 (co-advisor)

Jan Hinderson: *Web Journalism at Three Swedish Regional and Local Newspapers* (in Swedish; co-advisor) May **2013**

Tina Askanius: *Radical Online Video: YouTube, Video Activism, and Social Movement Media*

Practices. Nov. **2012**

Igor Vobic: *Global Trends of Online Journalism in Slovenian Print Media* (external advisor), May **2012**

Inger Larsson: *Intercultural Communication: Swedish Decision-Makers Abroad* (In Swedish); April **2010**.

Sara Hamqvist: *Sport, Media and Doping: Scandals in the Swedish Press* (In Swedish). Feb. **2010**.

Michael Krona: *From Causes to Consequences: Narrative Strategies in Swedish Television's Coverage of Domestic Politics 1978–2005* (in Swedish). Joint advisor; Oct. **2009**.

Malin Nilsson, *Explaining the human being : discourses in popular science television programmes'* (in Swedish). Oct. **2009**.

Viktorija Car, *Narrative and Myth in Croatian Television News*, University of Ljubljana., July **2009**. External advisor.

Jakob Svensson, Lund University, *Communication, Citizenship and Democracy: A Study of the Civic Committees of Helsingborg* (in Swedish). June **2008**.

Rutger von Seth, University of Gotheburg (I was main advisor) *From the Soviet to the Post-Soviet Russian Press: Democracy and the Elusive Public Sphere*. April, **2008**.

Britt-Marie Ringfjord, Lund University *Sport and Media: An Arena for Gender Identity* (in Swedish), May **2006** (fil.lic.).

Michael Carlsson, Lund University, *Net Journalism: An Exploratory Study of Digital Media Characteristics on Four Swedish News Sites.* (In Swedish), Feb. **2006**.

Jesper Falkheimer, Lund University, *Journalism, Public Relations and the Öresund Region* (in Swedish) Sept. **2004**.

Mats Heide, Lund University *Organizational Learning and Intranet* (in Swedish), Dec. **2002**.

Charlotte Simonsson, Lund University. *Leadership Communication in a Large Corporation* (in Swedish), Nov. **2002**.

Ulrika Sjöberg, Lund University: Screen Rites: *Young People in the Digital Media Milieu* (secondary advisor). Nov., **2002**.

Larry Strelitz, Rhodes University, South Africa: *Where the Global Meets the Local: South African Youth and their Experience of Global Media* (external advisor). April **2002**.

Leonor Camauër, Stockholm University, *Women, Media and Identity: An Ethnography of Four Feminist Organizations*. Jan. **2000**.

Madeleine Kleberg, Stockholm University, *The Social TV Reportage in Sweden – 1950's and 1960's* (In Swedish) Oct. **1999**.

Peter Dahlén, Univ. of Göteborg, *The Establishment and Development of Radio Sport of on Swedish Radio, 1925–95* (In Swedish) May **1999**. (Secondary advisor)

Hillevi Ganetz, Stockholm University *Women's Swedish Rock Texts: Context, Themes, Motives, Development* (In Swedish). Sept. **1997**.

Birgitta Löwander, Umeå University. *TV, Hatred of Immigrants and Refugee Policy: A Study of Public Service Television's Current Affairs Programs, 1970–1995* (In Swedish). Sept.**1997**. (Secondary advisor).

Veronica Stoehrel, Stockholm University. *Narrative Strategies, Knowledge and Reflection: an Analysis and Interpretation of Current Affairs Programs in Swedish Television During the 1980's*. (In Swedish).

Oct. **1994**.

Torsten Thurén, Stockholm University. *The Reporter's Rich Repertoires: a Study of Reality Representation and Narrative Techniques In Seven Reportage Books.* (In Swedish) March **1992**.

Lars Hultén, Stockholm University. *The Reportage that Derailed* (in Swedish). March **1990**.

Igor Korsic, Stockholm University, *Suspended Time: André Bazin's Notion of Objectivityy of the Film Image.* Dept. of Film Studies, Stockholm University; Feb. **1988**.

Teaching

Taught graduate courses **(1995–2010)**

> Media and cosmopolitanism
>
> Gender, media, and civic engagement
>
> Media, globalization, and democracy
>
> Discourse analysis of media texts
>
> Public opinion: theory and practice
>
> Philosophy of science and media research
>
> Journalism, public relations and the public sphere
>
> Internet as a media phenomenon
>
> Media studies as a research field
>
> Consumption, culture and the media
>
> Qualitative research methods
>
> Methods for TV analysis
>
> Journalism as a research area
>
> Media organizations and professions
>
> Theories of subjectivity and identity
>
> Modern critical theory

Course modules, undergraduate programs: **(1988–2006)**

> Internet and democracy
>
> Journalism's institutional settings
>
> Television: institution and culture
>
> Cultural studies: theory and methods
>
> Analyzing TV journalism
>
> Semiotic methods
>
> Global electronic journalism
>
> Journalism and popular culture
>
> Gender theory
>
> Project advising and seminars, examiner, C- and D-levels

Instructional material

The book *Upptäck massmedierna* (Discover the Mass Media) first came out in **1992**, 2nd. ed 1994. It was aimed at high school level courses (pre-university) and adult education. I designed the structure and wrote 80% of the text. It was awarded the Ministry of Education's book prize.

INTERNATIONAL PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Visiting scholar

INVITED TO THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS:

Université de Paris 3, late spring, **2009**

Université de Grenoble 3, early sprig **2009** (Unesco visiting chair)

Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania; Scholar in Residence, Program in Culture and Communication, autumn term, **2007**.

Institute Français de Presse, l'Université de Paris II, spring, **2007**

Libra Università di Liungue e Communicazione (ILUM), Milano, spring **2002**

Institute Français de Presse, l'Université de Paris II, autumn **2001**

Dept. of Journalism and Media, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, summer, **1996**

Dept. of Film and Media Studies, University of Stirling, Scotland, autumn **1992**

Dépt. de Communication, l'Université du Québec à Montréal, autumn **1983**

International networking

Have held many individual guest lectures and seminars in Europe: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Tampere, Paris, London, Athens, Milan, Perugia, Rome, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Brussels, Ghent, Malta, Zagreb, Lisbon.

Workshop chair within the European Science Foundation programme *Forward Look*, aimed at developing a future research agenda **(2012–2013)**.

Member of COST Action network *Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*, **2010–2014**.

Part of delegation from Lund University sent to University of Damascus, 21–25 April **2008** to explore the development of academic exchanges within Erasmus Mundo programme.

Member of the *The European Science Foundation*'s COST A 30 Network: East of West: Media and Democratization in East- and Central Europe, **2005–2009**.

Media, Representation and Networks: Constructing Contemporary Social Worlds: I was in charge of a four-year doctoral exchange program between Lund University and l'Univerité de Paris III; financed by STINT, **2003–2007**.

Member of *The European Science Foundation*'s Network on 'Changing Media, Changing Europe", **1999–2004**.

Member of the *Network for Comparative Study of European Television*, spring **1998–2000**. Our group among other things developed an international textbook.

Together with colleagues from 8 other institutions I helped launch *The European Network for Doctoral Studies in Communication and Media* in **1992**. An intensive workshop is held each summer, where

I am active with a major lecture and advising of foreign doctoral students. This program is now coordinated with the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA).

Coordinator for foreign research contacts at JMK, Stockholm University. Between **1989** and **1997**, I invited and hosted ca. 25 colleagues from abroad to the dept. The visits varied from two days to one semester, with most staying several weeks. Many were invited within the framework of the Bonnier visiting professor program, which I coordinated; others were visiting Fulbright scholars.

Organizer for seminars 'Research in Journalism' at Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik. These seminars, with ca. 25 participants, took place six times between 1984 and 1990 at the Inter-University Centre for Post-Graduate Studies, Dubrovnik.

Secretary General **(1982–1990)** of Research Committee on Communication, Knowledge and Culture (CKC) within the International Sociological Association (ISA); I was responsible for session The Sociology of Political News, ISA-congress, Madrid, August, **1990**. Also, coordination of the CKC's week-long program with 10 sessions at the ISA congress, New Delhi, August, **1986**.

EDITORIAL CONSULTING

Member of the editorial board or corresponding editor for following journals:

Digital Journalism (**2012–**)

International Journal of Electronic Governance (UK, **2010–**)

Critical Studies in Media Communication (USA, **2007–**)

Questions de Communication (France, **2002–**)

Reseaux (France, **2000–**)

Communicazione Politica (Italy, **2000–**)

Journalism Studies (UK, **2000–**)

Javnost/The Public (Slovenia, **1998–**)

The European Journal of Cultural Studies (**1998–**)

Media, Culture & Society (UK, **1990–**)

Manuscript peer reviewer for:

European Journal of Communication, Political Communication, New Media and Society, Nordicom Review, Journal of Computer Mediated Communication, International Journal of Cultural Studies, Communication Review, European Union Politics, Political Studies, Communication Theory, Sociological Theory, International Journal of Press/Politics

Book series editorial committees (2010–)

'Global Media Policy and Business' , Palgrave Macmillan (UK)

'Médiacritic'. Publisher: Mare & Martin (France)

Publishing houses

I serve occasionally as manuscript and proposal evaluator with the following publishers:

Sage: **1992–**

Routledge: **1995–**

Edward Arnold **1997–**

Oxford Univ. Press: **1996–**

Cambridge University Press: **2001–**

Liber, Malmö: **2004–**

Polity Press: **2009–**

Promotional back cover advertisements of academic books

Have written ca. 20 back cover promotional blurbs for books published in the UK and US.

EXPERT ASSIGNMENTS, EVALUATION COMMITTEES

Evaluation of research proposals and programmes

Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research, autumn **2010**

European Science Foundation Networking Programme: Evaluator for competition, **2006**

The Baltic Sea Foundation, **2004–**

The Science Council (Vetenskapsrådet): Political science and media studies **2001–2002**

The Science Council (Vetenskapsrådet): Funding of young research positions, April, **2002** Humanities and Social Science Research Council: Political science and media studies **1998–2000**

The Wahlgren Foundation: media studies **1997– (yearly)**

Am asked to evaluate proposals from the following international funders, usually at least one assignment per semester:

Economic and Social Science Research Council, UK

National Research Foundation of South Africa

National research councils of Norway, Denmark, and Belgium

The Canada Council for the Arts

The Marsden Fund, New Zealand

Higher Education Funding Council for England: 'Non-UK Advisor for 2001Assessment of Communication, Cultural and Media Studies'

Reference group member/advisory panel of other research projects

EU-funded reseach project: *Media and Minorities in Europe*, headed by Prof. Christina Slade **(2008–2011)**

Swedish-funded project: *Political Socialisation and Human Agency: The Development of Civic Engagement from Adolescence to Young Adulthood*, headed by Prof. Erik Amnå **(2008–2011)**

Div. expert assignments and consultancy work

External consultant… Braga, Portugal **2016–2018**

External consultant/evaluator on research publications, Dept. of Media and Communication, London School of

Economics, Nov. **2012**; May **2013**.

Conseil scientifique international, GRESEC, Université de Grenoble 3 **(2009–)**

External expert, promotions committee, London School of Economics and Political Science **(2009–)**

EU Commission: Session on 'Master Class in Communication' for EU decision-makers, Brussels 23 April, **2007**

Consultant to The Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI), University of Westminster, to assist their strategies for internationalization. Spring, **2005**.

Board member, Center for Political Communication Research, Mid Sweden University, **2004–2006**

Mentor for DemocrIT research program, Örebro University **2003–2005**

External examiner/jury member/ opponent, doctoral dissertations

Venetia Papa, Cyprus Technical University, 23 Nov. **2015**

Nuri Widyasari, Université de Paris 8, Oct. **2014**

Pika Založnik, University of Ljubljana, June **2014**

Marius Rohde Johannessen, University of Agder, Norway, Aug. **2013**

Igor Vobic, University of Ljubljana, May **2012**

Itir Akdogan, Helsinki University, March **2012**

Francis Byrne, Dublin City University, Feb. **2011**

Julie Uldam, Copenhagen Business School, Dec. **2010**

Chloë Salles, Université de Grenoble 3, Nov. **2010**

Ulla Rannikko, London School of Economics and Political Science, May **2010**.

Sirin Dilli, Université de Paris 3, Feb. **2010**

Bjarki Valtysson, Roskilde University, Dec. **2008**

Jéremie Nicey, Université de Paris III, Oct. **2008**

Pia Brundin, Örebro University, May **2008**

Minna Aslama, University of Helsinki, April **2008**

Sofia Johansson, University of Westminster, May **2006**

Yow-Jiun Wang, Stirling University, Feb. **2006**

Nicolas Pélissier (habilitation/docent); l'Univérsité de Nice Sophia Antipolis, Dec. **2005**

Ulrika Olausson, Örebro University, May **2005**

Camilla Hermansson, Linköping University, June. **2002**

Anji Hirdman, Stockholm University, Jan. **2002**

Christian Svensson, Linköping University, Oct. **2001**

Mats Nylund, Helsinki University, Feb. **2000**

Adam Arvidsson, (fil.lic.) Lund University April **1998**

Eva Ekstrand (fil lic) University of Umeå, Nov. **1996**

R. Najafi, Stockholm University, **1989**

Klaus Bruhn Jensen, University of Århus, **1986**

Swedish dissertation evaluation committees

Sara Eldén, Lund University, April **2009**

Tobias Linné, Lund University, Dec. **2008**

Elisabeth Martinell Barfoed, Lund University, Nov. **2008**

Margareta Borg, Lund University, Dec. **2006**

Peter Berglez. Örebro University, June **2006**

Johan Cronehed, Lund University, Dec. **2004**

Helena Sandberg, Lund University, May **2004**

Filippa Säwe, Lund University, May **2004**

Peter Svensson, Lund University, Jan. **2004**

Peter Wejbora, The University of Newcastle, Australia, March **2003**

Henrink Örnebring, JMG, Univ. of Gothenborg, June **2001**

Håkan Jönsson, School of Social Work, Lund University, Oct. **2000**

Monica Löfgren Nilsson, JMG, Universitey of Gothenborg, May **1999**

Stefan Svenningsson, Dept. of Business Administration, Lund University, March **1999**

Ulf Dalquist, Dept. of Sociology, Lund University, May **1998**

Erling Bjurström, JMK, Stockholm University, June **1997**

Roger Wallis, JMG, Gothernborg Universoity, Feb. **1992**

Professorial appointment/promotion committees

Södertörn University (docent), autumn, **2015**

Stockholm University, autumn **2014**

Linné University, spring **2012**

Södertörn University (docent) spring **2012**

Annenberg School for Communication, U. of Penn. (promotion); spring **2011**

Mid-Sweden University, autumn **2010**

Karlstad University, autumn **2010**

University of Ljubljana, autumn **2010**

University of Tampere, spring **2010**

Stockholm University (docent), spring **2009**

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia (docent), autumn **2008**

London School of Economics (permanent position, senior lecturer) autumn **2008**

Karlstad University (docent), autumn **2008**

Cyprus Technological University, autumn **2008**

L'Université de Montréal, summer **2007**

University of Washington, Seattle, summer **2006**

Halmstad University College, spring **2006**

L'Université Robert Schuman de Strasbourg, spring **2006**

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, spring **2005**

Malmö College (docent), spring **2005**

University of Stirling, spring **2004**

University of Linköping, spring **2004** (docent)

University of Umeå, spring **2004**

Middle College of Sweden, autumn **2003**

University of Illinois at Chicago, summer **2003**

Univ. of California at Santa Barbara, spring **2003**

University of Westminster, spring **2003**

Stockholm University, autumn **2002**

Falun College, autumn, **2002**

Rhodes University, spring **2002** (docent/assoc.prof.)

University of Stirling, spring, **2002**

Copenhagen University, autumn **2001**

Roskilde University Center, autumn **2001**

University of Amsterdam, summer **2001**

Örebro University, spring **2001** (docent)

Stockholm university, spring, **2000**

Universitet i Trondheim, spring, **2000**

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, spring, **1999**

Uppsala University, spring, **1999**

Örebro universitet, autumn, **1998**

Universitet i Oslo, spring, **1998**

University of Gothenborg, spring, **1998** (docent)

Appointment and promotions of lecturers

Loughboro University, spring **2010**

Umeå University, spring, **2002**

Södertörn College, spring **2005**

Jönköping University

 Umeå, spring, **2000**

University of Stirling, Scotland, spring, **1999**

Linköpings University Of Linköping (at Norrköping campus) spring, **1999**

Halmstad College, spring, **1998**

University of Mid-Sweden, autumn, **1994**

SELECTED OTHER ACADEMIC/PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

'Media and civic cultures in Western 'late democracy': subjectivity, sociality, cognition'. ECREA conference, Prague, Nov. 9–12 **2016**.

'Populism and the media'. *Colloque International d'Europe*, GRESEC, Université Grenoble Alpes 13–14 Oct. **2016**.

Media, democracy and political participation in BRICS: A civic agency perspective on Brazil and South Africa'. International Conference on *Comparing Media Systems in BRICS Countries: A Review of Conventional Paradigms*". National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 25–25 April **2016**.

'Beyond the (socio-cultural) participation paradigm: Media, immigration and democracy'. Spring school on Participation in *Media Cultures: Studying Participation within Immigration Societies* University of Tübingen, 4–7 April **2016**.

'Civic engagement across networked media environments'. 3rd Colloquium: The Deliberative System and Inter-Connected Media, Universidade Federale de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil. 4–6 November **2015**.

'Turbulent journalism and ambiguous affect: Web-based public spheres under duress'. Conference on *News Media and the Emotional Public Sphere*, Universidad de Navarra Institute for Culture and Society, Pamlona, Oct. 30, **2015**.

'The Web and civic cultures: facilitating – and deflecting – political participation'. Conference on *Cultures in Disarray: Destruction/Reconstruction*. Kings College London, 11–2 June **2015**.

'The online Civic You: political efficacy and communicative dynamics'. 5th annual International Seminar; *Media, Democracy and Citizenship in the Digital Age*, at The Centre for Media & Journalism Research (CIMJ), Lisbon, November 10–11 **2014**.

'Mobilizing political participation: Ambiguities of the web environment'. The international conference on *Political Participation and Web 2.0: The Participation Gap.* University of Beira Interior, Covilhã, Portugal, 10 October **2014**.

'Public domains and the privatized web: power relations and the logics of democratic participation'. The international conference on Public Domain and Democracy in the Digital Age, Uppsala University 18–19 September **2014**.

'Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship: the *Rhetoric of Moral Agency. Rhetoric in Society 4 Conference*, University of Copenhagen, 15–18 Jan. **2013**.

'Social Media and Democratic Participation'. *Political Participation and Web 2.0 Conference*, Covilhã, '11–12 Oct. **2012**.

'Democratic participation and digital media: retrieving the normative dimension'. *Human[it]ies Perspectives Conference*, Roskilde, 5–6 October **2012**.

'Social Media and Counter-Democracy: the Contingencies of Participation'. *ePart Conference*, Kristiansand, 4–6 September **2012**.

'Social media and the civic sphere: Crisis, critique and the future of democracy'. *Critique, Democracy and Philosophy in the 21st Century Information Society: Towards Critical Theories of Social Media.* Uppsala University, 2–4 May **2012**.

'Journalism and public intellectuals: recasting an old role in the new web environment'.

Contemporary Trends in Journalism: Between Micro-Specificities and Macro-Challenges. Zagreb, 5–6 Novermber **2012**.

'Online political participation in the global arena: Contingencies of civic cosmopolitanism'. The conference *Communiquer dans un Monde de Normes*. Regionl ICA conference, Roubaix France 7–9 March **2012**.

'Reinventing participation: Civic agency and the web environment'. Italian Association of Sociology conference on *Communication and Civic Engagement*, Sapienza University, Rome, 23–24 Sept. **2011**.

'Democracy and engaged citizens: What digital media can and can't do'. Conference *From Pop Culture to Popular Protest: Social media and Political Participation in Egypt and Tunisia*. Goethe-Institut, Cairo, 29–30 June **2011**.

'Affordable personal media technology: Low cost democracy between politics and the social'. At *l'Université d'été*, San Servolo, Venice 6–10 June **2011** (org. by l'Université de Paris 3).

'Online participation: Conceptualising modes of civic interaction and experience'. COST Action Meeting on *Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*, Zagreb, 7–10 April **2011**.

'Public intellectuals in the new communications environment: Media logics and civic agency'. Conference on *Intellectuals in the Public Sphere*, University of Antwerp, 23–25 March **2011**.

'Mediated democracy and the centrality of civic identities and practices'. *ECREA Political Communication Conference*, University of Leeds, 16–18 September **2009**.

'The Power of – and Over – the Media: Citizens, Democracy and the New Communication Landscape'. Conference on *The Human Faces of Power: the Xth Conference in Methodologies and Theories in History*. Turku, Finland, Sept 9–12 **2009**.

'Le défi d'un champs hétérogène: la recherche nordique des médias et la communication. Colloque doctorale de la Société Française de l'Information et de la Communication, Univ. de Grenoble 3, le 27 mars **2009**.

'Civic cosmopolitanism, media and morality: From responsibility to democratic practice'. Conference *Media, Communication and Humanity*, London School of Economics, 21–23 Sept. **2009**.

'Net activism and civic cultures: conceptualizing political agency'. *Colloquium on Technology and Democracy*, University of Bergen, 17–20 November **2006**.

'Civic engagement and political participation: the horizons of radical democracy'. *ECREA Doctoral Summer School in Media and Communication Studies*, University Tartu, Estonia 20–24 Aug. **2006**.

'From public spheres to civic cultures via the Net'. Conference on *European Public Spheres*, Helsinki, Dec. 10–11, **2004**.

'The role of online journalism in the construction of civic culture'. The Second International Seminar in Communication of Brazil: *Journalism, Internet, and Citizenship*. Brazilia, 7–9 Nov. **2002**.

'Internet and new forms of democracy'. *The Internet and the Public Sphere*, colloquium at the Amsterdam School of Communication Studies, Oct. 8, **2002**.

'Net activism and civic cultures: conceptualizing political agency'. *Colloquium on Technology and Democracy*, University of Bergen, 17–20 November **2006**.

'Civic engagement and political participation: the horizons of radical democracy'. *ECREA Doctoral Summer School in Media and Communication Studies*, University Tartu, Estonia 20–24 Aug. **2006**.

'From public spheres to civic cultures via the Net'. Conference on *European Public Spheres*, Helsinki, Dec. 10–11, **2004**.

'The role of online journalism in the construction of civic culture'. The Second International Seminar in Communication of Brazil: *Journalism, Internet, and Citizenship*. Brazilia, 7–9 Nov. **2002**.

OTHER ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

'Discourse and power, tumult and affect: analysing online deliberation'. Presentation at conference on Communicative Figurations, University of Bremen, 7–9 December **2016**.

'The contingencies of mediated moral spectatorship: the 'mediapolis' in the Swedish refugee crisis'. Presentation at Workshop on *Global Moral Spectatorship in the Age of Social Media*, The Scuola Normale Superiore, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, Italy, 26 May **2016**.

'Doing citizenship online: perils and potentials'. Open Seminar: *It's A New World of for Civic Engagement?* Copenhagen Business School and n-SICE. 7 November **2014**.

'Le journalisme professionnel et civique: Les tensions et la collaboration'. Address at colloquium of international journalists, Institut de Presse et des Sciences de l'Information, Tunis, 9 April **2014**.

'Les médias numériques et la démocratie: une relation ambivalente'. Public lecture at Masarat Research Institute, Tunis, 9 April **2014**

'Professional and citizen journalism: contested collaboration'. Conference on Producers and Audiences, Lund University, 20 March **2014**.

'From marginalized contestation to mass politics via participatory agonistic agenda-setting'. Conference on Media, Conflict, Participation Cyprus University of Technology Feb. 28–March 1 **2014**.

'Risks and possibilities of digital participation'. Public lecture, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Berlin, 1 Feb. 2014.

'The Web environment, alternative democracy, and public intellectuals'. Conference on New Media and Participation Bahçesehir University, Istanbul, 22–23 Nov. **2013**.

'Political participation in an age of mediatisation: toward a new research agenda'. World Social Science Forum, Montreal 14 Oct. **2013**.

'The Scandinavian model of development': co-organiser and participant at conference at the Masarat Research Institute, Tunis, 7–8 Oct. **2013**

'History and Participation'; co-chair, with Nico Carpentier, of session at COST network conference, Belgrade, 18–20 Sept. **2013**.

'The Web environment, alternative democracy, and public intellectuals'. Public lecture, University of Agder, Kristiansand, Norway, 22 August **2013**.

'Political participation in an age of mediatisation: toward a new research agenda'. Paper presented with Claudia Alvares at ICA, London, 17–20 June **2013**.

'Journalistic 'produsers', participation, and the dilemmas of advocacy'. Presentation at ESF workshop on *Digital Journalism*, Barcelona, 9–11 May **2013**.

'Participation and protean subjectivity: The shifting discursive self in web-based activism'. Presentation at international workshop (COST Action I So906) on *Comparative Narratives, Politics, and (Social) MediaParticipation*, Bergamo, Italy, 13–15 March **2013**.

'Critical civic intellectuals and public pedagogy: Developing and extending democratic cultures online'. Presentation at *Workshop on Media, Discourse Struggles and Political Agency*, Brussels, 30 November **2012**.

'Political participation in an age of mediatization: Toward a new research agenda. Presentation, with Claudia Alvares, at Euricom Conference on *Citizens, Communication, and Democracy in the New Digital World*, Piran, 16–17 November **2012**.

Co-organiser and co-convenor, ESF workshop "Political engagement", Lisbon, 16–17 June **2012**.

'Mediated participation and problematic subjectivity: Should we rethink 'ideology' (again)? Presentation at *Media and Participation* conference, Lund, 29 March **2012**.

'La Suède: Populations minoritées, les médias, et la politique de l'état'. Presentation at conference *Expression de la Divérsité Culturelle. Constats et Perspectives.* Organised by the Unesco Chair, Université de Strasbourg, 15–17 Feb. **2012**.

'Young citizens and democratic empowerment: the necessity – but insufficiency – of the net'. NECE (Networking European Citizenship Education) Conference: *Closing the Empowerment Gap Through Citizenship Education*, Warsaw, 17–19 November **2011**.

'Enacting mediated citizenship: Changing contingencies of civic agency'. Presentation at workshop on *Changing Notions of Citizenship: Past, Present, Future.* Swedish Institute and Univ. of Alexandria; Stockholm 16–17 June **2011**.

Journalism and Societal Questions through the Prism of Cultural Industries. Conference at Université de Grenoble, 23–26 May **2011**; member of scientific committee.

'The civic subject and the democratic ideal: the good, the bad, and the fluid'. Presentation at international conference on *Civic Cultures*, Lund University, March 31, **2011**.

'Civic Cosmopolitanism as Political Agency: Media, Practices, Identities'. Presentation at conference *Internationalizing International Communication*, at the Department of Media and Communication and the Centre for Communication Research at the City University of Hong Kong, 2–5 Dec. **2010**.

High Level Meeting of the Permanent Intergovernmental Group l'Europe de l'Enfance: Organiser and chair of conference session on *Children, Young People and Internet: Benefits and Challenges*, as part of Sweden's Presidency of the EU. Stockholm, 20 November **2010**.

'Charting the evolution of journalism: the horizon of democracy'. Public lecture, University of Zadar, 16 November **2010**.

'Civic cultures and the net: contextualising political participation'. Public lecture at University of Zagreb,15 November **2010**.

'Late modern axes of development: Cultural logics, values and identities'. Public lecture, the Belarussian State University, Minsk, 19 May **2010**.

'Media, engagement, and the dilemmas of democracy'. Lecture series, American University in Paris 17 and 24 March **2010**.

'Navigating the transformation of journalism: Riding the rapids vs. standing on the shore'. Public lecture Université de Paris 3, 23 March **2010**.

'Beyond information: journalism and civic cultures'. Public lecture, Bournemouth University, 26 Feb. **2010**.

'Media and civic agency: critical cultural connections'. Public lecture in series *Capitalism, Culture and Critique*, Goldsmiths College, London 25 Feb. **2010**.

Participant, discussant at the international symposium *Learning, Citizenship and New Media*, Göteborg 9 June **2008**.

'Online cultures and civic agency: modest hopes for democracy'. Presented at the conference *Arts et*

Médias: Penser, Chercher, Écrire le Contemporain. Villa Finaly, Florence, 2–7 June **2008.**

'The troubling evolution of journalism'. at the symposium *The Changing Faces of Journalism: Tradition, Tabloidization, Technology, and Truthiness?* Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Nov. 30, **2007.**

'Internet, civic agency and emerging forms of political practice' Public lecture, Temple University, Nov. 28, **2007.**

Invited guest lecture series, University of Calgary, Oct. 30–Nov. 2, **2007.**

'European public spheres beyond national borders: EU, civic agency and network media'. 50th IAMCR Conference, Paris, July 22–25, **2007.**

Stint-financed exchange visit: l'Université de Paris III to Lund. I organized and hosted the three-day visit, 5–7 May, **2007.**

Young Citizens and ICT's: an international symposium I organized in Malmö, April 19–21 **2007**, with 15 participants, within the framework of the LearnIT project.

Lectures and seminar series, Erasmus staff mobility: University of Malta, 21–27 February **2007.**

'Doing citizenship: democracy, civic agency, and politics'. Public lecture at the Central European University, Budapest, 17 Jan. **2007.**

Member of scientific organizing committee, for conference *Démocratie participative en Europe*, Toulouse 15–17 November **2006.**

Participant/discussant, *Media, Democracy, and European Culture*, University of Copenhagen, 4–6 October **2006.**

'Cultural citizenship and civic culture: conceptual connections via popular television'. Presentation at conference on *Cultural Citizenship and Popular Media*. Central European University, Budapest, 21–22 September **2006.**

'Internationalising media studies for doctoral students'. Presentation and session chair at conference on *Internationalizing Media Studies: Imperatives and Impediments.* University of Westminster, London 15–16 September **2006.**

'Young activists, civic practices, and Net use: Beyond the deliberative democracy model'. presentation at *International Communication Association Conference*, Dresden, 19–22 June **2006.**

'Internet activism and media policy: the horizons of civic demand' *International Communication Association pre-conferenc*e, Budapest, 16–17 June, **2006**.

'La valorisation de la recherché et les programmes d'échange académiques'. Table rond, *Assises de Recherche*, l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle/Paris III. 3–4 March **2006**.

'Young activists, political horizons, and the Internet: Adapting the net to one's own purposes'. Conference on *Logged On but Disaffected? Young People, Citizenship and ICT's.* University of York, 26–27 Sept. **2005**.

'Young citizens, political engagement and Internet use'. *Colloquium on Political Action*, Karlstad University, June 7–9 **2005**.

'Expressions des jeunes sur l'Internet et participation démocratique en Suède'. Presentation at the conference *I'expression lycéene: Enjeux et contenus des journeaux produit par les jeunes*. La Sorbonne, 13–14 May **2005**.

Seminars and lectures at Dept. of Communication Sciences, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Antwerp, 16–19 March **2005**.

'The micro-meshes of civic cultures: Political Engagement and Media Use'. Paper presented at conference *Making Use of Culture*, which launched the Cultural Theory Institute at Manchester University, 21–23 Jan. **2005**.

Organizer and convenor for international symposium *Young Citizens, New Media and Learning for Democratic Participation*. Lund University, Sept. **2004**.

Organizer and participant: *Young People and their Media*, a two day symposium at Kalmar College, May 17–18, **2004**.

'Economism and Media Censorship: Journalistic Framing and the Deflection of Civic Culture'. Paper to *EURICOM colloquium: Censorship and Democracy*, Piran, April 15–18, **2004**.

'Media, minorities and diversity: a challenge for democracy'. Presentation at public symposium *The Multi-Coloured Society and Pale Media*. Lund University, March 12, **2004**.

Organizer and participant: *Journées d'étude : Sociologie des médias* (a two day series of lectures). EHESS, Paris, 22–23 March **2004**.

Civic cultures and net activism: modest hopes for the EU public sphere. Paper presented at symposium on *One EU – Many Publics?* University of Stirling, 5–6 Feb. **2004.**

Lecture series at Dépt. de Communication, l'Université de Paris III, Nov. **2003**.

'The Internet and the public sphere: no quick fix for democracy'. Presentation at MODINET conference: *Communication, Public Spheres and Democracy in the Network Society.* Copenhagen 21–22 October **2003**.

Co-organizor of strand on Global Culture, *16th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research, Kristiansand, Norway*, Aug. 15–17, **2003**. Paper: 'Net-activism and the emergence of global civic cultures'.

'La recherche scandinave sur les médias et communcation'. Presentation at *Congrès International Francophone sur l'Information et Communication.* (Congress of the French-speaking media research association) Bucharest, June 27–July 2, **2003**.

'Roots, boundaries, and the "service function" of media studies in the digital age'. Paper for the European Journal of Communication's colloquium on *Old Frontiers and New Directions in Communication and Media Studies*. Florence, April 11–13, **2003**.

'Deliberative democracy and civic culture'. *IAMCR Congress*, Barcelona, July **2002.**

'In search of the talkative public: deliberative democracy and civic culture'. *Les Sens du Public: Publics Politiques et Mediatiques*. EHESS, Paris/Amiens; 7–8 March **2002**.

'New Media and the Reconfiguration of Civic Culture', paper to conference on BUGS 2001: *Globalism and Pluralism*. Montreal, Sept. 19–22, **2002**.

'The twilight of virtuous journalism? On pinning one's hopes on the Internet', Paper for the Workshop of the *European Network for Doctoral Education in Communication and Media*, Westminster University, 28 Aug.– 6 Sept. **2001**.

Session organizer and chair, 'News Media: Transnational Perspectives'. *Congress of European Consortium for Political Research* (ESPR2001), Canterbury, Sept. 6–9, **2001**

'Identity formation and EU citizens: democratic dilemmas and media conditions'. Paper for the *15th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research*, Reykjavik, Iceland 10–14 Aug. **2001**

'Political socialization, media and the EU: crawling toward civic identity?' Paper for seminar on '*Intégration européenne et espace public médiatique*', Athens, March 1–3, **2001**.

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Other duties, memberships

Research Committee of Social Science Faculty, Lund University, **2006–2010**

Member (for life) International Communication Association (ICA) **2006–**

Member, European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) **2006–**

Steering committee of the journalism program at Lund University, **2002–2005**

The Wahlgren Foundation Research Board, member, **1997–2007**

Swedish Association of Media Researchers: steering committee, **1999–2003**

Swedish National Committee for Media and Communication Studies, steering committee, **1998–2002**

Member, International Association for Media and Communication Research, (IAMCR) **1984–**

Member of jury for yearly award for journalistic excellence in TV journalism given by the national Committee for Gender Equality (JA), **1993–1999**.

Political Participation via the Web: Structural and Subjective Contingencies

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Abstract:

The article offers an overview of key contingencies that shape the use of the web for democratic participatory purposes. I begin by probing the notion of participation, suggesting that we need to be specific in what we mean by it and how different contexts accord it very different significance. From there I examine the main parameters of the web's structural contingencies, taking up its political economy and technical architecture. These parameters are bound up with power relations, an important feature too often ignored, with the result that the web erroneously is seen as a neutral terrain of communication.

Thereafter I turn to the web's subjective contingencies, looking first at the relationship between subjectivity and discourse. The subjective contingencies – the 'inner realities' of political actors – derive in part from the web's structural power relations, but cannot merely be reduced to them, since human agency can never fully be predetermined. Further, I take up the theme of reason and emotion, as well as the notion of affect. This latter term points to experiential reality beyond the immediately personal/private one. I conclude with some brief reflections on the relationship between off – and online forms of participation.

Introduction: Social media and political anticipations

With political economic and social crises intensifying on many fronts, discontent is rising within liberal democracies, newer democracies, and 'marginal' democracies, as well as in authoritarian regimes. We witness a decline in both trust and participation in the formal electoral politics in much of the Western world – with a growing tension between the principles of democracy and the logics of neoliberal capitalism (see, for example Streeck 2014) – and at the same time a growth in new extreme right wing parties. However, we see also participation in the realm of progressive alternative politics in the West, while struggles against overtly repressive regimes have emerged in recent years. Too often they have been repressed, yet in other places they continue with various degrees of intensity. In the world today the political looms large in many places, with participation taking many forms, building on different political cultures and traditions. In all of these contexts, media are a central feature; traditional mass media still play an important role, but citizens decidedly are making use of the web generally, and social media in particular.[1]

Beginning in the mid-1990s with the advent of the Internet, there has been a good deal of research and debate aimed at the role of the digital media in democracy, often framed in terms of the public sphere. With advent of web 2.0, this has continued, with the focus shifting to

social media in particular, and also looking at situations beyond the Western democracies. Enthusiasts laud the democratic potential of social media (e.g. Castells 2010; 2012), while sceptics underscore the limitations of these media in furthering participation (e.g. Fuchs 2014; Hindman 2009). The deployment of digital media for anti-democratic measures is also strongly asserted by some authors (notably Morozov 2011). Others split the difference, underscoring how different circumstances can have varying impact in this regard (van Djick 2013; Gerbaudo 2012; Lievrouw 2011; Loader and Mercea 2012; see also special issue: social media and political change, *Journal of Communication* 2012).

I take a view that is wary of cheery prognoses about what the web can do for democracy, especially if such analyses build on techno-determinism, and yet I am also convinced that these communication technologies do offer unprecedented possibilities for democratic (as well as undemocratic) intervention into the political arena. The affordances of the web and the specific platforms of social media permit not only a wide array of practices, but also allow people to appropriate the technologies for ever new purposes and strategies. As with all other facets of modern life, the political realm has been altered by these media, and I share the general perspective with those scholars who emphasize the impact of circumstances – in regard to both the web and broader social realities – in understanding what we can expect from social media in regard to participation. My aim in this article is to offer an overview of what I call the contingencies that shape the use of the web for democratic participatory purposes. Contingencies both make possible and delimit a social phenomenon, they shape its basic parameters. The approach here is more conceptual than predictive; I highlight two particular sets of contingencies, namely structural and subjective ones, with the hope that this can assist in dealing with concrete empirical realities.

In what follows I first probe the notion of participation, suggesting that we oftentimes need to be more specific in what we mean by it and how different contexts accord it very different significance. From there I sketch the main parameters of the web's structural contingencies, taking up its political economy and technical architecture. These parameters are bound up with power relations, an important feature too often ignored, with the result that the web erroneously appears as some sort of neutral communicative terrain.

Thereafter I conceptually probe the web's subjective contingencies. I begin by looking at the relationship between subjectivity and discourse. The subjective contingencies – the 'inner realities' of political actors – of course derive in part from the web's structural power relations, but cannot merely be reduced to them, since human agency can never fully be predetermined. Further, I take up the theme of reason and emotion, as well as the notion of affect. This latter term points to experiential reality beyond the immediately personal/private one. I conclude with some brief reflections on the relationship between off- and online forms of participation.

Specifying participation

The notion of participation derives from several different fields in the social sciences, and thus remains somewhat fluid, not least within media and communication studies (see Carpentier 2011 for an extensive treatment). A starting point for grasping the core of the concept of participation is found in the notion of the political. This refers to the ever-present potential for collective antagonisms and conflicts of interest in all social relations and settings (see Mouffe 2013). This is a broader notion than that of politics, which most often refers to the more formalised institutional contexts. Thus, we can say that participation means involvement with the political, regardless of the character or scope of the context. It therefore always in some way involves struggle. Certainly some instances of the political will be a part of electoral politics and involve decision-making

and/or elections, but it is imperative that we keep in view this broader vista of the political as the terrain of political agency and participation. Also, we need to distinguish, in media contexts, participation from simple access or mere interaction; these are necessary but not sufficient for genuine participation, as Carpentier (2011) adamantly insists.

Participation is thus always a confrontation of some sort with power arrangements, and therefore is always pre-conditioned by such parameters. We should recall in reference to power arrangements that they refer not only to such obvious manifestations as the state's military and police, or the corporate sector, but also cultural and discursive forms, i.e. control or influence over symbolic environments. Moreover, power involves both 'power to' (enabling) as well as 'power over', in the form of coercion, constraint, or influence. Thus, participation in itself is an expression of some degree of (enabled) power.

By extension, the cultural conditions that facilitate participation can be promoted or impeded, depending on circumstances and the forces at play. I conceptualize these conditions as civic cultures (Dahlgren 2009); they can be seen as discursive resources that involve such dimensions as relevant knowledge, democratic values, minimal degrees of trust, communicative spaces (not least in digital form) and practices with some degree of efficacy. Practices both derive from and extend modes of participation, thus maintaining and further developing the enabling character of civic cultures. However, those with 'power over' civic cultures can do much to weaken and block them; the fate of these cultural resources can therefore often become political contestation in themselves (e.g. access to knowledge, conflicting values). Without the anchoring, without access to the resources of civic cultures, citizen's engagement with the political becomes deflected, indeed, depoliticized, especially in regard to economic issues (see Straume 2011), and participation is eroded.

Of course in the real world of Western democracies we are mostly dealing with situations of more-or-less and uneven forms of civic cultures rather than their total absence. Even under authoritarian regimes one can at times find repressed and submerged traces of such civic cultures – which can serve to nourish resistance, as we have seen in a number of cases in recent history. In sum, the point here is that political participation never begins with a tabula rasa – it is always conditioned by existing circumstances that have major has cultural elements, and the availability of and access to such resources – including media – has to do with power. Participation can be made more inclusive or more exclusive via measures from power elite that impact on civic cultures – and such measures can in turn be contested via civic practices.

The political is something that arises, discursively and dynamically, and can appear in any sphere of social and cultural activities, even consumption and entertainment (and we can find innumerable examples of that on social media). What is decisive is not the particular terrain as such, but the character of the engagement: it always has to do in some way, however remote (or mediated), with power relations. However, for actual participation, the character of the context is highly significant: it makes a big difference if, in Western democracies, we are talking about involvement in public sphere discussions, voting in elections, or confrontational street demonstrations. If we shift to settings where the resistance against authoritarian regimes takes place, people are facing serious dangers and potentially risking their lives – which gives participation yet another meaning. There is no generalized, universal notion of participation – it always takes place under specific circumstances.

With our schematic view of the political as a discursively emergent reality, access to and interaction with media obviously becomes not only helpful but also often absolutely necessary: people become communicatively linked to political ideas and sentiments and to each other. Access to social media per

se usually will not turn people into engaged citizens, yet, to the extent that the political can discursively arise, the web and social media take on an important function in discussion (not least on Facebook) and in mobilizing and facilitating participation. And certainly in regard to real-time coordination of demonstrations, Twitter has become invaluable, as research has underscored (e.g. as Gerbaudo 2012). However, given the very impressive affordances of these media, some popular discussions imply that they are sufficient in themselves for participation. This is a view I would refute; I return to this theme in the final section.

Structuring the web environment

While political participation is always shaped by overarching societal-historical contexts, in regard to the web there are also two interrelated structural kinds of contingencies that impact on it: political economy and technical architecture.

Political economy

Political economy addresses questions of ownership, control, and the relations of power that derive from these factors. In a sense political economy signals the first important things to know about the web: it is not a neutral communicative space, but thoroughly structured by power relations. In the mediated online digital world, ownership of major corporate entities is globally more concentrated than it even was in the era of mass media communication (Fuchs 2011a; 2011b). A few large corporate actors such as Google, Microsoft, Facebook and YouTube dominate the web environment; all are commercial enterprises (only wikis are significant non-commercial actors in this regard). This raises many issues of power, from the often slave-like working conditions of those who produce the hardware to the social engineering via web usage (for current research on such themes, see Franklin 2013; Fuller and Goffey 2012; McChesney 2013; Wilkie 2011). The role of Google, for example, in shaping how the web functions can hardly be exaggerated. This company has become the largest holder of information in world history, structuring not only how we search for information, but also what information is available, how we organize, store and use it. The overwhelming majority of all searches done on the web go via Google.

The company has become an enormous concentration of power that is largely unaccountable, hidden behind the cheery corporate motto 'Don't be Evil'. Though it has also managed to gain much popular trust, serious questions are being raised, about copyrights (e.g. 'Google books') and privacy, about how Google is using its information, about Google's own agenda in striving to organize knowledge on a global scale, and ultimately about its role in democracy. All this does not deny its truly impressive accomplishments; rather, the issue centers on the position it has attained, and the activities it pursues in relation to the ideals of democracy and accountability.

Thus, for instance, with its search logic built on personal profiling – the filtering of results to 'fit your known locality, interests, obsessions, fetishes, and points of view' (Vaidhyanathan 2011: 183) – the answers that any two people will receive based on the same search words may well differ significantly. This can erode the notion of public knowledge: members of insular groups may well get their biases reinforced instead of challenged by this filtering process (Pariser 2011). In the long this can potentially undermine the democratic culture of debate between differing points of view. Moreover, Fuchs (2011a) finds that the company tends to prioritize certain sites at the expense of others, particularly favouring those that are backed by wealthy and powerful interests, thereby threatening the public and democratic character of the web. Further, Google engages in surveillance and privacy intrusion of citizens in the gathering, analysis and sale of consumer-related data while at the same time denying transparency in regard to, for example, its PageRank algorithm and Googlescholar search process.

While we cooperate de facto with Google in providing personal information, with Facebook we are very active in feeding such data into the system (see also, among other authors, van Dijck 2013). We should be cautious. With Facebook social networks, the spill-over from private to public can easily happen, resulting in embarrassment, entanglements, loss of employment and/or defamation. Data theft is also relatively easy, and has been accomplished a number of times; hackers today are very clever, whether they are motivated by amusement, a political cause, or simple nastiness. These digital storage systems are simply not fail-safe, as witnessed when hackers today have even entered high-security military databases.

In 2012 Facebook monthly users passed the one billion mark (Anon 2012); as with Google, the data gathered is for commercial purposes (Dwyer 2010), but again, changing social contexts can generate new uses and meanings of personal information. Turow (2011) describes how such data is used by high tech marketing and advertising firms to facilitate individual and household profiling and media customization. Much of this marketing is channeled through social media. We are decidedly not in the drivers' seat here, but rather at the receiving end of carefully planned strategies.

We are all strewing personal electronic traces around us daily; these are gathered up, stored, sold and used for commercial purposes by a variety of actors. This selling of personal information is done with our formal consent; yet, if we refuse, we effectively cut ourselves off from the web. As Goldberg (2010) suggests, all participation on the web, even the most radical political kind, feeds data into the commercial system that is its infrastructure. The more people spend time online, the more the economic power of the social media is enhanced. (Yet as we well know now, there is also systematic state surveillance, which I discuss below). What is ultimately required, as MacKinnon (2012) argues, is a global policy that can push regulation of the web such that it will be treated like a democratic, digital commons; we have a long way to go.

Technical architecture

The technical architecture of the web and social media is of course immensely complex; my key point here, however, is basic: that at whatever level we look at, we find points of control – points where various actors/stakeholders are in a position to filter, edit, block, or exclude what should be the democratic flow of communication for both individuals and social networks. Building in the work of several other researchers, Losey (2014) develops a simple model of five levels of technical architecture, each of which can be used as a locus of control. These five levels are: the overall technical network, the specific device being used, their concrete applications, the actual content being transferred/blocked, and social data (which includes users' location, histories of their web usage, applications use, contact histories and so forth)

His approach is to pose the questions that invite critical examination of:

• The observable effect on communication
• The control point, being leveraged
• The technical level on which this this taking place (i.e. the five levels noted above)
• The actors involved at the control point
• The affected actors
• Possible tensions between other levels?
• Possible remedies

He presents a number of cases to illustrate his points. For example, Syria was cut off from the global Internet in late 2012 – this was done by the government telecom Syria Communication. In the spring of 2014 the Turkish government closed down YouTube, and the Twitter. This was done by

blocking the Domain Name System Protocol (DNS protocol); this protocol facilitates web browsing by translating long numerical Internet addresses into text-style web addresses. Simply cutting off this mechanism engenders the blackout. In terms of devices, they can be constructed and/or programmed for general and extensive – or more restricted – compatibility with network systems, applications, and other devices. Thus, the reach and the capacity for interconnection of, say, smart phones and tablets, can be designed in different ways. As we become more dependent upon into the increasing 'internet of things' (Bunz 2014), with the links between all sorts of devices in our kitchens, cars, on our bodies, in remote offices and so, the capacity to predefine and delimit connection ability between devices (models, brands, etc.) becomes a position of power.

Applications such as spy programmes and malware can gather information surreptitiously and/or wreak havoc on their victims, while the routine gathering of data we noted for Google, Facebook and other sites have become fully 'normal'. The theme of content propels us into the contentious realm of copyright law and control – contentions that have transformed the music industry and are in the process of profoundly altering the book industry as well. Thus, major social media sites, for example, have functions to spot and delete the sharing of materials deemed protected by copyright law. A subtle and more traditional form of content control is blatant government censorship, an activity that takes place in many countries, even ostensibly democratic ones.

A more modern is the now well-known government surveillance carried out on a global scale by the US National Security Agency, but also replicated on a smaller scale by other governments (in Sweden it is the 'FRA'). Since this scandal became globally known in June 2013 following the Edward Snowden revelations, we understand that there is in essence no safe haven for privacy on the web left: all political activity (and much else) is accessible to government security agencies. We knew previously that regimes could, for example, arrest activists and go through the list of contacts on their smart phone and thus track down entire networks of political opponents. But the extent of the governmental surveillance now in place is very sobering indeed – and no doubt is already leading to altered practices among many political activists in regard to their use of digital communication.

Being aware of these structural contingencies is essential; however I would not conclude that given the corporate domination and governmental violations of privacy the web has become useless as civic media to be used for democratic purposes. They can be – and are – continuously being appropriated for such uses, despite the anti-democratic activities of various stakeholders. Yet to go online for democratic politics also involves inner, subjective resources as well as the objective affordances of the web. Let us turn now to that theme.

Subjectivity, discourses and affect
In turning to the subjective contingencies of the web, we are addressing dimensions that are somewhat more elusive. There cannot be one unified profile of subjectivity – a space of the self – that is involved in web-based participation, since the inner realities of the actors vary considerably with the specific context. Rather, one can conceptualize a set of subjective processes, an ensemble of dynamics that become contingent with participation. While actual subjectivity may go in many directions, it is these specific dynamics that are central to understanding the political actors. Such a discussion requires some 'theory of the subject', but I will keep this quite uncomplicated. It could well be that the ongoing digitalization of the world is engendering historically new modes of subjectivity, as some scholars argue (e.g. Savat 2013), but I am working with a fairly mainstream notion of the subject that emphasizes its constructionist and contextual character. We all to some manifest 'multiple subjectivities' that

shift with circumstances; this could perhaps at most be seen as a 'post-structuralist-lite' version of the subject. Whether or not we have an inner essence is not an issue that we need to deal with here. I do, however, lean towards some notion of the unconscious i.e. that we are never fully transparent to ourselves. The unconscious operates, as it were, behind our back; our agency is shaped to some extent by factors which lie beyond our awareness. In the discussion here the unconscious is a generalized one; it need not be strictly Freudian or Lacanian.

The subjective space of the self is a region in which society and culture are inscribed in us, rendering us not only human, but also according us specific influences. The net result for a person at any moment is of course always some synthesis of external impact with internal (subjective) will. In addition, given the social constructionist premises of subjectivity, it is thus also characterized by tensions and fissures deriving from the social world. And lastly, subjectivity is never merely a 'private' reality, even if it will always comprise individual, personal elements; it always has a collective side – which of course becomes particularly relevant in the context of politics.

Discourses and subjectivity

A methodological approach to elucidating (collective) subjectivity is to examine discourses, that is, structured patterns of language use and representation, with the meanings they embody. The foundations of this perspective are found in the traditions of critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 2010) and post-Marxian discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe 2001). Discourses – with all their diverse modes of representation and expression – operate in and define specific social contexts, which we could say makes them the carriers of the meanings that are in circulation in society. Analytically the (usually easy) main task is to identify the core elements, the major concepts and vocabulary of a discourse – the nodal points – where its significance is anchored. Discourses shape us, yet it is crucial to emphasize that they also function as enabling resources; we use discourse, and they use us. While the entanglements with power relations are such that discourses may 'nudge' us strongly, there is no determinism in regard to subjectivity.

Some discourses, in relation to others, have hegemonic positions, that is, they offer meanings that are preferred or dominant meanings; their nudge is powerful. Here we have the pivotal point of politics, where prevailing discourses are challenged by alternative ones, in the context of concrete societal circumstances. Since meaning is always to some extent shifting and contested, even hegemonic discourses can never be fully secure – even if discourses and society in general are characterised by large degrees of inertia. Thus subjectivity is to some degree always a process, not a static state. Discourses interpellate (i.e. address) us as subjects, providing us with subject positions, not least in relation to political issues. In the context of public spheres and politics, subject positions can be understood as political identities made available by pertinent discourses. Except in the most authoritarian societies there will some degree of contra-hegemonic discourses in circulation, though often restricted to specific societal sectors, communities, groups or movements.

Given the often contradictory, contested and generally disorderly state of discourses circulating in society, it is often the case that we as subjects are not fully at home in any one discourse, but are pulled in different directions and put into different positions by competing discourses. Political identities are thus to some degree fragmented or decentred. It should also be mentioned that prevailing discourses – especially manifested via the web – can readily position us as consumers and spectators of an almost endless universe of entertainment, celebrity gossip, gaming, shopping, hobbies, social networking and so on. There is nothing intrinsically negative about any of these realms on their own, but in the context of online public culture they of course offer massive and mostly more enticing alternatives to engagement with the political.

Further, as Dean (2010) and Papacharissi (2010) argue, the problem is not simply one of that people opting for consumption or popular culture instead of politics. Rather, the web environment and media culture generally are engendering a transformation of political practices and social relations whereby the political becomes altered and embodied precisely in the practices and discourses of privatised consumption. If it is the case – as many scholars suggest – that the boundaries between the political and popular culture/consumption have become more porous, it may not just be a good thing where the popular colours the political in a positive way. It may well also be the case that it is also undermining the vitality of democratic political agency, e.g. with the 'Like button' becoming a standard element of online public spheres.

Civic subjectivities

If participation can be seen as manifest action – communicative and otherwise – behind and prior to such action is some form of engagement, some subjective involvement and intentionality. In regard to subjectivity, the web is of course a major (but not the only) arena in which societal discourses circulate. Participation needs to be nourished by empowering discourses that can, firstly, promote civic subjectivities or identities – a sense of self that tells people that they are capable of acting meaningfully as political agents – and secondly, issue identities, which foster aligning oneself with a political position. As discussed above, the framework of civic cultures analytically points to the everyday resources necessary for empowered civic subjectivities and political agency.

In liberal democracies civic cultures are available to varying degrees, but are always vulnerable to social, political, and economic circumstances. All democracies (not to mention authoritarian regimes) manifest tensions between inclusion and exclusion: prevailing power relations often marginalize various categories of citizens from participation. This can be challenged via political action, not least via the web; citizens can strengthen their subjective sense as political participants (which some regimes of power of course attempt to curtail or even destroy). As we know, active (and activist) networks of citizens discuss, advocate, mobilize and so on; however, they also collectively contribute to the discursive resources that support civic and issue identities. Thus participation should never be framed only in individual terms: it must be understood as a potential 'collective subjective snowball'.

Rationality and emotionality, affect and experience

It is important to underscore that alternative politics is very dependent on the social character of media practices and the sociality required to maintain and develop this kind of collective 'connectivity' (Bennett and Segerberg 2013). Baym (2010) shows how the reach and capacities of social media for interaction, their modes of social cues, their temporal structures, their mobility and other features serve to facilitate social connections. This digital lubrication of the social is essential for the emergence of the political, and various kinds of social skills are necessary for political activity. This alerts us to the emotional side of participation.

In contemporary democratic theory, there is a strong emphasis on rational deliberation as a normative ideal for participation. Such a communicative mode is of course indispensable, especially as formal decision-making draws near. However, to insist on this as the overall model of participatory practices can become constrictive of expression and feelings, which are so central to politics. Such a stance can even become excluding in its consequences: demanding a certain genre of communication that may not be the most natural for all groups. Also, genuine deliberation assumes a degree of power equality that is often absent – and not likely to be attained merely by deliberation (I address this in more detail in Dahlgren 2009). At the most fundamental level, the political emerges through talk – which

in everyday contexts is often chaotic, and cacophonic. The political becomes manifested through all sorts of social communication, and the emotional dimension here is often essential in galvanizing engagement. Such emotionality is of course amply visible on the web.

Ultimately politics – and subjectivity itself – straddles the rational-emotional distinction, and participation builds upon of the interplay of both of these aspects of our mental dynamics (Dahlgren 2009). Rationality can offer reasons, good or bad, for political action, but emotions provide the psychic energy to engage. Politics is entwined with people's (often unconscious) desires, anxieties, visions and hopes, which mingle with the rational, analytic elements. In the broad media landscape, the political is expressed not just in coherent political statements but also in forms of discursive forms such as humour, music, film, novels and so forth. Thus, while the coherent articulation of ideas still remains central to political life, political sentiments in the form of dominant and oppositional discourses are embodied by various modes of cultural expression, often comprising strongly emotional dimensions. There is an understandable fear among democracy theorists of 'the irrational' – so many crisis areas in the world today seemingly manifest its negative consequences, and history is replete with dreadful examples. Yet, emotionality is a two-way street – as is rationality: barbarism can be instrumentally and carefully planned, as we well know. In short, we must live with both sides of our human faculties, without safety nets. Trying to deny one side or the other merely hinders our understanding of human action.

There is a further aspect to emotionality, captured in the term 'affect'. We can think of affect as the actual subjective experience of emotionality – a sort of reflexive awareness. The concept derives from Spinoza, but has been picked up and developed in recent decade; there has emerged an 'affective turn' in the humanities and social sciences in recent years (see for example Massumi 2002; Gregg and Seigworth 2010). In media studies, Papacharissi (2014) has recently incorporated and mobilized the term for analyses of social media. Drawing on, among others, the work of Raymond Williams and his notion of 'structures of feeling', Papacharissi suggests that the term helps us to analyse modes of political engagement that hover beyond formalized expressions of opinion. Moreover, it indicates how unformed and spontaneous political sentiment may accumulate, moving from the latent to the manifest, giving new shape to engagement and participation. For Williams, structures of feeling give expression to the prevailing cultural currents and moods of a given historical moment, which we may somewhat metaphorically think of as the kinetic energy of collective affect in a specific context.

We can think of structures of feeling as more implicit and inchoate, more overarching, than even dominant discourses. Ferguson (2012) sees 'democratic affect' as deriving from imaginaries of commonality, where we can take 'responsibility for our part in generating relationships of trust and solidarity. Affect is a doing, it is the product of human activity…. it can become the subject of a politics of self-conscious democratic world-building' (Ferguson 2012: 92). Unfortunately, affective structures of feeling are far from only being progressive: they can manifest populism, xenophobia and other unsavoury sentiments as well. In a related manner, affect can also lead us to find emotionally satisfying short-cuts to deal with the massive amounts of information and their at times overall ambivalence or not fully trusted sources (Andrejevic 2013). If excessive rationality can be problematic, abandoning it entirely truly risks catastrophe; the art of politics involves a healthy balance.

The vocabulary of emotions, feelings, and affect is slippery and problematic, as Frosh (2011), a psychologist well-versed in social theory, underscores. The significance of affect can be understood if we think of participation as shaped by something more powerful than just ideas or even discourses, namely social experience. Interestingly enough, some years after the original German publication

of Habermas' famous book on the public sphere, a critical reply came in a book by Negt and Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience* (in English 1993). One of their claims, that Habermas' model focused too much on the bourgeois public sphere and ignored potential proletarian public spheres, a lineage has been developed with regard to notions such subaltern publics and the like (e.g. Fraser 1992). Yet the other major claim seems to have been mostly overlooked by scholars of the public sphere, especially those who focus on deliberative democracy. For Negt and Kluge, the public sphere should be grounded in and give expression to the collective horizons of people's lived experiences (rather than just formal deliberation), a premise that would make this space more amenable for intervention by those at the receiving end of prevailing power structures. On the other hand, this is precisely the point of departure for many activists, who, based on their experiences, generate political online alternative public spheres and counter-hegemonies.

As we have seen, the subjective contingencies of web-based participation are multiple and complex. The subjectivity of participants, process-like in character, incorporates rational, emotional and affective elements. It is socially constructed, while always retaining an unconscious dimension. These processes take place via the force-fields of hegemonic- and counter-hegemonic discourses, which offer generalized civic identities as well as specific issue identities. The web environment and media culture generally offer many subject positions within consumption and entertainment that can or inhibit or deflect engagement with the political. Lived experience as the embodiment of subjectivity is also crucial here. The political agency of participation (which in turn has many different modes, depending on circumstances) requires robust identities supported by the affordances of civic cultures. Civic cultures, for their part, are always vulnerable, but are strengthened by participatory practices. This discussion of subjectivity has been angles with the web in mind. But how should we view the character of web-based participation in itself, and in relation to participation beyond the web? How should we understand experience in this regard?

Final reflections: screen life and IRL
The web by itself will not save democracy; however, despite all the difficult contingencies discussed above, it is absolutely essential for political participation in the modern world.

History shows us that the boundaries between public and private spheres are always to some extent being reconfigured; today this is very apparent with the web and social media. The online environment for participation – which we can treat as a new habitus (to borrow a term from Bourdieu) – is a hybrid setting that realigns these boundaries, as a number of authors argue (Dahlgren 2013; Papacharissi 2010). That political involvement is increasingly enacted via the web should not be surprising, given how so much of society's overall interactive life now takes place via digital media. Clearly the on- and offline world today are highly integrated, and we should be careful about introducing any essentialisms into the way we theorize them. Yet a case can still be made for sociologically noting differences between them: they are not identical in their forms, affordances, and experiences. And problems that relate to this distinction are arising.

Whether or not human subjectivity at present is being historically transformed or not is difficult to say, but we can observe that people are transposing their established patterns of interaction developed through social media into the political domain. The networking and sociality that this implies is of course an asset here, but there are aspects as well. These include the quite human tendency to group with (and establish networks with) those who are like-minded. This is clearly necessary for activist/ movement groups, but runs the risk of promoting a solipsistic public sphere, where actors filter information and can only see the world from the horizons of their own 'cocoons'. This endangers the openness and universality of public spheres, where 'enclave mentalities' have difficulty discussing

– and even arguing – with each other. The current climate in many democracies seems to illustrate this development.

Further, as Papacharissi (2010) and others suggest, while citizens may be skilled and reflexive in their use of the web, the new digital habitus can readily become a very privatized, personal communicative space. From there the individual can engage with innumerable contexts in the outside world, including politics. This is a setting in which people feel they have control, and from which they can decide when and how to make themselves visible to the world. This visibility, in turn, is increasingly shaped by the personal concerns of self-presentation and marketing. Such visibility is to a great extent framed by dominant consumerist discourses and thus often shows a commodified character – accentuating the incorporation of the political within the realm of consumption, as noted above. This digital habitus thus fosters certain kinds of interactive modes and cues, develops certain kinds of social skills and not others.

Even beyond the issue of commodification, I would suggest that the more that political participation becomes exclusively or even largely a screen-based experience, the less effective it ultimately becomes. This is because some key dimensions of subjectivity and experience that are important for capable participation become diminished. Basically, these have to do with the power of bonding and commitment. Effler (2010) cites several authors to make the point that live interactive participation – including rituals – is emotionally energizing and can generate and strengthen collective identity.

The 'weak bonds' of networks are an integral part of participatory politics, but stronger ones are also necessary. The experience of dealing with other citizens face-to-face in meetings, sharing the work of organizing and mobilizing, laughing together at the humour of some political expression, talking about what happened to them during the march, consoling each other after defeats – all such experience strengthens the bonds between activists and generates something which is absolutely essential for efficacious political agency, namely solidarity. Nurturing and expanding solidarity requires more than clicking on 'Like'.

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[1] I will be using the concept of 'the web' in a broad way, to include all the communicative links to ancillary technologies, both stationary and mobile.

Notes