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FACEBOOK IN THE NEWS

A mixed-method study of how Swedish public service news represent Facebook

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Abstract

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The aim of this study was to examine how Swedish public service media represents Facebook; a private, transnational company but also a tool for public service media (PSM) to reach its audience. The first research objective was to find out to what extent and in what way Facebook has been present in two of the biggest news programs in PSM, Rapport and Dagens eko, over the last ten years. The second research objective was to examine how the two programs represented Facebook in relation to the Cambridge analytica case.

The theoretical starting point for this study was social constructionism. Critical discourse analysis was the main methodological approach, mainly based on van Dijk's idea of socio-cognition. The analysis was conducted from a political economy perspective. For the first part of the study a quantitative content analysis was used to code every news story in Dagens eko and Rapport that mentioned the word Facebook, a total of 419 news stories. The content analysis focused on whether Facebook was the focus of the news, Facebook's agency and the context it was placed in. For the second part critical discourse analysis was used on 11 news stories during the reporting on the Cambridge analytica case.

The results from the content analysis showed that Facebook has been given increasing amount of space in the news stories, but that it was often not the focus of the news stories. Up until 2018 Facebook was mostly described as passive unless it was talked about as a company. The discourse analysis showed that Facebook is described as an infrastructure, but also that the discourse surrounding Facebook have elements of discourse of fear and entertainment. Finally, the results showed that the reporting bears evidence of neoliberal ideology which is manifested through individualization, marketization and depolitization.

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1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21st century the media landscape has changed dramatically. The internet, and later social media¹, has transformed the way we consume news and made access to information easier than ever. Democratic societies have moved from low choice to high choice media environments (Strömbäck, Djerf-Pierre & Shehata 2016), where we to an increasing extent understand the world and our lived experiences through media (Deuze 2007:13). In this new media environment, new so called “global media giants” (Birkinbine, Gómez & Wasko 2017:4) have arisen; powerful media companies that extend beyond national borders. The power of these new internet corporations, especially the ones “involved in the production, circulation, and consumption of cultural artifacts that can affect the ways that people understand the world” (Birkinbine et al. 2017: 6), is not only economic but also political and cultural. Their power is global and has become a concern in both national, regional and global contexts (Birkinbine et al. 2017).

One of those companies is Facebook. In 2015 it was listed in Forbes as the third biggest company in the computer service industry (Fuchs 2017: 429), and at the end of 2017 Facebook had a revenue of over 40 billion US dollars and 2.2 billion users every month (Facebook Inc. 2017).

Facebook’s mission is, according to themselves, to bring people closer together (Facebook newsroom 2018). It has been praised as a tool for democracy by giving voice to people in social movements such as the Arab spring, facilitating organization and resistance as well as freedom of speech. But at the same time Facebook has been criticized for being a solely profit-oriented company that exploits users through target advertising (Fuchs 2017:172). There are those who claim the network to be a threat to democracy by shifting our focus from public life and political discussions, to our personal selves and emotional life (Marichal 2016:69), and Facebook has also been criticized for not taking action against “fake news” and disinformation on the network, a question Facebook themselves addressed in a series of blog posts in the beginning of 2018 (Facebook newsroom 2018). The issue of Facebook possibly being a threat to democracy became even more pressing when British Channel 4 published an investigation about the data company Cambridge analytica that had gained access to 50 million Facebook-profiles and used the data to, through target advertising, affect the outcome of the 2016 US

¹Donath & Boyd’s (2004:72) definition: “Social networking sites are on-line environments in which people create a self-descriptive profile and then make links to other people they know on the site, creating a network of personal connections. Participants in social networking sites are usually identified by their real names and often include photographs; their network of connections is displayed as an integral piece of their self-presentation”.

presidential election (Channel 4 2018). It is still too early to say how this recent scandal will affect Facebook in the long run. We know that it has had some effect on the Facebook stock (Independent 2018), but for now Facebook's position as the world's biggest social media is still intact.

While social media has been gaining in strength traditional commercial media is not only becoming weaker but also more and more dependent on social media as a platform to reach audiences. The same trend can be seen within Public service media (PSM) who have integrated social media in different areas of its production. Both the CEO of the Swedish national radio and the CEO of the Swedish national television have been clear with their ambition and plan to increase their companies' presence on social media (Resume 2017), and the two companies already have a vast number of programs with their own Facebook-, Twitter- and Instagram-pages where they share news and engage with audiences. At the same time PSM has a responsibility to investigate those in power, both people, organizations and companies, and that responsibility becomes even more important when considering the weakened newspaper industry and a higher level of ownership concentration.

This paper aims to take a closer look at how PSM in Sweden report on Facebook; a private, transnational company but also a tool for PSM to reach its audience.

2. Research problem

The purpose of this study is to examine how Swedish public service media represents Facebook in its news casts. Seeing as it is public service role to inform the public and investigate power, and since power in this context includes powerful companies, it is interesting to examine how they report on a transnational media company such as Facebook. Also, Facebook is not just a powerful company in economic terms, but to an increasing extent influence people's understanding of the world, while at the same time functioning as a tool for public service to reach their audience in a more fragmented media landscape. These conflicts make this issue even more interesting to study.

This study takes its theoretical starting point in social constructionism which denies knowledge as an objective truth but rather a historically and culturally specific way of understanding the world, where we create, maintain and re-shape the world through social interaction (Jørgensen & Philips 2002). In order to empirically study how this is done critical discourse analysis will be the main methodological approach, in this case mainly based on van Dijk's idea of socio-cognition. In the analysis the political economy perspective will be applied in order to understand how the media content is influenced by the political and economic structures of a capitalist society and media systems (McChesney 2008). I will develop further on these theories under the theory section below.

When going through previous research on the relationship between social media and journalism much can be found about the role of social media in journalism and the changing media landscape (see a detailed description in the theory section), but how traditional media report on Facebook seems to be a blank spot. Therefore, I am interested in how public service media reports on Facebook and in what way the company has been framed in public service news. The reason that I chose to focus on public service specifically is that it operates independently of the market forces, and also has as a mission to investigate influential organizations. The reason for choosing news programs is that I wanted to see what was broadcasted to the wide mass and not just to the people with a specific niche interest, who actively and independently seek out information about this issue.

The Swedish case is especially interesting because a high percentage of the population are Facebook-users (IIS 2017) and many people use Facebook as a source of news (Newman et al. (2017)). The Swedish population also have a very high degree of trust in PSM (Strömbäck & Karlsson 2017, Andersson & Bergström 2017), which means that PSM most probably has influence on the way many people understand the world. Public service media also have a responsibility to investigate power, and considering that Facebook is part of the life of 74 percent of the Swedish population (IIS 2017), it has to be considered a power in Sweden.

The demographic difference between those who get their news from social media and those who get their news from traditional media is age, (SOU 2016:30: 440), where younger people are the dominating group among those who use social media for news. However, recent surveys have shown that younger people are more sceptic to content online than older groups (Davidsson & Thoresson 2017:81), which could indicate that those that use broadcasting media for news are also those in most need of information about the digital landscape.

In order to see how PSM has reported on Facebook I will look at the two of the biggest news programs in Swedish PSM, one from radio and one from television. I will first do a quantitative overview of the reporting, and then a qualitative analysis of specific broadcasts.

2.1. Defining the Research question

The first part of this study is interested in how much and in what ways Facebook is talked about in the news casts of Swedish public service media. The focus will be on what role Facebook is given in the news stories, and in which context it is reported on. The second part focuses on a specific event where Facebook was the focus in the news. There, the Cambridge analytica scandal is used since it was a situation of crisis for Facebook, as well as an event that was reported on in both of the programs for several days. The research questions are thus following:

1. To what extent and in what way has Facebook been present in the news reports of two of the biggest news-programs in Swedish public service the last ten years?

This question aims to give a descriptive overview of the material and function as a starting point for the following discourse analysis. This question is concerned both with *to what extent* Facebook has been mentioned in the news reporting, and *in what way?* To give a full overview this question is also concerned with if any changes can be seen since PSM first mentioned Facebook in a news report in 2007, until the Cambridge analytica case in 2018. The content analysis of the way that Facebook has been represented in the news reports will hopefully provide a historical context for the critical discourse analysis, as well as highlight patterns in the reporting that may be interesting to compare with the CDA.

2. How is Facebook represented in the news reports related to the Cambridge analytica case?

This question will be answered through a discourse analysis of the reporting on the Cambridge analytica case. By focusing on a situation of crisis for Facebook this question aims to answer *how*

Facebook is reported on *when* the focus is on Facebook. How are the texts constructed? What ideologies can be identified in the text? How are they constructed?

3. Background

This study touches upon questions about the role and practice of public service media in a global, interconnected society and media landscape, as well as questions about power and responsibility of both traditional media and the new digital media companies. In this section the developments of public service media will therefore be outlined, followed by a more focused description of public service media in Sweden. I will then describe the changes in the media landscape as well as the developments of global media giants and Facebook.

The developments of PSM in Sweden will also be discussed in relation to the political, economic and technological changes in the media landscape. Swedish PSM will also be placed in an international context. Finally, the relationship between Facebook and public service media will be discussed.

The questions of power and responsibility will be developed on further in the theory section of this paper.

3.1. The development of public service media

In western societies many claim that the Hutchins commission, which was established in the US in the 1940's in order to outline a policy for the press and resulted in ideas of social responsibility, freedom of speech and self-regulation, have been one of the most influential forces in relation to ways of thinking about the role of journalism. (Pickard 2010: 392) In the report from the commission four different ideologies about the relationship between media and society were identified; the authoritarian ideology, the liberal ideology, the social responsibility ideology and the Marxist media ideology.

Hadenius & Weibull outline the theories accordingly: In the authoritarian ideology media is controlled by political decision-makers and has the role of a propaganda platform to which only those with the "right" views have access. The liberal ideology on the other hand wants the media to be completely free from the state and work as a platform where everyone can speak their voice. This media system is according to the liberal ideology reached through a free market. The social responsibility ideology also advocates a free press, but not ruled by a free market. According to the social responsibility theory the media has certain responsibility in a society to ensure the freedom of speech for all citizens, hence media cannot only cover what is commercially profitable but also has a responsibility for the development of society.

Finally, according to the Marxist media ideology media plays an important part in society as an organizer of the collective. This ideology is similar to the authoritarian one with the exception that the media is owned by the people, with no market freedom for the media owners, which is possible in the authoritarian ideology. These ideologies should not be seen as real classifications of media systems however, but rather how different political groups view media and society (Hadenius & Weibull 1999:19-21).

The existence of public service in the shape it has today in most western European countries is usually based on the social-responsibility theory, which states that there should be freedom of expression for the media but with a framework decided by society with the purpose of limiting the negative effects of the market (Hadenius & Weibull 1999: 20).

When talking about public service in the context of media, one could be referring to both a company and an ideology. Usually however, the subjects referred to are television or radio companies which are not profit-driven, in some way owned by the public, more or less have monopoly over radio and television broadcasting, and with specific obligations towards the audience (Jönsson 2015:373). It could be impartiality, the responsibility to investigate power, or to offer a diverse variety of programming for example programs in minority languages.

According to Jönsson a significant part of the research about public service has to do with the ideological foundations of media politics and media structures (Jönsson 2015:374), specifically regarding so called “public value” in PSM; how it is constructed and how it can be measured (Martin & Lowe 2013). In the research there is no agreed-upon definition of public service and when Syvertsen attempted to outline the definition in 1999 she arrived at three different ways of understanding the concept of public service. The first is public as in public utility, meaning services that governments usually provide, such as roads etc. and where the focus is on “universal access”. The second definition viewed the public as public sphere, where the role of PSM is to guarantee “that all members of society have access to the information and knowledge they need in order to perform their civic duties”. And the third definition sees the public as an audience, where PSM sees the public as consumers and public service is understood to be “broadcasting in the service of the listener/viewer”. The first definition was predominantly used in the beginning of European broadcasting and the second definition in the era of broadcasting monopolies. The third definition, Syvertsen argues, is becoming a more and more valid term to describe public service, both because of the changing media landscape but also because public service companies (in her example the Norwegian company NRK) are adapting to audiences by for example deciding on which programs to air based on their ratings (Syversten 1999:7-9).

The building blocks of the public service idea is that media has an important part to play in the public conversation and the democratic society (Jönsson 2015: 374), but the normative ideas of what role the press and media should have in democratic societies have developed differently in different parts of the world (Hallin & Mancini 2004). They are however as Pickard (2010) states, active decisions which were consciously made in the creation of different media systems, and those decisions were political at heart (Pickard 2010: 392).

The relationship between media systems and political systems was identified by Hallin & Mancini in 2004. They compared the development of media markets, the connection between press and political parties, the development of journalistic professionalism and state intervention in media in different countries in western Europe and the USA and concluded that there are connections between media systems and political systems which have to do with each country's historical background. (Hallin & Mancini 2004:21-22, 296) Hallin & Mancini identified three different models of media and political systems; polarized pluralist, the democratic corporatist model and the liberal model.

The polarized pluralist model, or the Mediterranean model, which included countries such as Greece and Spain, is defined by a high state intervention in media, a divide between a politically active part of the population that consume political information and an inactive part with a low consumption of political information, and where the media is more committed to political ideologies than common professional culture. (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 298). The democratic corporatist model, or the north/central European model which included countries such as Sweden, is characterized by a high overall consumption of information about public affairs, media autonomy is valued even though there is high state intervention, and a coexistence of commercial media and media tied to different social groups, as well as a high level of journalistic professionalization and a commitment to a common public interest (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 145). The liberal model, or the north atlantic model, includes the US, and is characterized by low state intervention and a press aimed at a wide mass audience, the media system is dominated by commercial actors and market forces, and a high level of journalistic professionalization (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 299).

Among the countries within the democratic corporatist model, which is characterized by “high levels of social spending” and which the Swedish system is a part of, the media is seen as a social institution for which the state is responsible, and this view usually results in subsidized press and a strong public service media (Hallin & Mancini 2004: 161).

There are those who claim that many of the countries previously belonging to a democratic corporatist model have now moved in the direction of a liberal model (SOU 2016:30: 75), and from the 1990's and forward much of the research on public service focused on the possible commercialization of

television and radio due to the deregulation of the market that took place in several countries. The result of this research showed however that the public service channels aired more informative and educative programs than commercial channels as well as more domestic productions. Public service also offered, to a greater extent, programming aimed at minorities as well as in-house productions of children programs, as well as culture programs. (Jönsson 2015: 379).

More recent studies also point at the educative role of public service; Iyengar et al.'s study from 2009 showed that the population of countries with public service have a greater knowledge of public affairs and international news than countries with a market model. Their study also indicates that public service decreases the gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged (Iyengar et al. 2009: 5) A report from the European broadcasting union (EBU) in 2016 indicated a link between a functioning democracy and a strong public service media; the report showed that countries where PSM has more funding and a high level of trust among the citizens, there is more press freedom, better functioning governance and less extreme right-wing sympathies (EBU 2016).

3.1.1. Swedish public service media

In Sweden public service broadcasting has had a long tradition and strong position. The Swedish national television first began broadcasting in 1956 and is one of Europe's oldest non-commercial broadcasting monopolies (Djerf-Pierre 2000: 239).

Swedish public service consists of three different companies; SVT, SR and UR. Their license is issued by the Swedish Parliament and the Government, but they are separated from the state and financed by a fee regulated by the Ministry of culture. According to the current license all three companies "should bear the stamp of independence and high integrity and should be conducted autonomously from the state, commercial and political interests or power structure in the society" (Radiotjänst 2018).

The companies are owned by a trust and board members in the companies cannot have any political ties. The funding comes directly from the audience, through a fee payed by households with a television in their home². The license, which is reevaluated and renewed every six years, regulates the companies' assignment, and public service must always abide by the principles of "impartiality and objectiveness" (The Swedish press and broadcasting authority 2018, Radiotjänst 2018). The current license is valid until December 31st 2019 after which the government issues a new license.

² This is the current financial model but from January 1st 2019 the fee will be based on individual income and collected by the Swedish tax agency. (Regeringen 2018)

The license specifies what is expected from SVT and SR in their different lines of production. Aside from the technical requirements such as having a high technical quality on their broadcasts and the reach of the broadcast (at least 99,8 percent of the population need to be able to receive their broadcasts), SVT and SR also have certain obligations content-wise. Their programming needs to be varied and diverse, both broad and niched, with a special responsibility to preserve the Swedish language. The programming needs to reflect and be aimed at different parts of the population, with an ambition to educate the public. It should provide a platform for a range of different opinions and views.

In the broadcasting license of both SVT and SR states that the role of public service media news production is to “scrutinize authorities, organizations and private enterprises which exert influence over policy affecting the public.” (SVT 2018) The news programming should be characterized by a diversity of news, analysis and comments, stimulate debate and give the citizens the information needed to be able to orientate themselves around and form opinions on “matters of socio-economic and cultural importance” (SVT 2018). The news programming also needs to include different social, geographical and other perspectives.

Furthermore, there are directions for how the cultural programming should be carried out, the programming for children and young adults, for people with disabilities and minorities. The broadcasting should be impartial and factual, with a certain regard to the freedom of expression. There can also be no commercials or product placement in SVT and SR (SVT 2018).

3.2. Rewriting the media map – a changing media landscape

In the 1990's the newspapers in Sweden saw a decrease in revenue from advertising and less political diversity as big media corporations started buying up newspapers around the country based on economic incentives rather than political (SOU 2016:30: 67-68). In recent years many local newspapers have had to shut down while the editorial staff on newspapers across the country keeps shrinking (Andersson et al. 2018); in the years 2015-2017 the editorial staff in Sweden decreased by 7 percent altogether, and by 18 percent at the regional newspapers (Nygren & Nord 2017: 32). Many newspapers in Sweden are still losing revenue, and the revenues lost by the traditional media have been picked up by digital and social media.

Digital technology opened for new ways for newspapers to reach their audiences, but since it was difficult to charge for digital reading, and since advertisers moved from national newspapers to the global digital market with actors such as Google and social media, the newspaper industry in Sweden

lost a third of their revenue between the years 2006 and 2014. (SOU 2016:30:73). Today we do not only talk about the development of digital technology but also datafication³, the “digital tracks” that internet-users leave when they visit a website, which is the main reason that advertisers have moved over to digital and social media. (Ohlsson 2017) The business model of Google, Facebook and other social media is that they offer services for free, and then sell the data, the “digital tracks”, collected from people using those services to advertisers (information about who our friends on Facebook are, which posts we like, what information we search for on Google etc.). The data that people leave behind has hence become the new currency on the media market (Ohlsson 2017: 146). Traditional media companies are today dependent on digital platforms to reach their audiences and are therefore part of a complex production network with a long line of third parties that in one way or another collect and commercialize data (Ohlsson 2017: 146-147), when a newspaper article is reached through Facebook for example, the click will be registered on Facebook and Facebook will get advertiser revenue. According to Ohlsson every Swedish news company that is active online provides, intentionally or unintentionally, different actors with information about the users, meaning that data from Swedish news-readers will be commercialized by other actors (Ohlsson 2017: 148).

It is not just in terms of revenue that social media is competing with newspapers, as newspapers are becoming weaker social media are taking over bigger parts of the market content-wise. Around 50 percent of the Swedish population that have access to the internet use social media for news (Newman et al. 2017), and among the Swedish population between the ages of 16 and 50 Facebook is the most used source of information for local news (Nygren & Leckner 2016: 334).

Social media has also changed the conditions for journalistic work, many editors report that their reporters have had to become “multi-competent” and among other skills need to know how to work with social media (Nygren & Nord 2017).

3.2.1. The rise of new global media giants

As mentioned earlier, thanks to the new digital environment new global media giants that stretch beyond national borders have arisen, and media industries are now some of the most “productive and profitable sectors of the world economy” (Birkinbine et al. 2017:1). According to Birkinbine et al. the “Web 2.0”⁴ has contributed to making services more profitable than software and created a new

³ First coined in the report *Mediernes udvikling i Danmark 2017: Globaliseringen av den danske mediebranch* (Slots- och kulturstyrelsen 2017).

⁴ A term coined by O’Reilly in 2004 that describes a new way of using the web with a focus on interactivity and co-creation. (O’Reilly 2005)

market dominated by companies such as Facebook and Google, that offer interactive services to people and through that collect information that they sell to advertisers (Birkinbine et al. 2017: 1). According to Nordicom at the university of Gothenburg 63 percent of the digital advertisement in Sweden in 2016 went to global media giants; Google got the biggest share, followed by Facebook (Ohlsson 2017:148).

Companies that pioneered and led the shift from “packaged software to interactivity” such Facebook and Google, as well as the companies that made their services possible such as Microsoft and Apple, are the winners in the new global economy. (Birkinbine et al. 2017:1) For the national media this means that there has been a power shift on the media market. Even though advertisement investment is increasing, and even though national newspapers still create most of the content, most of the revenue from advertisement goes to the global media giants, which poses great challenges for national news media (Ohlsson 2017).

3.2.2. The rise of Facebook

Ever since Facebook was founded in 2004 by the then Harvard-students Mark Zuckerberg, Eduardo Saverin, Dustin Moskovitz and Chris Hughes (Fuchs 2014:154), it has kept on growing. At the end of 2017 it had 1,4 billion active users every day, and almost 2,2 billion monthly active users, an increase of 14 % compared to the year before (p.34 Facebook, SEC Filings, Form 10-K, 2017 Annual report 2017).

Facebook was introduced in Sweden in 2006 and is today the biggest social media in terms of users in Sweden. According to the yearly survey *The Swedes and the internet* 74 percent out of internet-users⁵ in Sweden use Facebook, and 53 percent use it on a daily basis. (IIS 2017) Few can deny the influence that Facebook has on people’s lives, not only for social connections but also in terms of information- and knowledge acquisition; according to the 2016 report from the Reuter’s Institute for the Study of Journalism Facebook is the most important social network for news world-wide; 51 percent of the 50 000 people in 26 different countries that answered the survey use social media as a source for news each week and out of those Facebook is by far the biggest network (Newman et al. 2016). The report from 2017 showed that around 50 percent of the population in Sweden use social media as a source for news, and for a third of the 18 to 24-year-olds world-wide, Facebook is the main source for news. (Newman et al. (2017).

⁵ 94 percent of the Swedish population use the internet according to the report.

Marichal (2016:5) argues that the success of Facebook lies in that it speaks to our basic human need of being part of a group and connecting with other people and makes it possible to “groom” all of our relationship with less effort, time and money than before. Facebook offers a sense of community he continues, but since that community is “self-selected” it does not offer the same kind of varied encounters as in public life. Also, Facebook is a private company whose commodity is the information that people share about themselves, and this mean that Facebook encourages us to share/talk about the personal/emotional because that triggers more interaction than issues that demand more reflection. The political discussions on Facebook then becomes faltered since they focus more on the personal/private than on “bigger issues” outside of ourselves (Marichal 2016: 155).

According to Facebook’s own company page its mission is to “give people the power to build community and bring the world close together” (Facebook newsroom 2018), and some would claim that it is a tool for democracy. Facebook has been used as a way to reach a broad audience during social movements such as Occupy wall street and revolution-activists during the Arab spring (Fuchs 2014:2-3). At the same time Facebook is an enterprise that gets its revenue from advertising and collects information about its users for target advertising (Facebook 2018).

In recent years Facebook has been criticized for not taking enough responsibility when it comes to content shared in the network, and after the US presidential election Facebook was accused of enabling fake news to be spread in the network (Gosh & Scott 2018). Facebook’s responsibility when it comes to content on the platform has long been unclear and undefined, and even though Facebook as of last year promised to take action against disinformation, they themselves are not sure if this can really be done (Facebook newsroom 2018).

The biggest scandal surrounding Facebook up until now was without a doubt the British Channel 4 revelation in the spring of 2018 that the data company Cambridge analytica had gained access to information from millions of Facebook-profiles which is suspected to have been used to affect the outcome of the 2016 US presidential election. (Davies 2018) The news resulted in a drop of more than 11 percent for the Facebook-stock the following week (Cox 2018) and led up to Mark Zuckerberg having to testify in front of the United State Congress.

3.3. Swedish Public service media in an altered media landscape

One could question the role of public service television and radio news in this new digital media landscape where more and more people get their information from social media, but the fact is that viewing and listening of public service media is rather stable; around 60 percent of the population

watch news on television and around a fourth of the population listen to the national public service radio news (SOU 2016:30: 436). It seems that the group that get their news from radio and television are different from the group that get their news on social media, younger people are overrepresented in the group that get their news from social media while older people to a greater extent turn to traditional media for news (Wadbring, Weibull & Facht 2016: 440). Recent surveys have also shown that younger people are more sceptic to content online than older groups (Davidsson & Thoresson 2017:81).

Even though the changes in the media landscape have not affected public service as gravely as commercial media, they have not gone unnoticed. In the early 90's public service became exposed to commercial competition as new technology had opened up for television broadcasting through cable and satellite (Djerf-Pierre 2000: 240). The Swedish national television (SVT) experienced some strain when tv-broadcasting became digital in the early 2000's and made it easier for commercial actors to enter the market, which resulted in an increased number of commercial tv-channels. Between the years 2005 and 2011 viewing of the five biggest tv-channels in Sweden decreased from 81 percent share of the audience, to 63 percent (SOU 2012:59:15) and even though SVT still had the biggest market share between the years 1997 and 2011 its viewing had decreased by 13% (SOU 2012:59:60). During that time-period radio-listening also decreased, from 77% of the population in 1991 to 67 % n 2011 (SOU 2012:59:78). The Swedish radio (SR) saw a decreased listening during the 2000s, but since the decrease mostly affected the music-channels it could be explained by the new digital music streaming sites (SOU 2016:30:72).

Lennart Weibull (2016) argues that the most defining changes in the media landscape are not technological but political; the biggest change during the last four decades he claims is the shift in power from political to economic actors. It started with the deregulation in 1989 which allowed televised advertisement and over the past years the market has gained in importance, while the public opinion in Sweden has moved in a more liberal direction (SOU 2016:30:74-75).

3.3.1. Trust in the media and Swedish PSM in an international context

Even though Swedish public service media may have lost a share of their listeners and viewers over the last 30 years, they have strengthened their position among the public (SOU 2016:30:73).

The last couple of years there has been talk about a decreased trust in traditional media in Sweden, mostly from alternative right voices claiming that media is not telling the truth. When looking at empirical studies on media trust however, the trust in public service media is stable (Strömbäck &

Karlsson 2017: 93, Andersson & Weibull 2017:100), even if a decrease in trust could be noted among the voters of the extreme right party in Sweden (Strömbäck & Karlsson 2017:93).

According to an annual national survey conducted by the SOM-institute, an independent survey research organization at the University of Gothenburg, the Swedish public service television and the Swedish public service radio are the most trusted media institutions in Sweden and have been so since the early 1990's (Andersson & Bergström 2017). The survey from 2017 shows that 77% of the population had a high or very high trust in SVT, and 74 % a high or very high trust in SR (Bové et al. 2017).

On a European level the trust in PSM has increased. According to the report *Trust in media 2017* from the European broadcasting union (EBU), radio was the most trusted media in Europe in 2016 while social media is the least trusted, and trust in radio and tv increased compared to the previous year, while the trust in social media decreased (EBU 2017).

However, there have been alarming developments when it comes to the position of public service broadcasting in Europe, in May 2017 the Council of Europe claimed that public service media in Europe is under threat, referring to government interference in Croatia, Poland and Spain as an example, and reduced funding in Bulgaria and Greece (Muižnieks 2017). The northern countries are not an exception from this development, in 2018 the Danish government decided to cut the funding to the Danish public broadcaster DR by 20 percent, which resulted in DR cutting hundreds of jobs (European federation of journalists 2018).

Swedish PSM however is so far financially stable, the license fee increases marginally each year and the two companies SR and SVT have been able to increase their cost of production by 10 percent between the years 2014-2016. Also, while other media companies have seen a decrease in editorial staff, the two PSM companies have been able to increase the number of employees by 9 percent in 2016 (Nygren & Nord 2017:54,63).

Compared to other countries Swedish public service has seen rather little interference from the state, but there have been discussions about the organization of the public service system. In April 2018 the government proposed a new financial model for the public service companies (Regeringen 2018), and there have previously been debates about the impact of public service on the media market which was investigated by The Swedish press and broadcasting authority in 2015, who concluded that the public service companies are not a hindrance to the commercial actors on the market (MPRT 2015). Also, unlike the Norwegian public service channel NRK who for a while during the early 2000's featured advertisement on their online platforms, the Swedish public service never compromised the idea of commercial-free public service and refused advertisement even with the rise of new digital media

(Roppen et al. 2010). Also, when compared to the Norwegian public service companies the Swedish public service stands out with its emphasis on its democratic and educational role. According to Håkon Larson's findings when comparing the rhetoric in institutional documents from, and interviews with the CEO's of, the Swedish and Norwegian public service broadcasting companies, the rhetoric of the Swedish public service company is more focused on democracy and "enlightening the people", while the Norwegian company puts its emphasis on "being a high-quality content deliverer in a digital media environment" (Larson 2010:280).

Like many other Northern European countries, the Swedish media system is characterized by a high circulation of newspapers (high number of newspaper sales per person) aimed at a wide audience rather than an educated elite, and a broadcasting system separated from the state (Hallin and Mancini 2004). When Ibarra and Nord (2014) compared the Swedish broadcasting system to a country with a different media system such as Spain (a country with a lower level of newspaper-circulation and less autonomous broadcasting system), it became clear that the even in a crisis situation such as the economic crisis of 2008, the Swedish public service media held a strong position without any budget cuts or much political interference, whereas in Spain financing and organizational structures were discussed.

3.3.2. Public service and Facebook

While social media has gradually become a more important part of people's lives, it has also become more and more integrated into public service's work. On one hand, social media is a competitor for PSM as it offers a tool for democracy by connecting and informing people and challenging public service media's traditional role (Kant 2014: 381-382). On the other hand, it is a tool for doing journalistic work more efficiently, and a platform where media organizations can spread their content (Moe 2013: 114). At the same time pressure is being put on public service newsrooms to reach their audience and become more "citizen-centric in order to create a stronger relationship with the general public" (García de Madariaga et al. 2014: 912), and one way to do that is through increased participation with their audience on Facebook. In the early days of social media most social media did not work as commercial companies but were seen more as a new public square, a natural meeting place for people, and in order for mass media to reach their audience they had to be present on these new "public squares" (van Dijck and Poell 2015: 151). In that context it is easy to see why PSM were quick to jump on the new social media wagon, seeing Facebook as an infrastructural means to reach audiences, and public service staff were among the first to integrate social media in their professional work (van Dijck & Poell 2015). Today, however, the reality is different, most social media have

grown into transnational companies reaching billion-dollar revenues each month, making it harder to view them as public squares.

As mentioned earlier, Public service, unlike other media in Sweden, has certain requirements to meet formulated by the government, and in the broadcasting license of both SVT and SR it explicitly says that the role of public service media is not only to investigate powerful companies but also to reflect the activity within those companies. No matter the good or bad effects of Facebook, the network is a commercial product and should according to Ramsey (2013) be seen as “primarily a business entity run for the benefit of its investors” (Ramsey 2013: 865). Ramsey denies the idea that Facebook is a “social service” with a perspective to promote and facilitate democracy. As one of the world’s biggest transnational companies, Facebook is a power factor in society. According to Facebook themselves their mission is to “bring people together” (Facebook newsroom 2018), but with a 11,5 billion dollar revenue only from advertising in 2014, which comprises 92,2 percent of their total revenue, I would agree with Fuchs’ statement that Facebook is first and foremost an advertising company, and one of the world’s biggest at that (Fuchs 2017: 428).

When asked the question how public service deals with Facebook, the program director of SR answered that there is a dilemma between unintentionally promoting a commercial actor and reaching audiences. He landed in the conclusion that the Swedish Radio needs to be where the audience is and compared Facebook to a physical mall, which may have commercial interests but is at the same time a meeting place for people (Sveriges Radio 2018).

In the last years the public service channels in Sweden have moved more and more content online and are working actively to engage with audiences on social media. Even though Swedish public service does not need to attract advertisers they are still active on social media and can be found through Google, meaning that the same principle of datafication mentioned before most likely applies there too.

4. Research overview

Below I will present a selection of research that I find relevant in order to understand the need for my study. Previous research on social media and journalism has mainly focused on how social media affects journalism both in terms of journalistic production and content, but also how it affects public value. Research on social media and news has, on the other hand, focused more on audience/user consumption of news.

Since my study is interested in how Facebook is represented in the news, an overview of previous research on how media represents commercial corporations will be outlined. The research on commercial corporations in the media has been mostly focused on the role of financial/business journalism, the role, ideal and profession of financial journalists and the representation of business elites in media content. Quite a few studies have examined journalism from a political economy perspective, and some studies have also been done on media effect in relation to public perception and views about companies.

The research overview will thus start with an outline of research on journalism and social media, followed by a section describing the research on social media and the news. Finally, the research on commercial corporations in the media will be described. The following research overview is as mentioned a selection of research related to my study and not a full overview of the field.

4.1. Social media and journalism

When it comes to previous research on social media and journalism, quite a bit of research examines how social media affects journalistic production and how it has influenced the journalistic profession. In 2010 Alfred Hermida studied how Twitter affects traditional journalism and pointed at the possible shift in the role of the future journalist, where the journalist no longer reports on events but instead explains, navigates, analyzes and “makes sense” of the massive information flow that defines our time, something that has been proposed in earlier research as well (Bardoel & Deuze 2001). In a later study Hermida (2012) examined the role of traditional journalism and journalists in a networked media environment, where contested accounts can be questioned publicly in real-time, and suggested that there has been a shift from top-down expertise and authority to a collective negotiation of facts. In another study Hermida (2013) also suggested that networked social media platforms, and Twitter in particular, could open up for a new paradigm of journalism that changes the narrative structure and norms of traditional journalism. Furthermore, Hedman & Djerf-Pierre (2013), who examined

journalists' professional and personal use of social media among different categories of journalists, suggested that the difference in social media use had to do with age, type of work and attitudes towards branding and audience adaptation.

Another angle from which researchers have approached the relationship between journalism and social media is from the perspective of public service, and the implications social media could have for public service media. Van Dijck & Poell (2015) for example looked at how the rise of social media affected European public service, with the UK and the Netherlands as a case. They discussed the implications both in terms of content and journalistic production, but also relating to public service value, and they addressed the dilemma of using social media to reach an audience with the risk of commercial social media compromising public value. This is something that Moe (2013) also discusses when examining what challenges social media pose for public service media, with a focus on Facebook and the Norwegian broadcasting corporation. Moe comes to the conclusion that there is no clear answer as to whether or not public service should be on social media, but also concludes that a presence on social media makes it harder for a national regulatory body to control the output (Moe 2013:121). Van Dijck & Poell (2015) suggest that in order to reach audiences without compromising public value we need to rethink public service and see how it can move from broadcasting to media, from a focus on public service as an institution to public service value and from producing content within PSM to having a role of selection and distribution instead.

In a later article (2016) Poell & van Dijck outlined, together with Moe, how television programs in five different countries use social media for audience engagement and identified among other things the difficulty that public service media face when engaging with audiences on social media, and the dilemma it poses for public service that social media are commercial companies as well as communication platforms. Lowe & Stavitsky (2016) argue in their study for the importance of public service value and suggest that public service ethos is at risk in the new interconnected media system. They argue that there is a need for collaboration between those in power, media workers and the academic world in order to secure journalistic quality in an increasingly complex media system.

4.2. Social media and the news

Regarding research on social media and the news, focus has mostly been on news *on* social media, rather than social media *in* the news, with a focus on media effect and the consumption of news. One such example is Hermida, Fletcher, Korell & Logan's (2012) research on how social media affects news consumption which showed that social media is becoming an important source of news for

Canadians. Winter, Brückner & Krämer (2015) also took their point of departure in social media's increasing importance for news consumption and examined how news articles posted on Facebook were received by readers and how the reactions of peers affected the reader's perception of the news article. Their results showed that comments have more effects on people's perception of an article than likes, and that negative comments have more effect than positive comments. A similar study was conducted by Turcotte et al. (2015) who investigated the role of social media opinion leaders and how they affected media trust. The results showed that recommendations from friends influenced media trust, and even more so if the friend is considered an opinion leader. What then drives people to recommend was studied by Lee and Ma's (2011), who investigated why people share news on social media. They used a survey with 203 students and their results showed that people who were driven by information seeking, socializing and status seeking were more likely to share news on social media.

Even though most research on social media and news seem to have focused on people's behavior and the consumption of news on social media, there are some studies that have been interested in the production of news as well. Al Rawi's (2017) study for example looked at how news organizations use Facebook and examined the Facebook-posts of four international Arabic language television channels and the news selection among those posts. Finally, Carlson's (2017) research took on the question of what role Facebook should have in news distribution, and concluded that Facebook's stance of viewing news as content curated by algorithms based on popularity leads to a shift from "news dictating to the audience what is important, to the audience now dictating what news is important" (Carlson 2017: 15).

4.3. Commercial corporations in the media

Facebook can be approached from many different perspectives, and be seen both as a cultural, social and technical phenomenon. But it is also a commercial company, and news concerning Facebook would in many cases be categorized as financial journalism. Much of the research on corporations in the media is also oriented around financial journalism and how business elites are represented in media, as well as how market-oriented developments have influenced journalism. Therefore, the research outlined below will center around the areas of financial journalism, business elites in media, market influence on journalism and how media representations affect commercial corporations.

Altogether there is limited research on financial/business journalism which Grafström suggest has to do with the fact that financial journalism for a long time was a marginalized niche genre (Grafström 2015: 225). However, in recent years there has been an expansion of financial journalism, both

internationally and in Sweden (Strannegård & Pallas 2010:11), which Grafström argues is a result of the “financialization” of society (Grafström 2015:228); a focus on economic growth that involves neoliberal policies such as deregulation and privatization. (Greenfield & Williams 2007: 416). According to Greenfield & Williams media plays a part in reinforcing this financialization by “naturalizing” the “logic of ‘shareholder value’” (Greenfield & Williams 2007:418). Another effect of financialization is the increased personalization of corporations in the media (Grafström 2015:228), where for example CEO’s are increasingly framed as celebrities with media increasingly attributing a firm’s success to the CEO (Hayward et al. 2004). This development agrees with Jacobsson (2016) study on industrial crises in Sweden, which shows an increased emphasis on emotion and individual performances or experiences in media coverages (Jacobsson 2016: 83).

Financial journalism has been criticized for not investigating and questioning the business world enough and there seems to be a discrepancy between different news organizations as to whether or not they have a watchdog-function (Usher 2012, Tambini 2010). Usher’s research showed how business journalists from three different news organizations view their own role differs from case to case, and that there is no consistency in the sense of public responsibility. (Usher 2012:203) Gillian Doyle’s research suggested that the problem is not the financial journalist’s perception of their own role, but rather the lack of time, resources and education. (Doyle 2006: 442). One news editor in Doyle’s study describes financial journalists as less good in pro-actively investigating stories: *“in stepping back to see the wider picture and spotting things that deserve a closer look. This is because they don’t have the time and the opportunity and perhaps the education and training needed to be more pro-active”* (cited in Doyle 2006:442).

Another challenge for financial journalism is the rise of financial PR which, according to one editor in Tambini’s study, is the biggest change in financial reporting over the last 20 years. The editor adds that financial PR professionals put up barriers to information and that they to a great extent set the agenda by having control over interviews and what information is released. (Tambini 2010:167).

According to a Swedish study, the demographic group financial journalists differ from other journalists in that a majority of financial journalists are men who are better paid than other journalists, and more positive to a market economy than other journalists. In accordance to Usher and Tambini’s studies they also see themselves as having less of an investigative “watch-dog” function but rather see it as their role to explain and analyze. (Löfgren Nilsson & Öhlin 2006, as referred to by Fredriksson: 32) Also, financial journalism often accepts the view that the main purpose of the market is to generate economic growth, and a majority of stories within financial journalism are told from that point of view (Fredriksson 2010:33).

According to Jacobsson the market perspective is dominant in the media representations of different financial crises as well (Jacobsson 2016:47). Her research suggests that neoliberal ideology has had an increased influence on Swedish newspapers (Jacobsson 2016:79), that journalists' autonomy to an extent is overestimated and that organizational and ideological factors limit alternative perspectives in the coverage of financial crises (Jacobsson 2016: 85).

Some studies have also been done on media's potential power over commercial cooperations. Carrol & McCombs (2003: 36) for example suggest that agenda-setting theory could be applied on the reputation of corporations; that media coverage of companies could influence people's perceptions of and opinions about those companies. Kölbel et al.'s study showed that there is a correlation between media coverage and financial risk for corporations; that negative news about the firm, especially if the media outlet had a big audience and reached many people, it would have a negative effect on the company and increase financial risk. (Kölbel et al. 2017: 2266).

5. Theory

As mentioned earlier, this study takes its point of departure in social constructionism. Jørgensen & Philips account for the characteristics of social constructionism (as presented by Vivien Burr and Kenneth Gergen) in their book *Discourse analysis as theory and method*, and I will depart from their descriptions in my outline of this approach. According to social constructionism knowledge is not an objective truth but a product of our way of understanding and categorizing the world, which we do in a historically and culturally specific way. We create, maintain and re-shape the world through social interaction where discourse is a form of social action. However, this does not mean that truth and knowledge is always fluid. Even though the principle of social constructionism is that we re-shape the world through interaction, in most situations there are restrictions on what can be done/said, making the social interaction much more rule-bound. (Jørgensen & Philips 2002:12).

In order to empirically study how this is done critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be the main methodological approach, in this case mainly based on van Dijk's idea of socio-cognition. The critical discourse analysis is a critical approach with emancipatory aims and a goal to identify, and change, unequal power-relations (Jørgensen & Philips 2002:57-58).

I would argue that one historically and culturally specific way of understanding our present is in the context of a capitalist economy. Therefore, I will use a political economy perspective in the analysis of the news stories.

Finally, the relevance of this study boils down to the power and responsibility of media, and the importance of journalism for a democratic society. I will start this section by contextualizing the journalistic role and ideal in relation to my study. Then I will discuss the implications of capitalist economy for journalism and public service from a political economy perspective. Finally, I will address the power of the media and outline my approach critical discourse analysis which is the methodology for the second part of my study.

5.1. The journalistic role in an increasingly market-oriented society

In a democratic society power is based on voluntary consent between the ruler and the one being ruled, meaning that the ruled accepts being ruled because they consider the authority of those in charge legitimate; they trust the system (Strömbäck 2004: 21). Strömbäck argues that the same thing is true

for media, they only have power in a democratic society if we perceive them as legitimate and trust them (Strombäck 2004: 22).

Before I continue outlining the role of journalism in relation to my study, I need to make clear what I include in the word “democracy”. When speaking of democracy, I do not only mean the rule of many, but also agree with McChesney’s definition where the term includes making the rule of many possible, by for example “reducing inequality” or establishing media systems that “serve the entire population” and “promote democratic rule” (McChesney 1999:5).

In a democratic society journalism is needed to hold those in power responsible, and critically investigate all kinds of power. Traditionally the purpose of journalism has been to “provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing” (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2003:17). In order to do this journalists rely on certain principles which Deuze summarizes as; public service (as in serving the public), objectivity (journalists are neutral, fair and objective), autonomy (journalists must be independent and free in their editorial decisions), immediacy (journalists have to work fast) and ethics (journalists view themselves as being ethical) (Deuze 2005: 447).

One measurement of how autonomous journalists are in their work can be seen in the degree of professionalism of the journalistic occupation (Freidson 2001). In terms of agreed upon definitions within sociology of what constitutes a profession, journalism would not classify. However, journalism still managed to reach a higher professional status as it throughout the 20th century underwent a process of professionalization, where it was strengthened thanks to institutions for education within the field, professional norms and systems and institutions for securing quality. Within this professionalization however, there is still a struggle between editorial and financial incentives; the newspapers have to secure their workers’ paychecks, while not letting the market dictate the professional choices as the public service⁶ mission is strong within the profession. (Nygren 2015:63, 65).

Since the beginning of the 2000’s however, there has been a development towards a de-professionalization of the journalistic profession. Since internet has made it possible for everyone to publish, and while people are spending more time on social media than consuming traditional news media, journalists have lost their monopoly and control over the public space (Nygren 2015:74). The reality is that new technology has abolished national borders and we now find ourselves in a situation where national media have to deal with a global media market and communication companies without borders. (SOU 2016:30:76). McChesney argues that the global media market that we have today is in part the result of new technological possibilities, but first and foremost a result of “global capitalism”.

⁶ Public service as in a service for the common good, not public service as in broadcasting media.

It is the result of a global market of goods and services, but also political “pro-business” decisions within the countries they are active in.” (McChesney 1999:78).

The new media environment has, according to Kovach and Rosenstiel, resulted in journalism that is more market-oriented, and less focused on “civic responsibility” (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2003:30), something that other scholars have noticed as well. Guyot talks about factors connected to the logics of a capitalist market having a “subtle and wider impact on journalistic practice, value and work” (Guyot 2009: 135) and Andersson, Waldenström & Wiik argue that an increased market orientation within the media companies has had crucial implications for how the journalistic praxis and principles have changed (Andersson, Waldenström & Wiik 2018:79).

5.2. Political economy and the neoliberal ideology

This link between how a capitalist economy⁷ has influenced media is what the political economy perspective is focused on (Jacobsson 2016). According to Jacobsson (2016: 54) the capitalist economy has pushed news journalism towards “profit maximizing principles”, and political economy is interested in the structures behind that relationship. McChesney outlines two dimensions of the political economy perspective; firstly, how media, media systems and content “reinforce, challenge or influence existing class and social relations” and secondly how ownership, advertisement and government policies influence media and their content. The political economy perspective can according to McChesney be applied to different kinds of societies, it is usually used when studying media in capitalist societies (McChesney 2000:110).

Another term that will be used in this study to describe how a capitalist economy has influenced society is neoliberalism or neoliberal ideology. It is an ideology based on the idea of free market which Stark (2018) describes as an “economic-political project of capitalist elites which involves the following: economization of all areas of life, privatization, economic globalization and deregulation” (Stark 2018: 39).

Some argue that the deregulations of broadcasting media markets in European countries is a result of neoliberal ideas (Guyot 2009), and Weibull also touches upon that thought. He claims that the biggest change in the Swedish media landscape had to do with commercials becoming allowed on Swedish cable television in 1989, which meant that economic factors had started influencing the media system

⁷ “An economic system based on private ownership of property and business, with the goal of making the greatest possible profits for the owners”. (Cambridge dictionary 2018)

to a greater extent than political factors (SOU 2016:75). Since then the Swedish media landscape, in accordance with international trends, has moved more towards what Hallin & Mancini call a liberal model; where the media system is dominated by commercial actors and market forces (SOU 2016:75, Hallin & Mancini 2004: 299). At the same time the public opinion has shifted into viewing the old structures as outdated and the new commercial market-oriented media-outlets as modern, which explains the younger audience choosing new media over the big established media. (SOU 2016:30:75).

Capitalist economy can take form in different ways in media; Fairclough (1995:10) argues that the blurring of boundaries between public affairs and entertainment, which can be seen in media, is a part of marketization affecting not only mass media but society in general. Marketization of media, he continues, has intensified because of more commercial competition, where media has to entertain to a greater extent in order to attract audiences. And constructing the audience as consumers, he argues, could pose a problem for media functioning as a political public sphere. (Fairclough 1995: 10-11) According to Altheide the “entertainment format”, used for dramatization in news programs which among other things includes simplifying complex events, is another consequence of commercialism. (Altheide 2002:46)

Why is it interesting to analyze the representation of Facebook from a political economy perspective? Well, if an influence of neoliberal ideology jeopardizes journalistic independence, the way that Kovach and Rosenstiel (2003:30-31) argue that an owner concentration of the media market does (where large media corporations to a greater extent own both commercial and news media), then the influence of neoliberal ideology becomes a democratic issue. With an increased business management adaption of newsrooms with focus on efficiency and financial revenue, journalists are experiencing a market-adaptation of the news content as well (Andersson et al. 2018: 79-82), which indicates that the journalistic role and content are intertwined and that one needs to be taken into consideration when analyzing the other.

Finally, McChesney argues that the problem with a “neoliberal democracy” which the global media system upholds and is dependent on, is that in neoliberalism a free market is synonymous to democracy, hence any state interference that restricts the market becomes anti-democratic. If the market, class inequality etc. are seen as a natural state, the side effect becomes a “depoliticized” public debate that only addresses minor issues (McChesney 1999:110-111).

There have been several critical voices raised against studying the effects of neoliberalism, Ferguson (2010) for example argues that the only thing critical research does when critiquing neoliberalism is to position itself as “anti” something, rather than trying to find a system that works. But I would argue

one first needs to identify how a neoliberal system affects society, and what the problems with it could be, before any possible alternative systems could be proposed.

5.2.1. Public service and the political economy perspective

Even though public service media is not financed by advertisement, it still exists in the same economic system as the rest of society. The political economy perspective is primarily focused on capitalist societies and commercial media, but I argue that is a relevant perspective also when studying public service media.

Andersson et al. (2018) conclude from their study on daily newspapers in Sweden that there is an increased market-orientation in the newsrooms, and that media companies are becoming more business-like due to increased competition, new commercial media channels, new technology and deregulations (Andersson et al. 2018:79). This increased marketization has been found in public service as well. A Swedish study on the development of the coverage of financial news in the public service program Rapport found an increased marketization in the content, and concluded that economic experts (usually economists), who promoted market adaptation, less regulation from the state and more flexibility on the labor market, were seldom questioned, but rather generously framed (visually but also in relation to programming-time) and ascribed authority by the journalists. (Viscovi 2006:241, 248)

Public service media in Sweden is financed by a license fee determined on a political level, however I would argue that the economic system that they operate within is bound to influence public service as well, just as both Swedish (Viscovi 2006) and international research on public service has shown (Thomas 2016, Berry 2012). In one study on BBC Kay & Salter (2013) found that the BBC “constructed a space in which neoliberalism is normalized not necessarily as *desireable*, but certainly as *inevitable*” (Kay & Salter 2013:762), by for example describing an economic problem as being “technical” rather than “political”. Furthermore, public service has already adapted to the new economic system by letting audience ratings determine output (Syvertsen 1999: 9), incorporating social media in their work (van Dijck & Poell 2015) and setting up goals to increase their presence on social media.

5.3. Power of the media

When it comes to the power of media Strömbäck (2004: 22-23) identifies three types of power, the visible power of decision making, power to set the agenda and power over the mind, where the first one is institutionally regulated while the last two are more open and have more to do with hegemony. The power of the agenda and the power of the mind are both intertwined and have to do with the ability to use symbols so that people accept certain representations of reality over others.

This study presupposes that the media has “signifying power”, that media represents things in certain ways and can hence influence knowledge, understanding and values. (Fairclough 1995:2) If we accept that media represents reality (rather than mirrors an objective truth), then we also accept that certain decisions about the representation are made, in terms of what to include/exclude, what to place in the foreground/background, who to interview, how to phrase the voice over etc. (Fairclough 1995: 4)

According to Strömbäck (2008) society has become more mediated and mediatized, and with that the power of the media increased, resulting in media today being “the most important source of information for most people in advanced democracies around the world” (Strömbäck 2008: 229). Previous studies have empirically shown, from a media effect perspective, the power that media has over audiences (e.g. Asp 1986). However, this study is interested in the role of discourses in the exercise of power. Within critical discourse analysis (which I will develop further down in this section) the concept of power is based on Michel Foucault’s definition, where there is a structure behind the exercise of power. Foucault views power as exercised with intention, but not individual intention, instead this structure is upheld, power is exercised by different actors within a society, who are not necessarily aware of the power structure. (Wodak & Meyer 2016: 10) Discourse in relation to this view on power is seen as a “manifestation of social action which is determined by social structure and simultaneously reinforces or erodes structure.” (Wodak & Meyer 2016: 11) In social interactions (as well as in media) there are certain established roles and structures as well as power-relations which influence language, and language in turn upholds them. They are also sustained by the “normal opacity” of these social interactions/actions; the taken for granted “ideological assumptions” (Fairclough 1995: 54).

5.4. Critical discourse analysis

5.4.1. Discourse analysis

Jørgensen and Philips define discourse as a “particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen & Philips 2002:1). At the same time, they add that there is not an agreed upon universal definition of discourse and that discourse can have different meanings in different contexts; it could be a specific representation (ex. a populist discourse), a discourse about something (ex. discourse about politics) or a discourse within an institution (ex. news discourse) or a mode of discourse (spoken discourse). In this study the term discourse will refer to discourse *within* an institution (news discourse) as well as a discourse *about* Facebook.⁸

Discourse analysis is not one approach but a diverse, multidisciplinary field of research. Each approach within the field is also not just a method but a “theoretical and methodological whole” (Jørgensen & Philips 2002:12), which means that each approach comes with a certain set of ontological and epistemological premises. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), which will be used in this study, is like many other approaches within discourse analysis, based on social constructionism, or social constructivism which, as mentioned earlier, is an anti-foundationalist and anti-essentialist view of the world and knowledge; the characteristics of the social world and of people are not pre-defined, and knowledge is not solid and independent of people. Social interaction constructs knowledge where we together create agreed-upon truths and this construction of knowledge and truth has consequences on social actions. (Some actions become natural in one worldview and others would be natural in another worldview) (Jørgensen & Philips 2002:12).

In discourse analysis language is the way that we understand reality. Language is our representation of reality, which is not a neutral reflection but a construction of reality. Language is made up of patterns, or discourses, and these patterns are “maintained and transformed in discursive practices” (Jørgensen & Philips 2002: 17) What is meant by discursive practices, or discourse practices, is the way that texts are produced and received (Fairclough 1996:16, Jørgensen & Philips 2002:55), and text in this case could be both written and spoken language (in the case of news discourse text could refer to both a newspaper article, a broadcast as well as the visual elements of the broadcast (Fairclough 1995: 17).

When talking about discourse as language the focus is on social interaction. This interaction is affected by social background, but also the situation, and by the structures, norms and values within a society. Discourse within an institution is controlled by certain rules, routines and regulations developed within

⁸ Ekström, Mats; professor in media & communication, University of Gothenburg. 2017. Defining the research problem, Discourse analysis, Lecture November 2017.

the institution. Discourse then is everything said, written and done within the institution, as well as the relation between everything said, written and done (Berglez 2010:272).

Discourse analysis is not only concerned with grammar as in linguistics but focuses on “natural language use” in real situations of communication and the units of analysis are the “whole written or spoken discourses or communicative events”, not just words or sentences (van Dijk 2009: 192). According to van Dijk (1988: 24) the aim of discourse analysis is to “produce explicit and systematic, descriptions of units of language use that we have called discourse”. He divides these descriptions in two dimensions; the textual dimension and contextual dimensions, where the contextual dimensions relate structural descriptions found in the textual dimension to the context which could include “cognitive processes and representations or sociocultural factors” (van Dijk 1988:25). Discourse analysis then studies this relationship between text and context in a systematic way.

In discourse analysis there are different levels of structure of discourses and they are understood through different theories and disciplines, and these levels could be described both by microlevel and macrolevel analysis. The analysis is also based on what van Dijk calls sequentiality; “each unit at each level of discourse is produced, interpreted and analyzed as being conditioned by previously interpreted units”. Discourses are not just verbal but consist of other semiotic dimensions as well, discourse is understood as a “complex multimodal event of interaction and communication” (van Dijk 2009: 192).

5.4.2. Critical discourse analysis – a sociocognitive approach

Much of the work in Critical discourse analysis (CDA) today stems from the Frankfurt School where critical theory is oriented towards critiquing and changing the society, as opposed to just understanding it. (Wodak & Meyer 2009:6) The aim of critical research is to “produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection” (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 7).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) takes its point of departure in the idea that language is a social practice that is in, what Fairclough calls, a “dialectical relationship” to other aspects of the social. Language is “socially shaped but it is also socially shaping – or socially constitutive” (Fairclough 1995:54-55), or as Wodak and Meyer phrase it, discourse both reproduces and sustains the social status quo, as well as transforms it (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 5-6). Wooffitt argues that language can never be neutral, when we produce a description we always make choices when it comes to words and phrases, therefore discourse can never be only descriptive of a social action (Wooffitt 2005: 17).

According to Wodak & Meyer (2009:2) the main difference between Critical discourse analysis and Discourse analysis is the “constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach” of CDA, meaning that CDA is interested in studying complex social phenomena which require a multidisciplinary approach.

This study will build upon van Dijk’s theoretical framework of discourse analysis. What differs in his approach to critical discourse analysis from others within the field is the focus on cognition, where he sees cognition as the link between discourse and society. (van Dijk 2009:64) Van Dijk’s framework for analyzing news talks about the relationship between the structure of news, the processes of production and the processes of news comprehension, in relation to social practices. The structure of news is then divided into macro- and micro- structures of news discourse, where the macro-structure has to do with the thematic structure and the microstructure is concerned with the schematic structure (van Dijk 1988, Fairclough 1995:29) In this study the macro-analysis will study the hierarchies within the texts, how different themes within the text relate to each other. The schematic structure will be analyzed in order to define the socio-cognitive conventions of the news discourse. (Berglez 2010:275).

On the micro-structural level the notion of coherence is important, in particular the relationship between the local and global coherence, how meaning is realized through parts of the text such as descriptions and statements. On the micro-structural level, we analyze how the global coherence is constructed through different parts of the text, as well as how the listener/viewer fills in the “coherence gaps” with their own pre-understanding. But it is also important to analyze the obvious, especially the redundant discourse that does not add anything to the news story. Finally, this study will analyze the style of the text, which has to do with conscious and unconscious semantic choices. This will be studied both syntactic, meaning how sentences are constructed as well as lexically, which refers to choice of words (Berglez 2010:276).

According to van Dijk a sociocognitive approach “explains how underlying ideologies control more specific group attitudes and how personal mental models of journalists about news events control activities of news making” (van Dijk 2009:195). When analyzing ideologies of news we are interested in both conscious and unconscious processes, the power-relation in society, how media upholds certain world-views and values, how reality is constructed through language. The analysis is interested in how certain perspectives on reality are dominant in relation to other perspectives (Berglez 2010:270-271).

5.4.3. Ideology within CDA

The concept of ideologies in CDA refers to underlying, “neutral” ideologies which go mostly unchallenged (Wodak & Meyer 2009:8-9), but it does not presume that there is one truth beyond ideologies. Firstly, because all ideas within a society are ideological, but also because what ideologies reproduce is not necessarily a lie, rather they focus on one part of the reality, while neglecting other parts of reality (Berglez 2010: 270).

In order to answer the questions critical discourse analysts ask, as formulated by Fairclough (1995:202); “How is the text designed, why is it designed in this way, and how else could it have been designed?”, we need to understand the implicit, underlying meanings and become conscious of the unconscious socio-cultural processes. Discourse can at first glance appear analytically uninteresting, because it appears to be logical and obvious. The researcher conducting critical discourse analysis therefore needs to observe the discourse from afar, while at the same time being a part of the socio-cultural context within which the discourse is produced and using that fact to conduct an analysis. (Berglez 2010:274). Ideology can be manifested in different ways through language, but has to do with representations of the world, constructions of social identities and construction of social relations (Fairclough 1995:12).

5.4.4. News as discourse

When consuming news we seldom question the content, whether it is consciously or unconsciously we usually accept news as objective fact. In this way ideologies are produced/re-produced, where events framed according to a certain interest of power appear neutral and objective (Berglez 2010: 269).

According to Berglez, news can be seen as a discourse since it both constitutes a certain language, which packages the social reality in a certain way, and is produced within a certain institution. (Berglez 2010: 272). The production of news is not determined by the individual journalist but affected by “elements of social structure” such as time, budget, media ownership etc., as well as professional norm and values and the influence of other professionals (Deuze 2009: 24). In order to understand this multidimensional process of production one must take a holistic approach and understand the media logic affecting the production.

News are a product of media logic, which Dahlgren defines as “the particular institutionally structured features of a medium, the ensemble of technical and organizational attributes which impact on what gets represented in the medium and how it gets done. In other words, media logic points to specific

forms and processes that organize the work done within a particular medium. Yet, media logic also indicates the cultural competence and frames of perception of audiences/users, which in turn reinforces how production within the medium takes place” (Peter Dahlgren 1996: 63 as cited by by Deuze 2009: 25).

Jacobsson argues that the media logic that defines how media interprets and presents news promotes a “standardization and simplification that encourages certain stories, actors and explanations while neglecting others”, which is concerned not only with how news are presented, but also what events become news in the first place (Jacobsson 2016:58). However, it is an oversimplification to say that media logic completely determines news production; as Berglez (2011) pointed out one needs to take into consideration the context of the media type, the news story and the journalists covering the story. His study on environmental journalists showed that whether or not a journalist will go beyond media logic depends to the creativity of the journalist, as well as the organization within which the journalists works (where Berglez suggests that specialized news media will allow for more creativity than mainstream media) (Berglez 2011: 461-462).

It is not only journalists that are affected by social structures, readers/listeners/viewers understand news filtered by their experiences, pre-understandings and backgrounds. Therefore, news producers need to evoke certain cognitive schemes with which the audience is already on board with. (Berglez 2010:273-274). Hence there is an understanding between news producers and consumers based on sociocognition, as well as socio-culture and the creation of a world of a collective understanding of reality, which is constantly confirmed or re-negotiated. (Berglez 2010:274) Thereby society affects news and news affects society.

5.4.5. Analyzing news discourse in radio and television

As van Dijk (1988:176-177) states, news reports have a certain structure which is genre-specific and distinguishes news from other types of media or texts. Because of this I will focus on those features of the text which are not genre-specific, where underlying ideologies or cognitive or social understanding might be manifested. We study the “structure of news discourse at different levels”, and by analyzing the factors behind and consequences of those structures, we try to understand their “economic, cultural and historical embedding.” (van Dijk 1988 p 176) If we for example look at the lexical choices (choice of word), there is a big difference between saying/writing ‘neutralized’ as opposed to ‘killed’, or ‘forced’ as opposed to ‘asked’, and it is through these kind of lexical choices that “hidden opinions or ideologies may surface” (van Dijk 1988:177).

I have chosen to analyze the verbal text in the radio- and television broadcasts but I will not take into account speech-specific aspects of discourse such as flow, pauses, hesitations etc. The reason for this is that news casts have a very structured and scripted form, which means that in general there will not be as many meaning-carrying variations of speech as in other types of spoken communication.

I have also chosen not to take the visual elements into account and the reason for this is that the questions that I will use for the critical discourse analysis can be answered using only the verbal text. Of course, there is a risk that I miss important information by not including the visuals, but I argue that the verbal text provides enough information for the analysis to become interesting.

5.5. Application of theory

In this study the power of the media is understood according to social constructionism and critical discourse analysis where media has the power to represent the world in a certain way and hence influence people's understanding and knowledge of the world. This study takes its point of departure in the assumption that media influences people's understanding of the world, and that journalism has a responsibility to uphold a democratic society by giving people the tools to be free citizens.

Based on these assumptions the critical discourse analysis will be used in order to analyze how the representation of Facebook is created in the two selected news programs. Since much of the previous research points at deregulations and increasingly capitalist markets having a big effect on the media landscape, the political economy perspective will be used in the analysis in order to understand how the political, economic and cultural circumstances of our time may have affected the representation of Facebook.

6. Research design

The first part of the study aims at providing a descriptive overview of Facebook in the news, to what extent Facebook has been reported on, how it has been reported on and how that reporting is changed over the last ten years. To do that I will use a quantitative content analysis. The second part of this study will look in depth at a recent news event where Facebook played a big part, namely the Cambridge analytica case. The Cambridge analytica case is interesting because it was an important event in terms of putting issues of internet security on the news agenda, and made the mainstream media discuss how social media actually function. For this part of the study critical discourse analysis will be used. The language of the news stories is Swedish and the translation to English was done by the author of this paper.

6.1. Content analysis

The aim of quantitative content analysis is to be able to generalize and say something about the bigger picture. (Nilsson 2010:119). It is a research method which aims to be an “*objective, systematic and quantitative* description of the *manifest content* of communication” (Berelson 1952:18 as cited by Nilsson 2010:121).

Objectivity is concerned with replicability, that the analysis is independent of the researcher conducting it. This is assured through a well-defined codebook. Systematics has to do with the method and selection criteria which should be clear, and where the extent of the material is decided beforehand. Quantity concerns the variables in the analysis scheme which should be possible to determine in frequency or extent in order to find statistical patterns. Finally, manifest content refers to content which is obvious and available for everyone, the function of this fourth concept is to minimize subjective interpretations (Nilsson 2010:122). In this content analysis some categories deal with manifest content, but some categories also deal with latent content (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein 1999) which require more rules in in the definition of variables.

One common critique against quantitative content analysis is that it is an obsolete instrument and that important aspects of the content are lost when we only look at the measurable. (Nilsson 2010:124). This is probably true to a certain extent, but since I in the first part of my research am interested in a synoptic description of the reporting on Facebook, I find the content analysis to be an adequate method. In the second part of my research I will also try to nuance the results and get a deeper understanding of the reporting on Facebook by using critical discourse analysis on selected broadcasts.

Another critique against content analysis is that by only looking at parts of the text we lose the context in which the text is received. This is also true for research where both sound and images are relevant for the message. In this research the content analysis aims to answer the questions *if, to what extent* and *in what way* Facebook is present in the reporting, and for the first two questions the loss of context is not a problem since they can be answered through quantitative measurements. The third question, *in what way*, is a more context-specific question, however the categories developed to answer this question are focused on features in the text which can be identified without taking the visual elements into consideration.

Objectivity is another factor which in all quantitative research is object for criticism. When having to do with content there is always a risk of subjective readings and the only way to try get around it is through a systematic, formalized codebook.

6.1.1. Data collection and production

6.1.2. Sample

In order to examine the way in which Swedish public service news report on Facebook I decided to go through the biggest news programs in PSM, one from Swedish television (SVT) and one from Swedish radio (SR). The reason for this selection is that I wanted to choose the newscasts with the widest reach, which Nilsson calls effect-oriented selection principle; choosing the media with the greatest impact and potential to influence the highest number of people (Nilsson 2010:129). I also wanted to look at two different companies within PSM, and two different programs in order to get a better understanding of the results, in accordance to Richardson's (2000b) concept of crystallization (Richardson 2000b, as referred to by Tracy 2010:844). Crystallization is similar to triangulation, using different methods/data/frameworks etc. in the same study, but while triangulation assumes one single reality that can be discovered, crystallization aims to increase the goodness of the study by producing a more complex reality.

The programs selected are the radio program *Dagens eko kvart i fem*⁹ and the television program *Rapport 19.30*¹⁰.

By only selecting news programs there is a risk that I miss reporting on Facebook when it is categorized as niche IT-news or culture news. But since I am interested in what information reaches a broad audience who do not actively seek out news about IT or media, I chose to limit my sample to the two selected news-programs. The units of analysis in my sample were news stories where “Facebook” was mentioned, which were collected by using purposive sampling (Marshall & Rossman 2011:111). By news stories I refer to the bulletins within a news cast. One unit could either be a long news story with audio, a shot bulleting or an interview with a correspondent/reporter.

After a first search I realized that it would not be unreasonable to include *all* the material that resulted from the search. It was a rather big sample, but not too big to be coded and analyzed during the time period at hand. Since my sample stretches over such a long time period, and since I used all the material available, I do not see a problem with holidays or big news events affecting the analysis.

6.1.3. Data collection 1

The aim of the first part of the research was to provide an overview of the ways that Facebook was mentioned in the news, as well as compare change over time. The material for that data collection was found through the Swedish media database (SMDB)¹¹ and the media archive Retriever¹². Firstly, I conducted a search for programs including the keyword “Facebook*” or “Face book*” in Retriever. There I could identify the relevant broadcasts for my study, but since Retriever only provides text I had to order each broadcast through SMDB.

⁹ A 15-minute news program aired weekdays at 16.45 on the two Public service radio channels P1 and P4.

¹⁰ A 30-minute news program aired weekdays 19.30 on the Public service television channel SVT1. *Rapport* is the most viewed news program on SVT and 19:30 is the airing time with the most viewers. *Dagens eko kvart i fem* is aired on both P1 (the more news-focused channel) and P4 (more popular channel with a wider audience reach), and it is aired in the afternoon which is one of the peaks for radio-listening. Both programs are aired in the late afternoon/evening and function as summaries of the news of the day.

¹¹ A database containing audiovisual collections at the National Library of Sweden, which covers most Swedish broadcasts and publications since 1979. (<https://smdb.kb.se/smdb/english/>)

¹² the biggest digital news archive in Scandinavia with data from print, tv and radio. (<http://www.ub.gu.se/sok/db/show.xml?id=9607518>)

A difficulty with *Dagens Eko kvart i fem* was that Retriever only held broadcasts from 2010 forward. Therefore, in order to find broadcasts from every year I had to use the Swedish Radio's internal archive.

The data collected from the media archive Retriever were transcripts of the news stories, meaning written text. Since the transcripts were sometimes incomplete after having defined the variables I went through all the news stories (collected from the Swedish media database and the Swedish radio's archive) once and coded as well as took notes of the broadcasts simultaneously. If I then wanted to double-check a news story after having finished the coding I would use my notes.

A search for broadcasts of *Rapport* with the keywords "Facebook*" and "Face book*" and a last date set to December 31st 2017 resulted in 444 hits altogether. When I selected only the broadcasts aired at 19:30 I ended up with 273 hits. When I went through all the broadcasts and excluded irrelevant hits (doublets or broadcasts that had been archived wrongly) I finally ended up with 268 hits which I used in my analysis. The same search was conducted for *Dagens eko kvart i fem*; a search of broadcasts between the years 2010 and 2017 resulted in 121 hits after sorting out the doublets. A search in the Swedish Radio's own archive for the years before 2010 it resulted in 6 more hits, landing on 127 hits altogether. According to the search the first time Facebook was mentioned in the news broadcast was 2007 (which is reasonable since Facebook was introduced in Sweden in 2006), and therefore the time span for my sample became the ten-year period 2007-2017. At first, I decided not to include broadcasts from 2018 since it would not be comparable to the previous years due to only having access to three months of material at the time of this research. But when the Cambridge analytica case happened I found it to be unreasonable not to include 2018 since it was bound to show a deviation from the rest of the material due to the massive media attention that the case got. Therefore, I added broadcasts from the first three months of 2018 and finally landed on 419 news stories altogether; 136 from *Dagens eko* and 283 from *Rapport*.

Through these searches it appears as if there were many more hits on SVT than SR. This is a bit misleading because when I included the morning and midday show of *Dagens eko* on SR I ended up with 467 hits altogether. The reason for this could be that the Swedish Radio has several news casts spread out during the day, while *Rapport*'s broadcasts are longer but only aired in the mornings and evenings.

6.1.4. Coding

Every hit in the search was coded using codebook that I developed based on the model presented by Nilsson (2010:144), as well as Berelson's categories (1952). The first two variables are used for identification and the rest are based on research question 1 and are hopefully exhaustive enough.

V1 (**Type of program**):

1. Rapport
2. Dagens eko

V2 (**Date**): MMDDYYYY

V3 (**Priority**):

1. The news where Facebook is mentioned is one of the headlines (trail).
2. The news where Facebook is mentioned is not one of the headlines.

V4 (**Format**):

1. The news where Facebook is mentioned is a long news story with audio.
2. The news where Facebook is mentioned is a short news in brief.

V5 (**Focus**):

1. Facebook is the main focus of the news story
2. Facebook is relevant for the news story but not the focus.
3. Facebook is mentioned briefly but relevant.
4. Facebook is mentioned but not relevant for the news story.

V6 (**Direction**):

1. Facebook is described in positive terms or part of the solution.
2. Facebook is described negative terms or part of the problem.
3. Facebook is in described in neutral terms or not mentioned.
4. Facebook is described in both negative and positive terms/both part of the problem and solution.

V7 (**Activity**):

1. Facebook is passive (infrastructure).
2. Facebook is active (a company).

After having gone through part of the material I identified six different types of topics that I constructed an eight variable from.

V8 (**Theme**):

1. Someone saying or doing something newsworthy (mostly immoral) on Facebook
2. News about how to be safe Facebook or news about danger/crime on Facebook
3. Legislating around/restricting Facebook or social media abroad
4. Legislating around/restricting Facebook or social media in Sweden
5. Facebook being used for organization and resistance
6. Facebook offering new opportunities (technology wise)
7. Receiving information through Facebook
8. News about Facebook as a company

The data was coded and analyzed using the program IBM SPSS Statistics. Each variable (except from date) was given a numerical value which was then used in the coding. For the analysis the tool for descriptive statistic was used.

In order to illustrate how the different stories were coded I will present two examples of how the variable Focus (V5) and Activity (V7) were coded. *Italics* = quotes, **Bold** = headlines from the media archive.

Example 1: Focus (V5)

Rapport

13.01.2013: **Facebook paying tax abroad** (Category 1)

16.02.2013: **Stricter rules on corporate tax suggested by the G20** Several countries want to make it difficult for the internet companies to avoid tax. (Category 2)

27.09.2012: **Teachers critical of the new salary agreement.** *“Many teachers are angry about the new deal; in newspapers, on webpages and Facebook-pages teachers are protesting against the new salary agreements”* (Category 3)

17.09.2012: **Sweden’s first social medium.** *There was a time before Internet, Facebook and Twitter – Sweden’s first social medium the phone is turning 30 years”.* (Category 4)

Dagens eko

18.05.2012: **High hopes for the Facebook stock.** (Category 1)

17.02.2013: **An ombudsman against abusive behaviour on the internet is needed.** “*Most of it happens on KIK, sometimes on Facebook and sometimes on Instagram*”. (Category 2)

22.11.2014: **Big demonstration against the traffic congestion-tax.** “*On Facebook 2700 people had attended the event*” (Category 3)

21.02.2015: **The maidan-victims honored in Kiev.** “*The president’s advisory presented the information on his Facebook*” (Category 4)

Example 2: Activity (V7)

The following summaries are examples of how activity could be manifested in the broadcasts.

Rapport:

06.11.2017: The companies Facebook and Nike have been avoiding taxes. Facebook is addressed and asked about the situation. (Category 2)

27.11.2017: A man is encouraging people to give money to ISIS through Facebook. (Category 1)

Dagens eko

21.11.2017: Facebook want to stop false information and disinformation before the Swedish election. (Category 2)

04.10.2017: A politician is being reported to the police for a picture he posted on Facebook. (Category 1)

6.1.5. Defining the variables

According to Nilsson it is necessary for variables to be mutually and collectively exhaustive so that there is no confusion about how to classify the material (Nilsson 2010: 141). This I found to be somewhat difficult when deciding some of the variables.

Variable 5 was difficult because the options were rather subjective, the focus of a news story could be interpreted differently by different people and there could be several points of focus in one story. I therefore decided to classify the news under the first option only if the news were about Facebook as a company or where the main story was dependent on Facebook. If the news was about social media in general, or if social media/Facebook was relevant for the news but not the main focus, for example if the news is about the presidential election in a country, but a side story is that social media will have a big part, I categorized the news under option 2. Option 3 I would use when Facebook was briefly mentioned and somewhat relevant for the news (i.e. the news was about who will become the new leader for a party, and someone comments the process of Facebook) that would be classified under option 3. If Facebook was just mentioned briefly (“you can find more information on our Facebook” or “I got the information from my friends through Facebook” would be two examples) I would classify the broadcast under option 4.

I also had to redefine variable 6 from only having two options to four options in order to cover those news stories where Facebook was described as both positive and negative, as well as news stories where Facebook was described neutrally. Variable 6 also turned out to face the risk of subjectivity. Since most news stories are centered around a conflict I decided to classify Facebook as negative when it was described as being part of the problem, and positive when it was part of the solution. Also, I decided that it did not matter where that description was coming from, if Facebook was referred to as a problem or solution by someone, the reporter, the interviewee or someone else, it would be enough to classify it under each respective category. I also decided that someone explicitly had to voice Facebook being a solution or a problem in order to classify it under that category. If it could be understood as Facebook contributing to the problem, for example news about terrorist recruiting through Facebook, if no one explicitly talked about Facebook as a problem I would still classify it as neutral.

One problem with variable 8 was the fact that several themes could be found in one news story. This turned out to be especially difficult with category 1 (someone saying or doing something newsworthy on Facebook), 2 (News about how to be safe on Facebook or news about danger/crime on Facebook), 6 (Facebook offering new opportunities) and 7 (Receiving information through Facebook). I therefore decided that when someone says something newsworthy on Facebook that *could* be a crime I would still classify it under category 1. Category 2 was used when the news was explicitly about how to be safe on Facebook or danger/crime dependent on the platform Facebook. News about health risk with Facebook I also classified under category 2.

There were some news about leaders in foreign countries using Facebook even though it is forbidden, and those stories would go under category 3. Category 5 (Facebook being used for organization or

resistance) was mostly straight forward but I also included news about support-groups for different causes in this category. If the news was about someone's comment getting an extreme wide-spread on Facebook that too would be classified under category 5. Category 7 was used when the relevance of Facebook for the news story was that Facebook was used as a source for information.

Facebook being talked about as a company was also rather clear but there were some difficulties in the most recent years where much of the news about Facebook as a company also had to do with safety issues on Facebook. I therefore made a decision that news about Facebook acting to increase safety online would still be classified as category 8.

Finally, when there were two news stories mentioning Facebook on the same day, I would classify them in the order of appearance in the news cast.

6.1.6. Quality of method

There are some challenges with my choice of method and I will start the evaluation of the quality of method with reference to Mats Ekström and Larsåke Larssons book *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, where they outline the basic principles of scientific quality. The first principle states that arguments on which we base our interpretations need to be valid and reliable (Ekström & Larsson 2010: 14). I would argue that the amount of data collected for this part of this research adds to the validity of the method. The collection of data was straightforward since I collected all the material with the keyword "Facebook" or "Face book", and since I used three reliable databases (*Swedish media database (SMDB)*, the media archive *Retriever* and Swedish national radio's own archive) I am confident that I collected the right material to be able to answer the research questions *to what extent* and *change over time*. Even though the content collected was both manifest (date, format, priority) and latent (focus, direction, activity and theme), the thorough and detailed variable definitions ensure the reliability of the coding.

My content analysis was based on an established model presented by Nilsson (2010:144), which assures the reliability and replicability of this method. I tested the analysis scheme on a selection of the material before I started with the coding and could in that way assure that the variables were well-defined. However, as mentioned previously there were some problems with the requirement of variables being mutually and collectively exhaustive (Nilsson 2010: 141). After having started the coding I realized that there were some variables that needed to be redefined, which meant that I had to go back and re-do some of the coding. Hopefully, I was able to define the variables to such an extent

that the coding becomes clear and obvious, so that the risk of subjective interpretations is minimized. (Nilsson 2010:122)

The Swedish national radio's own archive is only accessible for employees which means that this data collection would be hard to replicate for someone who does not have access to it. However, the two databases *Swedish media database* and *Retriever* are accessible for anyone, and since most of the data was collected from there, I would still say that it is possible to replicate this study.

One way to ensure the validity of a content analysis could be to include more than one researcher in the coding, but since I am a "lone coder" there may be some validity and replicability problems. However, by going back to the material and redefining the variables as well as recoding some of the material increases the reliability of the coding.

6.2. Critical discourse analysis

The design of the second part of this study is as mentioned based on Teun A. van Dijk's sociocognitive approach to discourse analysis which it takes into account cognition when studying the relationship between discourse and society (van Dijk 1988). This study is focused on news as discourse, which we understand through cognitive schemes that are established beforehand. This sense-making of news is based on socio-cognition as well as collective understandings of reality which are constantly either confirmed or renegotiated (Berglez 2010: 273-274).

6.2.1. Method

To conduct this critical discourse analysis I will study the text on a macro-level where the thematic and schematic structures are of interest, and the micro-level, which is more focused on detail such as choice of words. (Berglez 2010:275) The framework will be based on Berglez' concretization of van Dijk's approach to critical discourse analysis (Berglez 2010:277-278).

The framework will be constructed using a selected number of questions outlined by Berglez that I find to be relevant for this study. The question scheme was also developed reflexively taking the results from the content analysis into consideration, where the results could point towards aspects of the text that might be interesting to further explore. The question scheme used is thus as following:

1. Thematic structure of the news story or stories (macro)
 - How are the themes or topics hierarchically organized in the text?

2. Schematic structure of the news story (micro)
 - What actors are present in the texts?
 - Who reasons around consequences, summarizes or draws conclusions around the event?
 - Who is given agency in the texts?
3. Micro-oriented analysis of the text
 - Absent information: How does the texts mediate implicit meaning?
 - Redundant information: Is there redundant information on which the text is not dependent?
 - Lexical choices: What words are used? Which other words could have been used?
4. Socio-cultural contextualization – the macro- and micro- analysis is constantly conducted in relation to the socio-cultural context. The above questions need to be asked in relation to the socio-cultural context: - in what way does the news discourse express, is a part of, negotiate or counter act against certain ideological processes?

News in this context refers to a type of text or discourse that gives new information about recent events and is made public through radio and television. (van Dijk 1988:4). Theme refers to “what that the discourse is about, globally speaking” (van Dijk 1988: 30), basically the subject or the topic.

6.2.2. Analyzing news discourse in radio and television

As van Dijk (1988:176-177) states, news reports have a certain structure which is genre-specific and distinguishes news from other types of media or texts. Because of this I will focus on those features of the text which are not genre-specific, where underlying ideologies or cognitive or social understanding might be manifested. We study the “structure of news discourse at different levels”, and by analyzing the factors behind and consequences of those structures, we try to understand their “economic, cultural and historical embedding.” (van Dijk 1988 p 176) If we for example look at the lexical choices (choice of word), there is a big difference between saying/writing ‘neutralized’ as opposed to ‘killed’, or ‘forced’ as opposed to ‘asked’, and it is through these kind of lexical choices that “hidden opinions or ideologies may surface” (van Dijk 1988:177).

I have chosen to analyze the verbal text in the radio- and television broadcasts but I will not take into account speech-specific aspects of discourse such as flow, pauses, hesitations etc. The reason for this is that news casts have a very structured and scripted form, which means that in general there will not be as many meaning-carrying variations of speech as in other types of spoken communication.

6.2.3. Sample

For the discourse analysis I decided to focus on a case where Facebook played an important part, namely the Cambridge analytica case. By the Cambridge analytica case I refer to, as mentioned earlier, the investigation first published by British Channel 4 about the data company Cambridge analytica that had gained access to 50 million Facebook-profiles and used the data for political purposes (Davies 2018). The critical discourse analysis will focus on how the two selected Swedish public service programs reported on the Cambridge analytica case.

I decided to use the news reports about Cambridge analytica that were published during the first four days of reporting in the two programs. The reporting on Cambridge analytica continued after that but the reason I restricted it to only a few programs was partly because of lack of time, but also because these programs are daily news programs and I found four days to be sufficient to give the programs time to possibly develop on the subject and nuance it. I decided on using the first four days from the first broadcast on the subject which was aired on SVT Rapport on March 18th 2018.

The units of analysis were news stories. Altogether I used 11 news stories; 8 from Rapport and 3 from Dagens eko. They were broadcasted during the period 18.03.18 – 21.03.18.

The stories were part of a bigger news segment on the Cambridge analytica case, where one broadcast featured several news stories that covered Cambridge analytica case from different angles. There were three news segments in Rapport and two news segments in Dagens eko.

In Rapport the first segment was broadcasted on the 18th of March 2018. The segment featured three news stories, which will be referred to as:

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 2

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 3.

The second segment was broadcasted on the 20th of March 2018. The two stories in that segment will be referred to as:

Rapport 20.03.18 Story 1

Rapport 20.03.18 Story 2.

The third segment was broadcasted on the 21st of March 2018 and the three stories in that segment will be referred to as:

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 1

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 2

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 3.

In the third segment there was a fourth story where Facebook was mentioned, but since it was about a new tax proposition from the EU targeting global media giants, and since the story did not mention Cambridge analytica, I decided to exclude it from the analysis.

In Dagens eko the first segment was broadcasted on the 20th of March 2018. The segment featured two news stories, which will be referred to as:

Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 1

Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 2

The second segment was broadcasted on the 21st of March and featured one news story, which will be referred to as:

Dagens eko 21.03.18 Story 1

The news stories were in Swedish, but I transcribed and translated the texts into English.

6.2.4. Brief description of the news stories

Three different news genres could be identified in this sample; long news stories with audio, short bulletins/news in brief and interviews with a correspondent/reporter. Below follows a short description of the news stories including genre and main theme.

Rapport

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is that a company has collected information about people over Facebook and sold it to Trump.

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 2: The story is an interview with a correspondent conducted by the presenter. The main theme is that a company has collected information about people over Facebook and sold it to Trump.

Rapport 18.03.18 Story 3: This story cut-out from a more in-depth program to be aired later that evening. It is still however of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is how much information Facebook collects from its users.

Rapport 20.03.18 Story 1: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is British authorities conducting a house search at the Cambridge analytica premises.

Rapport 20.03.18 Story 2: The story is an interview with a correspondent conducted by the presenter. The main theme is what the consequences for Facebook might be after the Cambridge analytica scandal.

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 1: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is that politicians are demanding answers from Facebook.

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 2: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is that Swedish politicians have been contacted by Cambridge analytica.

Rapport 21.03.18 Story 3: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. Main theme: how much information do we share on Facebook when participating in quizzes.

Dagens eko

Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 1: The story is an interview with a correspondent conducted by the presenter. The main theme is a house search to be conducted in the Cambridge analytica premises.

Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 2: This story is of average length with a presenter introducing the story followed by a long story with audio. The main theme is that personality tests give Facebook access to information about its users.

Dagens eko 21.03.18 Story 1: The story is a short news in brief. The main theme is that the Facebook stock keeps on dropping.

6.2.5. Quality of method

Unlike the content analysis in the first part of this study, critical discourse analysis does not attempt to offer an objective analysis. What the discourse analysis will hopefully result in is data that will “enable and support interpretation” rather than offer concrete proof, and also result in research with richness in point that aspires to problematize the way of thinking about this issue. (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009: 305) Of course the interpretation offered in this research is not the only possible outcome of the empirical material and I will discuss alternative possible interpretations in the last section of this paper.

To start off with the choice of topic, which is one of the criteria included in Sarah Tracy’s eight-point conceptualization of quality (Tracy 2010, p. 837), I would argue that this topic is current and of importance, especially in the aftermath of the American presidential election and the discussion about “fake news” on Facebook, as well as with the discussion of integrity and surveillance following the Cambridge analytica-scandal. Facebook is still a new phenomenon in need of being researched, especially considering its major spread and influence.

As opposed to quantitative studies, the validity of qualitative studies cannot be based on the empirical “findings” that might come about from a study. Instead the question will have to be how well I ground my data in theory, and the transparency of my presentation. The latter will hopefully be reached through detailed description, analysis and interpretation of my empirical material as well as sufficient empirical examples for the reader to draw their own conclusions. By choosing two different programs on two different channels and addressing the text from different angles, as well as combining a content analysis with a critical discourse analysis, and presenting empirical examples together with thick descriptions of data and detailed analysis, I hope to ensure this study’s rigor and credibility.

Since the focus of this study is on texts and not people the ethical considerations are not as obvious as they would have been in for example an ethnographic study or when conducting interviews. However, there are still real people present in the texts that I choose to study, and I still need to take ethical considerations. Marshall and Rossman talk about ethical research practice as grounded in three moral principles; respect for persons, beneficence and justice (Marshall & Rossman 2016, p. 51). In my study there are people producing the texts, that may have agreed to their texts being published in one context but are unaware about their texts being used in research, and then there are the people interviewed and quoted in the texts, which have not given their consent to be part of this study. I will have to take care in how those people are presented in the study, making sure not to ascribe them

values or views that they might not have and be clear about the data being my interpretations of the texts.

One issue in this study that I cannot ignore is my own role in this research. Wodak and Meyer (2009) claim that researchers are subject to the same structure of power hierarchy as everyone else (Wodak & Meyer 2009:7), and Marshall and Rossman argue that one should reflect over one's own identity, perspectives, assumptions etc. in one's research design (Marshall and Rossman 2016:117). Since I am a journalist and work with the Swedish radio, there is an aspect of bias that I need to be aware of. There is a risk that my previous knowledge about different newsrooms, programs, journalists etc. affect my reading of the texts. Another aspect is that I myself follow a certain journalistic discourse, which may make it more difficult for me to identify interesting aspects that could be of importance for the analysis. On the other hand, my role as a journalist may also help me in my analysis as I will have a pre-understanding of news work and be able to spot both deviations from regular news discourse, as well as reporting that conform to established news discourse. My role as a journalist also helps me gain access to the Swedish radio's own archive, which facilitates the data collection.

Another aspect that has to do with my role as researcher is my own political views, where I in general am critical of neoliberalism and the market. Here I have to take care not to read too much into the text and be sure to always ground my interpretations in the data. Tracy (2010) as well as Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009) stress the importance of self-reflexive practice and argue that self-reflexivity should stretch from the first stages of research design to presentation, and in order to successfully conduct this study, I will need to constantly be aware of, and question, my own role.

Assuming that media to an extent form our views of society, in accordance to theories of media effects, this study will hopefully reach resonance through a naturalistic generalization (Stake & Trumbull, 1982 as referred to by Tracy 2010, p. 845) and an understanding of the discourse surrounding Facebook in society. Facebook as a phenomenon has become such an integral part of our life and understanding how we talk about it, and think about it, will be useful in understanding ourselves and the society that we exist in.

The risk with the critical genres is, that since critical discourse analysis is usually interested in one certain discourse, and one certain power relation, according to Alvesson & Sköldbberg there might be a risk in relation to reflexivity, where the research takes a one-sided focus on "negative features of society and its institutions" while failing to see the non-repressive aspects. Still, Alvesson & Sköldbberg do argue that critical theory, rather than becoming less reflexive, is more likely to "offer a

third level of interpretation” where it questions the neutrality in research. (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009, p. 176).

6.3. Combining critical discourse analysis with content analysis

According to Jørgensen & Philips (2002:11), even though discourse analysis comes as part of a theoretical and methodological package, it is possible to include other “non-discourse analytical perspectives” into one’s empirical study. In this case I chose to combine a critical discourse analysis with a content analysis, in order to define a direction for my CDA based on an overview of previous reporting, but also situate my CDA in a historical context.

This sort of combination of qualitative and quantitative empirical studies has been done before, and in a study on the construction of abortion in South African newspapers Feltham-King and Macleod combined a foucauldian discourse analysis with a content analysis. However, while they used their discourse analysis for conceptualizing the content analysis, I used the content analysis to identify patterns and themes that might be interesting to follow up on and compare with the results from the critical discourse analysis.

I used different sampling methods for the two different analyses, a focused and carefully selected sample for the CDA in order to ensure “richness of data”, and in order to reach a “reasonable level of representativeness” (Feltham-King & Macleod 2016:3) All in all, I argue that the combination of methods in this study are appropriate in order to answer the research questions at hand, and that they will enable me to address the issue from different angles and deepen the analysis (Feltham-King & Macleod 2016).

7. Results

Below the results from the two analyses will be presented, first the content analysis based on all the collected material, and second the results from the discourse analysis on the selected material on the Cambridge analytica case. If we connect back to the research questions the content analysis aims to answer Q1: *To what extent and in what way has Facebook been present in the news reports of two of the biggest news-programs in Swedish public service the last ten years?* The critical discourse analysis will then provide an answer to Q2: *How is Facebook represented in the news reports related to the Cambridge analytica case?*

7.1. Content analysis

After having conducted the content analysis I found three variables to be the most interesting; V5 (if Facebook is the focus of the news story), V7 (if Facebook is described as passive or active) and V8 (theme). V5 shows if Facebook, when it is mentioned in the news reports, is the focus of the news story, or if it is just mentioned in passing. Since public service media is not allowed to mention companies' names without placing them in a context, and since Facebook is a commercial company, I found it interesting to examine to what extent the word "Facebook" is mentioned in passing in the newscasts, and how often it is present in newscast without being problematized or questioned. The variable V7 shows whether Facebook is described as a passive object (a platform) or an active subject (that for example sets up rules, changes content etc.). The last variable, V8, shows which themes are present when Facebook is talked about, which is also interesting for the context of the reporting on Facebook. These three variables show *how* Facebook is talked about in the newscasts. Another way of examining the way that Facebook is talked about is through discourse analysis, and therefore it could be interesting to compare the results of these variables to the results of the critical discourse analysis in the second part. This will be done in the next section of this thesis.

Since I am interested in public service as a whole and in change over time, I decided to put the news programs of the two companies SR and SVT together and examine them as one entity. When there are significant differences between the two companies this will be presented in the results, but I want to stress that my interest is in change over time, rather than the difference between the two companies.

7.1.1. The focus of the news

The first out of the variables, V5, describes if Facebook is the focus of the news story. The reason why the focus of the news story is interesting is because Facebook is a commercial company and the public service media in Sweden has an obligation not to favor any commercial companies. In other words, public service media in Sweden have to be restrictive with the mentioning of companies' names and cannot talk about a commercial company without there being a context for it. With Facebook this becomes difficult since Facebook is not just a company but also a platform that public service media use to spread their content and interact with their audience. Table 7.1. presents an overview of the focus of the news story every time the word "Facebook" was mentioned in the two chosen programs.

Table 7.1. Focus of news stories in Dagens eko and Rapport when "Facebook" is mentioned (percentage)

Year	Fb main focus	Fb relevant but not main focus	Fb briefly mentioned but somewhat relevant	Fb not related to the story	Total (percentage)	Number of news stories
2007	33	67	0	0	100	3
2008	67	33	0	0	100	3
2009	0	42	58	0	100	12
2010	37	22	41	0	100	27
2011	22	24	38	16	100	50
2012	27	20	47	6	100	49
2013	24	44	29	3	100	45
2014	33	25	29	13	100	48
2015	30	30	30	10	100	47
2016	19	40	28	13	100	47
2017	58	23	19	0	100	64
2018	33	46	21	0	100	24
All	32	30	31	7	100	419

Comment: The results are based on 419 news stories from Dagens eko and Rapport: 283 from Rapport and 136 from Dagens eko. The stories were collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. The abbreviation Fb stands for "Facebook". 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

The first thing that can be observed from table 7.1. is that during the first two years Facebook was rarely mentioned in the newscast (see number of news stories). The reason for this could be that Facebook was not introduced in Sweden until 2006 and had not yet become a part of people's everyday-life. Facebook's presence in the newscasts then started increasing between the years 2009 and 2011, after which it stayed on basically the same level between year 2011 and year 2016.

What we can also see from table 7.1. is that in many cases Facebook was present in the news casts without being the main focus. In around 38 percent of all the newscasts Facebook was neither main focus (category 1) nor relevant for the news (category 2). Considering that PSM in Sweden are required to be very restrictive with the mentioning of companies' names, and are not allowed to mention companies' names without there being a context for it, it is interesting that in 38 percent of the times it was mentioned without being relevant for the news story, and thus most probably not questioned or problematized.

If we compare the reporting over time there is a difference in focus. We can see that in 2011 and 2012 when Facebook had started appearing in the news more often, a majority of the time (54 percent in 2011, 53 percent in 2012) it was neither the main focus (category 1) nor relevant for the news (category 2). After that the trend shifted and Facebook instead became either the main focus (category 1) or relevant for the news (category 2) a majority of the time. 2017 stands out both in the number of times Facebook was mentioned as well as in focus; 37 times, around 81 percent of the news stories during that year it was either the main focus or relevant for the news.

From the years 2011 to 2016 Facebook was the main focus (category 1) in around 20-30 percent of the news casts each year, meaning that in a far majority of the newscasts where the word "Facebook" was mentioned, Facebook was not the main focus. This also changed in 2017 where Facebook was the main focus (category 1) in around 58 percent of the newscasts where Facebook is mentioned.

When we split the table up between the two different programs, we can see that there are some differences. Rapport mentions Facebook much more often than Dagens eko (283 vs. 136 times). This could be explained by the fact that Rapport has double the broadcasting time. In Rapport (table 7.2.) there is a big increase in the mentioning of Facebook in 2011 with a bit of a decrease during the following years. In Dagens eko (table 7.3.) the mentioning of Facebook goes up and down on a steady level between 2010 and 2016, and instead has a peak in 2017.

In around 77 percent of the news casts on Rapport in 2017 Facebook was either the main focus (category 1) or relevant for the news (category 2) in Rapport, and the same goes for 85 percent of the newscasts in Dagens eko.

Table 7.2. Focus of news stories in Rapport when “Facebook” is mentioned (percentage)

Year	Fb main focus	Fb relevant but not main focus	Fb briefly mentioned but somewhat relevant	Fb not related to the story	Total (percentage)	Number of news stories
2007	33	67	0	0	100	3
2008	0	100	0	0	100	1
2009	0	22	78	0	100	9
2010	25	31	44	0	100	16
2011	24	18	45	13	100	38
2012	28	18	46	8	100	39
2013	25	44	28	3	100	36
2014	30	26	26	18	100	34
2015	28	28	31	13	100	29
2016	21	46	27	6	100	33
2017	50	27	23	0	100	30
2018	33	40	27	0	100	15
All	28	30	34	8	100	283

Comment: The results are based on 283 news stories from Rapport collected from Retriever. The abbreviation Fb stands for “Facebook”. 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

Table 7.3. Focus of news stories in Dagens eko when “Facebook” is mentioned (percentage)

Year	Fb main focus	Fb relevant but not main focus	Fb briefly mentioned but somewhat relevant	Fb not related to the story	Total (percentage)	Number of news stories
2008	100	0	0	0	100	2
2009	0	100	0	0	100	3
2010	55	9	36	0	100	11
2011	17	41	17	25	100	12
2012	20	30	50	0	100	10
2013	22	45	33	0	100	9
2014	43	21	36	0	100	14
2015	33	33	28	6	100	18
2016	13	29	29	29	100	14
2017	65	21	14	0	100	34
2018	33	56	11	0	100	9
All	39	30	25	6	100	136

Comment: The results are based on 136 news stories from Dagens eko. The stories were collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. The abbreviation Fb stands for “Facebook”. 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

7.1.2. Themes

V8 shows which themes were present when Facebook was reported on. This is interesting in order to understand in what context Facebook is reported on.

Here we zoom in on the first two categories (category 1 and category 2), since I find the category of themes to be more interesting when Facebook is the focus of the news cast. The reason that I include category 2 as well is that the line between the two categories is somewhat fluid (since I for example include news about social media in general in category 2). Hence the table below (table 7.4.) shows the themes present when Facebook is the main focus of the news, or relevant for the news, in Dagens eko and Rapport.

Table 7.4. Themes of news stories in Dagens eko and Rapport when Facebook is the main focus of the news or relevant for the news (category 1 and 2) (percentage)

Year	NW A	S or D	L abroad	L Sweden	O or R	O	Info	Company	Total percentage	Amount
2007	0	67	0	0	0	33	0	0	100	3
2008	67	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	100	3
2009	20	0	0	0	0	60	0	20	100	5
2010	38	44	0	6	6	6	0	0	100	16
2011	26	13	17	0	22	13	0	9	100	23
2012	30	40	4	0	13	0	0	13	100	23
2013	23	32	0	3	13	0	3	26	100	31
2014	21	25	4	0	14	14	4	18	100	28
2015	21	28	4	0	11	7	18	11	100	28
2016	46	14	0	11	7	4	11	7	100	28
2017	50	13	0	0	10	8	0	19	100	52
2018	21	58	5	0	0	0	0	16	100	19
All	33	27	3	2	10	7	4	14	100	259

Comment: The abbreviations for the themes are as follows: NW A: “Newsworthy action on Facebook”, S or D: Safety or danger on Facebook, L abroad: Legislation on Facebook abroad, L Sweden: legislation on Facebook in Sweden, O or R: Facebook used for organization or resistance, N O: Facebook offering new opportunities, Info: Information through Facebook, Company: Facebook as a company. The results are based on 259 news stories from Dagens eko and Rapport collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

With a quick glance on table 7.4. we can see that there are many different themes at play when Facebook is present in the news. During the entire time-period the most common theme was “Newsworthy action on Facebook” which mainly consisted of news about someone doing or saying something newsworthy on Facebook, for example security personnel bragging on Facebook about

their violent behavior (Rapport 18.10.2016) or the police mocking people on Facebook (Dagens eko 24.10.2013). Out of a total of 259 news stories 84 (around 33 percent) could be classified under the theme “Newsworthy action on Facebook”. These sort of news stories are rather easy to do in terms of production, since they only require reporting on someone’s utterance or action on Facebook, which could be one explanation to their frequency. The second most common theme was “Safety or danger on Facebook”, meaning news that either reported on how to be safe on Facebook or what dangers exist on Facebook. 68 news stories (around 27 percent) could be classified under that theme. A reason for that is that both these themes fit well into what is considered news value, such as attention to the negative and the sensational (Van Dijk 1988:85).

The third most common theme was “Facebook as a company” which was present in 37 (around 14 percent) of the 259 news stories. The theme started to increase in 2011 when Facebook started establishing data centers in the north of Sweden (Rapport 27.10.2011). In 2013 there was a peak in the theme “Facebook as a company” which most probably has to do with the fact that there were news about Facebook not paying taxes in Sweden, even though they were making money in Sweden (Rapport 13.01.2013). Another reason could be the whistleblower Edward Snowden’s revelation of NSA documents in June 2013, which led to several news stories about possible surveillance through Facebook (Dagens eko 07.09.2013). This too speaks to the sensationalism that is a part of news logic (van Dijk 1988). The Edward Snowden stories could probably also explain the increase in the “Safety or danger on Facebook”-theme (Rapport 07.06.2013).

Individual news events related to Facebook obviously also have an impact on the type of context Facebook is reported on. In 2011 there was an increase in the theme “Facebook used for organization and resistance”. The reason for this is the arabic spring that started in 2011, where social media was used by the people in the revolutions. The same goes for the theme “legislation of Facebook abroad” which also saw an increase in 2011 and also had to do with the arabic spring, where there were news stories about governments putting restriction on social media.

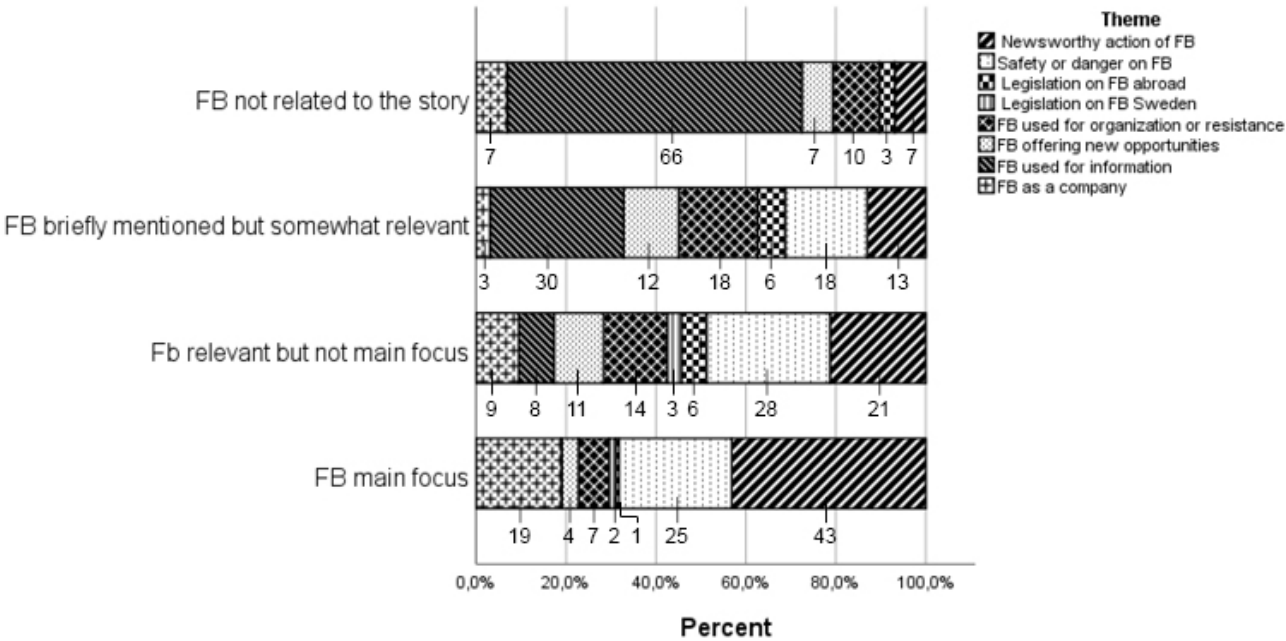
7.1.2.1. Combining theme and focus

In order to see if the dominating themes vary with the difference in focus we combine V5 (focus) with V8 (themes). This combination can be seen in graph 1, which describes both the context that Facebook is talked about when it is not the focus of the story, as well as the context when the focus is on Facebook.

When Facebook is mentioned without being related to the story (category 4) the dominating theme is “Facebook used for information” (around 66 %). This means that in most cases when Facebook is mentioned in passing it is most probably in the context of someone referring to information that has been retrieved through Facebook.

When Facebook is briefly mentioned, but somewhat related to the story (category 3) there are some variations in themes. The dominating theme is still “Facebook used for information” (around 30%), followed by “Safety or danger on Facebook” and “Facebook used for organization and resistance” (around 18 % each). In graph 1 we can also see that when focus is on Facebook the dominating themes are “Newsworthy action on Facebook”, “Safety or danger on Facebook” and “Facebook as a company”.

Graph 7.5. Themes when “Facebook” is mentioned in Dagens eko and Rapport (percentage)



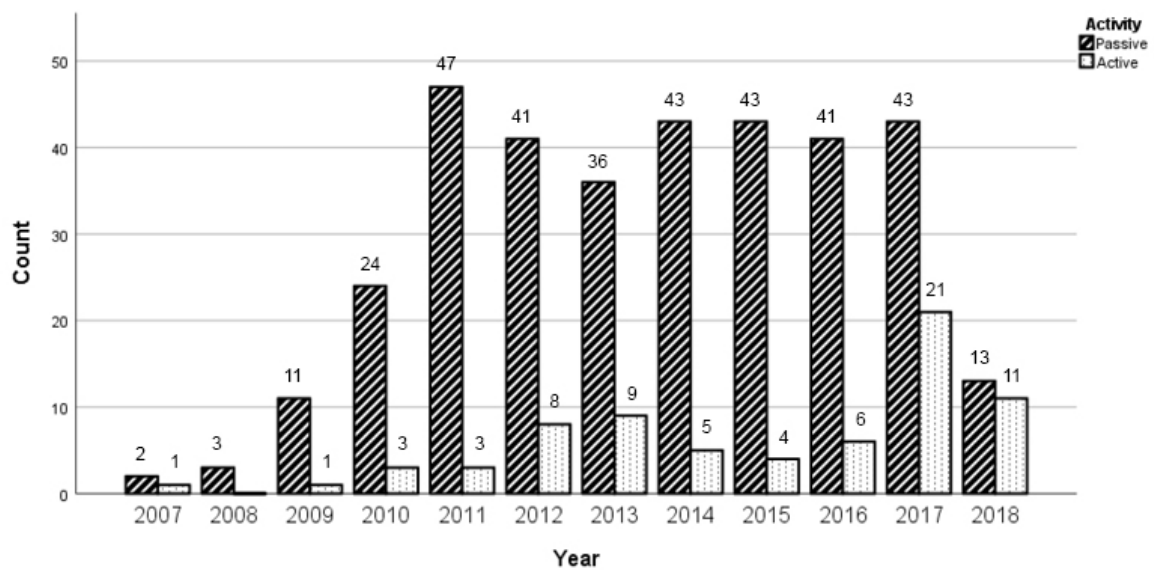
Comment: The graph is based on all the collected data, 419 news stories from Rapport and Dagens eko; 283 from Rapport and 136 from Dagens eko. The stories were collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. The percentage is approximate.

7.1.3. Facebook active or passive?

The reason why activity is interesting is because Facebook is a company and hence there are active forces deciding over the content on the platform. Therefore, it is interesting to see if Facebook is treated as an active company in the media coverage, or rather as an infrastructure.

The following graph (graph 2) shows the activity of Facebook in all the collected material (every time the word “Facebook is mentioned”).

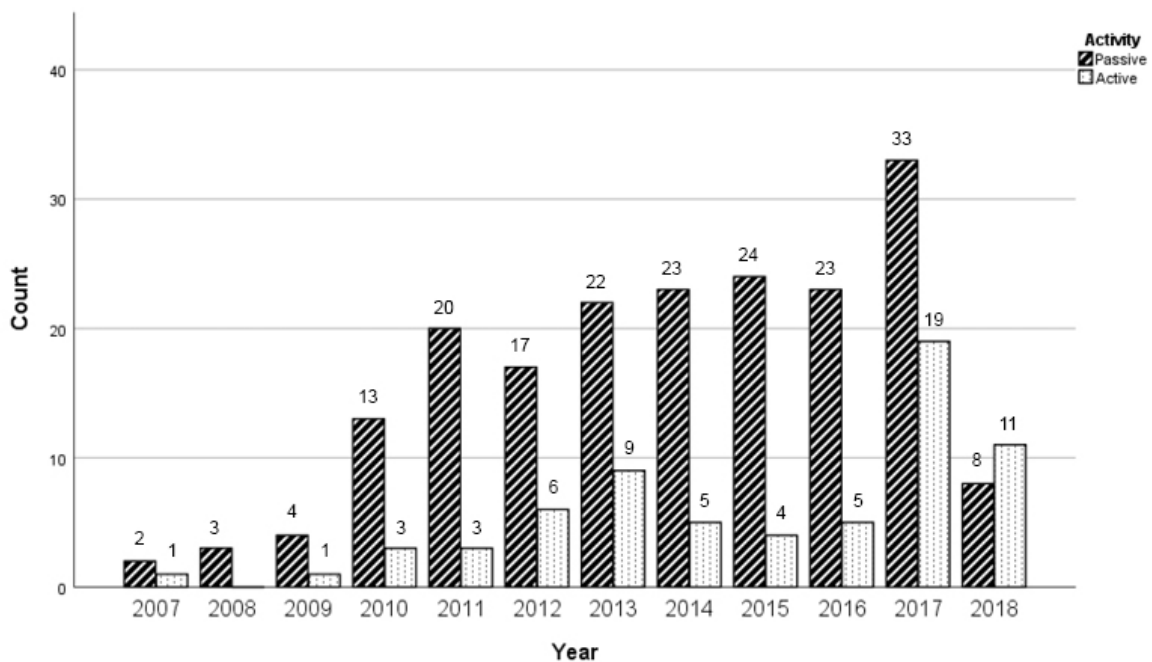
Graph 7.6. Activity of Facebook in Dagens eko and Rapport (number of news stories)



Comment: The graph is based on all the collected data, 419 news stories from Rapport and Dagens eko; 283 from Rapport and 136 from Dagens eko. The stories were collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

The graph shows a clear dominance of Facebook as a passive object. There is a bit of an increase in Facebook as active subject in 2017 and 2018 also seems to follow that trend. If we zoom in on the news reports where Facebook is the main focus (category 1) or relevant for the news (category 2) we see a similar pattern:

Graph 7.7. Activity of Facebook when fb is the main focus or relevant for the news (category I +2) (number of news stories)



Comment: The results are based on 259 news stories from Dagens eko and Rapport collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio. 2018 only includes data from the three first months (01.01.2018-31.03.2018). The percentage is approximate.

Graph 7.7. shows that most often Facebook is a passive subject in the news reports; out of 259 stories Facebook was active in only 67 and passive in 192.

An increase in Facebook as an active subject could be seen in 2017 and this probably has to do with more focus on Facebook in the news stories. After the US presidential election in 2016 the focus on fake news and disinformation on Facebook increased, and in Rapport and Dagens eko there were several news stories about Facebook reacting to the critique: *“It will become harder to use Facebook for political purposes. The founder Mark Zuckerberg says that the company will carry through several changes.”* (Rapport 22.09.2017).

Dagens eko 21.11.2017: Facebook wants to stop false information before the upcoming Swedish election.

During 2017 there were also several news stories about Facebook and other multinational companies avoiding taxes in different countries, in which case Facebook and the other companies were usually

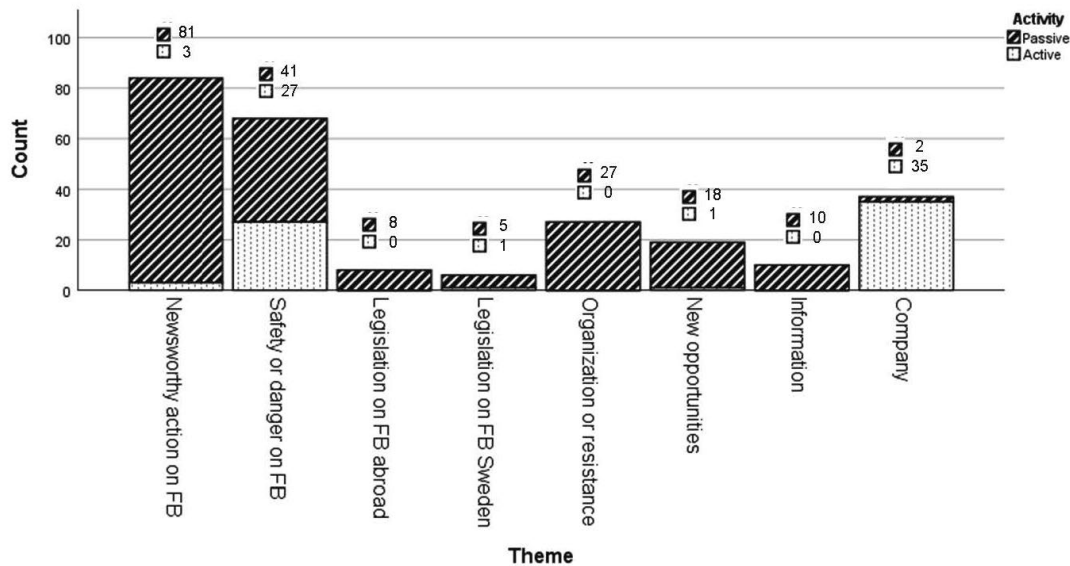
referred to as active subjects. The same effect can be seen in 2013 where there was an increase in the theme “Facebook as a company” (see table 7.4.) partly due to the fact that there were several news stories about Facebook not paying taxes in Sweden. If we look at graph 7.7. we see an increase in Facebook as an active subject in 2013, hence it seems that when Facebook is described as a company it is often also described as active.

Finally, in 2017 there were also news in Sweden about a rape that had been live-streamed on Facebook, and since the Swedish authorities were in contact with Facebook in order to get the video, Facebook was categorized as active in those stories as well.

The graph 7.7. also shows that 2018 was the first year when there were more stories with Facebook being active than passive. An explanation to this could be that the Cambridge-analytica case increased the number of news-stories surrounding Facebook as a company and hence increased the number of stories where Facebook is active.

Finally, let’s look closer at what themes are present when Facebook is described as an active subject.

Graph 7.8. Activity when different themes are present (category I+2) (number of news stories)



Comment: The results are based on 259 news stories from Dagens eko and Rapport collected from Retriever and the internal archive from the Swedish national radio.

Not surprisingly when Facebook is talked about as a company it is also described as active. However, the majority of times when the news is about safety or danger on Facebook (60 percent of the time), Facebook is described as passive. And when the news were about newsworthy action of Facebook, Facebook is almost exclusively described as passive.

7.1.4. Conclusion Facebook in the news

If we start with the first part of the first research question *to what extent* Facebook has been present in the news reports the last ten years, we can see that between the years 2007 and 2011 Facebook was given an increasing amount of space in the newscasts. Between the years 2011 and 2016 that space stayed on the same level; between 45 to 50 news reports a year mentioned the word Facebook. Then there was a peak in the mentioning of the word Facebook in 2017, when Facebook was mentioned in the news 64 times.

To answer the second part of the first research question, *in what way* Facebook has been present in the news reports over the last ten years, we have to look both at focus, agency and theme. If we start with focus, we can see that from the years 2011 to 2016 Facebook was the main focus (category 1) in around 20-30 percent of the news casts each year, meaning that in a majority of the newscasts where the word “Facebook” was mentioned, Facebook was not the main focus. Also, in around 38 percent of all the newscasts Facebook was neither the main focus (category 1) nor relevant for the news (category 2). The reason why these results are interesting is that it shows that a lot of the times when Facebook is mentioned in the news casts (at least 38 percent of the time) it is just mentioned in passing and most probably not questioned or problematized.

According to V8 (themes) the most common themes when Facebook is mentioned is “Newsworthy action on Facebook” followed by “Safety or danger on Facebook” and “Facebook as a company”. However, most of the time when Facebook is talked about in the context of “Newsworthy action on Facebook” or “Safety or danger on Facebook” it is talked about as a passive subject. Facebook is almost only given agency and described as active when it is talked about in the context of “Facebook as a company”. This points at a problematic tendency; by treating Facebook as a passive object when reporting on news about danger on Facebook for example, Facebook is not held responsible for things that are happening on its platform. However, this tendency seems to be changing in 2018 when a majority of the news stories concerning Facebook (category 1 and 2) treated Facebook as an active subject.

7.2. Critical discourse analysis

For the critical discourse analysis, I decided to focus on a case where Facebook played a significant part, namely the Cambridge analytica case¹³, and below follows a summary of my findings. Since there were rather big differences between Rapport and Dagens eko in terms of discourses within the two programs they will be discussed separately. The analysis is based on the questions outlined in the method section, with a focus on the thematic, schematic and micro-oriented structure. After that the ideologies present in the texts will be analyzed and discussed. Finally, the results from the content analysis will be compared to the results from the discourse analysis.

Since my focus was Facebook, other discourses and topics about for example whistle-blowers, the American election and Russia could probably be found, but for my research I only focused on features in the text that could relate to Facebook.

7.2.1. The hierarchical organization of themes and topics

According to van Dijk (1988:57) news discourse has a certain structure which follows a “top-down” organization, where the main theme comes first, and the rest of the themes are then organized in a hierarchical order. This means that the most important piece of information comes first, and the following pieces of information are of less importance for the news story. Van Dijk talks about news discourse in newspapers, but I argue that the same structure can be found in any text that follows news logic, meaning that television and radio news will follow the same hierarchical order.

This section aims at answering the following question: *How are the themes or topics hierarchically organized in the text?*

Rapport

According to van Dijk (1988) the main theme is expressed in the lead in a newspaper article, which in a broadcasted news story is equivalent to the news presenter in the studio introducing the news. In the first two news stories on the subject (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1, Rapport 18.03.18 Story 2) the main theme is that Cambridge analytica has collected information about Facebook-users and sold it to Trump.

¹³ See introduction for more detailed information

Example 1: Rapport SVT 18.03.2018 Story 1. NA = News anchor

NA: *Personal information about over 50 million Facebook-users is claimed to have been downloaded by the data analysis company Cambridge Analytica. The information was then supposedly sold to president Trump campaign in 2016, an investigation shows.*

Example 2: Rapport SVT 18.03.2018 Story 2. NA = News anchor

NA: *And now we have our USA-correspondent Carina Bergfeldt with us. Carina, what is it that this company has done? (company referring to Cambridge analytica).*

The most important theme here is “Cambridge analytica collecting information and possibly selling it to Trump”. The first two news stories on the first day of reporting, and the first news story on the second day of reporting, has Cambridge analytica’s action as a main theme, making it reasonable to conclude that “Cambridge analytica collecting information and selling it to Trump” is considered a more important or news-worthy theme related to Facebook, such as “Facebook collecting information from its users”.

Three of the eight selected news stories from Rapport has a main theme (what is expressed in the lead) centered around Facebook. The theme “Facebook collecting information from its users” is the main theme in the third news story of the first day, as well as the first news story on the third day, meaning it is still relevant in the reporting on the Cambridge analytica case, but it is given rather low priority.

Dagens eko

In Dagens eko on the other hand the theme “Facebook collecting information from its users” is present in all the news stories and the main theme in the second news story on the subject. However, the Cambridge analytica case is not mentioned at all until the 20th of March 2018, several days after Rapport first reported on the scandal, which is also an indication of how important the story is considered, where it was not considered newsworthy enough to be included in the news during the first days.

Still, in all three of the selected news stories from Dagens eko Facebook is the focus; the first one mentions Facebook in the trail stating that the news is about “*the turbulence surrounding Facebook and the British consulting company /.../*” (Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 1), the second story is about personal information on Facebook and the third story is about the Facebook-stock dropping. So even though Dagens eko does not start reporting on the Cambridge analytica case until later, when it does the focus is on Facebook’s involvement in the case.

7.2.2. The actors and their agency

Another component of news discourse are the actors within the text which comment on the events, or the “voices” within the text. The actors are not to be confused with the voice of the journalist (Berglez 2010:275), which is also relevant but will be analyzed in the following section.

This section aims at answering the following questions:

What actors are present in the text? What is their role? Who reasons around consequences, summarizes or draws conclusions around the even? Who is given agency in the texts?

Rapport

Altogether there are 20 different actors in the news casts in Rapport (including those that do not speak but are referenced or cited). Cambridge analytica and Facebook are reoccurring actors in the news casts; 5 out of the news stories feature Cambridge analytica or Alexander Nix as actors, and in 3 cases Alexander Nix speaks in the news cast. In 5 of the news stories Facebook or Mark Zuckerberg is featured as an actor. However, Facebook or Mark Zuckerberg never speak in the news casts, instead they are cited, or referred to, by the reporter/correspondent/news anchor. This could have a de-humanizing and distancing effect on Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg, since they are only talked *about* and never actually heard from.

8 out of the 20 actors in the news stories are politicians, and in 5 cases the politicians speak for themselves (as opposed to a reporter citing them). 5 out of those 20 actors are “IT-experts”, and all five out of those speak for themselves.

The actors that are given space to reason and draw conclusions are the politicians, IT-experts and the Whistle-blower. The other actors that speak, such as Alexander Nix and the EU-parliament for example, are only given one soundbite in each news story, whilst the interviews with Swedish politicians, IT-experts and the Whistle blower are given several soundbites in the news stories and are allowed to draw conclusions and reason around the events.

In Rapport 21.03.2018 Story 2 (the third day of reporting) two politicians describe how they were contacted by Cambridge analytica, and in Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 3 (the first day of reporting), the Swedish member of parliament Lars Arne Staxäng reacts on the amount of information that Facebook has on him.

In Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 3 the news is about how much information can be found about the politician Lars Arne Staxäng, and he is also allowed to draw conclusions and reason around the news. A politician is usually what van Dijk calls an “elite source”, someone who in news discourse is usually considered a more reliable and credible source. (van Dijk 1988: 87). However, in this case the politician is allotted the role of the “victim”. The news story starts out with the reporter showing him what information Facebook has on him.

Example Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 3. P= Politician, I=interviewer

I: *There are a few hundred marks behind you. Wine, cognac...*

P: *Yes.*

I: *It is not forbidden.*

P: *No, there are mixed feelings. Facebook knows more about me than I thought.*

Here the politician is part of a traditional experience/victim interview (Jacobsson 2016:120) but he then goes on to draw conclusions around the news:

P: *I'm old enough to have read Orwells books 1984 and Animal farm and those are the associations that I get. A society where the people in power and the market have complete knowledge about the citizens, a society that I am scared of".*

The quote expresses emotion, which follows the structure of news, as described by van Dijk (1988:84) where a part of making content persuasive is to involve emotions when describing facts. The politician also describes the situation as something from a dystopian novel, where he as an elite source has credibility in opinion formation.

In three out of four cases where a politician or representative from a political party is interviewed, the person is allotted the role of a victim. Lars-Arne Staxäng speaks about how much information Facebook has on him and Mia Widell, communication officer for the Christian party, and the prime minister Stefan Löfven speak about whether or not they have been contacted by Cambridge analytica, whether or not companies such as Cambridge analytica that could possibly influence the election.

In almost every news story there is a conflict between Cambridge analytica or Facebook on one side, and a politician, the whistle-blower or an IT-expert on the other side. Since one side of the conflict never speaks, and the other side speaks as well as reasons around the issue, the news give space for one problem formulation over another. The first actor that gets to speak in the first news story about this case is the Whistle blower, and the first thing he says is “*Steve wanted weapons for his culture*

war, that's what he wanted. And we offered him a way to accomplish what he wanted to do, which was to change the culture of America. (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1)

Dagens eko

In Dagens eko there are 5 actors present; Facebook, Cambridge analytica, the British authorities, an "IT-expert" and "Natalie" a person interviewed on the street. Out of these five actors it is only the IT-expert and Natalie that have a voice, the other actors are referred to by the reporter.

In Dagens eko there is not a politician interviewed for the reaction interview but a "person on the street", in accordance with the genre vox pop (Jacobsson (2016:120).

Example: SR Dagens eko: 20.03.2018 Story 2. NA =News anchor, P= person on the street, I=interviewer

This sequence is the beginning of a news report, which follows directly on an earlier news report about a house search to be carried out at Cambridge analytica's premises.

NA: So, the company Cambridge Analytica is accused of having come over and used information from 50 million Facebook-users, it has supposedly happened through the many personality-tests that can be done through Facebook. And many people do these tests, 18-year old Natalie Frisk is one of them.

P: *I have tested like how fit I am*

I: *But do you know that when you do these tests you give those behind it access to like all the data on your Facebook-account, it could be possible at least.*

P: *No, I really did not know that. Oh, then I won't be clicking on anything like that again.*

The girl in the news cast represents one of these 50 million people that have done these tests. She answers the reporter's question by saying that she did not know that she was giving away all of that information, and that if she did know, she would not do it.

It is not surprising that the girl is allotted that kind of a role, her function is to provide identification for the listener and bring the story down to a personal level. Emotion and personal opinions are part of news discourse and are usually expressed in quotes, meaning by someone other than the journalist speaking (van Dijk 1988: 76) Also, emotion has increasingly gained ground in news casts, and previous research has showed that emotion in news casts can facilitate understanding and comprehension (Pantti 2010: 176). In this case it seems however that the television news allow

emotion more space, as several politicians in the television news stories express worry, while the girl is the only one to express emotion in the news stories in Dagens eko.

What agency is Facebook given?

In the 11 news stories that have been analyzed there is not one instance where Facebook (or a representative from Facebook) speaks or is cited. In five of these pieces Facebook is talked about as a subject, by for example a reporter stating that “Facebook sits on the collected knowledge about us all” (Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 3) or “Both London and Brussels demand an answer from the founder Mark Zuckerberg” (Rapport 21.03.2018 Story 1), but Facebook is never a concrete subject that has a voice in the news reports. If we view Facebook as a business elite, these results could be compared to Thomas’ (2016) study on British television news where the “highly paid executives” did not appear directly in the news casts. Thomas argues that omitting certain groups could jeopardize the impartiality of public service television, however in this case the story is an international one which most likely makes it difficult for national media to report independently on it. Furthermore, it is possible that the lack of time and resources could be a factor determining which voices that get to speak in the news casts. (Doyle 2006).

7.2.3. Choice of words and use of information

In order to deepen the analysis and understand how the events and ideologies within the text are constructed, the texts need to be analyzed on a micro-level (Berglez 2010:283).

This section aims at answering the questions: *How does the texts mediate implicit meaning? Is there redundant information on which the text is not dependent? What words are used? Which other words could have been used?*

Rapport

In the first news story on the CA-case in SVT Rapport (Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 1) there is no mention of the word “people” or “person”, only “Facebook-users”. Throughout the news story “Facebook-user” is mentioned three times, and “user” one time. van Dijk talks about news as a public discourse (van Dijk 1988: 74) which means that socially and cognitively there is certain amount of shared knowledge, “taken-for-granted information” which must be presupposed for the news to make sense. This shared knowledge, what Fairclough calls background knowledge, naturalizes ideological

representations, meaning it makes ideological representations become seen as “non-ideological ‘common sense’” (Fairclough 2013:31)

If we think about the way that the global coherence is constructed through the “coherence-gaps” (Berglez 2010) which the viewer fills in on their own, it becomes clear that the lexical choice “Facebook-users” refers to anyone, that since Facebook today is such an established part of the lived experience “Facebook-user” becomes almost synonym to people.

Example 1: Rapport SVT 18.03.2018 Story 1. NA = News anchor, V= voice over.

NA: Personal information about over 50 million Facebook-users is claimed to have been downloaded by the data analysis company Cambridge Analytica. The information was then supposedly sold to president Trump campaign in 2016, an investigation shows.

V: Cambridge analytica has supposedly downloaded personal information about around 50 million American Facebook-users. The New York Times and The Guardian have met the whistle blower Christopher Wylie, former employee at the analysis company. The data was originally collected from consenting Facebook-users from the university of Cambridge, but secretly information was collected from a lot more users.

In this text Facebook is not present as an active subject until the very end. The global coherence, the meaning that is realized in this news cast, is that the company Cambridge analytica has collected information about people through Facebook in order to use in the Trump campaign. The active part in that structure is first and foremost the company Cambridge analytica and through that Facebook becomes passive. In the news report in example 1, Cambridge analytica is the company accused while Facebook is passive throughout the sequence until the last sentence where the voice over says: “*At the same time Facebook is considering legal actions:*” (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1) making Facebook no longer passive, but a victim in the situation. The wording “consenting Facebook-users” and “secretly information was collected” adds to the sense that Facebook has done nothing wrong but that the wrong-doing was done by those who collected the information “secretly”.

There are some uses of value-loaded words in the news stories in Rapport which create a dramatization-effect (Altheide 2002:46). The correspondent in the second news story refers to the whistle blowers statement and describes it as “extremely unethical experiment”, that they collected “immense amount of data”, and that Trump was “extremely aggressive” in his campaign. (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 1). The news anchor repeatedly uses the expression “shady methods” to describe the actions of Cambridge analytica (Rapport 20.03.18 Story 1, 21.03.18 Story 1), which

The reporter uses phrases such as “Facebook sits on the collected knowledge of us all” (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 3), an exaggeration aimed to draw attention, or “When everything is free you are not the costumer, you are the good” which speaks to the viewer and has the function of a warning.

Dagens eko

As mentioned earlier the use of actors in the second news story in Dagens eko adds emotion to the news cast. But the lexical choices also add emotion creates an uncertainty with the listener. In the example mentioned earlier (Dagens eko 20.03.2018 Story 2) the girl says: *I have tested like how fit I am* and the interviewer follows with the question: *But do you know that when you do these tests you give those behind it access to like all the data on your Facebook-account, it could be possible at least.*

The sentence “*it could be possible at least*”, indicates that the reporter is not sure if the news is true or not, putting themselves on the same level knowledge-wise on this subject, as any person walking on the street. Since news discourse is expressed by an “institutionalized organization” (van Dijk 1988:75), a public service organization in this case which enjoys a high level of trust among the public in Sweden, the voice here is not that of the reporter’s personal opinion but a statement of fact expressed by the neutral organization that is Dagens eko. In this case the voice of authority that usually according to news ideology expresses facts (van Dijk 1988:75), now instead expresses uncertainty.

There are less value-loaded words in the news stories from Dagens eko compared to the stories on Rapport. But through coherence-gaps Facebook is made up to be part of the problem. In Dagens eko the correspondent describes how British authorities are planning a house search at the Cambridge analytica premises, and states that the authorities will probably not find much because Cambridge analytica will have known about the search. The interviewer continues by asking: *Are they worried that Facebook will have cleared the computers already?* (Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 1). By asking that question the interviewer connects Facebook to Cambridge analytica, and implicitly states that Facebook *would* clear the computers. This question thus frames Facebook not as a victim but an accomplice to Cambridge analytica.

Dagens eko also formulates the Cambridge analytica case as a societal problem by the reporter stating that “*More is demanded of internet-users today than ever before, and for the election in Sweden the internet foundation in Sweden are working to strengthen adults’ digital competence.*” (Dagens eko 20.03.18 Story 1), which implies that this is just Cambridge analytica or Facebook creating this problem but raises the perspective to a societal problem.

7.2.4. Ideological processes within news discourse

Finally, the findings from the macro- and micro analysis of the texts need to be situated in a socio-cultural context. As mentioned earlier in this paper, critical discourse analysis aims to identify underlying ideologies reproduced by language (Wodak & Meyer 2009:8), and in the case of news reproduced by framing certain events as objective and neutral (Berglez 2010: 269). The idea is not that ideologies represent something that is not true, rather they favor one part of the reality over others (Berglez 2010: 270). In the socio-cultural contextualization of the analysis we are interested in what way news discourse express ideological processes, or work against them.

When considering the results from the CDA and the theoretical foundation for this paper from there are three ideologies or discourses that I find to be the most prominent. Of course, one could probably find more but for this study I find the following three to be the most relevant

7.2.4.1. Facebook as an infrastructure

When Hoffman, Proferes and Zimmer (2018) examined Mark Zuckerberg's public language it showed that Zuckerberg's discourse about Facebook has always been described as a utility, but that the language has changed from an "online directory for colleges" to recent mentioning of infrastructure. (p205) According to Hoffman et al. (2018:201) elite actors have the power to "promote certain views of technology" due to their position, and there are signs that this view promoted by Zuckerberg has become a part of news discourse within PSM as well.

There are several ways that this discourse of Facebook as an infrastructure is manifested. Firstly, we can look at the hierarchical order of the themes. In Rapport the focus in the first news stories is on Cambridge analytica rather than on Facebook, and the lexical choice of "Facebook-users" rather than people (in for example Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 1), is a naturalization of Facebook as an infrastructure, since the audience is expected to understand that Facebook-user refers to anyone, even though the only word used to describe people is "Facebook-users". Also, the structure of the word implies "those who use Facebook" which established Facebook as a tool to be used by people, not as an active subject.

The fact that Facebook does not speak, and is not cited, in any of the news stories further enhances its position as a passive infrastructure. In five out of 11 news stories it is talked about as a subject, by for example a reporter stating that "Facebook sits on the collected knowledge about us all" (Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 3) or "Both London and Brussels demand an answer from the founder Mark

Zuckerberg” (Rapport 21.03.2018 Story 1), but Facebook is never a concrete subject that has a voice in the news reports and in a majority of stories is a passive object rather than an active subject.

7.2.4.2. Keep the audience scared and entertained

Altheide (2014: 37) argues that the discourse of fear¹⁴ is a feature of news discourse, partly because the news narrative presupposes a problem in order to build the story. According to Patrona (2018:187) fear discourse “represent social problems in simplistic terms of victim and villain stereotypes that lead to the personalization of blame and promote coercive forms of social control as a remedy to social threats”. If we view this case as a social problem the same phenomenon is at play, but the villain is not Facebook (which could have been a possibility), but rather Cambridge analytica, while Facebook is one of the victims.

The first news story on the second day (Rapport 20.03.2018 Story 1) follows dramatization logic where “predictable narratives that are scripted with emotionally resonant stereotypes and caricatures” (Altheide 2014: 57). It starts off with the news anchor introducing the news.

Example Rapport 20.03.2018 Story 1 NA=News anchor

NA: *British authorities are doing a search in the house of the data analysis company that is accused of collecting personal information from 50 million Facebook-users. And now recordings with a hidden camera show how the director of the company describes shady methods to influence politicians and voters.*

The word “shady” is not a word without value and adds to the creation of fear, as well as an entertainment aspect in the news report. This is followed by the voice over saying: “*behind this glass facade in London, a rocked data analysis company*” (Rapport 20.03.18 Story 1) and the following day Alexander Nix, the CEO of Cambridge analytica, is described as “*a hunted man*” (Rapport 21.03.2018 Story 1). These examples all bear a connotation to fiction and agrees with Hartley’s statement that much of the narrative structure of news resembles police series on television, where villains are stereotyped to fit the news-discourse (Hartley 1982:115).

In these examples the company Cambridge analytica is the villain. However, in this material there are conflicting discourses about Facebook where Facebook at times is assigned the role of the villain. One such example are the reoccurring connotations to danger which is another example of discourse of fear

¹⁴ Defined by Altheide as “the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and expectation that danger and risk are a central feature of the effective environment” (Altheide 2002:41)

(Hartley 1982:26-27). It can be found in the first news cast in Rapport (18.03.2018 Story 1) where the whistle-blower explicitly refers to war. But there are also more subtle connotations to danger more directly focusing on Facebook; the politician talking about a dystopian society defined by surveillance as mentioned earlier, and the different experts warning the viewer about how to be safe online, which we will go into deeper in the next section.

The politicians framed as victims as well as many of the lexical choices in several of the news reports in Rapport seem to fill the purpose of entertainment rather than information. This effort to entertain audience through “dramatizing” of events in line with “predictable narratives that are scripted with emotionally resonant stereotypes and caricatures” (Altheide 2014: 57) is apparent in other ways as well. According to the whistle-blower Steve Bannon “wanted weapons for his culture war” to accomplish what he wanted to do, which was to “change the culture of America” (Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 1). These are utterances purposely exaggerated to trigger, in this case to probably both scare and entertain.

Altheide argues that these “entertainment formats” are an element behind the rise of the problem frame which he in turn sees as a consequence of commercialism. (Altheide 2002:46) The problem frame takes complex events and constructs them as problems in a “visual, brief, action-oriented and dramatic” way (Altheide 2002:46), which is in line with entertainment formats.

7.2.4.3. Facebook in a neoliberal ideology context

The previous section that describes increased focus on dramatization and fear could be a marketization of the news, where news stories to an increasing extent need to adapt to the market and produce what engages the most. This is a development could be seen as part of a neoliberal ideology,

In the following two examples there are also evidence of the three characteristics of neoliberalism that Jacobsson outlines in her dissertation (2016:17) are individualization, depolitization and marketization/financialization.

6 out of the 11 actors in the broadcasts interviewed by Rapport and Dagens eko were experts, as described in previous sections, and several of those experts offer advice on how to stay safe online.

Example 1:

Dagens eko: 20.03.2018 Story 2, E = expert

E: Everything we do on Facebook leaves tracks. Reactions on posts, our shares, status updates, information you share about yourself, links you click on, everything leaves tracks.

/.../

E: The most important tip I have is to always read the whole text, or take part of the whole message, before one in any way act or react on it and share it.

Example 2:

Rapport: 20.03.2018 Story 1, E = expert, V= Voice over

E: If one clicks the “I accept”-box when one does tests such as “What actor are you?” etc, if one thinks that’s fun, one has to ask oneself why do they want me to do the test. The answer is most often that they want to collect information.

V: When everything is free you are not the costumer, you are the good, she says. But we can close that window ourselves.

E: Do not send or share things if you do not know the source. Put on your mental firewall

In both of these examples the expert advice is aimed at the viewer/listener, encouraging them to make the choice not to be surveilled by Facebook. This is an example of individualization and financialization since it is up to the individual to use their consumer power to influence how much information Facebook can acquire. Both of the news stories accept Facebook’s financial model as a natural state and the solution to the surveillance-problem is to use one’s consumer power and not share, post or do tests that gives the company more information about you. This is also an example of depoliticization since there is no mentioning of political policies being a solution to the surveillance-problem. In these specific news stories, the discourse only offers solutions within Facebook’s financial model, how the consumer, following the rules set up by Facebook, can affect the outcome and the amount of information that becomes available to Facebook. What the news story could have done in order to step out of the neoliberal discourse, would be to question the actual financial model, and address the political policies that made this kind of surveillance possible.

Involving the viewer is another aspect of commercial interests within the news organizations, which takes form both in the way the problem is constructed, but also in the way viewers are encouraged to stay with the program by for example “tuning in later” (Rapport 18.03.18 Story 3, Rapport 20.03.18 Story 2). The way that viewers are involved in the problem construction is by making the mediated

problem everyone's problem "whether as direct or potential experience or as sympathetic audience member" (Altheide 2002: 49).

Patrona argues that the use of villains and victims in accordance to discourse of fear, leads to a personalization of blame (Patrona 2018:187). In the case of Facebook in the news it could mean that a focus on Cambridge analytica or Facebook being the villain shifts the focus away from a structural problem of a system that allows for companies to collect personal data. The fact that the conflict in the news programs is centered not around data being used for political purposes, but around data being collected, constructs a problem rather than illuminates one. Internet companies collecting data from its users is one; available information, and two; a condition for the interconnected capitalist economy. If we are to criticize that, we need to criticize the system that allows it, rather than actors in it.

7.3. Comparing the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis

If we compare the results from the CDA with the results to the content analysis, in some ways they point at the same direction. Firstly, Facebook was not the main theme, or main focus in the first news stories on Cambridge analytica, and the content analysis showed that in 38 percent of all the news casts Facebook was not the main focus nor relevant for the news. Both these results both point in the direction of Facebook as an infrastructure, Facebook is there as a platform but not an active actor in the event. This is further enhanced by the fact that Facebook does not speak in any of the news stories selected for the CDA.

The main theme in the first news stories selected for the CDA "Cambridge analytica collecting information and possibly selling it to Trump" I would most likely categorize as a "Safety or danger on Facebook" according to the content-analysis codebook. The results from the content analysis showed that around in around 60 % of the news stories where "Safety or danger on Facebook" was the main theme, Facebook would be treated as passive. The CDA points at the same direction, in most cases when Cambridge analytica was the main focus Facebook was not very present in the text.

8. Conclusion and discussion

As a conclusion I will summarize my results and compare the results from the content analysis with the discourse analysis, as well as with the research questions asked in the introduction. I will discuss what these results tell us about public service role in this new interconnected society dominated by global media giants.

Finally, I will discuss possible ways to build on this research and propose how one might move on from here.

8.1. Conclusion

What the content analysis shows is that even though public service media in Sweden has a mission not to favor commercial companies, and to not mention companies' names in the broadcasts, throughout the years Facebook has repeatedly been mentioned in the newscasts even though the news were about something else. Also, up until 2017, most of the times that Facebook was present in the news casts it was talked about as passive object. If we compare those results to those of the CDA they point in the same direction; there are tendencies not to problematize Facebook as a company. I would argue that mentioning Facebook without Facebook being the main focus or even relevant for the news (which was the case in 38 percent of the material), works in the same way as the use of "Facebook-users" in Rapport 18.03.2018 Story 1, it is a naturalization of Facebook, meaning that the preunderstanding of "Facebook-users" being anyone is seen as "non-ideological" or "common sense" (Fairclough 2013: 31).

The content analysis showed that in news about Facebook as a company, Facebook was also mostly treated as an active subject, but when the news were about "Newsworthy action on Facebook" or "Safety or danger on Facebook", Facebook was mostly treated as passive. When connecting these results to the results of the critical discourse analysis there are some similarities. When the news focused on "Safety or danger on Facebook", in this case Cambridge analytica using Facebook to get user-data, Facebook was passive and described as a victim. When focusing on Facebook watching over its users ("Facebook as a company"), Facebook was described as active. However, even though the majority of news in 2018 where about "Newsworthy action on Facebook" and "Safety or danger on Facebook", in a majority of those news stories Facebook was still described as active (see graph 7.7.), which could mean that there is a change in this trend.

As the answer to research questions Q1 showed, since 2007 Facebook has been present in the news cast of both Dagens eko and Rapport to an increasing extent. In the year 2017 there was a peak in the amount of times that Facebook was mentioned in the newscasts and it was also the year when the newscasts started describing Facebook as active to a greater extent. There were a few different stories (fake news, rape streamed on Facebook, tax avoidance) that put a negative light on Facebook which could explain why it both became more active and was given more space in the news casts (in accordance to news value). Finally, in 2018 the fact that Facebook had access to a vast amount of information about people, and that it used it as a commodity, became news in Sweden, even though this had been accessible information to the media ever since Facebook decided on that business-model in 2008 (Marichal 2016:33).

The second research question asked how Facebook was framed in relation to the Cambridge analytica case. A critical discourse analysis showed that Facebook to a certain extent was passive and taken-for-granted in the news reports about Cambridge analytica, but that it was also framed as a dangerous power in society that is actively collecting information about people, which was done partly through discourse of fear.

Neoliberal ideology could be identified in the reporting on Facebook, both in terms of individual responsibility, where the responsibility of not being surveilled by Facebook was on the individual rather than on those with legislative power, but also through the use of discourse of fear and the entertainment aspects of the news reporting. Finally, neoliberal discourse was present in the construction of conflict in the news programs, where the problem was the actors Facebook and Cambridge analytica, rather than the system that allows, and even favors, them.

8.2. Discussion

In 2008 Facebook decided on its current business-model but it wasn't until 2018 that it became news in Sweden. I believe that this points at a democratic problem where global media giants have become such a natural part of our everyday life that it is not until they are involved in a crisis that national media start to really question and examine them.

According to Fairclough, using words as “common sense” is a way to naturalize ideological representations (Fairclough 2013:31), and in this case I would argue that it is a naturalization not only of Facebook but also a naturalization of neoliberal ideology. Because Facebook is a profit-oriented company that sells users data as commodity, it is a capitalist company and would not be able to exist (in the form it has today) without capitalism (Birkinbine et al. 2017). From a political economy point

of view this structure influences not only the behavior of content-creators (journalists who use social media to reach audiences) and audiences (who consume news through social media) but it also influences media content. Just like in other parts of society where Facebook has become a taken-for-granted feature, Facebook is present in public service media both to a greater extent than before but has also become a part of the everyday-language where the word “Facebook-user” can be used to describe people.

The reason that Facebook was present in the news programs to a greater extent in 2017 (and in 2018) was the fact that it was involved in issues that had news value; they were sensational, conflict-oriented and in the case of Cambridge analytica involved and concerned a lot of people. The problem with this is that the ten years before Cambridge analytica, news about Facebook were few. According to McChesney (2003) this is a problem of journalism today; that issues only become news when “something happens”, where there is a news hook, meaning that social issues becomes difficult to address and cover when we are in status quo. He argues that the news hook is a way for journalists to “not be perceived as ideologically driven” (McChesney 2003:304), but in this case ideology is reproduced by *not* addressing certain issues. By repeatedly mentioning “Facebook”, but not questioning or problematizing it, news programs reinforce “Facebook” as natural and “common sense” knowledge. By making a private commercial company a natural part of everyday-language, public service media upholds a neoliberal ideology.

If we view Facebook as a company it would be the responsibility of journalism (and especially PSM) to proactively investigate and report on it, but as mentioned previously financial journalists are often criticized for not taking on enough of a watchdog-function (Usher 2012, Tambini 2010). As previous research has shown financial journalists often lack the time, resources and education to properly investigate and question businesses (Doyle 2006: 442), and in the case of Facebook it is not only knowledge about the business side that is needed to understand it but also knowledge about the technological aspect, and the fact that Facebook is an American company makes it even more difficult for Swedish media to investigate it. Furthermore, Facebook is not “just” a company, it is a giant company that stretches way beyond national borders with economic, political and cultural power (Birkinbine et al. 2017), making it that much more difficult for national news rooms to investigate it. It seems as if the results from this study suggest that journalism still does not know how to handle Facebook. The fact that Facebook in many cases is not the focus of news stories and described as passive, and that it is almost only described as active when the news are about Facebook as a company, indicates that journalists or journalism does not know how to treat a company with that kind of social and cultural power. Scrutinizing a company with economic and political power is not that difficult, journalists have done that since the beginning, but how to scrutinize that kind of social and

cultural power seems to be new untouched terrain. Still, in order to ensure a democratic society it is of importance that we find a way to investigate even the most powerful companies, no matter how complex their power might be.

The question that this study boils down to is how does public service fulfill its watch-dog mission in a new interconnected society dominated by global media giants? Lennart Weibull (SOU 2016:30: 76-77) asks a similar question; if it is possible to have a national media policy in a globalized world? He leaves the question un-answered but offers a few ideas about what it takes for it to work. The first is that national policies need to be anchored in international agreements. Secondly, less focus needs to be put on technological developments and more on creating good conditions for journalism. Finally, the media policy needs to have strong support from the public. I believe he identifies the biggest challenges of journalism today; working across border, fulfilling its public service mission in an increasingly market-oriented media landscape, and keeping people's trust while doing it.

8.3. Reflections on the study

Since there is much research on how traditional media report on social media this study fills a part of that gap and can help to understand the dynamics between public service media on one side and social media on the other. The combination of critical discourse analysis and content analysis adds richness in point and offers an overview as well as a more in-depth understanding of the representation of Facebook in Swedish PSM.

One limitation of my study regarding the content analysis was the fact that I did not have anything to compare my numbers with. My results showed how often Facebook was mentioned, and to what extent it was described as passive, but it would have been interesting to compare those results to the coverage of another similar company, or perhaps to do a historical comparison on the coverage of a past global media giant.

Another limitation of my study was that the critical discourse analysis was conducted on a very small sample of broadcasts. Had I had more time I would have conducted a CDA not just on the material during the Cambridge analytica case but also during earlier years in order to be able to compare the results over time. Now, I chose to focus on a situation that was unusual, but it would also have been interesting to conduct a CDA on a normal situation and compare the two. Had I had more time I would also have liked to include all of 2018 to be able to compare the full year with the previous years.

8.4. Suggestion for further research

My study focused on content, but a suggestion for further research would be a study on the production and consumption of news. Through interviews one could examine both the production and the consumption of news in order to see how journalists think about Facebook in their reporting, as well as how this reporting affects the audience. For further critical discourse analysis on this topic it would be interesting to see how non-news media cover these types of companies, as well as commercial media, which I believe could say something about the discourse about Facebook and social media in society today. It would also be interesting to compare these results with international media and see if different countries handle Facebook differently.

The timing of this study was not optimal since the Cambridge analytica case happened right in the middle of it. It would be interesting if further research would approach the Cambridge analytica as a case, perhaps as a mixed method case study, in order to see both how it was represented in terms of content, but also the production and consumption aspects of it.

As mentioned previously one limitation of this study was that there was no context within which the numbers from the content analysis could be situated. It would therefore be interesting to compare the numbers from the content analysis (and the results from the discourse analysis for that matter) with the reporting of another global media giant. One interesting aspect would be to see if the coverage of Facebook differed from the coverage of a company such as Google, that also affects people's understanding of the world (Birkinbine et al. 2017). Another interesting angle would be to study the coverage of a global media giant such as Disney or CocaCola and compare that to the results of the coverage of social media. Jacobsson (2016) studied how two different crises were reported on during different time-periods and the same idea could be applied here; to study and compare the reporting of a global media giant after neoliberal policy-changes in society, and before.

9. References

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