

ABSTRACTS

SESSION 1

Pernille Almlund & Nina Blom Andersen

The deliberative effect of new campaigns in the 2013 local election in Denmark

The low turnout (65,8%) in the 2009 local election encouraged the public authorities to launch a row of campaigns up to the 2013 local election. The purpose was to heighten the turnout. Three campaigns were a pivotal and relatively exposed part of the 2013 local election, namely 'Think before you choose *not* to vote', 'The election of everybody' and 'Votes on the edge' launched by different ministries, organisations and a NGO.

All campaigns were launched with the purpose to enhance civic engagement in public opinion formation and the authorities initiated in this way experimentation with the ambition to strengthen the legitimacy of democracy. The experimentation was in most cases specific planned election meetings formed as a kind of deliberative citizens' forums.

The turnout of the election were heightened, and this perhaps due to the campaigns. But is this also true for the deliberative effect of the campaigns? Or is the turnout of the 2013 election more an indication of disciplinarity (Foucault, 1983; 1988)?

The analysis is based on a case study of a Danish municipality, which was conducted by participation observation on election meetings arranged as part of the campaigns and as interviews with politicians, citizens and the local authority.

Pernille Almlund, Ph.D., is associate professor in communication at Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies, Roskilde University and member of Centre for Power, Media and Communication. She was educated as Cand.Comm. with Geography at Roskilde University in 1997. In her research she focuses primarily on environmental communication, risk communication and climate communication but in recent years also on specific aspects of political communication.

Nina Blom Andersen has for the past 11 years dealt with questions concerning communication processes between citizens, media and authorities in case of crisis and contingencies, but has within the last two years as well been involved in research concerning

possibilities for democratic involvement and public engagement on a municipality level. What has gathered Nina's research activities in general is a general interest in the ways that citizens communicate and make sense in local communities. Nina is associate professor at the Institute of Communication, Business and Information Technologies at Roskilde University.

Edana Beauvais

*A Deliberative Democratic Experiment in Municipal Planning:
The Case of the Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly*

Democratic legitimacy depends, at least in part, upon the quality of discourses shaping public opinion and decision-making. When good quality discourses inform decision-making—that is, when political discourses contribute to well-informed decisions, contribute to inclusive decision-making, and promote mutual respect—then political decisions will be viewed as more legitimate. Or at least, this is the theory. Pursuing this theory, political actors—from social activists to governments—are experimenting with new institutions that link discourses to policy. But empirical studies of deliberation offer mixed evidence for theoretic hopes. This raises important questions: *In practice, what do discourses in deliberative citizens' forums look like? And what is the connection between the quality of discourses informing decision-making, and desirable outcomes such as the perceived legitimacy of decisions?* I lend insight into these questions through an empirical study of one deliberative citizens' forum, the Grandview-Woodland Citizens' Assembly (GWCA) which took place in Vancouver, Canada. My study uses survey data collected from the 48 members of the assembly in three waves, and includes variables measuring the quality of deliberation, the diversity of representation, various feelings important for democracy (trust and efficacy), measures of satisfaction and happiness with the process, and perceptions of legitimacy.

Edana Beauvais is a PhD Candidate at the University of British Columbia (UBC), working under the supervision of Dr. Mark Warren. Edana is interested in the way that social inequalities impact human psychology and shape communication, and what this means for using public deliberation to inform collective decision-making. In addition to her focus on deliberative democratic theory and theories of equality, Edana is interested in empirically studying discursive participation. She has completed a large (~900 respondent) study of student participation in tutorials (with Sule Yaylaci), and is studying a citizens' assembly in Vancouver, BC (with Mark Warren).

Bente Halkier

Civic engagement by invitation? Citizen negotiations about public media framings of everyday life responsibilities for societal problems

In public communication campaigns – both traditional and more participatory initiatives, citizens are often encouraged and invited to take part in solving societal problems by way of reflecting upon and changing their everyday routines. This way, everyday habits potentially become normatively contested (Halkier, 2010), and citizens potentially engage in micro-publics of reflection and action on public issues in their daily lives. However, seen from a practice theoretical perspective (Reckwitz, 2002), the question is how such a potential everyday citizenship by invitation might become enacted, and in which ways such enactments of everyday agency imply “public connection” (Couldry et al, 2010)? Such potential micro-publics may share characteristics with deliberative citizens’ forums, but also differ in terms of degree of social informality, agency and public connectiveness. In the paper, I present an analysis of negotiations in focus groups among Danish citizens about a number of public issue campaigns across policy areas, and their understandings of responsibilities, engagement and participation in the public issues in question. The analysis is based on a qualitative dataset of 8 focus groups, sampled after a maximum variation strategy, and carried out as a combination of qualitative coding and operational concepts for everyday agency.

Bente Halkier, Ph.D., is professor in communication at Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies, Roskilde University and head of Centre for Power, Media and Communication. She was educated as political scientist (Aarhus) and sociologist (Lancaster, UK). Her research focus on mediated and interpersonal communication in relation to food and everyday life with a particular interest in citizen-consumers as societal, political and normative actors. She is the author of “Consumption challenged. Food in medialisised everyday lives” (Ashgate, 2010).

SESSION 2

David Mathieu

Agency, public campaigns and audience on social media

Agency is often being located remotely from the everyday life of citizens or is understood with regard to activists, who may signal agency more clearly, but who already represent an “institutional discourse” (Warner, 2002). These suggestions may tend to hypostatize agency and create borders around what and what does not constitute agency.

This paper suggests the study of mundane forms of agency that connect the concept with that of “public”, understood as audiences of text and as citizens, and which can help understand movements towards more engaged “public connection” (Couldry et al. 2007). The paper argues for paying attention to social media as a space for doing everyday life, and in particular for performing the public.

The study draws on reception analysis for its interest in audience agency that lies at the intersection of text and context (Livingstone & Das, 2012) and investigates agency through three text-context relationships that describe the circulation of meaning on social media: gatekeeping, remixing and positioning (Mathieu, forthcoming). The analysis rests on a corpus of Facebook pages promoting campaigns that ran active during the year 2014 in Denmark.

David Mathieu, Ph.D., is assistant professor in communication at the department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies at Roskilde University, Denmark. He completed his Bachelor and Master Degrees in Quebec, Canada and was awarded Ph.D. in Denmark. He is a member of the Center for Power, Media and Communication and section leader of *CEDAR*, a European network of young scholars interested in the future of audience research. His current work focuses on the changing nature of audience on social media, trying to understand audience meanings and practices at the intersection of old and new media.

Inka Salovaara

Public Sphere as Digital Assemblage

Normative theories of public sphere have struggled with the topic of materiality. The historical narrative of the 'public sphere' situated the phenomenon in specific *spaces*, where *practices* (*public deliberation*) and language (*discourse*) constructed political *agencies*, and further *publics*. From the 1990s onwards digitalization brought concepts of network and complexity into the theoretical discourse. This *relational* turn changed the social ontology of the public sphere into a dynamic and complex system, erasing the division between the fields of *reality* (the world), *representation* (discourse), and *subjectivity* (agency). This changed the public sphere into an assemblage consisting of both human and non-human actors interacting in a highly dynamic, networked environment.

This paper proposes a framework for considering this new materiality in the field of the public sphere: the assemblage and complexity theories. Drawing from Deleuze & Guattari (1987), Bennett (2010), and Latour (2004) in order to imagine post-human assemblages of public sphere, this paper argues for a relational ontology that emphasizes the complex interactions of political assemblages. Empirically, it draws from the author's studies on recent participatory political movements.

Keywords: complexity, assemblage, democracy, public sphere, materiality, post-human

Inka Salovaara is an Associate Professor in Media Science at Aarhus University. She was formerly an Associate Professor in Communication at Tallinn University, Estonia and Research Fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford. Her research focuses on digital network activism, participatory movements, computational thinking, and democratization in transitional societies. She has contributed to a number of journals including *European Journal of Communication*, *Journalism*, *Qualitative Inquiry*, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, *The Communication Review*, and *Television and New Media*. Her books include: *Communicating the Nation* (ed. 2010), *Media Geographies* (2009) and *Manufacturing Europe: Spaces of Democracy, Diversity and Communication* (ed. 2009).

Mads P. Sørensen

Facebook as a platform for democratic conversation – advantages and disadvantages

Based on a comprehensive empirical study of the conversation between Danish MP's and their followers on Facebook this paper will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of online democratic conversations on Facebook. Key to the idea of a democratic public sphere has always been the ongoing conversations between citizens as well as between citizens and politicians (Dewey, Koch, Mansbridge, Habermas etc.). The conversations between politicians and citizens have in the Danish political system traditionally taken place at political party meetings and at broader, public meetings and hearings. However, the upcoming of new social media like Facebook provides new, interesting platforms for this conversation. And many opinion makers and scholars have high expectations for the democratic potential of these platforms. The paper examines what happens when traditional democratic conversations between citizens and politicians are moved away from the old face-to-face meetings and into Facebook.

The paper fits into the second of the four challenges/fields sketched in the 'call for papers'.

Mads P. Sørensen, PhD, is a senior researcher at the Danish Centre for Studies in Research and Research Policy at Aarhus University, Denmark. From 2012-2016 he is also part of the AU IDEAS Pilot Center for Research on the Democratic Public Sphere. His research interests include the democratic public sphere, the risk society and second modernity as well as research policy and new social media. His latest publications include a book on Ulrich Beck's theory of second modernity at Routledge and papers in *Science and Public Policy*, *Higher Education*, *The European Journal of Higher Education*, *Public Understanding of Science and Media*, *Culture & Society*.

SESSION 3

Ejvind Hansen

Aporias of Courage and the Freedom of Expression

In traditional accounts the human right of freedom of expression is articulated as a negative freedom: The freedom from external restrictions. In this paper we will, however, argue that in the communicative landscape of today, the negative freedom of expression is not actually threatened. Rather it becomes increasingly pressing to supplement the negative freedom of expression with positive accounts. If we want to evaluate the state of our public spheres, we need to evaluate what the negative freedom is used for (i.e. the positive freedom of expression).

With the example of courage, we discuss how positive ideals may serve to improve our public spheres. It is argued, that it is indeed possible to articulate positive ideals for a freedom of expression. It is, certainly, important that the ideals do not become new instruments of censorship. If they are used to articulate clearly defined requests that must be fulfilled in order for certain expressions to reach the public spheres, we are on a path that does not evoke pleasant historical memories. This is avoided through a Derridean turn in which the ideals are thought of as pointers that mainly bring out the aporetic foundations of our public exchanges. The suggested approach will not (and should not) be thought as anything but a contra-factual ideal that can be used to assess actual public spheres.

Ejvind Hansen is a research director at the Danish School of Media and Journalism where he focuses on the cultural implications of digital communication. In recent years this has led to analyses of the structures of the new public spheres, and reflections upon how these changes affect our democratic societies. His work is generally situated in the field of critical, hermeneutic and post-structuralist theory. Recent publications count "The Positive Freedom of the Public Sphere" (in print), *Ytringsfriheden til forhandling* (2013); "Aporias of digital journalism (2013); "Freedom of expression in distributed networks" (2011).

Niels Nørgaard Kristensen

The Meanings and Dimensions of Citizens' Political Identity. Approaching an Understanding of the Concept of Political Identity

The paper seeks to explore approaches to political identity in order to discuss and suggest an understanding of the term. There are several reasons for such a focus related to the salience of political identities in political affairs, as well as how identities function in people's lives. We live in an age where the range and number of possible identities which are offered to individuals increase, and this is also the case for political identities. Considering this an important question therefore is why and how identities are adopted? According to Ryan & Deci identities are first and foremost adopted to serve basic needs such as autonomy and the managing of relations in the social and political environment (Ryan & Deci, 2003). Most identities are adopted voluntarily, acquiring roles, beliefs, attitudes and the maintaining and securing of their connectedness to the social and political world. Contemporary approaches generally see political identities as constructed, contested, open to change, often ambivalent. In the literature the term "political identity" is often given different meanings and different aspects of it are emphasized. The aim of this article is therefore to explore a selection of different meanings of political identity in order to suggest theoretical dimensions of the term and discuss implications for citizenship education.

Niels Nørgaard Kristensen is an assistant professor of political sociology. He is the author and co-author of several books, including "Billeder af Magten" (2003), "Kunder i Politikken" (2011) and "Genveje til et Kryds" (2013), and articles with Trond Solhaug, including "Uncovering the Political in Non-political Young Muslim Immigrant Identities", *Utbildning och Demokrati*. 20, 2, s. 93-112, and "Political Rationality: Young Danish and Norwegian Immigrant Citizens and their Political Reasoning", *Politics, Culture & Socialization*. 2, 3. E-mail: nnk@dps.aau.dk

Simon Lauman Jørgensen

Performance management and democratic autonomy

Performance management in public institutions is believed to solve the democratic black box problem according to which frontline personnel could act in ignorance of parliamentary decided economic prioritizations. Nevertheless, performance management involves new challenges to democracy that have been largely ignored. If we take democracy to depend on the autonomy of citizens (understood as the ability to reconsider normative commitments) and if we take the capability of autonomy to depend on actual deliberative practices, then the spread of performance management in particular to the school sector may weaken democracy by lessening the degree to which:

- a large sector of society is allowed to deliberate in their work practices;
- those citizens that are believed to support the development of the capabilities of autonomy in future citizens are allowed to sustain this capability;
- teachers are allowed to aim at fostering critical thinking in class.

Though theories of deliberative democracy have tended to neglect the childhood seedbeds of autonomy as well as practices of deliberation among professionalized frontline personnel, they could support strengthening frontline autonomy, and strengthening deliberative practices between management and frontline that could also help countering the so-called black box problem.

Simon Laumann Jørgensen is associate professor in political theory at the Department of Political Science, Aalborg University. He did his Ph.D. in philosophy at Aarhus University on theories of recognition. Since moving to political theory he has written on the preconditions for democratic reproduction through discussions of the theories of Mark E. Warren, Jürgen Habermas, David Miller, Axel Honneth, Elizabeth Anderson and Martha Nussbaum. He has focused on political arenas where the democratic reproduction mechanisms are threatened (such as the Danish naturalization program, social work, kindergartens, the teaching of history in schools, school segregation and performance management in schools).

SESSION 4

Rikke Alberg Peters

The European extreme right and the discursive construction of a new national democratic identity on the Internet

This paper examines the discourse and web communication of the extreme right cooperation *Alliance for Peace and Freedom* (APF). Established in 2014 as a formalized pan-European alliance between members from European far-right parties such as the German NPD, Golden Dawn in Greece and The Danes' Party among others, the corporation is a timely manifestation of the transformation and modernization processes of the European extreme right. In the research literature this transformation has been described as a shift away from a marginalized position towards a 'national democratic' position, by which the parties seek to gain political and parliamentary influence on a regional, national as well as European level.

My study finds that APF's ultranationalist rejection of the "homogenizing tendencies of globalism and the 'shrinking world' of technology" is paradoxically coupled with a strong ambition to cooperate transnationally. In spite of its traditionalist rejection of globalism and technology APF uses all the interactive and participatory potentials of new and especially social media technology and cooperate with other organizations on globalized conditions.

The question is how to characterize the new interactive communication and the radicalized transnationalism of the European extreme right. As the empirical material shows, the APF website maintains a hegemony of ideas, of how the (trans-)national democratic position should be understood. I will argue that the nationalist discourse remains uncontested on the forums in spite of the attempts to create a new participatory image.

Rikke Alberg Peters is a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Aesthetics and Communication at Aarhus University, Denmark. From 2012-2016 she is part of the AU IDEAS Pilot Center for Research on the Democratic Public Sphere. As a graduate in History of Ideas and German studies, her research includes social movements and new media, right wing extremism, online radicalization and the history of fascism. She has been a research fellow at

the Department of Media and Communications of the London School of Economics and Political Science from September to December 2014.

Camilla Møhring Reestorff & Carsten Stage

New Media Crowds and the Participatory Politics of Trolling in Innocence of Muslims and Happy British Muslims

This paper studies how users on do it yourself media platforms like YouTube come together as crowds in relation to two videos, namely *Pharrell – Happy British Muslims! #HAPPYDAY* and *Innocence of Muslims*. The paper explores three research questions, which focus on methodological, analytical and theoretical dimensions of the cases. First, the paper focus on neogeography and asks how the participatory archive and user-generated online knowledge can provide access to valid empirical material for the study of new media crowds. Secondly, we ask to what extent late 19th century crowd theory can grasp urban and new media crowds and we argue that a neogeographical approach can help us understand the paradoxical nature of crowds; crowd are often highly heterogenic rays of imitation. Thirdly, we explore the relation between the emergence of new media crowds and the participatory politics of trolling and we ask how certain videos are able to anticipate crowd behaviour through emotional suggestive spectacles.

Camilla Møhring Reestorff is an assistant professor at the Department of Aesthetics and Communication, Aarhus University, Denmark, and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She is editor-in-chief of *Conjunctions: Transdisciplinary Journal of Cultural Participation*. Her previous publications include “Mediatized affective activism. The activist imaginary and the topless body in the Femen Movement” (2014) and “Unruly Artivism and the Participatory Documentary Ecology of *The Act of Killing*” (2015). Her research interests are cultural participation, cultural politics, activism, political art, and artivism, affect and mediatization.

Carsten Stage is an associate professor in the Department of Aesthetics and Communication, Aarhus University, Denmark. His previous publications include *Global Media, Biopolitics, and Affect* (2015), ‘Online a-liveness’ in *Mediating and Re-Mediating Death* (2014) and ‘The Online Crowd’ in *Distinktion* (2013). He is co-editor of *Conjunctions: Transdisciplinary Journal of Cultural Participation*. His research interests are participatory culture, affect, social media, and illness blogging. He is currently taking part in two projects dealing with new ways of motivating and evaluating affective engagement in sustainability issues through living experiments (*Greening the City* 2014–2017 and *Reclaiming Waste* 2015–2016).

Christina Neumayer & Luca Rossi

Riots, protest, and confetti: Blockupy Frankfurt on social media

In this paper, we argue that social media grants authorities such as the police greater control over the public discourse concerning protest events – through surveillance as well as active use of social media strategies and tactics. This argument is based on the case of the trans-European Blockupy alliance mobilized to block the opening of the European Central Bank offices in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. The data set is composed of tweets (n=229.911), collected on the basis of protest hashtags (#Blockupy, #18M, #Destroika, #NoTroika) as well as Facebook pages mobilizing for the events (12 pages). Based on a social network analysis and a qualitative investigation of a sub-sample from this data, we draw a socio-technical timeline of the events of March 18, 2015. Identification of social media practices and tactics along this timeline reveals two trends: a) an interaction of surveillance and improved social media tactics by authority such as the police; and b) a focus on violence and property damage, mass action, and performativity in protest events to produce publicity on social media. These findings suggest limits to the emancipative potential of social media in protest and a colonization of activists' social media use by corporate media logics.

Christina Neumayer is Assistant Professor in the Culture and Communication research group at the IT University of Copenhagen. Her research interests are digital media and radical politics, social media and activism, social movements, civic engagement, publics and counterpublics, and mediated political communication. Contact: chne@itu.dk, <http://www.itu.dk/people/chne>, IT University of Copenhagen, Rued Langgaardsvej 7, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark.

Luca Rossi is Assistant Professor at the IT University of Copenhagen. He is active in the field of digital methods for social sciences, seeking to connect traditional sociological approaches with computational approaches. He has researched online social network sites and online information propagation during crisis events and the extension of social network analysis techniques into social media analysis. He is working on approaches for detection and mapping of unstructured communities based on studies of multiplex networks. Contact: lucr@itu.dk, IT University of Copenhagen, Rued Langgaardsvej 7, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark.

SESSION 5

Hagen Schulz-Forberg

Contextual Legitimacy and the Public Sphere

In debates on the public sphere over the last decade, much of the focus has been laid on the question of whether or not Europe, or even more focused, the EU, would have such a public sphere; and if not how it could or should get one; and if yes, how democratic would it be. Complex and competent proposals regarding this question have been elaborated by individual scholars and in large research projects, yet little attention has been paid in regard to the concept of the public sphere as such and its role in questions of legitimate authority in a variety of political systems. Usually, a debate and adaption of Habermas' key texts served as a background to pondering the European level of a nationally established concept, which was tightly coupled to the concept of democracy. My paper focuses on the concept of the public sphere by first coupling it to modes of legitimacy-building rather than to an ideal template of democracy. It does so by introducing a model based on a two plus two matrix rather than on the established dichotomies of 'private vs. public', 'system vs. lifeworld', 'strong vs. soft', or 'powerful vs. weak'. Ultimately, I wish to show that while democracies cannot exist without public spheres, public spheres can well exist without democracies in a Western sense and thus within non-secular as well as non-democratic societies. One would need to abandon a transcendental understanding of the concept to reach such conclusions, however, and embrace a contextual approach instead.

Hagen Schulz-Forberg teaches at Aarhus University. His current research focuses on economic thought and its impact on policy-making both nationally and transnationally. He has published on European and global history and among his recent publications are: (with Niklas Olsen, eds.) *Re-Inventing Western Civilisation: Transnational Reconstructions of Liberalism in Europe in the Twentieth Century*, 2014; (ed.) *A Global Conceptual History of Asia, 1860-1940*, 2014; (ed.) *Zero Hours: Conceptual Insecurities and New Beginnings in the Interwar Period*, 2013; (with Bo Stråth) *The Political History of European Integration: The Hypocrisy of Democracy-through-market*, Basingstoke: Routledge, 2010), which was shortlisted for the European Book Prize 2011.

Jørn Loftager

Political Ideology and Deliberative Democracy

Are there different degrees of compatibility between deliberative democracy and different political ideologies? Based on a concept of ideology as a set of not necessarily distorted ideas about how society is put together and functions, this paper contends that the answer is affirmative. This account is elucidated by reference to the classic ideologies of liberalism, conservatism and socialism. The central arguments are, first, that all three ideologies contain elements that are conducive and some that are detrimental to deliberative democracy and, second, that the expansion in recent decades of neoliberalism at the expense of social liberalism represents a serious challenge to deliberative democracy.

Jørn Loftager (loftager@ps.au.dk) is associate professor of political science and former director of studies in the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark. His publications include *The Rationality of the Welfare State* (co-ed., 1996), *The Political Public Sphere and Democracy in Denmark* (2004), *Modern and Classical Political Theory* (co-ed., 2009), *Marx* (2011) and "Deliberative Democratic Governance", *Administrative Theory & Praxis* (with S.C. Andersen) (2014)

Fabrizio Tonello

XXI-Century Oligarchical Regimes: An Intellectual History

Today, any thinking about the state of democracy in the European Union and the United States must begin with a redefinition of the word itself: we clearly live in political regimes that are "post-democratic" (Crouch 2004) in the sense that they no longer place at their centre "the notion of popular control or electoral accountability" (Mair 2013). As Juan Carlos Monedero (2015) says, "It is enough to use the modest toolbox of political science to see a disconcerting suspicion appear in the niches of our thought: it is no more possible to spread the capitalist system universally and, at the same time, have it functioning as a welfare state, a democratic state based on the Rule of Law."

In order to understand the profound political changes of the last fifty years we need to look at how liberal democracies slowly withered in a process of de-constitutionalization that imperceptibly changed their nature into oligarchic regimes, helped by widespread apathy and ineffectual opposition. Nadia Urbinati (2006) wrote: "Although we call contemporary Western governments democratic, their institutions were designed to contain rather than to encourage democracy". In this vein, I shall try to show that new institutions have been created, or strengthened, in order to contain democracy and muzzle public opinion. In this process the national state has been deliberately weakened: a great deal of its powers has been transferred to international or transnational bodies where the oligarchs' interests can be defended more efficiently.

Fabrizio Tonello is a professor of Political Science in the School of Economy and Political Science, University of Padua and the editor of the newspaper of the university, "Il Bo."

A Fulbright scholar, he has taught at the university of Pittsburgh and has done research at Columbia university in New York. He has introduced and translated in Italian the Constitution of the United States.

He has written about media and democracy ("L'età dell'ignoranza", 2011, "La politica come azione simbolica", 2003) and about the history of the far right in the USA ("Da Saigon a Oklahoma City", 1996).

His main research interests are the history of politics in the USA, comparative politics and public opinion.

SESSION 6

Christina Fiig

A Blind Angle? News Sources, Gender and Ethnicity in Danish TV News

One systematic feature of TV news programs is that they are characterized by a bias. We know from international research that women are used less frequently as news sources than men and equally that certain categories of women and men are rarely used or 'cast' in very specific news 'roles' such as 'the person in the street'.

This biased news landscape raises a range of questions in terms of gender and ethnicity. The paper presents the findings of an empirical study of news sources of two Danish news programs. The empirical data describes the news sources in terms of gender and majority Dane / minority ethnicity in relation to different types of sources (journalists, politicians, bureaucrats, spokespersons from NGO etc.).

The paper will discuss some of the democratic consequences of biased TV news programs. In line with Jürgen Habermas, one can ask what consequences it has for a democratic public sphere that the national TV news landscape is biased in term of source diversity (gender and ethnicity).

With Peter Dahlgren's analysis of television as a space for civic identity and agency, the paper engages in a discussion of contributions and limitations of TV news framed by some of the dimensions of civic cultures (knowledge, values, trust, practices and identities).

Christina Fiig, Ph.D. is political scientist, gender scholar and Associate Professor at European Studies, Aarhus University researching gender, democracy, leadership, media and enfranchisement. From 2012-2016, she is part of the AU IDEAS Pilot Center titled "The Democratic Public Sphere" at Aarhus University, Denmark. See www.offentlighed.au.dk

Anders Horsbøl

Public conceptions of publicness in the wake of the Copenhagen attacks. Media elite, politician and citizen voices.

The deadly attacks on a public meeting and on a Jewish citizen in Copenhagen in February 2015 have given rise to a vast amount of public discussion and interpretation of the events; of its background, causes, significance and repercussions. As a part of these discussions, different conceptions of publicness and public space were articulated. Indeed, one may view the killings as a 'critical discourse moment' (Chilton 1987, Gamson & Modigliani 1989) in which a range of discourses were employed to help interpret, understand and deal with what happened. In several of these discourses, conceptions of publicness play a central part.

This paper sets out to investigate the conceptions of publicness that were articulated in Danish publics following the attacks. The paper will map out some of the key different, and partly contradictory, notions of publicness that the reactions to the killings brought to the fore. It will investigate the articulation of normative expectations and ideals of public spheres, the limitations and restriction acknowledged, and the main societal problems and (inter)national contexts that publicness were viewed as related to.

The main part of the analysis will cover national newspapers and center on the discursive resources among the media elite in an early response to the attacks, for example in editorials, or comments from writers, academics, debaters, and intellectuals. On the basis of that, the analysis will give examples of responses from leading politicians as well as from 'ordinary people' on social network sites in order to show how they navigate between different conceptions of publicness.

Anders Horsbøl is associate professor at the Department of Communication and Psychology, Aalborg University. He has published within political communication and public sphere theory, (multimodal) discourse analysis, citizen involvement, environmental communication and health communication.

Ahmed Topkev

Reporting Religion Democratically? Comparing the Newspaper Coverage in the UK and Turkey

Scholars and the media are still preoccupied with two issues related to understanding of religion and namely religious fundamentalism and violence. This is at odds with the findings of recent global surveys and demographic studies showing that over half of the polled people believe that religion plays a positive role in their countries and that 84% of the world population perceive themselves as religiously affiliated. The importance of religion for people of faith and the problems they face in their everyday life in a secular world, at the social level, remains under-examined. It is argued that if the main informative function of the media as one dimension of the democratic public sphere were employed properly, the mainstream journalistic media would procure more balanced coverage of religion and thus reflect religion's greater role in society. This study examines how the media report religion, atheism, Christianity and Islam from a comparative perspective in a democratic context in the UK and Turkey. It is founded on a pragmatic derivation from fundamental theoretical concepts such as democracy, standards in the media, the democratic public sphere. Through the cross-comparative approach based on quantitative content analysis, this paper will present the findings of a one-week sample (10-16 February 2014) of eleven national newspapers from each country.

Ahmed Topkev comes from Bulgaria. He is a third-year PhD student at Cardiff University's School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies (JOMEC). He is doing research on how the UK and Turkish national newspapers report religion in a democratic context. He holds an MA in Border & Cultural Studies from Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria. His research interests include liberal, pluralist and participatory democracy, (comparative) journalism studies, (religion in) the democratic public sphere, religion-society-media relationship, interfaith and intercultural dialogue. Ahmed is married and has two children.

SESSION 7

Thomas P. Boje

Citizenship and new forms of active participation

The economic and social crisis in Europe has placed the involvement of citizens at local as well as national level on the political agenda accentuated the importance of civic activities in defending the social rights of citizens and mediating between them and the political authorities. The main reason for this is the crisis of legitimacy of representative democracy in the post-industrial countries. Difficulties of realizing democratic processes involving citizens in strategic decision-making at community, as well as national, level and difficulties in the identifying welfare services, with special relevance for the vulnerable groups of citizens have exaggerated the crisis of the representative democracy. Today, large groups of the population are not at all represented in the democratic processes of governance. Here we are talking especially about the growing number of citizens who live in the margin of the welfare system – the social groups covered by the precariat. Active citizenship and civic involvement can in this context seen as part of the solution to these problems, but, as I shall show in the paper, that is only the case if the citizens are empowered and directly involved in the democratic decision-making processes in the society at different level of governance.

Participatory approaches to democracy emphasize the need for public commitment and involvement in public affairs. Civic participation may constitute one way of aggregating preferences that are perceived as alternative to political parties. It may have a role in advancing democracy by assuring that citizens' interests are put forward and taken into account. From the perspective of deliberative democracy, the role of civic organizations is to bring disaffected citizens back in touch with politics. Consequently, these organizations might become a crucial mediator between participatory democratic structures and policymakers.

The issues at stake to be dealt with in this chapter could be phrased as following:

- How to enhance participation of citizens, considering the declining trust in social and political institutions?
- The economic, social and cultural resources are distributed unequally in the society. How to ensure parity in participation?
- How does active participation affect citizens who are excluded from the different types of participation and associations?

Thomas P. Boje, professor in sociology at Department of Society and Globalisation, Roskilde University. Main research topics are citizenship, civil society and participation; volunteering and social capital; welfare and family, welfare, labour and flexibility. He has published extensively on citizenship, volunteering, work & family relations, and flexibility. Are for the time being writing on a book on 'Civil Society, Citizenship and Active Participation'.

Nina Blom Andersen & Pernille Almlund

Public engagement on a Danish municipality level – what does it take?

Based on fieldwork carried out in the Danish municipality of Næstved in 2013 combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies this presentation deals with the possibilities and multiple ways that citizens engage in their local community.

It will be showed that though attempts to create institutional constructions of small local sub councils are made in order to invite citizens to involve themselves in the political prioritizations, these councils have not been widely used for this purpose.

Instead public engagement seems to happen either as democratic outbreaks (Dahlgren 2006) where a large number of citizens gather and oppose against political decisions or through few citizens engagement in a cause (Delgado et. al 2011).

This questions the legitimacy of the democratic processes on a municipality level since possibilities for civic engagement and the ability to influence do not seem to be transparent for every citizen but just for some.

It will be argued that the distinction between those citizens who engage and those who don't is among other things a question about the configuration of resources knowledge of practices for engagement (Bourdieu 1990).

Nina Blom Andersen has for the past 11 years dealt with questions concerning communication processes between citizens, media and authorities in case of crisis and contingencies, but has within the last two years as well been involved in research concerning possibilities for democratic involvement and public engagement on a municipality level. What has gathered Nina's research activities in general is a general interest in the ways that citizens communicate and make sense in local communities
Nina is associate professor at the Institute of Communication, Business and Information Technologies at Roskilde University

Pernille Almlund, Ph.D., is associate professor in communication at Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies, Roskilde University and member of Centre for Power, Media and Communication. She was educated as Cand.Comm. with Geography at Roskilde University in 1997. In her research she focuses primarily on environmental communication, risk communication and climate communication but in recent years also on specific aspects of political communication.

Óscar García Augustin

Social movements and institutional innovation. The creation of stable and dialogic institutions in times of austerity

The financial crisis and the adoption of politics of austerity have not only affected the socioeconomic conditions of a vast number of the population (in an expanding process of precarization) but also contributed to exclusionary processes affecting institutions and the diversity of voices and debate in the public sphere. From a social movements perspective, this context is contested by the rejection of the role of existing institutions but not of institutions as such. The social arena becomes a field of institutional innovation where new ways of institutionalization are put in practice. These forms face a double challenge: how to enhance continuity and stability (Hardt & Negri) emerging from diverse counterspheres (Fraser; Asen & Brouwer) without becoming completely institutionalized and losing the potential created by any form of social rupture; how to challenge the representative institutions through participatory ways of organization, which require a certain degree of autonomy (Sánchez Cedillo; Benasayag), while dealing with the existing representative institutions. I use examples from the Spanish context like the

Platform of People Affected by Mortgage (whose public communication is oriented both to emphasize the conflict with the government as well as to achieve the support of the majority of the population) and the Network of Popular Solidarity (which has the intention of recomposing welfare through solidarity from below) to empirically illustrate these processes.

Óscar García Agustín is associate professor at the department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University. Recently he has edited together with Martin Bak Jørgensen *Politics of Dissent* (Peter Lang, 2015) and is author of the book *Sociology of Discourse. From Institutions to Social Change* (John Benjamins, forthcoming).

SESSION 8

Henrik Bødker

VICE Media Inc. — Youthful Engagement with Global Conflicts

The powerful and interesting mixture of VICE Media Inc. — youth, (cool) lifestyles and journalism within a diversified global media conglomerate — has, naturally, attracted a considerable amount of both hopeful and critical journalistic commentary. VICE Media Inc. has, however, attracted very little scholarly attention. This paper seeks to address this imbalance by discussing the ways in which VICE NEWS' coverage of global conflicts engage what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2009), in a different context, call a “transnational generation on a global scale”.

The empirical base of this paper is a close and contextual reading of 50 news items related to the events in Ferguson (from August 12 to September 28, 2014) and the lively discussions among users that this coverage produced in the ensuing comments. Some of the significant aspects of this intense process of reader engagement were its specific youth and life-style specific modes of engagement within a global setting. Arguing that VICE Media Inc. should be seen as a successful hybrid of established modes of journalistic engagement and generational traits emerging out of — among other things — social media this papers seeks to analyse how this specific mix produces a form of deliberation that crosses established political and cultural boundaries.

Henrik Bødker is Associate Professor at the Department of Media and Journalism Studies at Aarhus University (Denmark). He has published on various intersections between (popular) culture and media, e.g. music and magazines. He is currently focusing on transforming aspects of online journalism and has just finished a chapter on how news websites constitute temporality for *The Routledge Handbook of Digital Journalism Studies*. The abstract for the conference grows out of an article on VICE Media Inc. for a forthcoming special issue of *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* (SAGE) on hybridity and the news.

Silas Harrebye

The long shadow of citizenship facilitation

Politicians, product developers, management consultants, and professional community facilitators are all calling for more and more innovative ways of including the consumer, the employee, and the active citizen. In this paper I spend a little time arguing why democratic involvement is good but most of the time showing how and why it too often merely becomes a matter of creating a sense of ownership, legitimizing decisions already taken, and redirect, stalling, survey or controlling critics. The effect of a lot of community involvement is unfortunately and paradoxically the contra-productive and unintended corrosion of democracy itself.

I will use the new Danish political party Alternativet, who's transition council I was appointed, as a basis of a critical analysis of best and worst practices. Zooming out on the inspirational variety of initiative taken around the world to facilitate dialogue across traditionally divided actors and come up with inventive solutions to everyday problems, I end up reflecting on how facilitation consultants (basing their practice on principles of deliberative democracy, harnessed by the world of management consultants) in cooperation with creative activists (staging campaigns and challenging people to reflect differently on how we might make a difference) can change the field of public political decision making if they learn to cooperate. Openness, transparency and consequence from intention, selection, format, process, follow up, and evaluation are central points of focus.

The paper could be relevant for the themes of Artistic interventions and Deliberative citizenship forums.

Silas Harrebye has written a PhD on creative activism and has a book coming out on Palgrave Macmillan on 'The mirror effect', dealing with social change in the 21st century. He has published a number of articles on new forms of democratic participation and engages in public debates on the matter. As an assistant professor at Institute for Society and Globalisation at Roskilde University teaching and supervising on related themes is a big part of his work. Besides his research he is also a member of the board in Action Aid Denmark and engaged in various activist projects.

Birgit Eriksson

Connecting/dividing the public sphere(s) – in and through contemporary art

Since the 1990'es the art world has witnessed a reconfiguration of an idea that has been essential to our understanding of art since the late 18th century: that art enables inter-subjective communication and community and thereby has a democratic and civilizing potential (Kant 1790, Michaud 1998). Under headlines such as “relational” or “social” aesthetics, “dialogical” or “participatory” art (Bourriaud 1998, Kester 2011, Bishop 2012), many artists have replaced traditional object-based art works with proces-based (experience with) with artistic collaboration, communication and participation. While some have tried to create small communicative utopias, others have experimented with the dilemmas, borders and conflicts of the public sphere. Based on the thesis that especially the latter type of art can qualify our understanding of the public sphere – and especially our own role in it – the paper will investigate art works by Santiago Sierra, Superflex, Lukas Matthaei and/or others (yet to be decided), asking if/how they can generate new publics, enhance civic engagement and reflection, and cope with current dilemmas in the public sphere.

Birgit Eriksson is PhD and associate professor in Aesthetics and Culture at Aarhus University. Her research focuses on transformations in contemporary culture, including identity, socialization and *Bildung* in the modern novel; changing patterns of cultural taste and consumption; new forms of citizenship; and participatory culture between aesthetics and politics. She is the author of numerous articles in Danish and English and has written, co-written or edited *Umberto Eco* (1995), *Patos?* (1998), *Smagskulturer og formidlingsformer* (2006), *Spændvidder: om kunst og kunstopolitik* (2010), *Æstetisering* (2012), and *Moderne Dannelse. Goethes Wilhelm Meister og dannelsesromanens aktualitet* (2013).

SESSION 9

Thomas Olesen

Injustice symbols and the global public sphere

This paper offers a new perspective on the debate on the global public sphere. It does so by arguing that the global public sphere cannot be reduced to certain actors, activities, and media flows, but that it has a significant symbolic infrastructure often overlooked in the extant literature. The global public sphere is thus constituted by, inter alia, a number of globally shared symbols: i.e. individuals, events, and places that are known and constitute (not necessarily the same) meanings for audiences around the globe. Well-known examples are Nelson Mandela, Malala Yousafzai, Guantanamo Bay, and the Holocaust. Many of these symbols are injustice symbols in the sense that they point to events and situations considered by collectives to involve unjust human suffering. In that sense, injustice symbols become important carriers and repositories of globally shared perceptions about moral and political values. At the same time, however, injustice symbols are often both contested and expressive of relations of power and dominance. The paper in particular seeks to explore this critical dimension. Drawing on the cases of Neda Agha Soltan and Malala Yousafzai it demonstrates that symbolic processes involve dynamics of meaning adaptation and resistance. These considerations lead to a discussion about the character, possibilities, and limitations of the contemporary global public sphere.

Thomas Olesen is associate professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark. His current research focuses on activism, solidarity, and symbols in global contexts. Recent publications include *Global Injustice Symbols and Social Movements*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (Cultural Sociology Series) and *Politisk protest: Dynamikker, forklaringer og konsekvenser* (with Lasse Lindekilde). København: Hans Reitzel.

Mikkel Thorup

Street Thinking

Under the headline: "What's gone wrong with democracy?", *The Economist* in March 2014 noticed "a troubling pattern [that] has repeated itself in capital after capital. The people mass in the main square". This paper will address another form of thinking about the square occupations and demonstrations in recent years, namely the radical left, including Slavoj Žižek, Jodi Dean, Alain Badiou, The Invisible Committee, Toni Negri and others. The paper will explore and discuss their philosophical, political and strategic reflections on how people massing in the main squares actualized a profound distrust in the classical institutions of representative democracy, the public sphere, party politics and individual subjectivity. The topic of the paper is how these mass movement activities have been interpreted and translated into a 'street thinking' rediscovering the street, the square, the mass and the physical encounter as democratic media in an era supposed to be all about the neoliberal individual surfing the web and engaging in virtual behavior and immaterial economics.

Mikkel Thorup is associate professor of the history of political thought at the Institute of Culture and Society, University of Aarhus, Denmark, and the author and editor of numerous books including *An Intellectual History of Terror* (2010), *Rousseau and Revolution* (2011), *Profiting from Words* (forthcoming 2015) and *The Total Enemy* (forthcoming 2015). Head of two research projects *Ecora: History of Economic Rationalities* as well as *CPC: Contested Property Claims*.

Stefan Malthaner & Lasse Lindekilde

Radicalization in the Private and Public Sphere: Analyzing Radicalization in a Relational Perspective

Studies of collective action and social movements have repeatedly shown the importance of deliberation in 'free spaces' in generating cultural challenges that precedes or accompanies political mobilization. Interaction in such

enclaves of likeminded people – face-to-face or online, public or private - can serve an important liberal-democratic function. However, such interaction may also under certain conditions lead to the formation of illiberal and undemocratic attitudes and preparedness for radical action. In this paper we ask when and how interaction in various arenas of the private and public sphere leads to radicalization. We analyze and identify pathways of radicalization, understood as different individual trajectories leading to the acceptance of political violence as an action option. We pay particular attention to the role of individual relationships and the transformation of relationships in producing radicalization. Thus, we investigate how the alteration of relationships with friends, family, political, religious or cultural groups and wider movements in the private and public sphere correspond to changes in attitudes and action preparedness. First the paper presents an innovative, relational analytical approach to the study of radicalization. Secondly, this approach is tested and discussed against cases of lone actor extremists, who has planned or committed acts of political violence.

Stefan Malthaner is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Sciences at Aarhus University. Previously, he was Marie Curie Fellow and Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and researcher at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence in Bielefeld, Germany. He has done extensive research on militant Islamist movements and Jihadist terrorism in Germany, Great Britain, Egypt and Lebanon, with a particular focus on processes of radicalization and radical milieus as well as the relationship between militant movements and their social environment. He holds a PhD in Sociology from Augsburg University.

Lasse Lindeskilde is associate professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University. Lasse received his PhD.-degree from the European University Institute, Florence (2008), for a dissertation on the mobilization and claims-making of Danish Muslims in reaction to the publication of the Muhammad cartoons. His recent research has focused on violent radicalization and the design, implementation and effects of counter-radicalization policies. He has conducted field-based research on mechanisms of radicalization and the impact of counter-radicalization policies. As a visiting fellow at the University of California Santa Barbara he is currently conducting experimental research on the effects of small group deliberation on the radicalization of attitudes and action preparedness.
Abstract THE DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPHERE, AARHUS UNIVERSITY
<http://conferences.au.dk/thedemocraticpublicsphere2015/>

SESSION 10

Lara Monticelli & Torsten Geelan

Yogyakarta Art Collectives in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Movements in Times of Democratic Transition

Ketjilbergerak - loosely translated as 'small movement' - was formed in 2006 by students at the University of Yogyakarta as a discussion-based group focused on socio-political issues. To connect with a wider audience, the group chose art as the main channel to stimulate dialogue between citizens – especially young people – and institutions about the social consequences of rapid urbanisation. Over the past nine years the group has grown and become part of a fluid and non-hierarchical movement of art collectives, organized through the effective use of social media. Our study centres on the movement's most significant artistic intervention in the public sphere to date - named 'Yogya not for Sale' – which began in 2012 (and remains ongoing). The campaign targets the Mayor's policy of privatizing urban spaces, which has led to the expropriation of land and the pollution of water. Focusing on Ketjilbergerak, we use open-ended interviews with activists, documentary analysis at the Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA), and participant observation, to reveal how art happenings (flash mobs, live performances, and street art) are being used to communicate political ideas together with a network of art collectives and urban villages (kampung).

In short, the study demonstrates how Yogyakarta art collectives are fostering the formation of a public sphere through the reflexive deliberation of young citizens. The extent to which this can enhance local practices of deliberative democracy and affect institutional change remains to be seen.

Dr. Lara Monticelli is a research fellow in the Human and Social Science Institute, at Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy. Her research interests focus on European social policies (in particular employment and educational policies), young precarious workers and non-conventional forms of political participation. Email: lara.monticelli@sns.it

Torsten Geelan is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Cambridge. His research draws on industrial relations and the sociology of media and social movements to explore how trade unions use mass communication in their attempts to influence public opinion and public policy within the context of the Great Recession. Email: tkg22@cam.ac.uk

Jan Løhmann Stephensen

'Dingpolitik' and the expansion of the democratic public sphere?

In recent years, theories that challenge the anthropocentric view of democracy and political participation in broader terms have gained much attention. This has for instance been the case with Bruno Latour's so-called 'politics of things' (*Dingpolitik*); and in direct extension of this, Nortje Marres' notion of 'material participation' as well as Jane Bennett's theories on 'vibrant matter'. Picking up from the critiques of deliberative democracy, that the last decades have been raised against it for being a mostly western, white, male, bourgeois, and way too discourse-based construct, that on closer scrutiny is anything but democratic, this cluster of new theories, that often go under the name of 'new materialism', seems to radicalize this critique in order to include non-human agency into the realms of politics and democracy. This paper will discuss, if and how we might meaningfully align these theories — the anthropocentric, discourse-centered on the one hand, and on the other, the post-anthropocentric, materialist — so that we can harvest the best from both in the service of a meaningful expansion — conceptually and practically — of the democratic public sphere.

Jan Løhmann Stephensen: PhD, Postdoc at the AU IDEAS Pilot Centre The Democratic Public Sphere, Aarhus University. He is editor of *Conjunctions: Transdisciplinary Journal of Participatory Culture*. Most recent relevant publications include *Kapitalismens ånd & den kreative etik (The Spirit of Capitalism & the Creative Ethic)*, Aarhus: DARC, 2010; "Performative Economics, Knowledge and Creativity: Talking the Creative Economy into Being", in *Profiting from Words: the Intellectual History of Economic Normativity*, edited by Mikkel Thorup, Palgrave (*in press*); "V-v-Vertov R-r-Re-made—From Avant-Garde Documentary to Participatory Culture: the Digital Journey of Man With a Movie Camera". *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. Film & Media Studies* 9, 2015; and "(In)tangible Arguments about Play, Creativity, and the Political Economy of 3D Printing: The Free Universal Construction Kit" in *tripleC* 13(1), 2015.

Henrik Kaare Nielsen

Perspectives of artistic interventions in the political public sphere

The paper focuses on artistic interventions in the political public sphere. It develops a conceptual framework integrating aesthetic theory, political theory, and theory on the public sphere. It is a basic thesis that political agency always has a more or less pronounced aesthetic dimension and that this dimension may have crucial implications for the effects of political actions in terms of attracting public attention, creating engagement, nourishing participation, shaping sympathy or antipathy etc. The paper suggests a distinction between a multiplicity of forms of aesthetic intervention with qualitatively different perspectives for the democratic public debate and meaning formation. Thereafter, it concentrates on a specific form of aesthetic intervention, the *artistic* intervention in the political public sphere, describing this form on a conceptual level and presenting empirical examples.

Henrik Kaare Nielsen is dr.phil. and professor of Aesthetics and Culture at Aarhus University. He is further the leader of AU IDEAS Pilotcentre on the democratic public sphere that organizes this conference. Numerous publications in the field of cultural theory and contemporary culture. Latest publication in English: "Aesthetic Judgement and Political Judgement" in *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics* nr. 43, 2012. Latest books: *Æstetik og politisk offentlighed*, Aarhus: Klim 2014 and *Kulturel offentlighed og kvalitet*, in press.