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# Tracing Mediatization

## Swedish Newspapers, Journalism And Government Agencies

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# Acknowledgments

Someone once said that acknowledgments in a Bachelor's thesis are dull. Obviously, he or she never wrote a thesis...

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# Abstract

**Title:** Tracing Mediatization – Swedish Newspapers, Journalism and Government Agencies

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**Purpose and assertion:** To trace mediatization with the assertion that *as displayed in news content, Swedish national newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased over time.*

**Method:** Quantitative Content Analysis (QCA)

**Material:** 56 issues of *Expressen* and *Dagens Nyheter*

**Main Results:** Mediatization of Politics exists and is demonstrated by journalists in newspaper articles on policy areas. Journalists become independent from government agencies in their news production by taking command of articles' narratives and decreasing the presence of government agencies in news stories covering the agencies' policy remits. However, in terms of journalistic ideals of investigation, journalists become decreasingly independent since they decrease investigation of government agencies—even though agencies constitute an important part of the Swedish political institution.

**Key Words:** Mediatization, Mediatization of Politics, Government Agency, News Journalism

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction & Summary: Tracing Mediatization

At its core, *Mediatization* of society entails media becoming an independent institution to which society's organizations and institutions have to submit. The term mediatization indicates a process of change taking place over time, thus the theory suggests that the media's role in society has changed throughout history. Embarking upon a journey from the 1920's – when political parties, scientific communities, and religious groups made use of mainly the print press to communicate with their audiences across time and space – media became an independent institution by the 1980s. The brief description of *mediatization* is that society as a whole relates and reacts to media (Hjarvard 2008: 120).

This paper attempts to trace the process of mediatization in everyday news content. Essentially, the paper's purpose is to empirically test the theory of mediatization. Mediatization theory frames the driving assertion of this research paper, which argues that *as displayed in news content, Swedish national newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased over time*. In practice, I study news articles and thus examine news journalism. A quantitative content analysis of two major Swedish newspapers constitutes the material of the case study for this paper. I will elaborate on the paper's purpose, thesis and research method in chapter 4 and 5.

As I set out to test whether or not mediatization theory holds true when empirically tested, I am obligated to define the theory in practical terms. How do I trace Mediatization? I position my research within the field of Mediatization theory in chapter 3. Mediatization focuses on media evolving into an independent institution at the expense of relating institutions. Basically, other institutions lose independence in their relationship to the media—but who are these “other” institutions? I specifically investigate the Mediatization of *politics*, and further define the political institution in a Swedish context under chapter 2.

Even though the term “media” is self-explanatory to some, it needs further definition in this context. A medium can be any device that conveys a message on the behalf of someone; however, in the sense of Mediatization, the term encompasses mass media. So what is mass media? Due to the emergence of the internet, scholars renegotiate the definition of “mass media”; but since my research focuses on the historical development of media as an institution, my stipulative definition of mass media comprises print press (i.e. newspapers) and broadcast media. As inferred in an earlier paragraph, the paper's case study examines Swedish newspapers' news content and focuses on journalism, thus I will further define the Swedish newspaper market in chapter 2 and Swedish journalism's history in chapter 3.

In chapter 6 and 7 I present the results and what conclusions I draw from them. I may already now reveal that to some extent, Swedish newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased over time. Furthermore, I prove it possible to trace mediatization and I add a scientific example of an empirical approach to Mediatization theory.

## Chapter 2

# Background

Stig Hjarvard is a professor at the Department of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen. Hjarvard has written many scholarly pieces on Mediatization, and in one particular article he thoroughly maps out and summarizes the current academic understanding of the theory. Therefore, *Mediatization of Society* (Hjarvard 2008) will frequently appear as a reference in this section of the chapter. For even more, in-depth understanding of mediatization, I highly recommend Knut Lundby's (2009) book *Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences*.

### Mediatization Theory – An Overview

A significant share of the influence media exert arises out of the fact that they have become an integral part of other institutions' operations, while they also have achieved a degree of self-determination and authority that forces other institutions, to greater or lesser degrees, to submit to their logic. The media are at once part of the fabric of society and culture and an independent institution that stands between other cultural and social institutions and coordinates their mutual interaction (Hjarvard 2008: 106).

Hjarvard pinpoints the core of mediatization: changing dynamics in the relationship between the media and relating institutions. What allows this change in dynamics, what facilitates it and makes it possible? Mediatization theory explains how media became vital in shaping individuals' *conception of the world*; thus any organization today wishing to be part of that *conception* is forced to adapt to media. As described by aforementioned quote, media is part of society's fabric, meaning that the individuals within that society look to the media for cultural orientation and navigation. In that way, the media yields the power to *legitimize*; the power to shape what the public (i.e. society's individuals) should consider the norm. Hjarvard illustrates media's legitimizing ability through the production and circulation of popular science:

Consider, for example, the number of people whose knowledge of various phases in the history of evolution has been formed, not so much in the classroom as by Steven Spielberg's films on Jurassic Park or the BBC documentary series, Walking with Dinosaurs. [...] the media [...] are an arena for public discussion and the legitimation of science (Hjarvard 2008: 108)

Of course, the media is not the sole source from which individuals gather information when ruminating their understanding of the society they live in—interpersonal communication with friends, family and peers influences individuals' perception of the world too, and maybe to a greater extent than the media (Strömbäck 2008: 236). However, complex topics that individuals generally do not personally relate to, that falls outside their field of interest, or that individuals do not encounter in their everyday life—as in the case of science—that is where the media becomes influential. The mass media theory “Uses and Gratifications” details how individuals use media to satisfy given needs. One need is to “enhance knowledge”; hence Uses and Gratifications describes how

individuals let the media shape their understanding of topics they are not familiar with (Falkheimer 2001: 178, 180). Hjarvard’s aforementioned case illustrates this process: media easily frames and defines a topic (e.g. the science of evolution) that individuals generally lack in-depth knowledge of; individuals’ conception of evolution theory is framed and defined by the media. The same process of the media defining, framing and legitimizing are applicable on other topics and institutions as well, such as politics, family, religion and so on (Hjarvard 2008: 115).

Consciously or subconsciously, organizations that operate in societies where established media exists acknowledge this state of affairs, and know that media presence is key if they wish their organizations to become part of individuals’ conception of the world. Consequently, organizations’ decision making nowadays includes media reactions (Strömbäck 2008: 239). They budget for professional assistance in their pursuance of publicity, and hire “journalists, communications officers, and PR-consultants” to help adjust their communication efforts (Hjarvard 2008: 126). As I demonstrate in chapter 3, organizations may go further than just hiring professional assistance; some adjust the practices of their entire organization to fit the functioning of the media. Metaphorically, Mediatization means that the media as an institution grasps hold of society on all levels—its institutions, organizations and individuals.

Even though I let individual cases and instances of mediatization illustrate the workings of the process, one should note that the Mediatization has taken place over time and goes on still. Mediatization closely links to the institutional development of media, which has taken place on a large scale over the last hundred years.

**Table 1. The Institutional Development of Media**

Dominant period	Institutional character	Dominant logic	Media system	Purposes and objectives
- 1920	Media as instruments of other institutions	Steered by particular interests	Party press, scientific journals, religious and arts publications etc.	Persuasion and agitation on the part of specific interests in the specific institution
1920-1980	Media as a cultural institution	Public steering	Public service radio and television (monopoly), omnibus press	Representation of various institutions in a public arena
1980-	Media as an independent media institution	Media professionalism	Commercial and competitive media, satellite tv, Internet, mobile media	Servicing of audiences, sales to target groups in a differentiated media system

Picture 1 Hjarvard’s Institutional development of Media (Hjarvard 2008: 120)

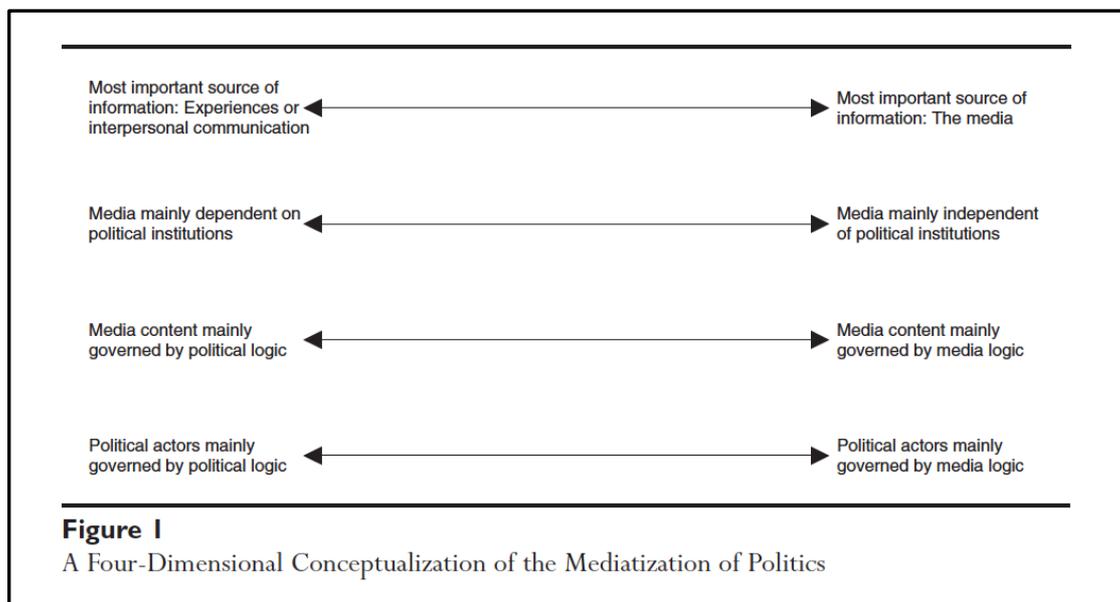
Picture 1 suggests what a general institutional development of Media looks like. The media started off as organizations’ internal communications tool or megaphone to the public, and was later restructured into a “public educator” sponsored and sanctioned by public institutions. By the 1980s, the media outgrew its former ties and developed logics of its own, serving their audiences first. All in all, “mediatization [is] an ongoing process

whereby the media change human relations and behavior and thus *change society and culture*” (Hjarvard 2008: 109 – original emphasis).

Mediatization does not occur by accident. Societal preconditions determine the likelihood and several prerequisites need to be fulfilled in order for the process to take place. It might seem banal, but for a society to become mediatized its individuals need not only mass mediums – they must possess the ability to access them. Technological advances and high degree of literacy are therefore crucial for mediatization to take place. However, literacy and mass mediums alone are not enough. A mediatized society must be professionalized, hence agrarian countries tend not to be mediatized; *journalism* must be an established profession (Hjarvard 2008: 118). Furthermore, high degree of literacy, mass mediums, and journalists must be accompanied by widespread consumption of media. If media is consumed by only parts of a society, and not a majority of it, mediatization is not likely to transpire. Thus mediatization is traced to “*modern, highly industrialized, and chiefly western countries, i.e. Europe, USA, Japan, Australia and so forth*” (Hjarvard 2008: 113).

## Mediatization of Politics

Several scholars acknowledge that Swedish media professor Kent Asp at University of Gothenburg coined the expression *mediatization* in 1986 (Strömbäck 2008; Hjarvard 2008). Kent Asp depicts the Swedish political climate at that time as “... a process where ‘a political system [which] to a high degree is influenced by and adjusted to the demands of the mass media in their coverage of politics’” (Asp through Hjarvard 2008: 106). Professor Jesper Strömbäck at Mid-Sweden University embraces Asp’s theory, and based off it adds aspects to the *Mediatization of politics*. Strömbäck conceptualizes the Mediatization of politics through four dimensions.



Picture 2 Strömbäck’s Four Dimensions of Mediatization of Politics (Strömbäck 2008: 235)

In regards to the previous general description of Mediatization, Strömbäck applies the theory to politics. His first dimension explores the influence media exerts over individuals’ perception of the world, determining whether or not media is an influential institution within a society. The second dimension conceptualizes the process of media organizations’ growing independence, over time loosening their ties to public institutions

and serving the interests of their audiences instead. The third dimension aims to capture how this (in-) dependence shows in media content, i.e. if the media is governed by media logics. Signs of media logics are narrative techniques such as “simplification, polarization, intensification, [and] personalization” (Strömbäck 2008: 233). The fourth dimension aims to understand what logics govern the political actors in their relationship to the media (Strömbäck 2008)

## The Swedish Political Institution

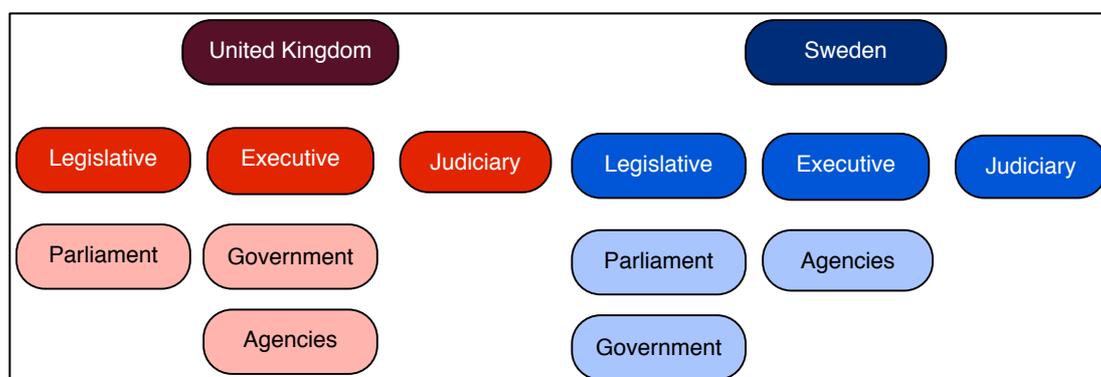
As I stated in the chapter 1, I study aspects of Mediatization of politics in the context of Swedish government agencies. To make sense of such study, one has to familiarize with functions, hierarchies and organization of the Swedish political institution. Exactly where in the political institution does government agencies fit in? And why is it interesting to examine this particular part of the political institution?

Montesquieu’s “separation of powers” clearly distinguishes between the executive, the judiciary and the legislative branch. The idea characterizes the United States’ constitution, the political conduct of the United Kingdom, and many other democratic countries. Sweden, however, differs both constitutionally and by political conduct.

The Swedish government’s powers are small in comparison to the equivalent of the United States and the United Kingdom. E.g. the “smallness” shows in the number of government staff that is laid off if the incumbent party lose a general election: out of the central government offices’ 4000 employees, only 200 are politically appointed (Swedish Government 2012a). Furthermore, the purpose of the Swedish government, as defined by the constitution, is to service and prepare legislation for parliament and implement legislation parliament passes (SFS 1974:152). Consequently, in a strict sense, the Swedish government’s responsibilities align closer to those of the legislative branch than to the executive branch, according to Montesquieu’s Separation of Powers. So who constitutes the executive branch in the Swedish political institution?

The answer is government agencies. The government carries out parliament’s policies through agencies, which are non-political, bureaucratic organizations. The government directs an agency by appointing its director general, set out the goals that govern the agency, and provide funding for its organization and operations. Although agencies sort under the government, the agencies operate independently from it; by the constitution, the government cannot intervene in agencies’ policy implementation (SFS 1974:152). The law is called “prohibition of ministerial rule”, and contrasts sharply to the political practices of, for example, the United Kingdom where every minister is individually responsible for his or hers departments and agencies. In fact, Swedish “civil servants in the agencies take some pride in the relative autonomy of their institutions and are well aware of their right to resist informal suggestions from the ministries” (Bathgate et al 2001: 280-281). The UK’s political conduct concerning political accountability characterizes most western democracies, and Sweden’s separation of powers is rare.

To conceptualize the core difference between most democratic states' political institutions and Sweden's, compare Sweden's political institution to that of the UK's, framed by Montesquieu's three branches.



Picture 3 - Comparison of the UK's and Sweden's political institutions

The Swedish political institution's organization infers that the executive branch ultimately lack political leadership in executing policy; if a policy is carried out or implemented incorrectly, agency officers and bureaucrats are responsible—the government is not.

In the context of Mediatization of politics, what does Sweden's separation of powers mean? In chapter 3, I explain what mediatization of politics implies when empirically studying news content. As the third dimension of Strömbäck's conceptualization of Mediatization of politics indicates, journalists' narrative techniques such as personalization and polarization are norms when reporting news stories on politics. In short: mediatization of politics brings about media's demand for political accountability. But when the Swedish executive branch is non-political, who receives the media's blame for failed policy implementations when media narrative seeks polarization? And who should receive it? As Strömbäck insightfully notes: "Some [political] institutional actors are supposed to be responsive to public opinion, and they are arguably more vulnerable to the mediatization of politics than institutions that are not supposed to be responsive to public opinion. The institutional setting is thus important, both within and across countries" (2008: 241). The problematic situation in mediatization of politics in the Swedish context will be further discussed throughout this paper.

### Types of Government Agencies

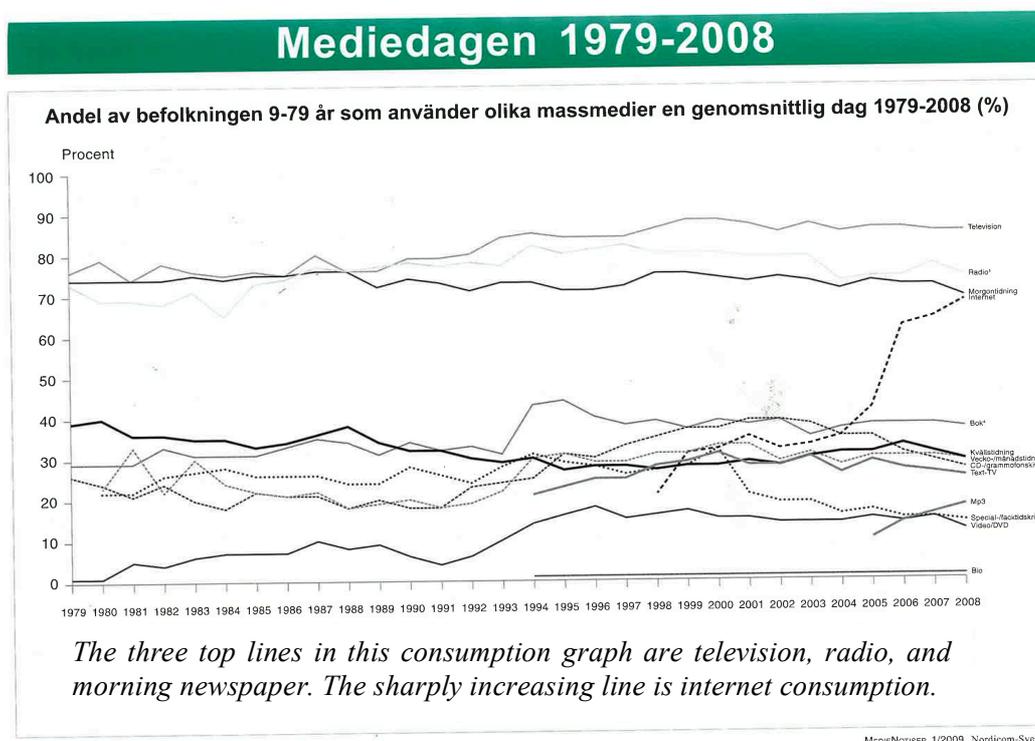
There are different kinds of government agencies, of which most are referred to as *administrative* agencies (e.g. Swedish Tax Agency). However, *business-orientated* agencies exist too and principally relate to government the same way. Business-orientated agencies provide services for which they may charge their customers. One example of such agency is *the Swedish Civil Aviation Administration*; they operate the Swedish airports, among other duties, and therefore charge the users of the airports. Business-orientated agencies are currently few in numbers (Swedish Government: 2012a and b) and have decreased over the years due to a structural reformation called *New Public Management*, where government agencies are transformed to state-owned enterprises. *New Public Management* is a global trend that dominated the late 1980s and 1990s. In a Swedish context, the shift translates to less transparency in the public sector, since freedom of information acts do not apply to corporations as they do to government agencies (Bathgate et al 2001).

## Swedish Press

### The Mediatized Sweden

As pointed out in previous sections of this chapter, the process of Mediatization is dependent on mass media presence and consumption. Mediatization is not an automatic effect of mass media presence in a society, thus high degree of mass media consumption is necessary for the process of Mediatization to take place.

In this regard, Sweden is a highly mediatized society and fits Strömbäck's first dimension of Mediatization of politics: media as an important source of information. Since 1979, The Nordic media and communications research center *Nordicom* surveys a random selection of the Swedish population between ages 9-79 regarding their media consumption. The center's annual report *Mediabarometern* provides statistics stating that between 1979-2008, approximately 75% of the Swedish population consumes television, radio and morning newspapers on a daily basis. The level of consumption has been rather constant over the years, although the proportion of the population consuming television on a daily basis noted a slight increase in the 1990s (Carlsson 2009: 13).



Picture 3 – “Mediadagen” [The Media Day] (Carlsson 2009: 13)

*Mediebarometern* also illustrates that the Swedish population overall spends more time consuming media today than before: from 321 minutes in 1979 to 359 minutes in 2008. The population spends almost six hours consuming different medias every day in 2008, of which listening to the radio, watching TV, and reading newspapers constitute almost four of those hours (Carlsson 2008: 22).

It is difficult to compare a small homogenous country like Sweden to a large heterogeneous one like, for example, the United States. But in order to make sense of Sweden's media consumption, it needs to be compared across nations. Sweden ranks as one of the most newspaper-reading countries in the world. According to *World Press Trends 2008*, Swedes buy 446 papers per 1000 inhabitants, placing the country fourth in

the world only behind Japan, Norway and Finland (Hadenius et al 2008: 132). In comparison, per 1000 inhabitants, Americans buy 241 papers, Brits 335, and French 156. Thus Sweden possesses the preconditions of a mediatized society, and serves as a worthwhile country to study in attempts to trace mediatization.

### **The Swedish Newspaper Market**

The Swedish newspaper market is strong and has a long-standing tradition in the Swedish society. The oldest Swedish newspaper dates back to as far as 1645; and is to this day globally the oldest paper still in circulation (WAN 2012). Over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Swedish newspaper industry became what it is today. There are two main categories of daily newspapers: *morning newspaper* [hereafter referred to as *newspaper* or *morning newspaper*] and *evening tabloids* [hereafter referred to as *tabloids*] (Hadenius et al 2008: 72). As the term implies, newspapers focus on news subjects such as politics, economics, culture and local, national and international news. The newspaper is released daily in early mornings. Tabloids, on the other hand, are available to readers on a daily basis by noon, and their news content tends to focus on sensation-driven journalism and entertainment: covering news, sports, and celebrities. Tabloid journalism personalizes news and cover “human interest” stories; the idea is that readers should be able to “identify” with the news content (Hadenius et al 2008: 75).

The differing business models behind newspapers and tabloids dictate their different focuses in news content. Mornings newspapers rely on subscriptions and ad revenues, whereas tabloids are funded mainly by per-issue purchases (Hadenius et al 2008: 147). Thus newspapers operate in a financially more secure environment, not competing with other papers on newsstands but being delivered directly to the consumer’s home. Tabloids need to attract the attention of customers on an everyday basis in order to secure their finances.

Newspapers and tabloids also differ in geographical focus. Both genres cover national and international news, yet newspapers are geographically bound to cities or regions (covering the geographical area of their subscribers) hence covering local and regional news too (Hadenius 2008: 80). In terms of circulation, the historically largest morning newspaper is Stockholm-based *Dagens Nyheter* (English: “the Daily News”) and the largest tabloid is *Expressen*—although the main competitor *Aftonbladet* currently dominates the tabloid market. Editorially, both *Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen* are labeled as bourgeois (moderate-liberal) (Hadenius et al 2008: 75 & 157).

## Chapter 3

# Theory & Literature Review

In chapter 2 I presented the general concept of Mediatization of society and politics, its history, and its development. In this chapter, I present what strand of mediatization theory I align to, introduce previous empirical approaches and findings of Mediatization, and finally position my research within the field of Mediatization theory.

### From Metatheory to Analytical Tool

My previous account of Mediatization of society has the characteristics of a metatheory: it describes the theory in general terms, and uses pieces of elusive evidence to support the claim that the media changed the functions of society. The theoretical framework needs further definition to become empirically significant. My current account of Mediatization is, as with other metatheories such as Marxism, not falsifiable and therefore loses in scientific value. The mere fact that political parties, private companies and other organizations hire PR-consultants to help with communications efforts are not evidence enough to prove mediatization, and high consumption of media alone does not necessarily make evident that media-consuming individuals' world views are shaped by the media. Thus the mediatization theory must transfigure, from metatheory to analytical tool. This is the position of several academic scholars too.

The concept of mediatization has heuristic value if it precisely defines the role of mass media in a transforming society and if it stimulates an adequate analysis of the transformation processes (Schulz 2004: 98).

Winfried Schultz is a professor of Mass Communication and Political Science at the University of Erlangen-Neurnberg, Germany. He identifies four processes of change that make up aspects of Mediatization: *extension* of human interaction, *substitution* of human interactivity, *amalgamation* of non-media institutions' activities, and non-media institution's *accommodation* to media logics (Schultz 2004). This approach suggests a broader analysis of Mediatization than Hjarvard's *institution-oriented* approach. Schulz explains that this approach spans over both "old media" and "new media", and thus facilitates analysis over time: "a single approach may be appropriate to analyse different stages of media development" (Schultz 2004: 99).

This broad approach needs narrowing down if to be empirically useful, as in creating a code scheme for quantitative content analysis or questionnaires for a survey. "Mediatization theory not only needs to be well-specified, comprehensive and coherent", Hjarvard (2008: 113) writes, "... but it must also prove its usefulness as an analytical tool and its empirical validity through concrete studies of mediatization in selected areas". Hjarvard isolates one crucial aspect in nailing down the appropriate take on Mediatization theory: to choose what aspect to focus on. Hjarvard himself previously conducted research on Mediatization of religion, language and toys (Hjarvard 2008). Others, such as André Jansson (2002), examine Mediatization of consumer cultures, for example.

To me, it is clear that my research focus on Mediatization of politics, and Strömbäck (2008: 229) writes “[Mediatization and Mediation as terms] are used more often than they are properly defined. Moreover, there is a lack of analysis of the process of Mediatization”. Strömbäck elaborates on Kent Asp’s theory and outlines his conceptualization of Mediatization of politics. The research trio Andreas Hepp, aforementioned Stig Hjarvard, and Knut Lundby (2010: 227) conclude their introductory article to a special issue on Mediatization with this accurate quote as to why the analytical approach to Mediatization is important:

Mediatization implies the increased importance and in some cases even dominance of media in late modern societies, but the ways this importance and dominance are spelled out in the muddy realities of different social fields are up to empirical analysis to investigate.

### Empirically Trace Mediatization of Politics?

So how does one empirically trace Mediatization of politics? Several scholars have made successful efforts, and I will exemplify with three cases relating to Strömbäck’s conceptualization of Mediatization of politics.

The first account is produced by Daniela V. Dimitrova of Iowa State University, USA, and Strömbäck (2011). In their article, *Mediatization and Media Interventionism: a Comparative Analysis of Sweden and the United States*, Dimitrova and Strömbäck trace Mediatization of politics in American and Swedish broadcast news content with a quantitative content analysis. Based on Strömbäck’s third dimension of mediatization of politics, *media content mainly governed by political logic or media logic?*, the researchers develop hypothesis founded upon *ideal findings* of political logics and media logics. “If politicians were allowed to decide, they would mainly talk about and focus on the issues [...] but from a journalistic standpoint focusing on the strategies, the tactics, and the horse race offers more compelling narratives” (Dimitrova & Strömbäck 2011: 36). The hypotheses they test regard length of politicians’ sound bites, journalists’ involvement in news reports, and framing of politics as a strategic game. Dimitrova and Strömbäck consider both societies mediatized, but assess that United States media will provide stronger signs of mediatization than Swedish commercial media, which in turn will be more mediatized than Swedish public service media. Their hypotheses hold true (Dimitrova & Strömbäck 2011). All in all, Dimitrova and Strömbäck approach mediatization of politics through media content, analyzing Strömbäck’s third dimension. Similar to Dimitrova and Strömbäck, Hopman and Zeh (2012) research mediatization of politics comparing news coverage of election campaigns in Denmark and Germany.

The second account is produced by Shaun Rawolle, Senior Lecturer at Deakin University, and Bob Lingard, professor at University of Queensland (2011), both Australia. Lingard and Rawolle examine the influence the media exerts on Australian policy production, using the case of an educational policy development process called *Batterham’s Review*. In May 1999, the Australian government appointed a group assigned to produce policy recommendations on education. The group put forward their policy recommendations in January 2001. From the time of the group’s inception to the time when the policy recommendations were delivered, Australian media debated the group’s progress. The logics behind the empirical study Lingard and Rawolle carry out is:

... if the field of print journalism influenced the policy field, the fate of policy themes in public discussion would impact on the development of policy texts, about which both journalists and policy makers held an interest. Conversely, if the policy field influenced the field of print journalism, articles written by journalists would respond to policy themes. In other words, the flow of policy themes and emerging themes in sequences of articles would provide the basis for discussing the mediatization of policy (Lingard et al 2010: 278).

In regards to Strömbäck's Mediatization of politics, Lingard and Rawolle study parts of all dimensions: whether media is an important source of information (influencing policy production) and if political actors are dependent or independent of media and their logics. They trace mediatization of politics through analyzing powers struggles and receptions between politics and media.

The third account is produced by Risto Kunelius, Elina Noppari, and Esa Reunanen (2010), all University of Tampere in Finland. Kunelius et al surveyed over 400 and qualitatively interviewed 60 Finnish elite politicians on their relationship to the media. Questions focus on politicians' views on the Finnish political culture and how they would characterize their media network. The politicians positioned themselves on claims such as "the working time I spend on co-operation with journalists has increased in recent years" and "I have confidential discussions with editors-in-chief about how their publications should deal with some topical issue or project" (Kunelius et al 2010: 297). The authors conclude: "some of the findings in this study clearly support the general thesis that 'the media' has become one key element of decision-making" and that "*powerful elites recognize a change in the way the media and journalism operate and influence their decision-making routines*" (Kunelius et al 2010: 304). Relating to Strömbäck's dimensions, Kunelius utilize survey and interview methods to assess mainly the fourth dimension of mediatization of politics: *are political actors governed by political logics or media logics*.

In chapter 1, I state that I conduct a quantitative content analysis of Swedish newspapers' news content, searching for clues suggesting the papers are becoming more independent of government agencies. In the driving assertion, I determine method and define which of Strömbäck's dimensions I most closely align to (even though I will graze several of his dimensions): the second dimension "*Whether or not media is independent of political institutions*" (in this case government agencies).

Luckily, I can draw inspiration from Swedish professors Mats Ekström, Bengt Johansson and Lars-Åke Larsson (2006). They scrutinize Swedish local newspapers' dependence on local political institutions with a quantitative content analysis of news content. They analyze changes in the local newspapers' relationship to local political institutions over time. Their theoretical framework is not defined as Mediatization: nevertheless do they study the medias' liberation from political institutions, basically the second of Strömbäck's four dimensions.

Ekström's et al and my studies take similar empirical approaches when studying newspapers; we both examine source composition and journalistic narratives. However, the difference between Ekström et al and my research is that former's research centers on *local* media's relationship to *local* political institutions; whereas I focus on *national* media's relationship to "non-political" government agencies.

## Mediatization in Swedish Print Journalism?

To trace mediatization over time I need a notion of what signs of mediatization I might find. Basically, I must link theory to reality; so what may I find when gathering data from different periods of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

Hjarvard's picture *Institutional Development of Media* (2008: 120) serves as a useful pointer. Hjarvard states that between 1920-1980 media's purpose and objective were to serve the interests of public institutions, educating the public. This changes in the 1980s when journalism professionalized and the media came to primarily serve its audience. Although useful, this description is too rough to empirically draw any conclusion as to what traces of mediatization one might find in the actual news content.

Strömbäck (2008) claims to identify four phases of the mediatization of politics, but does not label the phases with specific years or eras. The first phase establishes mass media; the second phase comes with independent media governed by their own logic; the third phase's political institutions recognize the media as important and adapt to its logics; and finally, in the fourth phase, political institutions internalize media logics in their organizations' conduct. Also this definition is too general to prove empirically useful.

Swedish Professors Monika Djerf-Pierre and Lennart Wiebull, both University of Gothenburg, have written the book *Mirror, Investigate, Interpret: News Journalism in Swedish radio and TV during the 20<sup>th</sup> century* (2001). Djerf-Pierre and Weibull identify four periods of news journalism in Swedish broadcast media's history, which I link to Strömbäck's and Hjarvad's identified phases in picture 5.

Picture 5 – Linking Theories	Year			
	1925-1945	1945-1965	1965-1985	1985-
	<i>Public enlightenment</i>	<i>Mirroring in service of the public</i>	<i>Investigation in service of the citizens</i>	<i>Interpretation in service of his customers</i>
Djerf-Pierre and Weibull's Swedish journalistic ideals with descriptions (2001: 359-361)	Journalists did not intervene in public debate, but enlightened the public by selecting "important" news.	All sides of news stories, opinions, and issues should be presented. Journalistic ideal was to mirror reality in the democratic context. Power to define issues was given to sources.	Journalists wanted to impact the political and corporate establishments. Media became a platform for political debate and investigation. Polarization increased.	Globalization, competition, and increased complexity in society created a demand for interpretive journalism. Due to increased competition, media served their audiences first.
Strömbäck's phases of mediatization of politics	Establishment of mass media		Media governed by their own logic	Political institutions adapt and internalize media logics
Hjarvard's institutional development of media	Media as a <i>cultural</i> institution, governed by public steering		Media as <i>independent</i> and <i>professional</i> institution	

Of course, one should note that Djerf-Pierre and Weibull's book concern Swedish *broadcast media*, whereas I study *newspapers*. Newspapers differ: editorially, they have a political affiliation, which Swedish broadcast media lack; and in general, newspapers are privately funded whereas Swedish broadcast media historically has been publicly funded. However, the *journalistic ideals* characterized news journalism *in general*, and not broadcast media *in particular*. Regardless the medium, journalistic ideals prevail.

## The Internet...?

Although previously stating that I will not consider the internet as a mass medium in this paper, it would be unreasonable not to discuss its impact on mediatization. In their book *No time to think*, Charles S. Feldman and Howard Rosenberg (2008) elaborate on the concept of the 24-hour news cycle and how it relates to the emerging internet. They describe in their first chapter "why speed is bad" in news production. The authors jokingly suggest that the former US senator Al Gore supported the development of the 24-hour news cycle due to legislation he passed regarding the internet: "You can blame Al Gore—sort of. He didn't invent the internet, but he was an enabler" (Feldman and Rosenberg 2008: 11). Television, and later internet, pushed for speed to become a dominant factor in the news selection processes, and prevailed other criteria of newsworthiness.

Schultz (2004: 94) notes "that new media increasingly demassify and individualize communication. This is a capacity particularly attributed to the Internet". Schultz's quote focuses on the internet as a platform for media consumption in general, regardless of media producers and suppliers. Strömbäck (2008: 243) writes "The crucial question in the context of the mediatization of politics is rather whether the Internet makes the media more or less (in-) dependent of political institutions, media content more or less governed by political versus media logic, and political actors more or less governed by political versus media logic". He continues stating that in terms of political news, established media companies are still the main supplier, even on platforms as the internet.

## Chapter 4

# The Study's Core Problem and Purpose

Mediatization of politics suggests that political institutions submit to the media and to some extent adjust their operations to fit media logics. This transformation poses apparent risks. Firstly, long-term decision-making should characterize political logic, yet the 24-hour news cycle premieres short-term decision-making and quick results. The second risk with media logics is personalization of news and hunt for political accountability. Is blame for policy failure placed on the right person or organization? Is a fast-paced and highly mediatized society capable of navigating complex realities?

At the core remains the question: does the workings of Mediatization even exist in our society? Drawing from the results of the previous studies of Mediatization of politics I presented in chapter 3, I suggest there is evidence that media's relating institutions have adapted to media logic. Kunelius et al explain that politicians recognize that media influence their decision-making routines. Dimitrova and Strömbäck conclude that broadcast news in the US is highly mediatized due to "media's intervention", leaving politicians powerless in shaping the narrative of political news.

I will answer the question "does the workings of mediatization exist?" by measuring to what extent the media is dependent on political institutions in their news content—or more specifically how the media's dependence is illustrated through its journalism.

### Purpose, Assertion, and Hypotheses

This paper's purpose is to empirically test the theory of mediatization, and the driving assertion is that:

*As displayed in news content, Swedish national newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased over time.*

I test the assertion with seven hypotheses that aim to trace the media's dependence on government agencies, but also the workings of media logics. I wish to point out that in practice, my assertion studies the newspapers' agents of news—inevitably *journalists* and *journalism*. Thus are journalists demonstrating independence from government agencies by applying media logics? For example, are politicians included in news content that in reality addresses issues that fall within the policy remit of agencies? Are agencies losing the power to frame policy issues that they are responsible for? And are politicians held accountable by journalists in situations they shouldn't?

I divide the hypotheses into two categories: category one aims to trace journalists' direct dependence on government agencies. The second category aims to trace whether or not media logics shape the news content in terms of personalization, polarization, simplification, etc. The second category illustrates the journalists' independence from government agencies as they take command of narrative and frame issues.

## Category one

*H1: over time government agencies appear less frequently as sources or actors in news content relating to the agencies' policy remits.*

As part of mediatization, the media becomes less dependent on government agencies when producing news content. In other words: journalists find other sources in search for news material and frame stories independent from government agencies' realities.

*H2: over time the number of sources appearing in news contents relating to agencies' policy remits increases.*

Scarce sourcing suggests that journalists are dependent on few organizations or individuals. Many sources, on the other hand, indicate journalists' independence to single organizations or individuals, and power to shape the news content's narrative when selecting from a wider range of sources. Journalists including many sources in news stories on policy issues covering government agencies' policy remits will demonstrate an independent narrative, not submitting to a reality shaped by government agencies.

*H3: over time journalists devote less text space to government agencies in news content relating to agencies' policy remits.*

The third hypothesis closely relates to the first: the presence of government agencies in the news content. This hypothesis tracks whether the government agency *dominates* the news content or not. Are the agencies mentioned only briefly or they the chief actor/supplier of information? The less space journalists devote, the more independence journalists demonstrate.

*H4: over time the proportion of articles in which government agencies are investigated or critiqued increases.*

Articles critiquing government agencies counts towards journalistic independence, since agencies' influence on news stories' narrative decreases. The hypothesis links back to journalistic ideals of investigation as means to mark their independence towards the political establishment.

## Category two

*H5: over time the presence of politicians in news content relating to government agencies' policy remits increases.*

*H6: over time journalists devote more text space to politicians in news content relating to government agencies' policy remits.*

Polarization is part of media logics. It would appear easier to polarize politicians and political parties rather than on-political agencies. Because politicians provide more compelling narratives, politicians' presence on issue relating to agencies' responsibilities would increase parallel to a decrease in government agencies' presence—and the same concept applies to text space. H5 and H6 thus attempt to capture if journalists shift their narrative on stories regarding certain policy areas, from government agencies to politicians. In the news articles, are politicians taking over the responsibility of government agencies?

*H7: over time the proportion of individuals—as opposed to collectives—representing government agencies in news content relating to the agencies’ policy remits increases.*

In accordance to media logics and personalization of news, news content tends to focus on individuals rather than collectives.

## Operationalization

The material that is subject to study is news content regarding certain *policy areas*, rather than content regarding *government agencies* as organizations. Surely, media’s independence from government agencies could be measured through examining media’s portrayal of government agencies. Are agencies target for critique? What role does the media give the agencies in stories on the political institutions? However, by focusing on *policy areas* rather than *government agencies* as organizations, I can capture the power struggles and dynamics of Mediatization in the complex reality of the Swedish political institution. If included in news content, organizations are symbolically legitimized, according to the mediatization theory. By examining news content reporting on specific policy areas, I can trace what actors are allowed to participate, and are thus given importance in the context of the policy area; in this case, government agencies and/or politicians. The results of such a study can later be contrasted to the strictly legal power hierarchies in the Swedish political institution (i.e. as defined by the constitution) and theories on Mediatization of politics. Who holds the real power on the policy issues and who is granted the symbolic power by the media? Who is accountable in reality and who is accountable in the news? By approaching *policy areas*, instead of *agencies as organizations*, these perspectives become possible to trace and measure.

## Study’s Scientific and Societal Value

In chapter 3, I provided an elaborate account for the current academic understanding of Mediatization. Research on Mediatization of politics exists already and researchers devote time and skills to study the phenomenon from different perspectives. Even within the category of Mediatization of politics I study—media logics and media’s dependence on political institutions from the perspective of media content—several contributions have been made already by, for example, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2012); Ekström, Johansson, and Larsson (2006); and Hopman and Zeh (2012). They all scrutinize the media’s relationship to the political institution. But what they and others have not yet studied is Mediatization of the non-political part of the political institution, i.e. *Swedish government agencies*. My research adds a layer to the academic discussion on Mediatization of politics. Furthermore, Mediatization is still mainly a metatheory. I wish to add a scientific case to draw inspiration from when empirically tracing Mediatization, but to also add a practical definition of the term.

On a societal note, a discussion on how media logic redefines political logic is necessary granted the Mediatization theory holds true. If traces of Mediatization are found, what are the democratic implications? Who shapes the political process, and who should shape the political process? Mediatization of politics may not automatically translate into the decline of politics—but as a democratic society, it is important to understand what shapes policy production in order for actors to exercise their democratic right to participate in the political process.

## Chapter 5

### Method

In this chapter I will present and discuss the method I use to gather the data that shall declare the hypotheses true or false. However, a discussion regarding methodology will not end by this chapter but continue throughout the paper's presentation of results and analysis.

#### Quantitative Content Analysis

The quantitative content analysis (QCA) becomes suitable when the researcher wish to answer research questions regarding *frequency* and *space*: how often a phenomenon occurs and how much space that phenomenon occupies. *Descriptive* hypotheses, which seek to find patterns, changes and differences on certain levels (time, platforms, space) and *normative* hypotheses, which study to what extent material “agrees” with in-advance defined norms or standards, both benefit from the quantitative content analysis (Esaiasson et al 2007: 223-226). My assertion fits this description since I aim to identify quantitative changes in news content over time (increases/decreases).

Furthermore, if quantitative research methods are preceded by a proper selection process and a reliable gathering process, the results can be generalized. A thoroughly conducted QCA's results are factual, generalizable, and provide clear figures, which I value highly when testing my hypotheses.

Why not use a qualitative method? The benefits of qualitative methods are the gaining of an understanding of processes, and finding patterns behind the obvious (Esaiasson et al 2007: 223). However, qualitative methods lack the possibility to empirically generalize the study's outcome and do not allow me to firmly prove or dismiss my hypotheses. At this stage, I wish to determine the existence of a phenomenon, not necessarily understand the processes behind it.

In practice, a researcher that conducts a QCA creates a “questionnaire” (called code scheme), but instead of applying it to human objects, the “questions” (called variables) are asked to documents. It can be text documents or media documents, and the code scheme asks a wide array of questions regarding the documents form, shape or content. When a unit (a piece from the material that are subject to the study) is coded into the dataset, the researcher fills out the “questionnaire” based off the document. Just like a survey conducted on humans, the final dataset can then be used to find trends and variances among the units (Esaiasson et al 2007: chapter 11).

#### Practical Operationalization

The policy area determines *what* news content I study and the focal point of the study is how such news content relates to government agencies. Let me illustrate this approach with an example:

Policy areas that fall within the remit of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) includes biodiversity, acidification of lakes and oceans, the state of the Swedish forest, and the Swedish wolf population, to name but a few. Conscious of this, I search for articles that address environmental issues—these articles will constitute the data units in my research. I scan newspapers and will encounter articles covering, for example, the Swedish wolf population; regardless of whether the EPA are mentioned/sourced, the article will be included in the dataset as an unit. I search the article for facts to answer several variables, e.g. “what government agency is present?” Journalists will either allow the EPA to be present in the article (as an actor or as a source) or they may chose to not include the agency. If the EPA is *included*, the journalist is considered to demonstrate dependence on the agency. If the EPA is *not included*, the journalist is considered independent from the agency and capable to produce news stories on an issue that falls within the policy remit of the EPA without sourcing the EPA. The approach suggests that the journalist takes initiative to source other individuals and organizations to create a narrative independent of the responsible actor of the policy area. Even though the EPA would be included in the article, the journalist can demonstrate his or hers independence to the agency; he or she may critique the organization or let other sources dominate the article. The *policy area*-approach is applicable on different policy areas and their respective agencies: e.g. articles addressing tax issues would relate to the Swedish Tax Agency and articles reporting on foreign refugees in Sweden would relate to the National Migration Board, etc.

## Surveyed Time Period

The hypotheses wish to measure changes *over time*. Consequently, I carefully chose four years to constitute the research period: 1966, 1981, 1996 and 2011. The reason I start the study in the 1960s is because in this decade, the Swedish society began to become mediatized when the mediums television, radio and newspapers transpired and truly became available to the *masses*. A fifteen-year interval provides sufficient time between data-gathering points for the journalism to change, but enough proximity to not overlook trends. The chosen years represent different journalistic periods: 1966 borders between the *mirroring* and *investigative* period, 1981 clearly falls within the *investigative* period and 1996 places in the *interpretive* period (Djerf-Pierre and Weibull’s 2001: 359-361). The dominant presence of internet characterizes 2011 and could define a new period in news journalism. Finally, no *predictable* and *systematically reoccurring* global or major event took place during the chosen years: 1981 was the year *after* the Swedish referendum on nuclear power, which then dominated the news; 2011 is the year *after* 2010’s general elections. No year included events like the Olympics. By this selection approach I make sure the news do not systematically favor one subject over another.

I order for my dataset to be generalizable I strategically select my data-gathering points. I want to create a dataset of *typical cases* (Esaiasson et al 2007: 187). Thus within the chosen years, I construct a “synthetic” week during which I will survey the newspapers. The synthetic week starts the first Monday in March each of the chosen years. The synthetic week continues to the consecutive day, which is the following weekday *the week after*. For example, if I start survey Monday week one, the next day surveyed will be Tuesday week two, then Wednesday week three, etc. Since a week consist of seven days, my synthetic week encompasses days surveyed over *seven weeks* (see appendix 2). The mathematically savvy has already counted that the entire study comprises 56 issues of Expressen and Dagens Nyheter (two papers á one week for four years [2 x 7 x 4]). The synthetic week prevents major news events from dominating the dataset. For example, news stories on a political corruption scandal might have “follow-up” articles in the newspaper several days in a row. With the synthetic week I avoid such abnormal representation in the dataset, thus it more accurately reflects the time period. By surveying an entire week, and e.g. not only every Monday during seven weeks, I obtain the different news content that

is corresponds to “day-specific” formats. Weekday edition of newspapers generally differ from the weekend edition. On a final note, the period of survey (March to April) is considered a fairly “normal” period in the news (Ekström, Johansson, Larsson 2006: 4).

## Selected Policy Areas and Associated Government Agencies

Due to the 15-year interval, the policy areas I chose must be equally relevant to society and acknowledged as policy areas over all four years of study. For example, gender equality became a distinguished policy area only recently. Consequently, that policy area is not suitable for the study. I chose four policy areas that have dominated Swedish politics since, or even well before, 1966 up to 2011:

- 1) The Swedish Defense Force (Defense)
- 2) Medicine, Health Care and Public Health (Health)
- 3) Energy and Nuclear Power (Energy)
- 4) Ground Transportation (Transportation)

These policy areas have had responsible and established departments and government agencies over all the years I surveyed. They are of national importance and not limited to certain geographical areas. I identify all government agencies with remits to the chosen policy areas for each surveyed year, but exclude state-owned enterprises (see appendix 1).

State-owned enterprises operate on a different structure and ultimately different values than government agencies do. Government agencies serve the public and the democratic institution it is part of, hence they are legally bound to freedom of information acts, equal treatment of all citizens and operate on public funds. None of this is true for state-owned enterprises. Private companies serve their owners’ interests and strive to maximize profits. Surely, the Swedish government as an organization may very well serve the public, yet its companies serve the government—not the public. The inherent structure of companies and the lack of transparency allow the government (in certain ways) to exert power over its companies without public scrutiny, which would not be possible to do in the case government agencies. Due to these differences between government agencies and state-owned enterprises, mixing them in the result may cloud the analysis—should really state-owned enterprises be regarded as the executive branch of the Swedish political institution? Consequently, state-owned enterprises are excluded from this study.

Moreover, I keep track of changes in the organization of government agencies over the surveyed years: when the government reorganizes, merges, divides, close or open agencies. I also take into account the process of *New Public Management* when agencies are transformed into state-owned enterprises. For example, *The State’s Railways* (Statens Järnvägar, SJ) was a government agency up until 2001, by when it became a state-owned enterprise. Gathering data on 1966, 1981, and 1996, the State’s Railways is considered a government agency, whereas the organization is excluded as a variable value when gathering data from 2011.

## Selection of Newspapers and Articles (Units)

I chose the tabloid paper *Expressen* and the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. The papers are historically the two largest papers in Sweden and represent two dominating genres in print press. Even though *Dagens Nyheter* is Stockholm-based, the paper covers national news. The national character of the papers corresponds well to the national character of the policy areas. Editorially, both align to the right in a Swedish political context, eliminating differences in news content due to political bias. By choosing *Expressen* and

Dagens Nyheter I further emphasize my desire to generalize the result with *typical cases*. Had I chosen a different morning newspaper, e.g. the local city newspaper *Bobuslänningen*, the typicality of my study would decrease because the paper covers a much smaller area thus reaches fewer readers. Also, in choosing the largest newspapers as opposed to smaller ones, I make sure the papers I study have less financial restraints in their news production, which will increase the likelihood that the papers are able to cover *national news*.

Only *news articles* are considered for analysis, hence non-news related appendixes accompanying the newspapers are excluded from the study. News articles are *not* articles that appear on: editorial pages, letter to the editor-pages, pages covering cultural news, entertainment pages, or sports pages. In order for articles to be considered a unit they must address any of the four defined policy areas *or* one of the defined government agencies in the 1) headline, 2) the intro/lead, 3) accompanying pictures, and/or 4) pictures' caption. With these criteria, the article must demonstrate its focus on the defined policy area or agency. I also save time in the data-gathering process not having to study recognizably irrelevant articles. In cases where several articles on one page cover the same story, they are coded as individual units. The format defines the article by a clear heading and body of text. The essential question that determines whether an article is considered to cover a policy area or not is "*could one or several of the defined agencies appear in the article in a natural way? Is there a 'spot' for the agency in the article?*" For example, an article covering failed road maintenance in Norway could be argued to relate to the policy area of *ground transportation*. However, it would not be natural for the *Swedish Transportation Agency* to appear in such news content; Norwegian road maintenance falls outside the Swedish transportation agency's policy remit, thus defined agency cannot be expected to appear in the article. Consequently, the article will not be included in the study.

## Variables and Coding Scheme

I utilize 29 variables to create a dataset with the capability to test the hypotheses. A variable is a question asked to the text, with a fix set of answers (variable values), which should be mutually exclusive, i.e. there is only one possible answer to the question (Esaiasson et al 2007: 230). The variables have to be considered carefully as they are the only means by which one later analyze the dataset. Incorrect or inaccurate variables will decrease the validity of the research—one will systematically have asked the "wrong questions". My variables can be divided into three categories: *basic information*, *testing category one of the hypotheses*, and *testing category two of the hypotheses*. In order to better understand the following sections readers may want to consult appendix 1, the coding scheme.

### Basic information

Variables V1-V14.5 gather information of basic character: date, paper, whether or not the articles appears on the front page, the articles' sizes, number of pictures, journalistic narrative, and number of sources. Most of the variables are simple to code: one counts the number of pictures, chose what policy area the article mainly aligns to, and put down the date of the paper. However, V8 and V14.5 require interpretation and it becomes important to establish clear rules on how to code these variables. V8 (the article's size) comprise of five variable values:

1. Double-page spread
2. Full page
3. Half page
4. Quarter page
5. 1/5 page (in Swedish called "notis").

Naturally, some articles are in between two sizes, thus I code article size in relation the paper's format. *Dagens Nyheter*, for example, went from broadsheet to tabloid format in 2004, and I further discuss the implications of such change in chapter 6. In the broadsheet format an article rarely consumes more than half a page; hence articles in the broadsheet format *larger* than half a page are coded as *full page*. In the tabloid format, articles should cover the entire page to be coded as full size.

V14.5 regards the narrative of the article and asks the question "is the article's narrative *driven by a problem*?" V14.5 refers to whether or not the journalist takes command of the narrative. The variable values are

1. No, it is a straight account
2. Yes, with focus on a problem
3. Yes, with focus on a solution.

The variable demands interpretation and I code the article's dominating narrative. E.g. an article that focuses on problems may still include information on possible solutions. That article is coded with value 2 because all in all, it is dominated by a problem. Yet another article may refer to the discussion of an assembly, accounting for the opinions of different actors in the meeting. The actors may discuss a *problem*, but at heart the journalist only reflects the meeting and does not intervene in the narrative, hence the article is coded with value 1.

### **Testing category one of the hypotheses**

Variables V15-22 gather information on the presence of a government agency: what agency appear (if any), does the article center on the agency as an organization, the agency's role, and how much space the agency occupies. Variables V16, V19a and V22 ask the coder for his or hers interpretation.

V16 is rather simple: it asks if the article focuses on the government agency as an organization, rather than the policy issues. If articles include both aspects, I code the one that dominates. V19a, however, address the role of the agency, and its variable values are:

1. Executor
2. Expert
3. Informant
4. Receiver of an external demand
5. Initiator of internal investigation
6. Subject to critique or investigation
98. Other

Some values may seem strikingly similar: what distinguish an "expert" from an "informant"? The agency is considered an expert when asked to provide their analysis or information on an area that does indirectly fall within their policy remit: for example when the *Swedish Radiation Safety Authority* are asked to analyze the consequences for the Swedish nuclear power following the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan. However, if the agency instead is asked to provide information on the safety status of Swedish nuclear power plants, the agency becomes an *informant* of facts crucial to the article. Similar definitions may be found in the coding scheme.

V22 regards how much of the article's space is devoted to the agency, and variable values are:

1. Minimal (1-10%)
2. Little (10-30%)
3. Much (30-50%)
4. Extensive (50-75%)
5. Dominating (75% or more)

Every paragraph that mentions or presents information that refers back to the agency in some manner counts, and is related to the full length of the article.

### **Testing category two of the hypotheses**

Variables V20 and V23-27 gather information on the presence of politicians and personalization of news content. In order to extract comparable statistics, the variables ask "the same questions" on politicians' presence as on agencies'. The same principles when coding interpretive variables as accounted for in the previous section thus apply.

### **Challenging Cases: Sources**

A coder encounters challenging units and has to develop a set of rules that he or she applies throughout the coding process. One complicated case is number of sources (V13). A source must be clearly referred to in an article in order to be counted as a source. Thus an article with accounts solely from a journalist is coded as "journalist sole source". However, if an article includes two clear references (e.g. "says NN, according to NN, as stated in NN), the article is coded with two sources. However, say that the aforementioned article also includes non-sourced information, e.g. an introductory part about circumstances relevant to the story, but without any referent. Here, the journalist assumes the position of the source for that information. That article would count to three sources, without distinguishing the journalist. That also means that in interviews, the journalist is considered a source in regards to questions he or she asks the interviewed.

### **Coding Process**

I coded the 56 issues over the course of two weeks in April and March 2012. All newspapers are attained at the *Undergraduate and Newspaper Library* in Gothenburg, and consequently, any paper I study are black and white. This fact, however, is not an obstacle in the coding process. I read all papers from microform, except two issues of *Dagens Nyheter*, which were missing from the library. I obtain those two issues from the Department of Journalism, Media and Communications at University of Gothenburg.

I start coding a synthetic week of Expressen from 1966, going through each issue from beginning to end. I scan the paper for articles that meet the requirements of a unit. When I encounter such an article, I code it according to the coding scheme directly into the statistics software SPSS Statistics. When I have filled out all variables of the unit, I continue to scan the paper for more units. When I am done with a synthetic week of Expressen in 1966, I continue to code a synthetic week of Dagens Nyheter from 1981 and follow the same procedure in terms of scanning and coding. I change paper and year after every synthetic week I code in order to make sure I am not subconsciously fixated on a specific paper or time period, and because of that accidentally neglect units. I continue the process until all 56 issues have been surveyed. The study's result—the dataset—is then used as a base for analysis. With the software SPSS statistics, I create

crosstabs with variables that will answer my hypotheses. To examine the results of such crosstabs, consult chapter 6.

### **The Dataset**

Every unit in the dataset has equal value in the analysis, regardless of articles' size, page it appears on in the paper, or presence on paper's front page. These variables are mere tools to check for abnormal tendencies in the dataset. Because of the selection process, there are not an equal amount of units in every surveyed year, yet the analysis present each individual year in terms of percent. Conscious of this fact, I consider the differences to be natural.

### **Validity**

In this section, I will discuss issues of validity that have not already been approached previously in this chapter. Validity is key in research that aspires to be scientific. Anderson and Rourke write "... test validity question peculiar to QCA coding protocols emerged: Does the procedure describe what it purports to describe? [...] when researchers use QCA to make inferences about constructs, the data are no longer speaking for themselves." (Anderson and Rourke 2008: 6)

When making inferences from a small set of data regarding a larger reality, the researcher must make a compelling case that his or her study's errors are few and that the operationalization is systematic and valid. The researcher must also be truthful and admit any concerns he or she might have regarding the validity. This is how I will start my presentation of this study's validity.

The dataset created with the QCO contains 221 units distributed over the four surveyed years. Due to this fact, I must keep the analysis on a larger and general scale, because breaking down the statistics leaves me with too few units to draw any firm conclusions from. This is my study's *greatest weakness*. With more units, I would be able to describe variances, more decisively determine direction of relationships, and experiment with the dataset in order to identify potential dependent and independent variables. I could bring deeper analysis to the table and more clearly identify areas that would need further study. At this stage, the dataset allows only general analysis of Mediatization of politics.

I eliminated some variables from the dataset due to the realization that they may not accurately answer the research question. For long, I contemplated the variables regarding articles' pictures (V9-11). I wished to study personalization of the content by coding whether or not the pictures portrayed identifiable individuals. I decided to include the variables in the study but realized as I coded that my concern was real: the variables indicate technological advances of the newspaper industry rather than Mediatization. I excluded the variables in the analysis.

The strength of the study is the policy area-approach. Institutional development of media must be approached from a dynamic perspective, because the changes are dynamic and multi-layered. If I applied a single-sided approach (e.g. focusing on government agencies alone) the study would lack the capability to understand the "power struggles" in news content. An additional strength is the generalizability. In order to claim that my results are generalizable, I carefully chose to study the dominant papers. I utilized methods to avoid systematic coding of misrepresentative content.

Finally, one may question if the results are specific to news content regarding policy areas, or extends to news journalism in general. However, in the context of this study, the question is irrelevant: I intend to trace mediatization of politics, not general changes in news journalism. However, if a study on news journalism were to suggest similar journalistic changes to what my study depicts, the results of the later would be strengthened.

If you ask me “are these results reliable?” I say, “yes—even though I’d wish for more units”. In discussions with professors and peers, they agree that the essential reasoning behind the coding scheme is correct; and examining my results, I am of the honest opinion that they reflect what I experienced in the coding process. With this, I conclude that my study pass the “face validity”-test.

### **Reliability**

Good reliability in terms of QCA needs to prove that different coders of a specific material will end up with similar, if not identical, datasets. One way to test this is to recode a portion of the material over again, to make check for unsystematic coding errors. I recoded some 8 % of the newspapers again and the result from that process showed good reliability—the “mini” dataset agrees to a high extent with the original dataset. This implies that I apply the same “coding protocol” systematically and that the dataset is not the target of unsystematic coding or errors on my part.

The fact that I was the sole coder in this research project may also come across as a weakness of this study. A group of researchers could firstly code a larger material, but also test the reliability of each other’s data in order to confirm that unsystematic errors in the coding process were avoided. Thus the results from a group of researcher conducting QCA could be considered to possess higher degree of reliability than results from a single researcher. Due to this fact, I attempt to conduct a transparent coding process with an exhaustive record of encountered coding challenges and how they were resolved. Other researchers should be able to duplicate my QCA and end up with agreeing results.

## Chapter 6

### Results and Analysis

In this chapter, I will answer each hypothesis and reflect on the study’s results, interpret the findings and discuss issues of methodology. I will analyze the findings with the “theory lens” I provided in chapters 2 and 3. I start with presenting basic figures about the dataset in order to better understand the results. Firstly, there is a distinct difference between the tabloid *Expressen* and the morning newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* in terms of news content. Due to the fact that my study examines articles relating to four broad policy areas, the frequency in which articles from *Expressen* versus *Dagens Nyheter* appears in the dataset varies.

Paper	Number of articles in dataset
<i>Dagens Nyheter</i>	161 (73%)
<i>Expressen</i>	60 (27%)

*Table A – Number of Articles*

*N = 221 (100%)*

These figures show a variance in the type of news content in tabloids and newspapers, suggesting that tabloids tend to focus on different news stories than newspapers. However, the imbalance in articles between a tabloid and a newspaper serves as a trace of Mediatization itself. Traditionally, Swedish tabloids and morning newspapers operate on vastly different business models. Tabloids compete on a more competitive market and should thus be more mediatized. I expect more articles on policy issues in a newspaper than in a tabloid.

In order to gain an understanding of whether or not the chosen policy areas are as “timeless” as I argue in earlier chapter, I present table B.

-----  
**Table B (in %)** What policy area does the article focus on?  
 -----

	<i>Year</i>			
	<i>1966</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2011</i>
Defense	18	32	11	20
Health	49	40	43	36
Energy	12	14	23	34
Transportation	21	14	23	10

*Total*

*100 (33)*

*100 (50)*

*100 (79)*

*100 (59)*

*N = 221*

Issues of healthcare have always dominated Swedish news, although the proportions between the policy areas have equalized over the years. These figures mostly serve as a controlling variable used to check the strength in relationships and variances, as you will read later in this chapter.

## Hypotheses | Category One

H1: over time government agencies appear *less frequently* as sources or actors in news content relating to the agencies' policy remits.

**Table 1 (in %)** Do government agencies appear in news content relating to agencies' policy remits?

	Year				Total
	1966	1981	1996	2011	
No	42	42	46	66	N = 110
Yes	58	58	54	34	N = 111
Total	100 (33)	100 (50)	100 (79)	100 (59)	N = 221

The figures suggest that indeed government agencies appear *less frequently* in news content that relates to policy areas falling within government agencies' remits. Out of all articles where an agency's presence would be considered natural in relation to the article's content, agencies are less likely to be included in the content in 2011 than in 1966. I trace a definite shift in the presence of government agencies between 1996 and 2011, when less than half of the articles included a government agency in their content.

Due to the relatively scarce number of articles in the dataset, the *Expressen's* figures simply become too small to analyze individually. However, it may be interesting to take a closer look at *Dagens Nyheter*.

**Table 2 (in %)** Do government agencies appear in *Dagens Nyheter's* news content relating to agencies' policy remits?

	Year				Total
	1966	1981	1996	2011	
No	32	32	45	63	N = 161
Yes	68	68	55	37	
Total	100 (25)	100 (31)	100 (67)	100 (38)	

Individually, *Dagens Nyheter* more frequently source or offer government agencies a role in their news content than *Expressen* does. *Expressen's* result differs from *Dagens Nyheter's*: in 1966 and 2011 over 70% of articles did *not include* agencies. At a first glance, *Expressen* demonstrates greater independence from government agencies than *Dagens Nyheter* does and invalidates hypothesis 1. However, considering the insufficient number of units in *Expressen's* dataset, I am not ready to draw that conclusion. With more units, a more secure analysis would be possible.

Although the tendency may appear weak, *hypothesis 1 holds true*.

H2: over time the number of sources appearing in news contents relating to agencies' policy remits increases.

**Table 3 (in %) Number of sources in articles**

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
Only journalist	30	24	15	15
1-2 sources	42	38	35	41
3 sources or more	27	38	50	44

Total 100 (33) 100 (50) 100 (79) 100 (59) N = 221  
 (I cannot observe any significant changes to the result when excluding articles from Expressen; therefore there is no separate table for Dagens Nyheter)

Parallel to the increase I note in the number of sources journalists utilize in news content, I observe a halt to the trend in 2011. Hypothesis 2 seems for the most part to hold true—the journalists do increase the number of sources they present in articles thus decrease their dependence on single sources. In order to control that no other variable influence source composition more strongly than the variable *year*, I test the relationship's strength against an additional variable: *agency presence*. As observed in table 4, the relationship between number of sources and agency presence in articles do not correlate significantly. This suggests that time period—rather than the presence of government agencies—more strongly determines article's number of sources. According to table 3, the number of sources increases every surveyed year from 1966—except for in 2011, where I note a slight decrease. Expressen's individual results slightly alter the pattern, with “1-2 sources” dominating the article's in 1996 and “3 sources or more” in 2011, aligning more closely to the aforementioned hypothesis. However, due to lack of Expressen-units in the dataset, I cannot draw any definite conclusions.

**Table 4 (in %) Number of sources in articles**

	Agency present in article?		Total
	No	Yes	
Only journalist	49	51	100 (43)
1-2 sources	52	48	100 (85)
3 sources or more	48	52	100 (93)

N = 221

All in all, *hypothesis 2 holds true until 2011*, where a slight decrease in number of sources is noted.

H3: over time journalists devote less text space to government agencies in news content relating to agencies' policy remits.

**Table 5 (in %)** Text space devoted to agencies in news content

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
Some (<30%)	68	55	54	40
Extensive (>30%)	32	45	46	60

Total 100 (19) 100 (29) 100 (43) 100 (20) N = 111  
 (Because the table examines articles including government agencies [N = 111], I do not present the papers' results individually since the dataset contains too few units to make any firm conclusions)

Table 5 illustrates a clear trend: over time, journalists in fact devote *more* text space to government agencies. I note no change in the text space-figures between the surveyed year 1981 and 1996, and again the definite change comes in 2011 when more than half of the articles allow extensive text space to agencies. The variable measuring text space (V22) contains five variable values, thus table 5 presents merged variables. Broken down differently, the table might have induced a different impression, yet the overall trend persists regardless the form of presentation: over the surveyed years, text space devoted to agencies has increased.

Therefore, *hypothesis 3 does not hold true.*

H4: over time the proportion of articles in which government agencies are investigated or critiqued increases.

**Table 6 (in %)** What role does the agency play in news content?

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
Executive	26	41	42	45
Informant	42	31	42	45
Target for critique	32	27	16	10

Total 100 (19) 100 (29) 100 (43) 100 (20) N = 111  
 (The table examines articles with government agencies' presence [N = 111], a result split up on papers do not contain units enough to make any firm conclusions)

In order for hypothesis 4 to hold true, the third row (target for critique) in table 6 should display a relative increase over the surveyed years; conversely, I note that the third row in fact decreases. The proportions of roles the agency may occupy in articles are relatively stable over the surveyed years.

*Hypothesis 4 does not hold true.*

## Analysis of Category One

As I describe in the chapter 4, the first category of hypotheses aims to trace Mediatization on Strömbäck's second dimension: *whether or not media is independent of political institutions*. The category thus examines newspaper journalists' direct dependence on government agencies. Based off the figures presented above I suggest that newspaper journalists' independence to government agencies increased in certain aspects, and decreased in others.

I trace that journalists expand their independence in increased number of sources and less frequent appearances of government agencies in the news articles. The increased number of sources coupled with the weakening agency presence in news content suggests that journalists operate independently from government agencies and search for sources that accommodate the journalists' narrative, according to Ekström, Johansson and Larsson.

Figures in table 3 confirms hypothesis 2: the number of sources in article's relating to government agencies' policy remits do indeed increase over time, except for in 2011. However, this halt may not necessarily contradict Mediatization theory. Though not visible in the quantitative content analysis, the Dagens Nyheter's format changed over the surveyed years and in 2011 they adopted the tabloid format (changing from broadsheet). I cannot eliminate the possibility that the new paper format may have had implications on the articles' format and sourcing. On the other hand, conversely, I cannot rule out a real change in news journalism either. Parallel to the fewer sources the journalists utilized in 2011, figures in table 5 suggest they devoted more text space to government agencies in 2011 than in any other surveyed year. Government agencies may receive more of journalists' attention in articles from 2011, but they compete with more sources and are less likely to appear at all. Even though hypothesis 3 does not hold true, related to other findings the results do not automatically disprove the Mediatization theory.

Table 6's figures illustrate that government agencies are less likely to become targets for critique in 2011 than in 1966, which invalidate hypothesis 4. Instead, the figures suggest that over time, journalists increasingly depict agencies as informants or executors, thus tend to portray government agencies as a group of experts that operates "above" the polarized field of politics. However, government agencies are in fact the executive branch of the Swedish political institution with the outmost responsibility for carrying out policy. The position government agencies hold may indeed make them knowledgeable sources, but nevertheless should journalistic ideals of investigation and scrutiny apply to this branch of the political institution too. I identify three main reasons as to why journalistic scrutiny of government agencies decreased over time:

1. According to Strömbäck the mediatization of politics suggests that journalists wish to create more compelling narratives and thus utilize story-telling techniques such as *polarization*. Therefore, journalists find it difficult to incorporate the

constitutionally non-political part of the Swedish political institution (i.e. government agencies) into their news story. They cannot find compelling news angles that meet the journalists' modern criteria of newsworthiness.

2. In addition to *polarization*, journalists utilize *simplification* as a story-telling technique. Ultimately, simplification means that too complex news stories will not meet journalists' demands. The organization of the Swedish political institution may be too complex for journalists to simplify, and therefore they chose to cover other news stories.
3. A new journalistic period may explain why journalistic scrutiny of government agencies decreased over time. Djerf-Pierre and Weibull describe how journalistic ideals of investigation characterized news journalism in 1965-1985, and interpretive journalism dominated from 1985 and onwards. In journalists' mission to interpret the world on the behalf of their audiences, they use government agencies as sources of knowledge and professional interpretations. However, since the release of Djerf-Pierre and Weibull's book a new trend in news journalism may have emerged: the 24-hour news cycle. The new trend may cause a decline in investigative journalism in the face of *quick news stories*—journalists are no longer granted the resources to produce investigative news content.

After closer scrutiny, the results that disprove some hypothesis may still provide signs of Mediatization. One should elaborate and reason on the results not confirming the hypotheses, however, I am cautious to read too much into them. The *facts* state that two hypotheses hold true (1 and 2) and two do not (3 and 4).

## Hypotheses | Category Two

*H5: over time the presence of politicians in news content relating to government agencies' policy remits increases.*

**Table 7 (in %)** Do politicians appear in news content relating to agencies' policy remits?

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
No	73	58	79	75
Yes	27	42	21	25
Total	100 (33)	100 (50)	100 (79)	100 (59)

N = 221

The figures in table 7 suggest a stabile relationship between the surveyed years and politicians' presence in news content relating to agencies' policy remits. The majority of news content (some 75%) does not include politicians. However, in 1981 I observe a divergence in the otherwise stabile relationship. That year, politicians are present in nearly half of the surveyed articles.

Expressen's and Dagens Nyheter's results show approximately the same proportion of politicians' presence over the surveyed years. I am cautious to make any assumption on whether a tabloid should include greater politicians' presence in news content than a morning newspaper. Surely, tabloids' news content should be more mediatized (in terms of polarization and personalization) due to their business model, but coupling the fact that newspapers tend to emphasize political news to a greater extent than tabloids do it becomes difficult to determine what pattern should distinguish the genres.

In the coding process, I recall coding several articles reporting on a political scandal regarding the state-owned military company *Telub*, which unfolded Spring of 1981. The story revolved around responsible politicians, and I therefore wish to check the data for abnormally high politicians' presence in the articles from 1981. If the *Telub*-scandal (a story related to the defense policy area) generated unnaturally high politicians' presence in 1981, the proportion of defense-related articles should dominate that surveyed year. Studying table 8, however, it becomes clear that so was not the case. In fact, the proportion of defense-related articles is rather constant over all four surveyed years.

All in all, *hypothesis 5 does not hold true.*

**Table 8 (in %)** What policy area does the article focus on?

	Year
	1981
Defense	32
Health	40
Energy	14
Transportation	14
Total	100 (N = 50)

H6: over time journalists devote more text space to politicians in news content relating to government agencies' policy remits.

**Table 9 (in %)** Text space devoted to politicians in news content

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
Some (<30%)	33	38	23	47
Extensive (>30%)	67	62	77	53
Total	100 (9)	100 (21)	100 (17)	100 (15)

N = 62

The results presented in table 9 should be understood in the light of few units. 66 units altogether, and e.g. only 9 units in 1966, do not make up a reliable result and I cannot determine if the hypothesis holds true. However, I wish to comment on a tendency: historically, politicians in general enjoy more text space than agencies' do, except for in 2011. Over all surveyed years, a majority of present politicians enjoy extensive space in the news content.

H7: over time the proportion of individuals—as opposed to collectives—representing government agencies in news content relating to the agencies' policy remits increases.

**Table 10 (in %)** Who represents the agency appearing in the news content?

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
Individual	47	41	51	70
Collective	53	58	48	30
Total	100 (19)	100 (29)	100 (43)	100 (20)

N = 111

Except for the divergence in 1981, the figures in table 10 present a steady trend from 1996: journalists prefer sourcing individuals. Why 1981 disrupts the trend is unclear—however, the disruption is not extensive enough to dispute the general trend. No significant differences can be observed between Expressen and Dagens Nyheter.

*Thus hypothesis 7 holds true.*

## Analysis Category Two

The second category of hypotheses aims to trace mediatization on Strömbäck's third dimension: *whether or not media is governed by media logics*. On this dimension, is it challenging to find clear and consistent signs of media logics. The hypothesis on personalization holds true yet traces of polarization are weak. This study examines the power struggles between government agencies and politicians as played out in news content. Such

approach had not been tested in research on Mediatization before and was not guaranteed to generate the anticipated results.

Dimitriova and Strömbäck’s research on the Mediatization of politics focuses on the media’s framing and format, and journalist’s visibility when they searched for traces of media logics. Had I adopted such approach in my research, I might have found traces more consistent with media logics.

The figures in table 7 disprove hypothesis 5, politicians are not over time granted more presence in news content relating to government agencies’ policy remits. However, in 1981 the figures demonstrate a divergence to the otherwise consistently stable relationship, when politicians’ presence in the articles increases to nearly half of the units. According to Djerf-Pierre and Weibull, polarization characterized news journalism in 1981, thus the divergence makes sense in the light of journalistic ideals in vogue of that time.

The figures in table 9 are based on too few units to establish a trend. However, I can extract a weak tendency that suggests politicians provide more compelling narratives than government agencies do, which accommodates Strömbäck’s theory on polarization. Furthermore, Kunelius, Noppari and Reunanen’s study of Finish politicians suggests that politicians experience that journalists exert increased influence on the policy-making process. From politicians’ own points of view, their influence over journalists has decreased. 2011’s figures in table 9 may support Kunelius, Noppari and Reunanen findings. Politicians are present in articles, but enjoy less text space—indicating they lose influence to the journalist over the articles’ narrative. Table 11 (presented below) empowers that theory: over time, journalists more actively intervene and shape the articles’ narrative.

**Table 11 (in %)** Is the article’s narrative driven by a problem?

	Year			
	1966	1981	1996	2011
No – it is a mere account	76	34	30	19
Yes, focus on problems	24	54	46	66
Yes, focus on solutions	0	12	19	16
<i>Total</i>	<i>100 (33)</i>	<i>100 (50)</i>	<i>100 (79)</i>	<i>100 (59)</i>

N = 221

Figures in table 10 align closely to Strömbäck’s Mediatization theory: *personalization* of news. Journalists prefer to present sources by name and face, thus simultaneously increase accountability: it is easier to hold an individual responsible than a collective.

All in all, politicians’ influence on journalists has decreased whereas journalists’ influence has increased. The findings strengthens the Mediatization theory.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

When concluding an extensive paper like this one, it is important to not forget the paper's purpose, which is to empirically test mediatization through the driving assertion that:

*As displayed in news content, Swedish national newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased over time.*

Finally: has Swedish national newspapers' dependence decreased? As very often in social science research, the answer is dual: *yes* and *no*.

#### Yes – More Independent

In the sense that creative journalists produce creative narratives—yes indeed, as displayed in news content, Swedish national newspapers' dependence on government agencies has decreased. Journalists' narratives are increasingly independent since journalists' assumptions about reality shape the news stories. A problematizing approach drives articles' narrative, and journalists choose sources to accommodate those narratives. Journalists become less reliant on government agencies in producing news and therefore portray policy areas independently—the realities of government agencies do not govern newspapers' reports on policy issues. In fact, I identify a pattern where journalists use government agencies only when lacking other informants. Government agencies are definitely not a journalist's "first-choice" when writing on policy issues that in fact are the responsibility of a government agency.

#### No – Less Independent

When regarding the media as the political institution's watchdog, the media demonstrates declining independence. Considering the powerful pillar of the Swedish society that government agencies de facto constitute—and the influence they exert in policy implementation—newspapers "go easy on them". In modern years, problematizing narratives make up a clear majority of articles that relate to policy areas that falls within government agencies' policy remits. As the outmost responsible actor in those policy fields, however, the media rarely scrutinizes government agencies. As portrayed in media, agencies instead occupy the role of "informant" in the news content, acting as independent specialists rather than policy executors.

In other words: the more independent journalists became in shaping news stories (instead of merely reporting the accounts of others), the less critique government agencies received. At a first glance it would be reasonable to believe that journalists' increasing command of news stories would *increase* independent investigation of the influential government agencies—yet I observe the opposite trend. Are journalists incapable of navigating Sweden's complex political system? Do news stories investigating government agencies not fit the media logics due to lack of polarization?

Regardless the reasons: in the sense of newspapers demonstrating independence from the political institution adopting an investigative approach, newspapers' independence is on the decline.

## Unidentified Phase of News Journalism?

The surveyed year of 2011 presented many interesting findings. News content included fewer sources and granted government agencies more text space in 2011 than in 1996. The decline of investigative journalism, combined with the emergence of the 24-hour news cycle, might illustrate a new period in news journalism governed by the principle that:

*The first to report wins.*

In the context of “need for speed” in news journalism, government agencies are granted more text space and the role of informants simply because agencies are available to journalists at a short notice. As “news fillers”, government agencies are permitted media coverage when journalists need it—although agencies are generally “less” needed today than before (they are less represented in modern news content relevant to their policy remit). In order to further identify this new period of news journalism—which ultimately permeates all news reporting, regardless of subject—studies aimed to identify new patterns in journalism would provide insights on the workings of this new period.

## The Mission: Trace Mediatization

It is tricky to trace Mediatization in news content, although this study illustrates that it is possible. Less challenging ways to identify the institutional development of an independent media would, e.g., be to study the allocation of resources, the legal frameworks of the media, and the media's relating institutions' adaption to media logics. However, to trace mediatization in the actual news content is important. If the source from which individuals' gather information about world changes, it is not unlikely that individuals' perception of the world changes too. If the media does not hold government agencies accountable, media-consuming citizens cannot be assumed to do so either. If the media holds politicians accountable for policy implementation they exert no power over, citizens might act on this false accountability in elections.

Future study of Mediatization should try to map out new trends in news journalism, as mentioned above. Such results could later be linked to the institutional changes that the media experience. Studies on institutional dependencies, such as Kunelius, Noppari and Reunanen's study on Finnish politicians' media networks are also desirable in order to grasp what influence media de facto exerts on relating institutions.

All in all, I conclude that the *Mediatization of society exists*. With that said, the Mediatization theory may have to be further developed to include the workings of the emerging internet society.

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# Appendix 1

Code Scheme in Swedish. To obtain an English version, please contact the author.

## **Kodschema**

### *Formalia*

#### **V1. ID-nummer (1-XX)**

1. 1
2. 2
3. etc.
99. V9=0 variabel ogiltig

#### **V2. Tidning**

1. Dagens Nyheter
2. Expressen

#### **V3. Rubrik: första tre orden**

#### **V4. År**

1. 1966
2. 1981
3. 1996
4. 2011

#### **V5. Datum (mm-dd)**

#### **V6. Sida**

#### **V7. Förekommer artikeln på förstasidan?**

1. Nej
2. Ja

#### **V8. Artikelns storlek (inkl. bild)**

1. Uppslag
2. Helsida
3. Halvsida
4. Kvartsida
5. Notis

99. Okodbar

### *Fotografier*

#### **V9. Hur många foton förekommer (det vill säga inte tabeller/figurer/grafik)?**

0. inga
1. 1
2. 2
3. etc.

#### **V10. Hur många av fotona föreställer individer?**

0. Inga individer förekommer

#### **V11. Vilken individ föreställer fotona?**

0. Förekommer inga individer
1. Politiker
2. Myndighetsrepresentant
3. Politiker och myndighetsrepresentant
4. Andra än politiker och myndighetsrepresentanter
5. Politiker, myndighetsrepresentanter och andra
99. V9=0 variabel ogiltig

#### **V12. Primärt ämnesområde som artikeln behandlar?**

1. Försvar
2. Medicin, sjukvård och folkhälsa
3. Energi och kärnkraft
4. Markbunden transport

#### **V13. Hur många källor förekommer i artikeln?**

0. 0
1. 1
2. 2 etc.
99. endast journalisten

#### **V14. Är artikeln en kommentar/analys av myndighetens ämnesområde?**

1. Nej
2. Ja
99. Okodbart

#### **V14.5 Som helhet, är artikeln problemorienterad i sin nyhetsvinkling?**

1. Nej (referat eller liknande)
2. Ja, med fokus på problem
3. Ja, med fokus på lösning

99. Okodbar

### Hypotestester del 1

#### V15. Vilken myndighet angavs?

0. Ingen myndighet angavs

##### Försvaret

1. Försvarmakten (år 2011)
2. Försvarets materialverk (år 1988)
3. Försvarets forskningsanstalt, FOA (1968, 1988)
4. Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut, FOI
5. Beredskapsnämnden för psykologiskt försvar (1968)
6. Styrelsen för psykologiskt försvar (1988)
7. Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap (2011)
8. Centrala värnpliktsbyrån (1968)
9. Värnpliktsverket (1968-)
10. Pliktverket
11. Övriga Försvarskopplade myndigheter (1966)

##### Medicin, sjukvård och folkhälsa

12. Socialstyrelsen
13. Nämnden för internationella hälsovårdsärenden [under Socs] (1968)
14. Sjukvårdens o. socialvårdens planerings- o. rationaliseringsinstitut (1968, 1988)
15. Kemikalieinspektionen (1986)
16. Giftnämnden (1968)
17. Läkemedelsindustrirådet (1988)
18. Läkemedelsnämnden [under Socs] (1968)
19. Läkemedelsverket
20. Hälso- och sjukvårdens ansvarsnämnd (1988, 2012)
21. Smittskyddsinstitutet (2012)

21,4. Statens bakteriologiska laboratorium

22. Statens institut för folkhälsan (1968)
23. Statens Folkhälsoinstitut (2012)
24. Länsnykterhetsnämnder [regionala] (1968)
25. Apotekets avgiftsnämnd (1968)
- 25,5. Medicinalstyrelsen
26. Statens livsmedelsverk (1972, tog delvis över folkhälsan)
27. Övriga Medicin, Sjukvård och Folkhälsokopplade myndigheter

##### Energi och kärnkraft

28. Elsäkerhetsverket
29. Statens elektriska inspektion (1968)
30. Statens energimyndighet
31. Statens energiverk (1988)
32. Statens kärnkraftsinspektion
33. Statens kärnbränslenämnd (1988)
34. Delegationen för atomenergifrågor (1968)
35. Statens Strålskyddsinstitut (1968, 1988)
36. Strålsäkerhetsmyndigheten
37. Svenska kraftnät
38. Statens vattenfallsverk (Vattenfall) (1968, 1988)
39. Krigsskyddsnämnden för kraftanläggningar (1968)
40. Energiforskningsnämnden (1982)
41. Delegationen för energiforskning (-1982)
42. Övriga energi- och kärnkraftsmyndigheter

##### Markbunden transport

43. Banverket
44. Transportverket
45. Transportstyrelsen
46. Statens Järnvägar (1968, 1988)
47. Vägverket (1968, 1988)

- 48. Järnvägsrådet (1968)
- 49. Statens trafiksäkerhetsråd (1968)
- 50. Statens trafiksäkerhetsverk (1968)
- 51. Transportnämnden (1968)
- 52. Transportrådet (1980)
- 53. Övriga markbundna transportmyndigheter
- 54. Trafikverket (2010)
  
- 99. Annan än ovanstående myndigheter angavs

**V16. Är myndigheten som organisation centrum/huvudmålet i artikeln?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Nej
- 2. Ja

**V17. Angavs flera myndigheter?**

- 0. Inga myndigheter angavs
- 1. Nej
- 2. Ja

**V18. Har den angivna myndigheten faktiskt ansvar för ämnesområdet som berörs i artikeln?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Ja
- 2. Nej

**V19a. Vilken är myndighetens roll i artikeln?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Utförare
- 2. Ämnesexpert
- 3. Uppgiftslämnare/informant i ärendet
- 4. Mottagare av ett krav som formuleras mot/till myndigheten
- 5. Myndigheten granskar sitt eget ärende

6. Myndigheten granskas och kritiseras

- 98. Annan
- 99. Okodbar

**V19b Om V19a är 4 eller 6, vem framför ett krav/granskar/kritiserar myndigheten?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Medborgare
- 2. Politiker
- 3. Journalist
- 4. Person med koppling till/insyn i myndigheten som organisation
- 5. Intresseorganisationer/företag
- 6. Andra
- 99. Variabeln ogiltig (VB19a ej värde 4 eller 6)

**V20. I vilken form är myndigheten källa i nyheten?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Officiell representant/person
- 2. Officiellt dokument
- 3. Som kollektiv organisation
- 4. Anonym person med koppling till myndigheten

**V21. Vart omnämns myndigheten**

*[där myndigheten omnämns först i fallande ordning]?*

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Rubriken
- 2. Ingress
- 3. Bild
- 4. Bildtext
- 5. Brödtext

**V22. Ungefär hur mycket utrymme ges till myndigheten i artikeln?**

- 0. Ingen myndighet angavs
- 1. Väldigt lite - upp till 10 %
- 2. Lite - 10-30 %
- 3. Mycket - 30-50%
- 4. Väldigt mycket - 50-75%
- 5. Dominerar - 75% och mer

## Hypotestester del 2

## V28. Kommentar/Not

### V23. Omnämns politiker i artikeln?

0. Nej
1. Minister
2. Riksdagsledamot
3. Annan individ
4. Regering
5. Riksdag
6. Parti
7. Annat kollektiv

### V24. Är politikern faktiskt ansvarig för ämnesområdet i artikeln?

0. Ingen politiker omnämns
1. Nej
2. Ja

### V25. Vilken är politikens roll i artikeln?

0. Ingen politiker eller politiskt kollektiv angavs
1. Utförare
2. Ämnesexpert
3. Uppgiftslämnare/informant i ärendet
4. Ett krav formuleras mot/till politiken
5. Politiken granskar sitt ärende
6. Politiken granskas/ifrågasätts
98. Annan
99. Okodbar

### V26. Vart omnämns politikern?

0. Ingen politiker/kollektiv angavs
1. I rubriken
2. I ingress
3. I bild
4. I bildtext
5. I brödtext

### V27. Ungefär hur mycket utrymme ges till politikern i artikeln?

0. Ingen politiker angavs
1. Väldigt lite - upp till 10 %
2. Lite - 10-30 %
3. Mycket – 30-50%
4. Väldigt mycket – 50-75%

## Appendix 2

List of issues included in the study:

### **Expressen**

1966

Monday March 7<sup>th</sup>

Tuesday March 15<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup>

Thursday March 31<sup>st</sup>

*Friday April 8<sup>th</sup> – no issue*

Saturday April 9<sup>th</sup>

Sunday April 17<sup>th</sup>

Friday April 22<sup>nd</sup>

1981

Monday March 2<sup>nd</sup>

Tuesday March 10<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday March 18<sup>th</sup>

Thursday March 26<sup>th</sup>

Friday April 3<sup>rd</sup>

Saturday April 11<sup>th</sup>

*Sunday April 19<sup>th</sup> – no issue*

Sunday April 26<sup>th</sup>

1996

Monday March 4<sup>th</sup>

Tuesday March 12<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday March 20<sup>th</sup>

Thursday March 28<sup>th</sup>

Friday April 5<sup>th</sup>

Saturday April 13<sup>th</sup>

Sunday April 21<sup>st</sup>

2011

Monday March 7<sup>th</sup>

Tuesday March 15<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup>

Thursday March 31<sup>st</sup>

Friday April 8<sup>th</sup>

Saturday April 16<sup>th</sup>

Sunday April 21<sup>th</sup>

### **Dagens Nyheter**

1966

Monday March 7<sup>th</sup>

Tuesday March 15<sup>th</sup>

Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup>

Thursday March 31<sup>st</sup>

*Friday April 8<sup>th</sup> – no issue*

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