

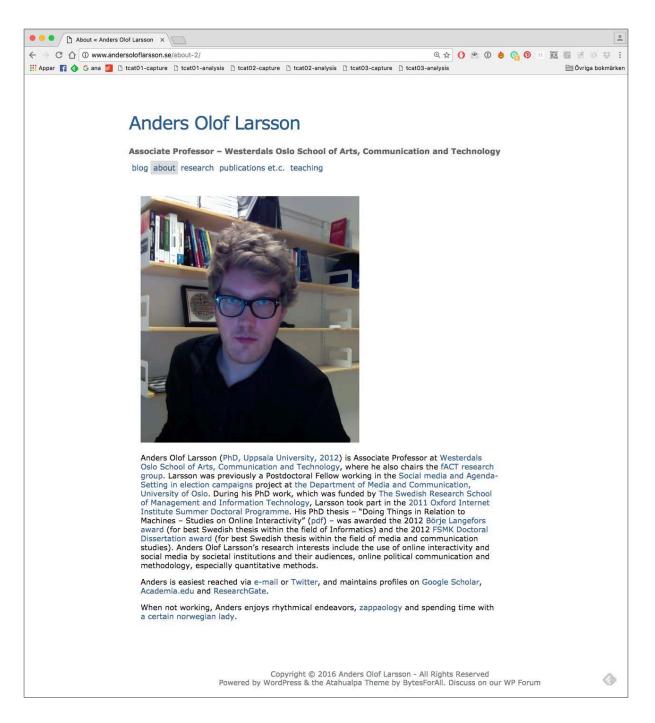
Oslo School of Arts, Communication and Technology

Beyond Twitter and Facebook – Exploring the political uses of Instagram

Anders Olof Larsson

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How do specific communication technologies operate?

What assumptions do they take from and contribute to society?

What forms of power do they encourage?





Frisk, J. (2008, 18-31 March). Medier bjuder in engagerade läsare. Journalisten, 14-16

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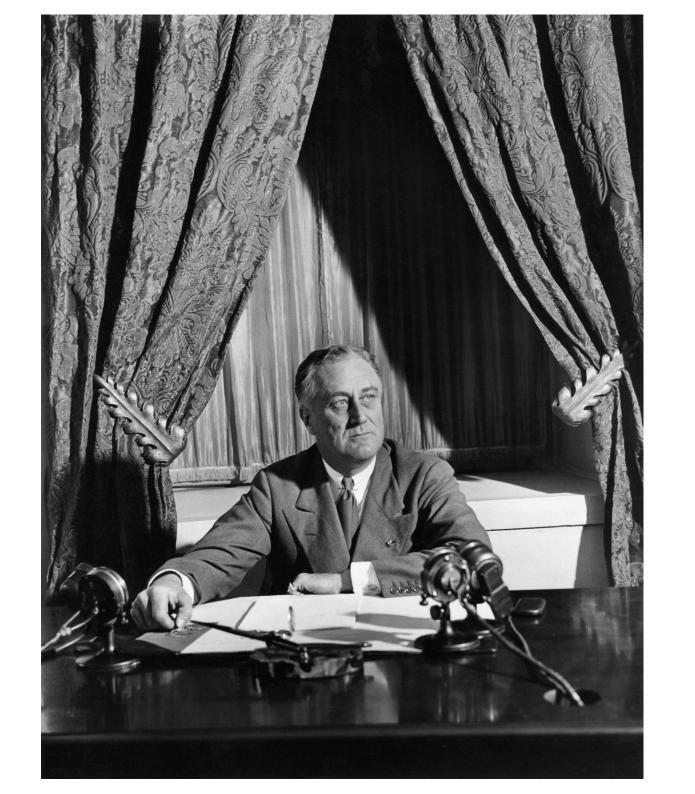








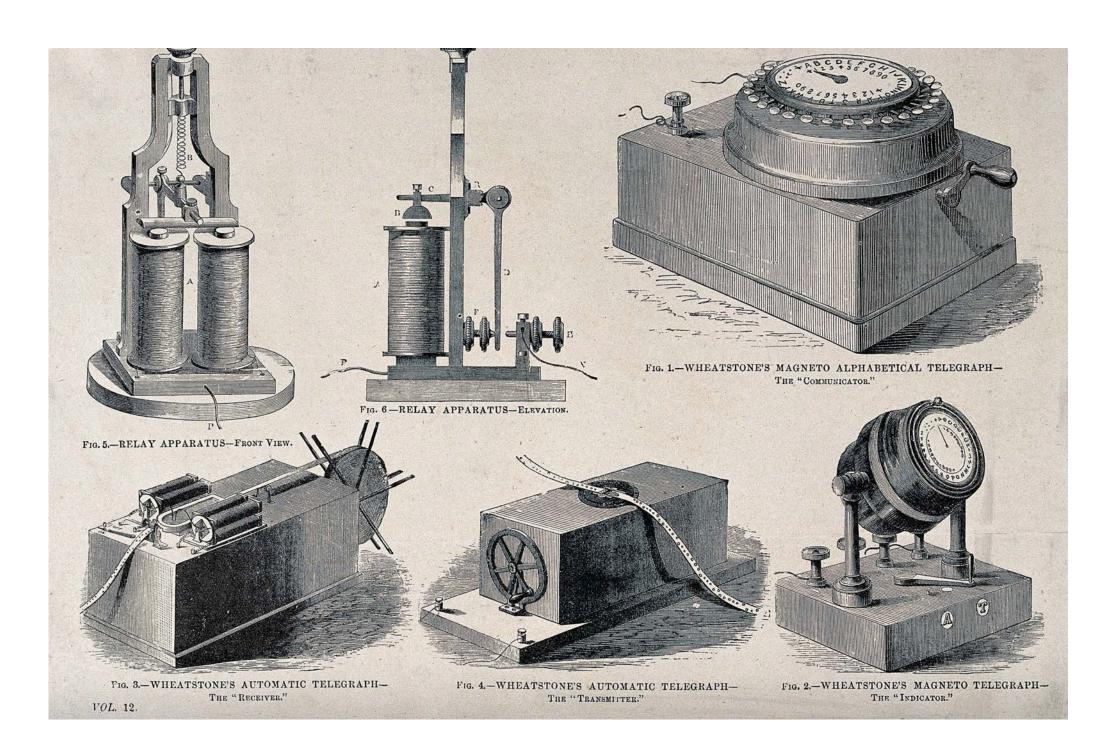














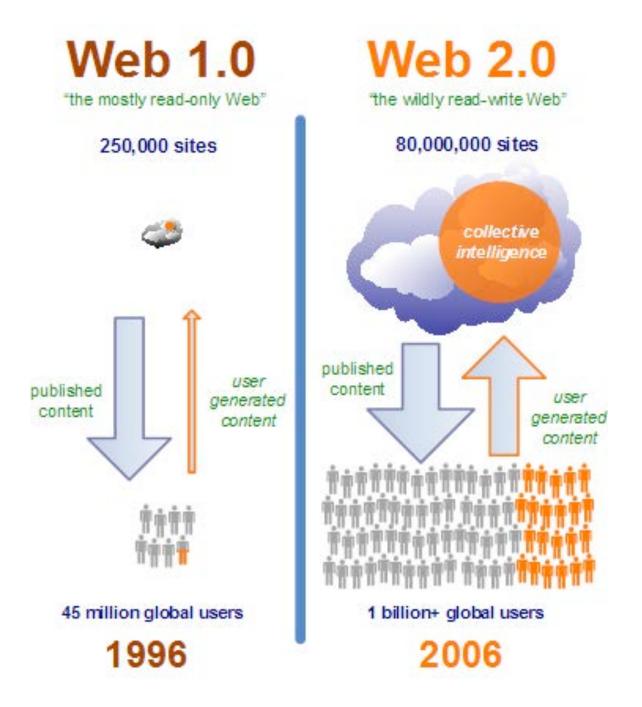
"It is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. So here is a positive suggestion: change this apparatus over from distribution to communication.

The radio would be the finest possible communication apparatus in public life, a vast network of pipes. That is to say, it would be if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him.

On this principle the radio should step out of the supply business and organize its listeners as suppliers.

Any attempt by the radio to give a truly public character to Public occasions is a step in the right direction."





Interactivity

- Several definitions from several disciplines
- Two main categories:
 - Human: discussion, contact between citizens, politicians, policy-makers
 - Medium: citizen can interact with content provided for them - "online brochures", "Extended infomercials"



On-Line Interaction and Why Candidates Avoid It

By Jennifer Stromer-Galley

Journal of I Copyright (ISSN: 1933 DOI: 10.10

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The Internet has properties that make possible increased interaction between citizens and political leaders. Interviews of campaign staff and analysis of U.S. candidate websites in 1996 and 1998, however, indicate that most political campaigns are resistant to using human-interactive features. I conceptualize interaction, offering that there are two kinds: human interaction and media interaction. More democratizing components of the medium, human interaction, are avoided in favor of media interaction because of the potential for a loss of control and ambiguity of campaign communication.

In March 1994, Vice President AI Gore spoke before the International Telecommunications Union (TTU) in Buenos Aires about building a Global Information Infrastructure (GII), an electronic network that would make possible a high-speed network for business and government to share information internationally. In his address, Gore explained:

The GII will be a metaphor for democracy itself. Representative democracy does not work with an all-powerful central government.... Instead, representative democracy relies on the assumption that the best way for a nation to make its political decisions is for each citizen—the human equivalent of the self-contained processor—to have the power to control his or her own life.

Furthermore, the GII would "promote the functioning of democracy by greatly enhancing the participation of citizens in decision-making" (Gore, 1994). The networks of networks, he argued, will enable citizens to engage in the governing process by making participation easier and faster.

Jennifer Stromer-Galley is a doctoral student at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include political communication, rhetorical theory and criticism, and new technology. Part of this research was funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts. The author would like to thank Aryeh Aslan and Carly Salaman for their assistance with the 1998 interviews, as well as Heather Ross and Alana Nappi for their assistance in the 1998 website analysis. She also thanks W. Russell Neuman, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, and the anonymous reviewers for their insights and critical comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

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for the creation of not one but multiple issue and a model and interest-based public spheres, the interactions of which are said to encourage an "informational democracy" (Castells, 1996, p. 353).

This prediction of the core philosophical tenets of Web 2.0 is participation online as co-production. It is of We

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Keywords

activism, campaigns, citizenship, civic engagement, elections, ethno communication technologies, internet, participant-observation, p

Introduction

'I don't believe much in websites.' That was the blunt reply of the teer coordinator in one congressional campaign when I asked hi internet in his job. 'But I don't know what people did before the i I present an analysis that reconciles his dismissal of the state campaign had invested almost 40 thousand dollars in with his st

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Scandinavian Political Studie

A Journal published for the Nordic Political Science Asso

ISSN 0080-6757 Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9477.2009.00238.x © 2009 The Author(s) Journal compilation © 2009 Nordic Political Science Association

Online and Undecided: Voters and the Internet in the Contemporary Norwegian Election Campaign

Rune Karlsen*

This article addresses the Internet as a campaign communication channel, and the approach is to explore voters' use of the Internet for electoral information in the contemporary Norwegian campaign. Theoretically it is appeal for a distinction between party-controlled and uncontrolled online communication channels, and this distinction proves important as patterns of use differ between these two types of the new media. Based on digital inequalities and assertions of web campaigning being 'preaching to the converted', the article explores the factors that contribute to the use of the Internet for electoral information, and to what extent online voters are available on the electoral market. The article finds that the Internet was an important information source for a relatively small, but nonetheless substantial, part of the electorale. However, most other channels of communication were considered more important. Digital inequalities related to socioeconomic status and gender are mostly about following the campaign on online newspapers (uncontrolled), not acquiring information from party websites (controlled). Moreover, while the youngest, most inexperienced voters visited party websites to a greater extent than their older cohorts, they did not follow the campaign on online newspapers to a greater extent than their older cohorts, they did not follow the campaign on online newspapers to a greater extent furthermore, online voters are not 'converted' to a party, but are available on the electoral market.

Electoral information is a key aspect of modern democracies and democratic theory. Dahl (1998, 37) maintains that each voter should have equal opportunity to learn about the relevant policy alternatives and their likely consequences. The opportunities to learn about politics have changed considerably during the last decades. Once campaigning was about mobilising the party electorate through mass rallies. Today the ties between parties and voters have weakened, voter volatility has increased and most people get their information about politics and the campaign from the (mass) media. Furthermore, the last decade or so has seen the increasing prominence of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Indeed, campaigning is said to have entered a new period characterised by extensive use of the new ICTs (Farrell 1996; Farrell & Webb 2000; Norris 2000; Blumler & Kavanagh 1999). Whereas ICTs generally have received a great deal of

* Rune Karlsen, Research Fellow, Institute for Social Research, PO Box 3233, Elisenberg, 0208 Oslo, Norway, E-mail: rka@socialresearch.no

Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 32 - No. 2, 2009

describe

lopt hem

Keywords Europe; young people; political participation; web survey

Does the Internet reinvigorate political participation?

Many sources indicate that young people are not as much involved in politics as their parents were (Mindich 2005; Putnam 2000). Analyses show that this is not related to their age – the older generations were more active as youngsters than young people are today – but can be attributed to a changing attitude towards politics (Mindich 2005). This change is related to a more individualistic and even hedonistic attitude, which results, among other things, in limited attention in politics. Generally, young people are much less interested in gathering political information about their community. Mindich (2005, pp. 18–33) shows that there is a long-term decline in news interest in the USA: young people spend much less time on reading or viewing the news than their parents. Consequently, their

Routledge Taylor & Transch Gros. Information, Communication & Society Vol. 12, No. 6, September 2009, pp. 879-898 ISSN 1369-118X print /ISSN 1468-4462 online © 2009 Taylor & Francis http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals DOI: 10.1080/13691180602156508 use has evenived and is increasingly used in ging online tools and presents a rationale irs. The suggested approach is exemplified 010 Swedish election. Although many of ave gone largely unfulfilled, the successful US presidential campaign has again raised arly social media applications like Twitter, e campaigning and deliberation. Besides ritter use was fashioned during the 2010 stifferent user types based on how highgesting a novel approach to the study of study contributes to the burgeoning field ts into the practice of drive microblogging.

edia, Sweden, Twitter

eda, Uppeala University, Box 513, 751 20 Uppeala,

(More) Positive take	(More) Negative take	Employed by (among others)
Equalization/ Innovation	Normalization	Gibson, Lusoli and Ward, 2008, Lilleker, Koc-Michalska, Schweitzer, Jacunski, Jackson and Vedel, 2011, Margolis and Resnick, 2000, Mascheroni and Mattoni, 2012, Resnick, 1998, Schweitzer, 2008, Schweitzer, 2009
Optimistic	Pessimistic	Bentivegna, 2006, Coleman and Blumler, 2009
Cyber-Optimist	Cyber-Realist	Shane, 2004, Wright, 2011
Optimist	Sceptic	Christensen and Bengtsson, 2011
Utopian	Dystopian	Hara and Jo, 2007
Shift	Enhancement	Larsson, 2011
E-ruption	Web 1.5	Kalnes, 2009, Pascu, Osimo, Ulbrich, Turlea and Burgelman, 2007

(more) optimistic view

- Largely stems from comparably early, primarily conceptual efforts, sketching out the potentials of digital media
- "Many users and contemporaneous scholars believed that computer networking technology had the potential to dramatically alter the nature and shape of political discourse – and of democracy itself – by engaging and energizing new participants in the political process"

(Foot & Schneider, 2006, p. 8)



Obama's First Real Tweet!

Do you like this story?

Like Be the first of your friends to like this.

Although social media played a significant role in the election of Barack Obama, the President has admitted that he's never actually used Twitter.

That changed this afternoon though, as Obama "pushed the button" on a tweet for the American Red Cross, whose Twitter o account and use of text messaging donations to the tune of more than \$20 million has been at the center of the disaster recovery efforts in Haiti.

According to the tweet, the President and the First Lady are currently visiting the organization's disaster operation center:



(more) pessimistic/realistic view

Focus on the actual uses rather than the potentials



Campaigning on the Internet

Parties and Candidates on the World Wide Web in the 1996 Primary Season

Michael Margolis, David Resnick, and Chin-chang Tu

Will cyberspace bring new forms of participatory democracy as computer-mediated

First, we must remember that unless extraordinary events like a war or economic depression impinge on their daily lives, most people don't actively participate in politics and neither know nor care very much about it.

Second, contrary to the hopes of some theorists of participatory democracy, the Internet is rapidly becoming a commercial medium. As

doesn't. If you do a Gopher search, or ask a Web robot to find the word

The Internet may have the potential to change the nature of American and indeed even world politics, but we doubt that it will.

Right now, only two sites on the Net are run by the Democratic party. Both

[...] we expect that most people will act as high-tech consumers rather than political activists. In sum: plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose

linked to by some of the Democratic pages, and is included here on that basis. A profile of Senator Edward Kennedy, the first Senator on the Web, completes the picture. (Mann 1995:43).

1996: A majority of the American political party sites listed on Yahoo now belong to the Republicans and Democrats.

Press/Politics 2(1):59-78

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On-Line Interaction and Why Candidates Avoid It

By Jennifer Stromer-Galley

The magic elixir [...] to reinvigorate the masses to participate in the process of government"

date websites in 1996 and 1998, however, indicate that most political campaigns are resistant to using human-interactive features. I conceptualize interaction, offering that there are two kinds: human interaction and media interaction. More

Political candidates' websites must be viewed, then, as infomercials for the candidate – extended advertisements in the best light possible in order to win the most votes to lead the country, the state, or the city

network for business and government to share information internationally. In his address, Gore explained:

The real work of democracy, however, is not only in letting people donate money or download screen savers onto a computer. The real work also is in human-human interaction

Furthermore, the GII would "promote the functioning of democracy by greatly enhancing the participation of citizens in decision-making" (Gore, 1994). The network of networks, he argued, will enable citizens to engage in the governing process by making participation easier and faster.

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Anthony Giddens

British social theorist, born 1938. Prolific output. Theory of 'structuration' solved problem of whether individual acts, or major social forces, shape society, by asserting that it is human agency which continuously reproduces social structure. This relationship means individuals can bring change. In the 1990s, Giddens fashioned theory on how selves find meaning, and create narratives of identity, in modern society.

For more, see www.theory.org.uk/giddens

[Card 1 of 12]

STRENGTHS: Social analysis mixing classic and modern

RISKS: Misguided postmodernists may attack

SPECIAL SKILLS: Appreciation of impact of feminism

Conversations with

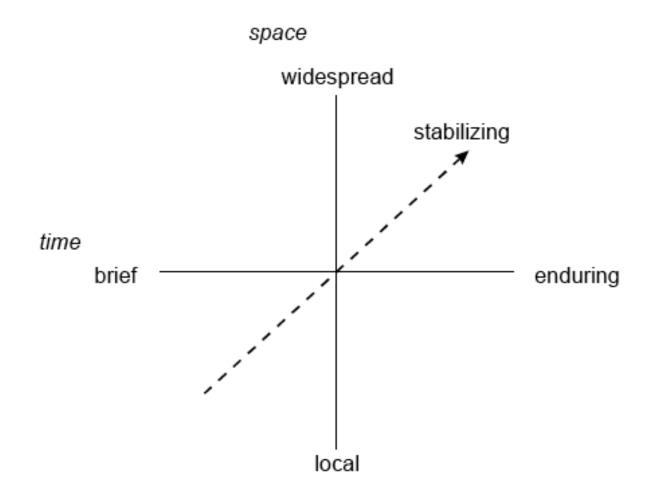
Anthony Giddens

Making Sense of Modernity



Anthony Giddens and Christopher Pierson Convention – what people do, what they do in their dayto-day lives – can have very severe constraining effects, of
course, on what is possible for any individual. Language is
the same; yet language is the means of doing all sorts of things
one couldn't accomplish without it. Although it has a physical presence, technology is no different: it is constraining and
enabling. It depends upon relationships between reasoning
agents, who have various habits and conventions and do
things. The fact that as they do these things in relation to
machines and so forth these are the stuff out of which structural properties are constructed. At the same time, structural

Giddens, A., & Pierson, C. (1998). Conversations with Anthony Giddens: making sense of modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press., p 83.



Rose, J., & Scheepers, R. (2001). Structuration Theory and Information System Development - Frameworks for Practice. Paper presented at the 9th European Conference on Information Systems, Bled, Slovenia.

Using Technology and Constituting Structures: A Practice Lens for Studying Technology in Organizations

Wanda J. Orlikowski

Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 50 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, wanda@mit.edu

[...] "most people don't do things very differently. Most of my studies, if you look at them, are more about people doing more of the same."

they interact with a technology in their ongoing practices, enact structures which shape their emergent and situated use of that technology. Viewing the use of technology as a process of enactment enables a deeper understanding of the constitutive role of social practices in the ongoing use and change of technologies in the workplace. After developing this lens, I offer an example of its use in research, and then suggest some implications for the study of technology in organizations.

(Information Technology; Organization; Structuration Theory; Work Practices)

Technology—and its relationship to organizational structures, processes, and outcomes—has long been of interest to organizational researchers. Over the years, different research perspectives on technology have developed in parallel with research perspectives on organizations—for example, contingency theory (Woodward 1965, Galbraith 1977, Carter 1984, Daft and Lengel 1986), strategic choice models (Child 1972, Buchanan and Boddy 1983, Davis and Taylor 1986, Zuboff 1988), Marxist studies

1980, Offikowski 1992, Desanctis and Poole 1994)

Today, both technologies and organizations are undergoing dramatic changes in form and function, and new and unprecedented forms and functions are becoming evident. In response, organizational researchers have applied notions of innovation, learning, and improvisation to account for such dynamic and emerging patterns of organizing (Brown and Duguid 1991, Weick 1993, Hutchins 1991, Brown and Eisenhardt 1997, Hedberg et al. 1997, Barrett 1998, Hatch 1998, Lant 1999). Similarly, researchers of technology have also begun to use the notions of innovation, learning, and improvisation to understand the organizational implications of new technologies (Ciborra 1996, Cook and Brown 1999, Orlikowski 1996, Tushman et al. 1997). This paper continues the development of concepts that address the role of emergence and improvisation in technology and technology use, and in particular, seeks to extend the structurational perspective in this direction.

The past decade has seen the development of a number of structurational models of technology which have generated numerous insights into the role and influence of technologies in organizations (Barley 1986, Poole and

1047-7039/00/1104/0404/\$05.00 1526-5455 electronic ISSN ORGANIZATION SCIENCE, © 2000 INFORMS Vol. 11, No. 4, July-August 2000, pp. 404-428

Empirical approaches



Common Starting Points...

- There is (supposedly) a crisis in contemporary, western democracies
 - declining parliamentary-political engagement, lower voting attendance (e.g. Hermans and Vergeer, 2012 Lilleker and Malagón, 2010)
- This crisis can (supposedly) be remedied by the Internet
 - Techno-utopianism... nothing new
- Same hopes in the 1.0 era empirical studies largely disproved
 resurfacing with a shiny, new 2.0 look
- Plenty of studies look at how politicians and citizens make use of these services during elections...
- Comparative studies between similar countries and across elections









CONVERGENCE

Going viral? Comparing parties on social media during the 2014 Swedish election

Gonvergence: The International journal of Research Into New Media Technologies 1–16 © The Author(s) 2015 Reprints and permissions ray pub. cost ki/journal of the missions new DOI: 10.1177/1354856515577891 con sage

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Anders Olof Larsson

University of Oslo, Norway

Abstract |

While plenty of research have provided useful insights into political parties' use of Twitter, comparably few efforts have focused on the arguably more popular Facebook service. This article presents a comparative approach, detailing similar functionalities on each platform and providing statistical analyses of the social media activities undertaken by Swedish political parties during the 2014 elections. Moreover, the types of attention and feedback received by these parties are analyzed, suggesting that while sizable parties are not necessarily the most ardent at using their social media presences, they receive the most attention. The study largely complements previous research, suggesting that larger actors receive the bulk of new media attention on both platforms—with some internal variation. However, the role of the right-wing populist Sweden Democrats is clearly felt throughout, suggesting the apparent prowess of controversial parties in the online context.

Keywords

Comparative, election campaign, Facebook, political communication, social media, Twitter, Sweden

Introduction

Novel media and communication channels have always been greeted by pundits, critics, and some scholars, with unrealistic ideas about their applications to remedy some societal malady. In particular, such speculation has revolved around traditional definitions of parliamentary democracy and the lack of engagement in it among the general public, particularly younger generations (Chadwick, 2006). Musings like these have perhaps been especially plentiful in relation to the

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Comparative insights are needed

- Facebook and Twitter use at the hands of Swedish political parties during the 2014 general elections
- Go beyond the 'routine' aspect of simply having an online presence in the form of web sites (Gibson, 2004; Druckman et al., 2007) or on the services discussed here (Groshek and Al-Rawi, 2013)
 - "new tools are broadly available [...] scholars can learn little from comparing which candidate has more, or better, technology" (Bimber, 2014: 132)
- Detail the actual activity as undertaken by political actors...
- ... As well as the types of feedback that this activity yields on both platforms (Hansen and Kosiara-Pedersen, 2014)



Research Questions

Adopting an overarching, structural approach, the study presents two research questions:

- To what extent did Swedish political parties use Facebook and Twitter during the 2014 election?
- What types of feedback did Swedish political parties receive on Facebook and Twitter during the 2014 election?

What parties were involved in the election?

Specific characteristics of these parties?

Specific characteristics of Twitter and Facebook use?

... Based on these characteristics, what should we expect?



Party (abbreviation)	2010 Vote %	Twitter Followers	Facebook Fans	Incumbent after 2010 elections?	ldeology
Social Democrats (S)					
Conservative Party (M)					
Environmental Party (Mp)					
Liberal Party (Fp)					
Centre Party (C)					
Sweden Democrats (Sd)					
Left Party (V)					
Christian Democrats (Kd)					
Pirate Party (Pp)					
Feminist Initiative (Fi)					

Party (abbreviation)	2010 Vote %	Twitter Followers	Facebook Fans	Incumbent after 2010 elections?	ldeology
Social Democrats (S)	30.7	38 728	79 866	No	Left
Conservative Party (M)	30.1	32 133	40 374	Yes	Right
Environmental Party (Mp)	7.3	18 090	45 295	No	Environmentalist
Liberal Party (Fp)	7.1	17 666	9 881	Yes	Centre
Centre Party (C)	6.6	17 746	12 327	Yes	Centre
Sweden Democrats (Sd)	5.7	13 008	85 250	No	Populist Right
Left Party (V)	5.6	30 483	40 456	No	Left
Christian Democrats (Kd)	5.6	14 704	6 158	Yes	Right
Pirate Party (Pp)	0.65	38 795	84 218	No	Centre
Feminist Initiative (Fi)	0.40	25 537	108 270	No	Left

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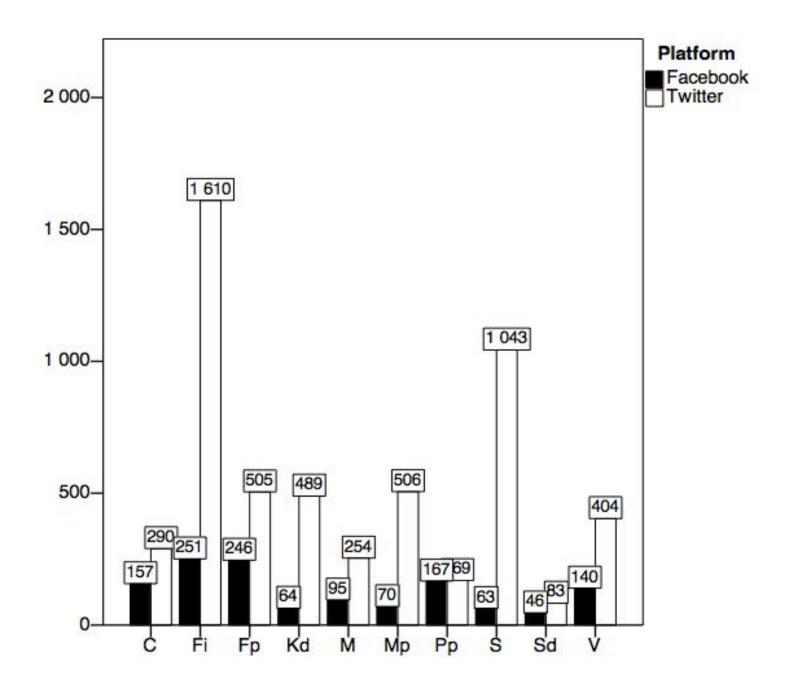
Method

- Data collection
 - For Facebook: Netvizz
 - For Twitter: yourTwapperKeeper
 - Official party accounts traced for a one-month leading up to the election (held on September 14th, 2014)
- Data analysis
 - SPSS
 - Tablelau

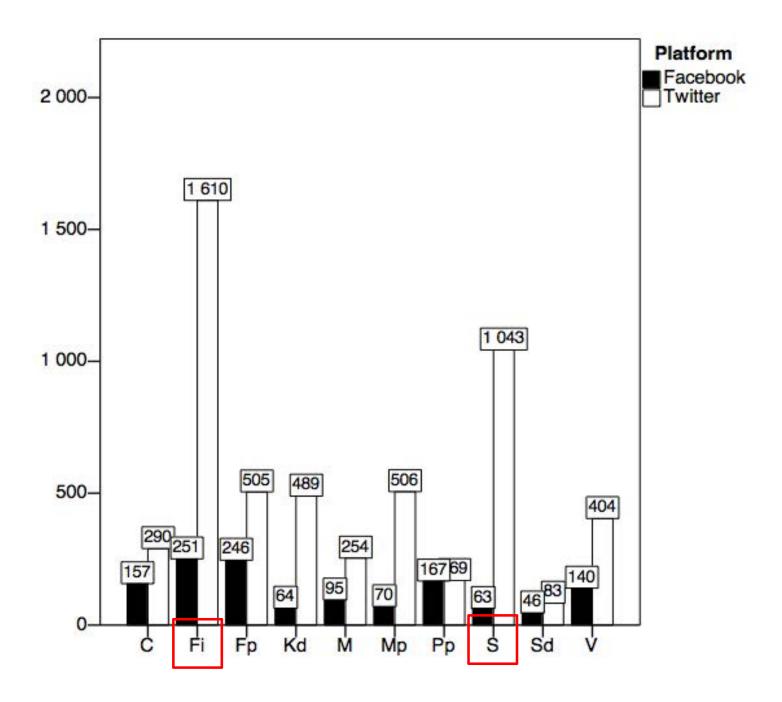


To what extent did Swedish political parties use Facebook and Twitter during the 2014 election?





Bars indicate N of posts or tweets made during one-month period leading up to 2014 elections



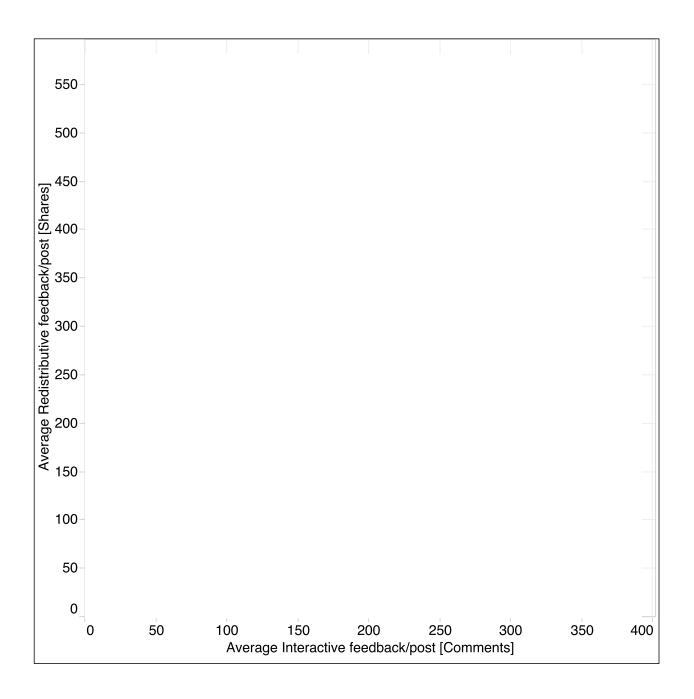
Bars indicate N of posts or tweets made during one-month period leading up to 2014 elections

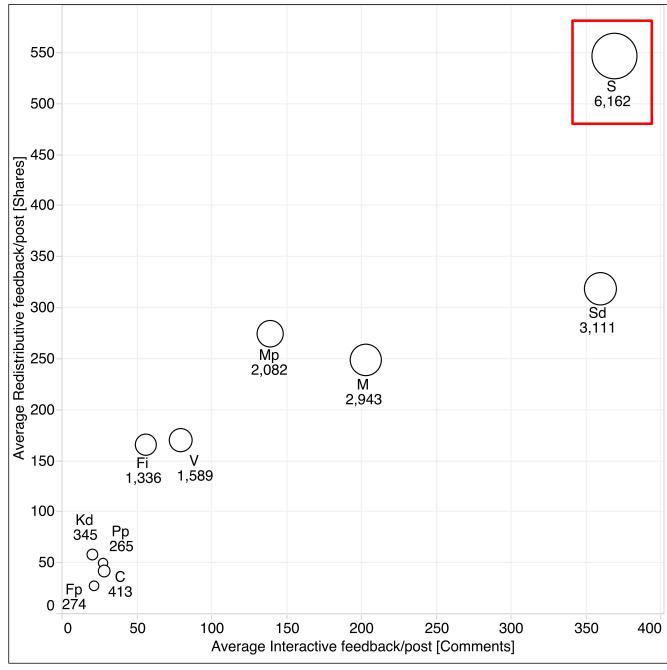
	Twitter	Facebook
Redistribute		
Interact		
Acknowledge		

	Twitter	Facebook
Redistribute	Retweet	Share
Interact	Mention, @mention (Direct message)	Comment (Chat)
Acknowledge	Favorite	Like









Average feedback received per post on Facebook.

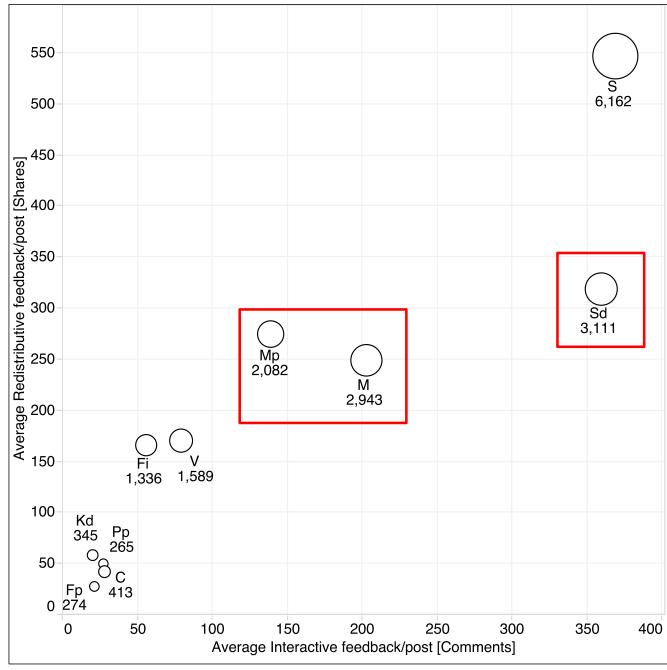
Horizontal axis indicates M of Comments/post; Vertical line indicates M of Shares/Post; Node size and label indicate M of Likes/Post.

Most liked, commented post



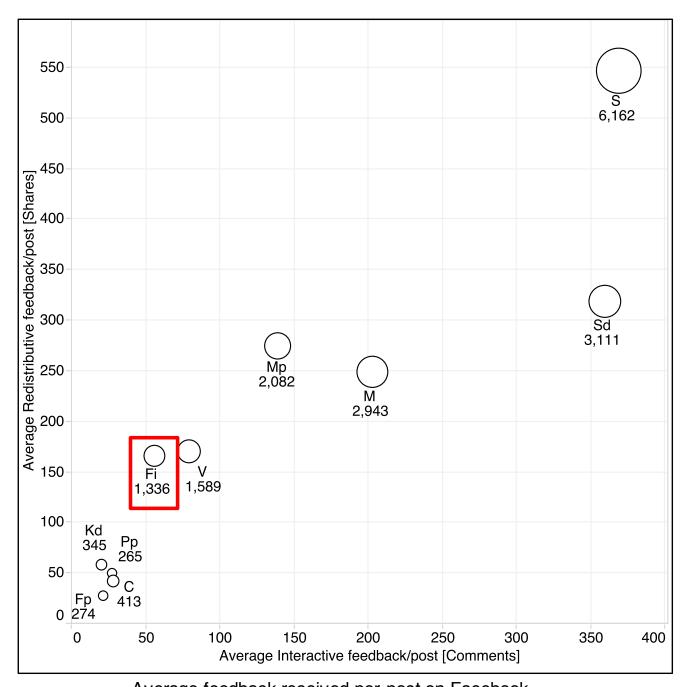


Most shared post



Average feedback received per post on Facebook.

Horizontal axis indicates M of Comments/post; Vertical line indicates M of Shares/Post; Node size and label indicate M of Likes/Post.



Average feedback received per post on Facebook.

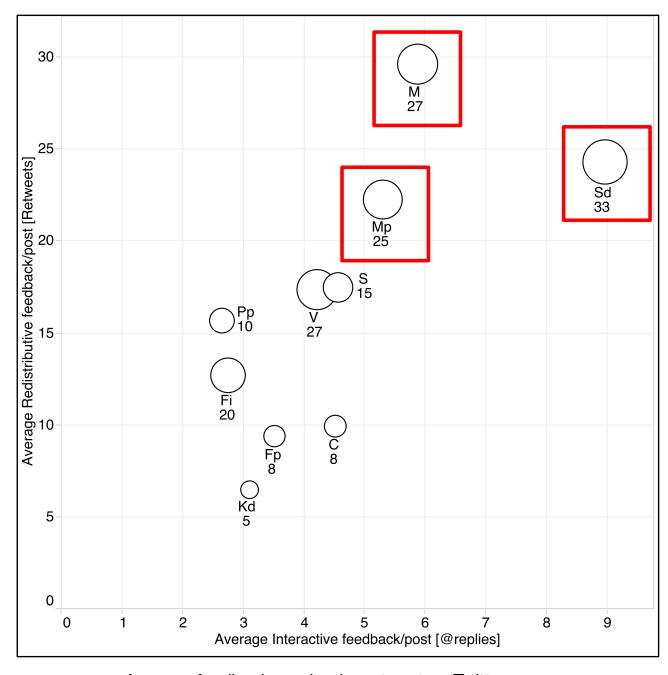
Horizontal axis indicates M of Comments/post; Vertical line indicates M of Shares/Post; Node size and label indicate M of Likes/Post.



Most shared post

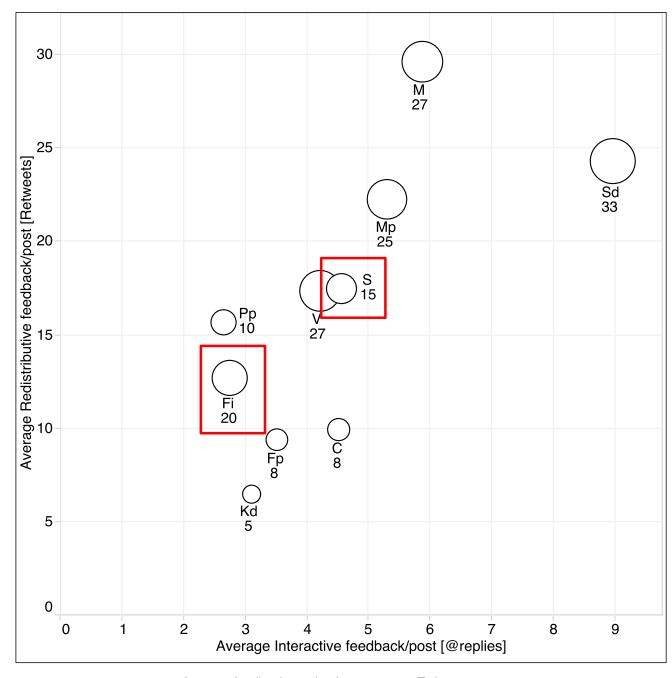






Average feedback received per tweet on Twitter.

Horizontal axis indicates M of @mentions/post; Vertical line indicates M of Retweets/Post; Node size and label indicate M of Favorites/Post.



Average feedback received per tweet on Twitter.

Horizontal axis indicates M of @mentions/post; Vertical line indicates M of Retweets/Post; Node size and label indicate M of Favorites/Post.

In conclusion...

Dominance of Twitter over Facebook

- "Communicative mismatch" (Larsson & Kalsnes, 2014)
 between citizens and politicians
- "Swedish political parties appear to prioritize reaching out societal elites on Twitter rather than to the more 'Average Joe' type citizen one would find on Facebook."
- Possible opinion leaders few redistributions but redistributions that reach the right people?



In conclusion...

- Sweden Democrats emerge as succesful on both services
 - "the politically cynical or disenfranchised may be using the Internet to express their concerns" (Gil de Zúñiga et al, 2010: 46)
 - Social democrats popular on Facebook, Conservatives on Twitter... fits their respective voter profile
 - The curious case of Feminist Initiative... lack of party organization? Strong 'grassroots' not enough?
- Is feedback always a positive thing?
 - Not necessarily but from the point of view of the algorithm...







Unpublished manuscript – do not distribute anders larsson@westerdals.no

Skiing all the way to the polls - Exploring the popularity of personalized posts on Norwegian political Instagram accounts

Abstract

While studies have gauged the degree to which political actors focus on their personal sides rather than on their more official sides in their communication, few research efforts have been geared towards assessing to what extent personalized content could be considered successful in gaining traction among online followers. The current study compares the ways in which the content offered by Norwegian parties and party leaders is received by those who follow their updates on Instagram – a social media image sharing service. Results indicate that party leaders are more successful than parties in gaining attention on the studied service, and that they offer personalized content to higher degrees than the parties they represent. While personalized content might lead to increased political engagement among Instagram users, the fact that personalization 'works' in terms of gaining attention might also skew political PR and marketing towards excessive use of such themes.

Introduction

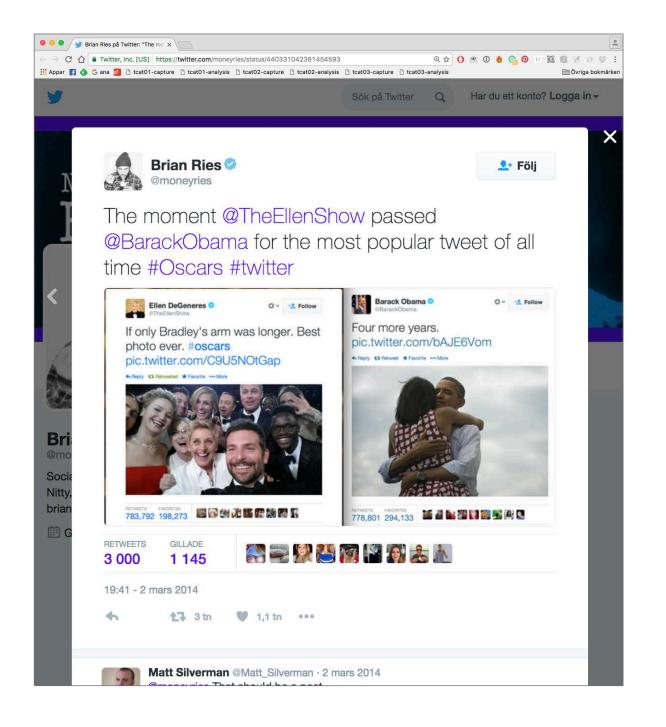
The online environment is an essential battleground for political actors. Granted, while television still appears as the dominant "voter communication tool" (Marcinkowski and Metag, 2014: 152) in a series of different political contexts (e.g. Hansen and Kosiara-Pedersen, 2014; Lilleker and Jackson, 2010), we can also discern considerable overlap between comparably older and newer media formats – such as the often-reported upsurges of Twitter use during televised election debates in countries like Australia (Bruns and Highfield, 2013), Germany (Jungherr, 2014), Norway (Author and Co-author 1, 2014) or Sweden (Author and Co-author 1, 2016). Besides these more overarching tendencies of political

Personalized politics

- "a greater focus on personalities and leaders" (Gibson et al. 2008: 15)
- "growing electoral relevance of the individual characteristics and qualities of politicians, including information about their private lives" (Kluver et al., 2007: 46)
- Party focus diminishing, specific issues less important
- Focus on (charistmatic) party leaders, their everyday lives and private spheres



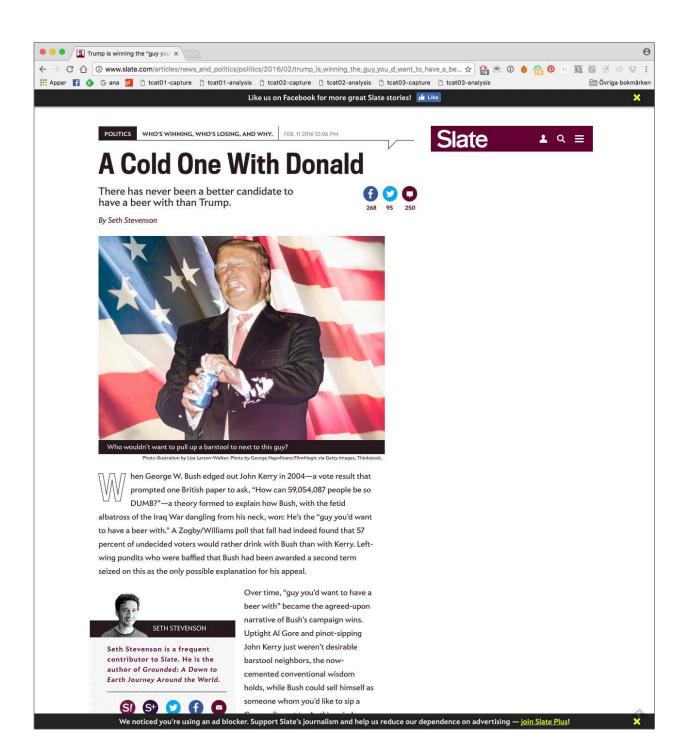




Personalization online

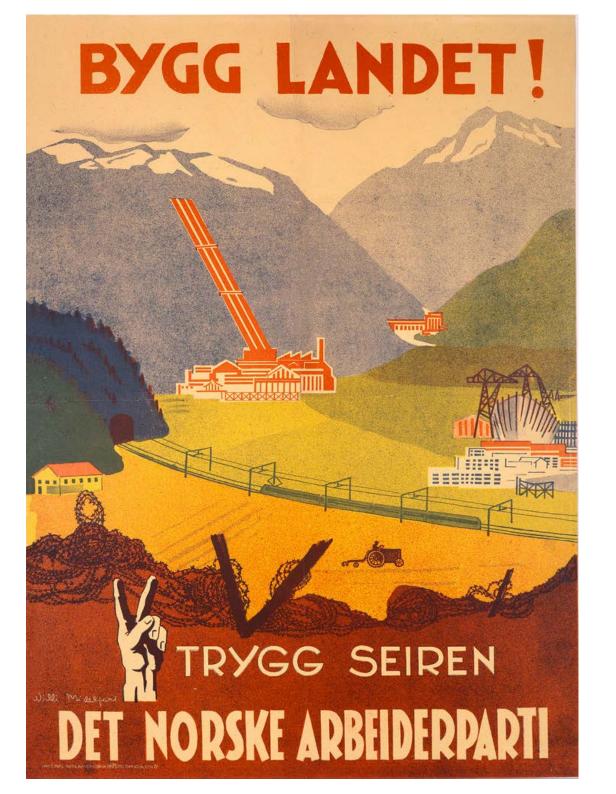
- "Personalization is not a new phenomenon, but has already been applied in political advertising for a long time" (Hermans and Vergeer 2012: 76)
- Process started with TV Kennedy as an example
- Internet functions as a catalyst for personalization
 - Online channels controlled by politicians themselves
 - Possible to avoid certain questions, issues
 - Possible to focus on issues of own choice, "spin" issues that challenge them
 - The importance of beer



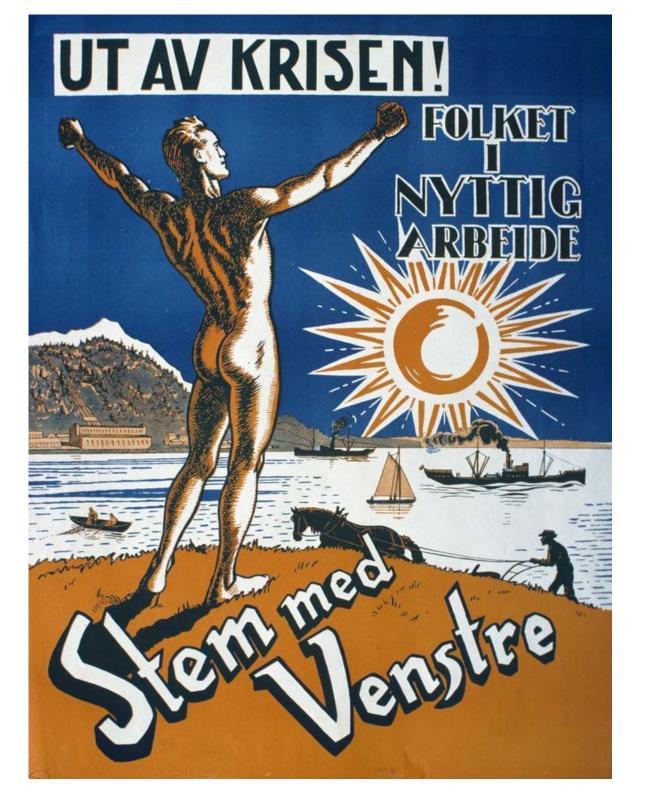


Scandinavian political posters... then and now













Välfärden är inte till salu





Rösta på Vänsterpartiet www.vansterpartiet.se



Previous work...



Article



Picturing the Party: Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections

Social Media + Society July-September 2016: 1–11 © The Author(s) 2016 Reprints and permissions: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav DOI: 10.1177/2056305116662179



Kirill Filimonov¹, Uta Russmann² and Jakob Svensson¹

Abstract

This article explores Swedish parties' activities on Instagram during the 2014 elections. Understanding party campaign communication as highly strategic, that is, communication to persuade and mobilize voters in order to win the elections, we

Filimonov, Russmann & Svensson (2016):

"The image the parties were presenting leaned toward personalization with a strong presence of top candidates in their postings. Top candidates were primarily displayed in a political/professional context"

Keywords

Instagram, political parties, visual communication, online campaigning, Sweden

Introduction

The utilization of communication platforms by campaigning politicians has a long history, from telephones in the 1896 US presidential campaign (Jones, 1964) to presidential candidates' mastery of radio (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) and television (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1970). The visual medium of television is arguably still the most important platform for campaigning politicians and their parties (Towner, 2013). Political actors seem to appreciate the significant role visuals play in constructing political images (Schill, 2012).

Since the early 2000s, there is an increasing academic interest and hype around digital communication platforms in election campaigns, which really kicked off after the 2008 Obama campaign (cf. Costa, 2009; Larsson & Svensson, 2014). Since then, the use and expected effects of digital communication platforms in election campaigns have been studied extensively and in different contexts (e.g., Anduiza, 2009; Dimitrova, Shehata, Strömbäck, & Nord, 2014; Gustafsson, 2012). Twitter seems to be the platform that has caught most of the scholarly attention (e.g., Goldbeck, Grimes, & Rogers, 2010; Grusell & Nord, 2011; Jackson &

Lilleker, 2011; Svensson & Larsson, 2016; Vergeer, Hermans, & Sams, 2011). This is mainly due to the ease of harvesting tweets for quantitative analysis (Bruns & Liang, 2012).

In this article, we follow this tradition of studying the use of digital communication platforms in the hands of campaigning political actors. But we direct our attention to another platform: Instagram. Instagram is different from other social media such as Twitter in that it rather revolves around uploading pictures than disseminating text-based messages. This brings us back to the role of visuals in political communication. Despite the enduring centrality of television in election campaigns (as mentioned above), "[t]he visual aspects of political communication remain one of the

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Gunn Sara Enli & Eli Skogerbø

PERSONALIZED CAMPAIGNS IN PARTY-CENTRED POLITICS

Twitter and Facebook as arenas for political communication

013

Enli & Skogerbø (2013):

"A first key finding is that the politicians' report higher and more idealistic motivations for democratic dialogue for their social media use than they actually manage to manoeuvre in practice."

"For other politicians, social media represent yet another marketing tool. Our second finding is that politicians' reported motive to use social media for marketing purposes was reflected in their actual use. Still, social media marketing was personalized and involved private exposure and individual initiatives."

(Received 16 December 2012; final version received 28 February 2013)

Social media have over the past few years become integrated into election campaigning and other forms of political communication (Skogerbø 2011). As such they provide new impetus to the *personalization of politics*, a returning theme in political communication (Thompson 1995; van Zoonen & Holtz-Bacha 2000). Our hypothesis is that social media, as a result of their design, affordances,



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Personalization on social media

- Social media... "fit into long-term ongoing processes where political communication has become increasingly focused on personalities and personal traits of politicians" (Enli och Skogerbø 2013: 758)
- "the rise of electronic media is [...] intertwined with personalization of politics" (Svensson 2012: 185)



Definition?

- "A shift from party organizations to individual politicians, detailing their respective private spheres, emotional reflections and individual proficiencies" (Kluver, et al., 2007; Kruikemeier, et al., 2013; Rahat and Sheafer, 2007; Van Aelst et al., 2011).
- "private, domestic or personal, familial matters in contradistinction to public, political matters" (Fraser, 1992: 151)





Personalization in e-campaigning: A crossnational comparison of personalization strategies used on candidate websites of 17 countries in EP elections 2009 new media & society 15(1) 7Z-92 © The Author(s) 2012 Reprints and permission: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav DOI: 10.11771/461444412457333 nms.sagepub.com

Liesbeth Hermans and Maurice Vergeer

Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Abstract

Candidate websites provide politicians with opportunities to present themselves in an individual way. To a greater or lesser extent politicians share personal information in their biographies and provide options to connect with citizens by putting links on their websites to their social networking sites (SNS). In this paper, although acting on different levels, both strategies are indicated as forms of personalization strategies used by politicians in their online communication. This cross-national study explores the use of these strategies on candidate websites in 17 countries during the elections for the European Parliament (EP) in June 2009. This is a comparative study of the personalized and individualized campaigning styles used during elections. Findings show that three general dimensions of personalization can be distinguished; 'professional', 'home and family' and 'personal preferences'. While the first two dimensions show a higher level of use among candidates, the third dimension on private information is hardly used. Results show also that countries from Central Europe inform their citizens more about their professional and personal circumstances, and Mediterranean countries use personalization strategies the least. Furthermore, the overall findings show that SNS were not frequently used during the 2009 e-campaigning. West European countries use links to SNS more frequently than

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Following Hermans & Vergeer:

 Personalized content offered by politicians can be understood across three different, yet related themes – professional, home and family and personal preferences



Definition following Hermans & Vergeer:

- Professional:
 - turning public issues into private ones
- Home and family:
 - focus on the personal relationships of the political actor
- Personal preferences:
 - focused on the disclosure of a variety of personal inclinations – regarding cultural and other phenomena such as literature, television, music or sports



Method

Data collection

- Official Instagram accounts of parties and politicians
- InstaR package for the R software environment (Barbera, 2016)
- Changes in API access… commercialization a la Twitter?

Data analysis

- Statistical analyses to identify most liked, commented posts
- Mean comparisons to determine popularity of party and leader accounts respectively
- "Regram"?
- Qualitative assessment of most liked, commented posts
 - Does personalized content "work"?



Party (abbrev.) Party leader	Party leader since	First post in sample	Posts	M posts/day	Followers ^a	Following ^a	Ratio of Following/ Followers
Labour Party (Ap)	<u> </u>	12-06-29	1071	.75	7458	731	.09
Jonas Gahr Støre	June 2014	14-06-17	146	.21	12700	100	.008
Progress Party (Frp)		12-06-14	211	.15	1233	240	.02
Siv Jensen	May 2006	12-10-18	8	.006	4232	12	.003
Conservatives (H)		12-10-29	1556	1.21	7015	5519	.79
H – Erna Solberg	May 2004	12-04-25	340	.23	36000	98	.003
Green Party (MDG)		13-04-16	532	.47	7877	7500	.95
U.A. Bastholm	Jan. 2016	12-12-19	199	.16	541	476	.88
Red Party (R)		15-04-07	88	.21	1347	518	.38
Bjørnar Moxnes	Jan. 2012	15-03-30	173		4299	408	.09
Socialist Left Party (Sv)		12-08-15	736	.53	3223	445	.14
Audun Lysbakken	Jan. 2012	13-05-01	418	.37	4508	263	.06
Liberal Party (V)		13-03-08	411	.35	1630	1436	.88
Trine Skei Grande	Jan. 2010	12-12-01	566	.44	5128	7500	1.46

Results



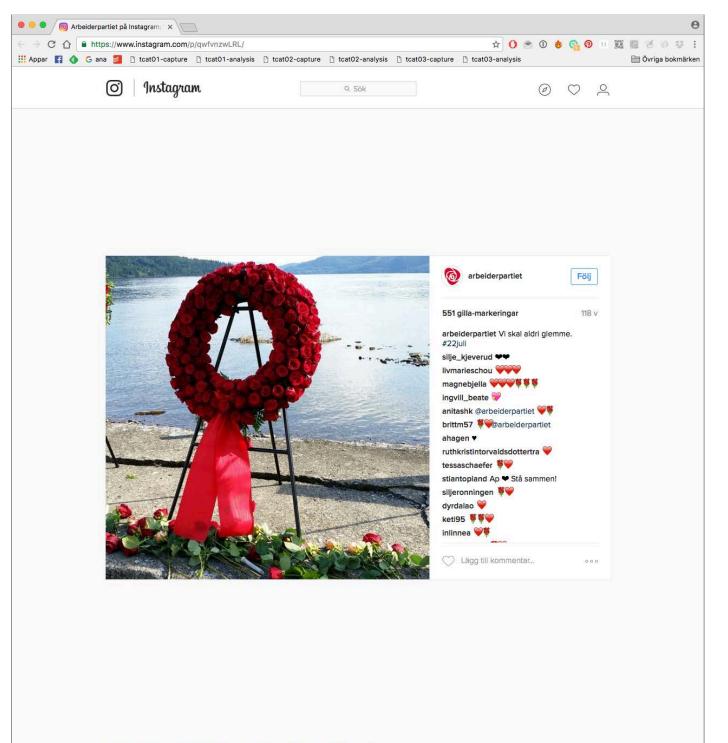
	Likes			Comments			
	N of posts	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	Mean	Std. Dev.	t
Labour Party (Ap)	1071	156.22	103.91	-10.98***	1.78	3.49	-3.31**
Jonas Gahr Støre	146	345.51	204.76		4.18	8.66	
Progress Party (Frp)	211	32.48	27.15	-4.87**	.71	1.63	-1.51
Siv Jensen	8	256.38	129.81		54.38	100.49	
Conservatives (H)	1556	98.62	56.39	-20.96***	1.25	2.18	-9.78***
H – Erna Solberg	340	677.49	508.46		27.94	50.31	
Green Party (MDG)	532	137.63	120.37	23.01***	3.75	4.99	13.53***
U.A. Bastholm	199	16.19	9.59		.65	1.05	
Red Party (R)	88	59.65	36.25	-11.77***	.63	1.31	-6.98***
Bjørnar Moxnes	173	184.72	130.27		3.68	5.46	
Socialist Left Party	736	73.91	55.45	-11.25***	.59	1.21	-8.11***
Audun Lysbakken	418	116.49	65.16		1.73	2.73	
Liberal Party	411	29.60	22.06	-37.68***	.48	1.02	-17.36***
Trine Skei Grande	566	128.64	56.92		3.31	3.69	

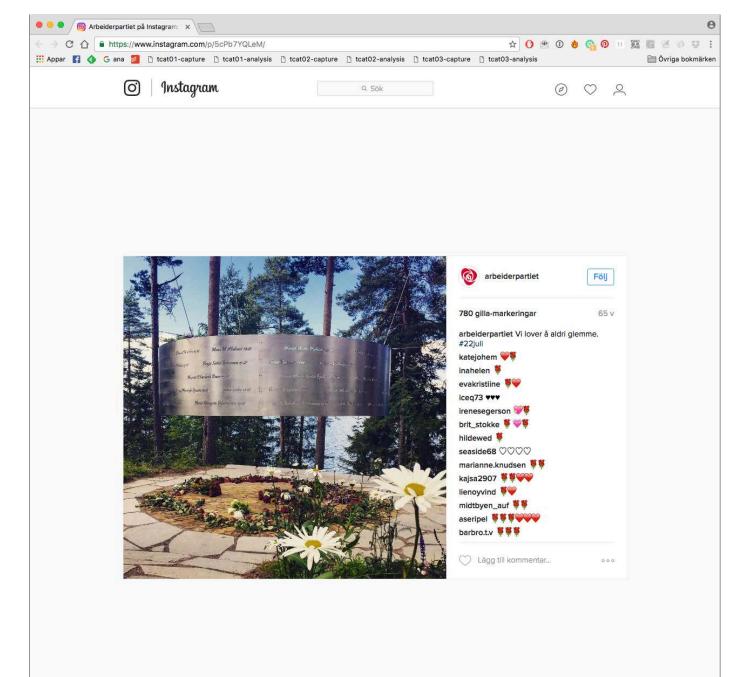
Popular party posts

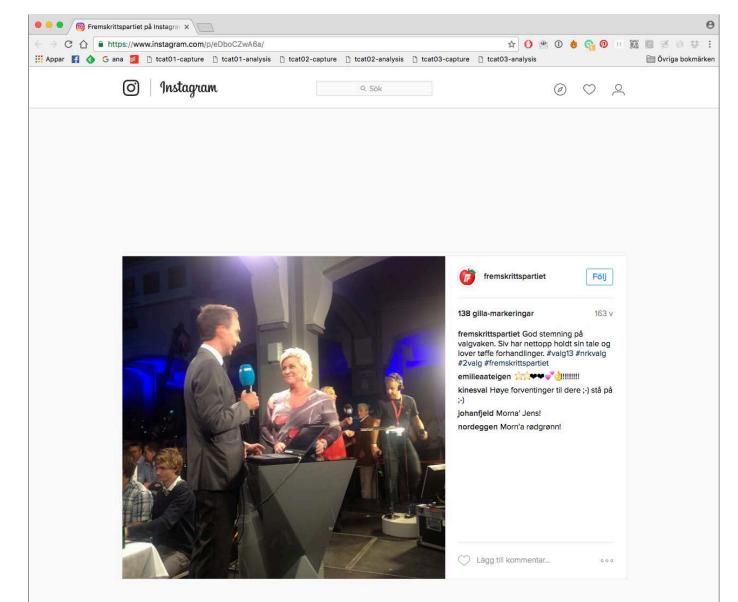






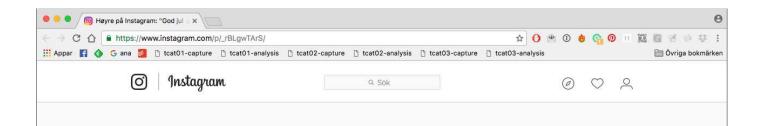




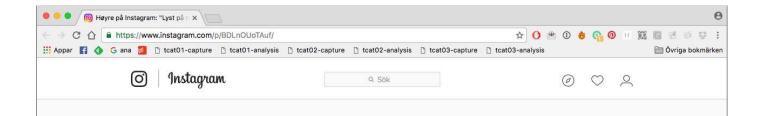








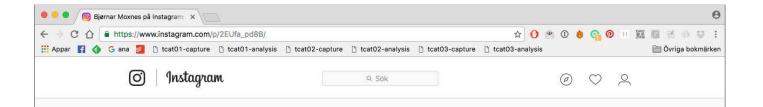






Popular party leader posts













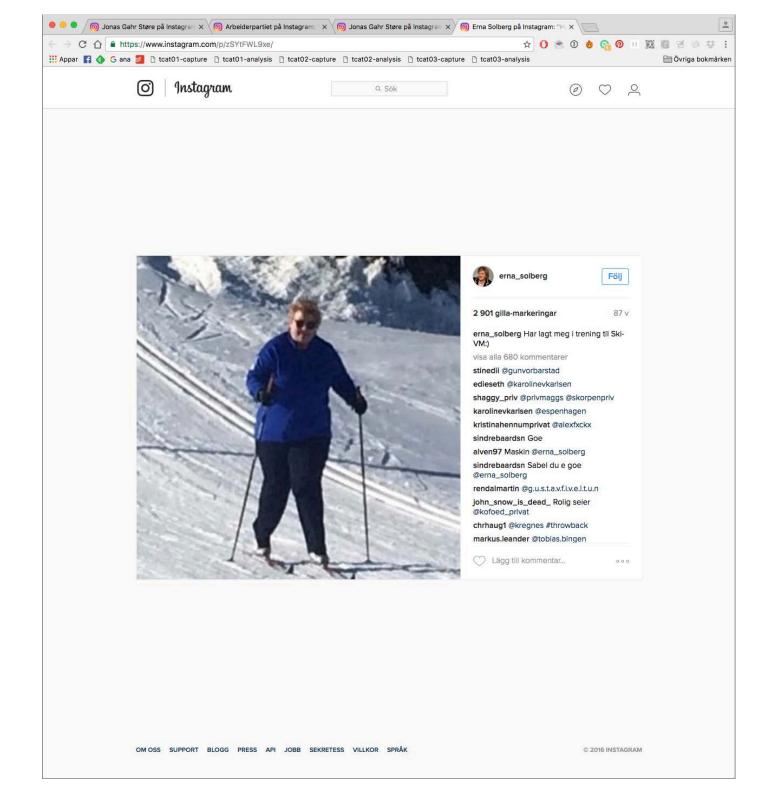


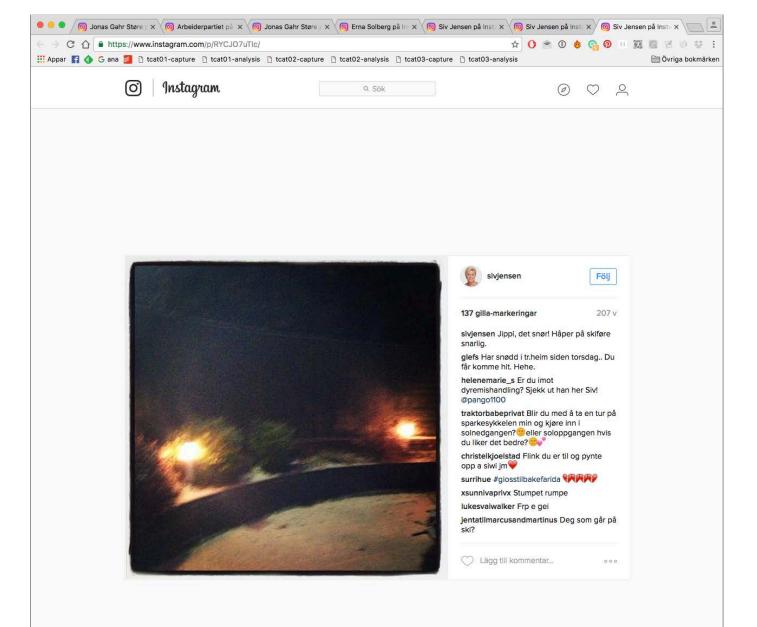
And, of course:

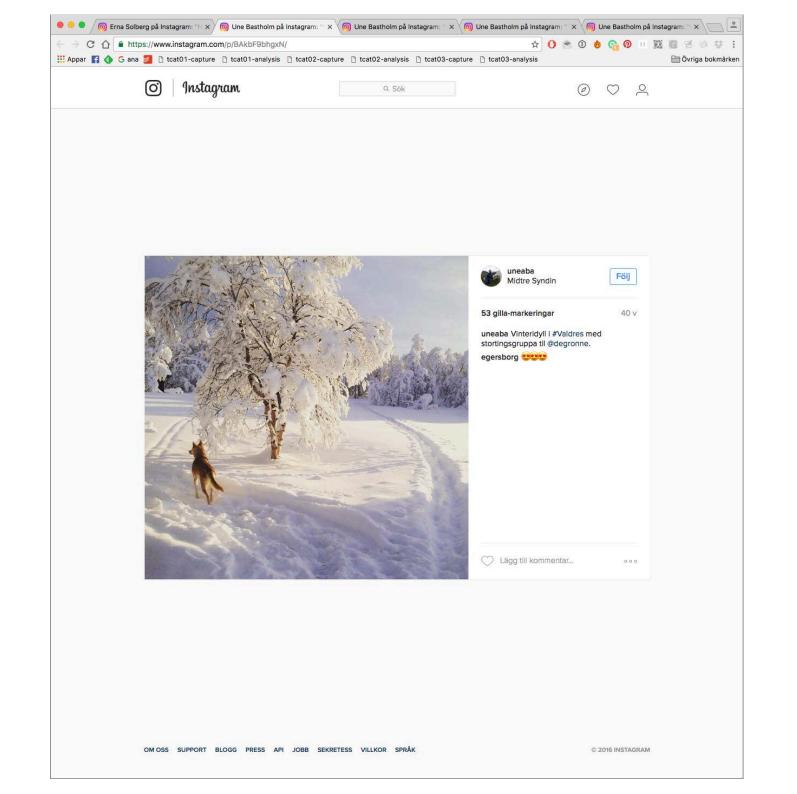


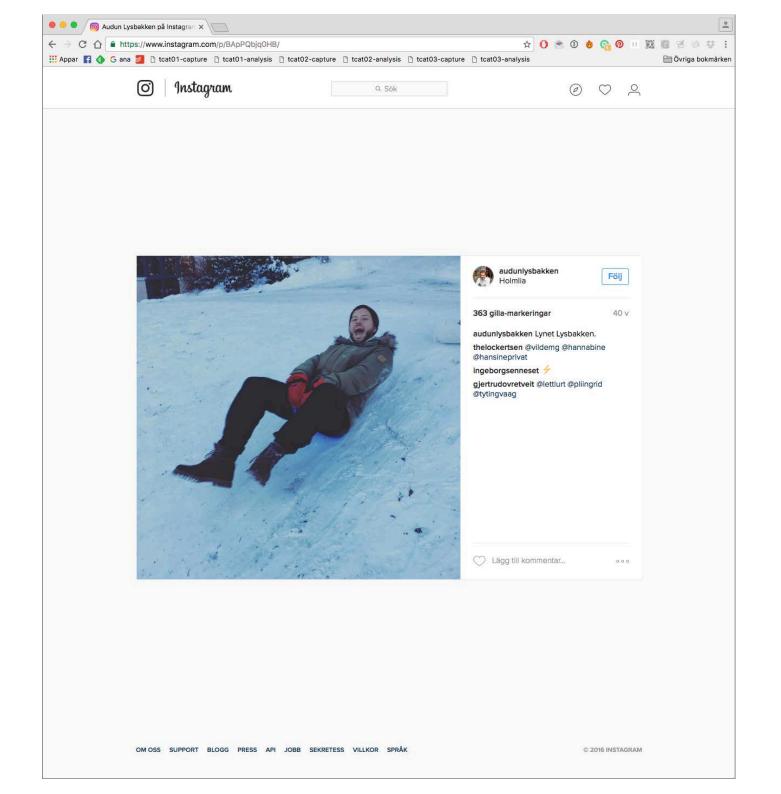












In conclusion

- Political parties tend to gain traction when providing content that relate to elections and policy isssues
- Individual politicians emerge as successful when providing highly personalized imagery
- Repercussions?



Personalization 'works'

- Party leaders "outgrow" their parties in terms of popularity
- Effects on stylistics, prioritizations of parties and politicians alike
- Parties still strong in scandinavian context
- ... but could be seen as losing apparently losing the Instagram 'popularity contest'
- Analyses performed by parties... lead to more personalized content?
- Younger voters?



















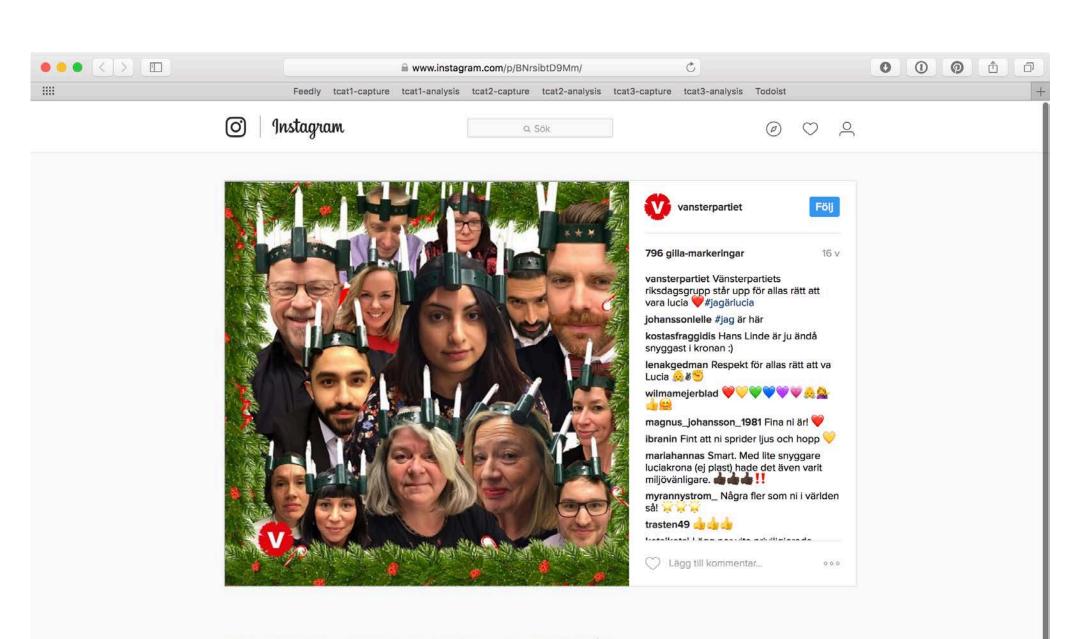
Q Sök

































Concluding comments, possible points for discussion, et.c.



Concluding comments, possible points for discussion, et.c.

- Access to data "Data rich" and "Data poor"
 - Commercialization a la Twitter
 - The Instagram example
- Research ethics differ from context to context
 - Scandinavia and the world
- Longitudinal studies of changing, new or recontextualized media?
 - What is the "social" in "social media"?
 - Sharing practices in newer platforms
 - Instagram
 - Snapchat



Thank you for your attention.

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