PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA IN THE REALM OF POLITICAL ANTAGONISM

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Abstract:

The primary objective of this study is to explore Public Service Media's mission of reinforcing democracy in relation to emerging media consumption patterns and political antagonism.

In order to explore the phenomenon, the thesis analyzes the case of the coverage of the issue of migration by SR P4, a local radio station of Swedish Radio, during October 2015. To explore the case, two research methods - news framing analysis and qualitative interviews with the employees of Swedish Radio - are implemented. In relation to the case, theories of agonistic democracy, the Mediapolis and a Daily Me are elaborated on.

Finally, the thesis suggests improving the current modes of representation on Public Service Media by practicing agonistic democracy, i.e., by finding the ways to mediate political antagonism in its agonistic dimensions. The suggestions are derived on the basis of both news framing and interview analysis.

Keywords: Public Service Media, Swedish Radio, Agonistic democracy, Mediapolis, Daily Me, Case Study, News Framing Analysis

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Introduction

As the new media world becomes more oriented towards satisfaction of consumer selection and preference, traditional mediums such as TV, radio and newspapers face unprecedented challenges. Nonetheless, in Sweden traditional media and especially the Swedish Public Service Radio (SR) remain strong. During the past decades, the ratings have not declined and financial means of support still remain stable (Sveriges Radio, 2015a). According to Trust Barometer, which measures public trust for the media, institutions and companies in Sweden (Medieakademin, 2016), for six consecutive years, Swedish Radio has had the highest trust rate; in 2016, this rate is 70%. This unique place in the society and the media environment gives Swedish Radio unique circumstances for enhancing democracy. Swedish Public Service Handbook (2014) reiterates the mission of reinforcing democracy:

> We cherish the fundamental principles of democratic society, which are, freedom of opinion, universal and equal voting rights and free and confidential choice. We also maintain the principle of human equality, which means working for equality between women and men and renunciation of racism, violence and brutality.

The Public Service Radio finds itself in a changing new media age, which presents various possibilities, problems and risks for democracy and its driving force - pluralism. Everyone has means to appear to each other, connect, share life experiences, ideas, opinions, etc., and, paradoxically, the world is becoming increasingly fragmented; New possibilities enhance the presence of multiplicity in the new media world, but if the fragments of such multiplicity do not come across, this becomes a problem for democracy, posing the risk of the deficit of democratic dialogue between/about difference both in the real and media worlds (Sunstein, 2007).

In the world of increased social fragmentation, where media gains more control over the social and political dynamics of the global society, information has become a commodity of consumer demand and supply (Sunstein, 2007). The power of personal selection of media is unlimited - consumers control the exposure to the information sources and avoid undesired themes and opinions. This creates so-called information cocoons and echo chambers (Sunstein, 2007) where only one type of information or angle of the problem circulates, posing a threat to democratic dialogue. This paper argues that to counteract such consumption

patterns, there should exist a common ground of media reference for the modern fragmented citizenry. The paper sees this as a task for Public Service Media (PSM), as enhancing democracy is its primary mission. The paper further suggests that democratic debate rather than democratic dialogue should be promoted by PSM.

Dahlgren (2009) has argued that the potential of the media to facilitate civic debate about current political struggles in the society is crucial for enhancing democracy. The paper argues that the means for such facilitation, particularly by Public Service Media, are defined according to how democracy and pluralism, its driving force, are interpreted/understood. This paper aims to contribute to the field of media research by exploring current challenges of democratic dialogue on the basis of original findings from the case study of Swedish Public Service Radio. The paper intends to obtain deeper understanding of the reporting patterns of Swedish Radio and simultaneously examine PSM's potential of enhancing pluralism and democratic debate. Finally, the paper intends to elucidate current challenges of PSM and, ideally, suggest the ways to overcome them.

The year 2015 for Swedish Radio can be characterized as a period of comprehensive coverage of political events, and the greatest focus has been on the issues of migration and refugees (Radio Sweden, 2015a:4). As stated in the Public Service Report (2015), recent refugee flows through Europe bring unique challenges and opportunities to multicultural Sweden. The pervasive changes which accompany such phenomena enhance the importance of PSM's democratic mission of being a nation builder. Swedish Radio has been able to provide up-to-date news for the audience in about ten different languages. (2015a:4). While reporting about migration-related process, Swedish Radio's local channels have a unique opportunity to provide background to what is happening locally, close to the people, by linking it to national and global events (Sveriges Radio, 2015a:5). Indeed, one of the main aims SR has set for 2016 is to increase the diversity of voices, further develop local P4 channels and tell the stories which others might disregard (Sveriges Radio, 2015a:5).

The particular case examined in this paper is the coverage of the issue of migration by SRP4, a local radio station of Swedish Radio, during October 2015. The research questions guiding the assessment of gathered data and theories are inspired by phonetic social science (Flyvbjerg, 2001) and exploratory case study approach and are formulated as follows:

Where is PSM going?

Who gains and who loses from its current development?

Is this development desirable?

What, if anything, should we do about it?

Historical background

In the case of Swedish Public Service Broadcasting, and the radio in particular, it is important to understand its unique history, position in the Swedish media domain, as well as its modern challenges. After addressing the latter aspects, the paper will establish the theoretical framework which is applied to understand the modern obstacles and possible strategies to overcome them.

Swedish Radio (SR) is a relatively new name of Radiotjänst AB, which was owned by Swedish newspapers, agencies and the radio industry in the beginning of 1920s. Early radio was largely controlled by the state, but handled by a private corporation (Weibull, 2013). Radiotjänst produced content and The Telegraph Agency handled the technology. Radiotjänst started broadcasting in 1925 and aired only live content until the 1930s (SR, 2014).

Radio appeared in Sweden when the majority of the population lived rurally, and the main idea behind radio broadcasting was its potential accessibility for everyone and everywhere in Sweden. Radio could bring a sense of connectivity to rural, remote places (Weibull, 2013:37). Nevertheless, it took a few decades to reach everyone, because the appearance and later development of radio was linked to technological progress, and early radio was a luxury medium. The price of radio equipment and license fees excluded the masses and made radio available to families with higher income (Weibull, 2013). Besides, radio content was produced mostly by academics, often accused for being elitist and oriented towards an intelligent audience (Weibull, 2013). Technology transformed radio's role again after the 1930s, when recording technology and even a recording car was invented. This simultaneously brought radio closer to the public and extended broadcasting hours. From the 1960s, portable radio devices were created, making the radio the most mobile medium (Elgemyr, 2013).

News was scheduled from the very beginning of the broadcasting, but domestic news did not receive significant coverage. Early radio was not involved in the local political debate; it rather had a function of a "nation-builder - public educator" (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull, 2013). In 1937, "Dagens Eko" was formed and Radiotjänst took over news production. In 1977, The Swedish Local Radio Company was formed and radio did reach all of Sweden. Its niche was locality in every sense of local presence (Forsman, 2013). Swedish Radio's local stations (modern SR P4) were established as separate channels during 1987-1989 (Harrie, 2012). The previous year made fundamental changes in news production at SR: when the Swedish Prime

Minister Olof Palme was murdered, SR started putting emphasis on domestic news and reporting more actively about politics (SR, 2014). Radio news was still less popular than newspaper news; to counter this and compete, PSB focused primarily on objectivity and quality, later acquiring this niche in news Journalism (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull, 2013).

Nowadays, SR P4 has 25 regional channels and 100% of the population has potential access to it (Harrie, 2012). SR's content is accessible through FM, Digital Audio Broadcasting, the internet, podcasts, satellite, and multiple smartphone applications (SR, 2014). According to Harrie (2012), in 2010, SR P4 was the most popular radio station with 46% of audience shares, while SR as a whole possessed 68%. However, even if seven out of ten people listen to the radio in Sweden, there exists a challenge : both Harrie (2013) and Forsman (2013) state that the radio is becoming a medium of an aging generation and its rating is dropping among people younger than 34 (2013).

SR (2015) itself reports that SR P4 is Sweden's largest channel with ca 3,2 million daily listeners and a stably growing audience. The rate of radio listening has been stable throughout 2015 - in comparison with the previous years, digital live-listening escalated by 17 percent and podcast-listening - by 36 percent. SR's audience is more connected digitally and in social media; more people access SR's material though podcasts, SR Play and other platforms (Sveriges Radio, 2015, 2016)

Challenges and advantages

Understanding the transformation of Swedish Radio from Public Service Broadcasting into Public Service Media is a key to envision its current stance in the media domain. Literature on PSM's relationship with the public suggests that engaging with the audience, in multiple aspects, transforms media users into participants and upgrades Public Service Broadcasting into Public Service Media.

The literature on the modern Public Service Media overviews how PSM is affected by evolution of both media technology and journalistic domain. According to Ohlsson (2015), while the press in Sweden is in transition and suffers, Public Service TV and radio remain strong in terms of both popularity (ratings) and financial stability (licence fee). Trappel (2008) emphasizes that with the transformation of the media market into a business market, public interest is less likely to be a foundation of mainstream media policies. PSM's policy is bound to democratic requirements. These changes to the media landscape make PSM exceptional in terms of democratic responsibility and quality. Similarly, Horsti and Hulten (2009) argue that for PSM, adherence to democratic values of journalism is economically beneficial; according to them, as the quality is its niche in the free media market, the public will choose PSM as a quality media source; however, some authors suggests that such emphasis on quality is problematic. Wessberg (2005) suggests that ethical objectives guiding quality journalism need to be balanced with contextual realities. Contextual realities are challenging, as the society is still homogenous and requires to be tackled as a unit. Wessberg (2005) puts emphasis on the multidimensional character of quality journalism; while Mäntymäki (2009) states that the claim of quality is an obstacle for PSM as it competes with the speed-oriented commercial media. Besides, literature suggests that PSM has been affected by deregulation, digitalisation, commercialisation, individualisation, fragmentation and segmentation. Both Trappel (2008) and Ohlsson (2015) argue that while the above mentioned tendencies normally weaken traditional media such as press, TV and radio, they can potentially strengthen PSM.

One way of strengthening its niche in the media world while competing with speed-oriented media is engaging with active audience. As Forsman (2013) informs, the notion of active audience is not new to SR; from the early years of SR, audience has been its driving force, involved in the production process. Throughout its development, the Swedish PSB underwent four regimes of journalism as "information purveyor, public educator, ombudsman-interpreter

and watchdog-pedagogue;" however, as Djerf-Pierre and Weibull argue, these four different functions were rediscovered and reinterpreted throughout the years, as there is no linear development in journalism - it recreates itself (2013:324-325). These four regimes show that the development of PSB and its relation with audiences has been a vibrant process.

A part of literature also emphasizes that the public, i.e. the audience has multiple dimensions. According to Hasebrink (2009) the audience has three dimensions: a consumer, guided by individual needs; a citizen, incorporating democratic values, and lastly, an owner of rights, who pays license fee and ensures that rights are not violated. Most authors agree that evolved audiences are a challenge, as they engage with the media and often participate in it. Aslama (2009) states that the audiences of PSM are no longer mere receivers, and communication between the audience and the media must be reciprocal; however, this challenges PSM even more in terms of diversity of participation, representation, genres, output, and plurality in general (2009).

As modern PSM has to tackle the audience in all dimensions, Hartmann (2009) states that in the process of media creation two different approaches - market logic and PSM logic should merge. Similarly, Leurdijk and Leendertse (2009) explain that PSM needs to stay popular and, at the same time, stay true to democratic values. As Swedish Radio reports, during 2010-2013, the company made fundamental changes to keep up with evolving technology and audiences: it upgraded web-services, applications, incorporated web panels and public networks, held public meetings and increasingly included audiences in programs. The development continued and in 2015 SR kept developing the content on all three platforms - on FM, digital Web, and, in cooperation with the audience, on social media (Sveriges Radio, 2015a).

Djerf-Pierre and Weibull (2013) overview the changes of the "journalistic regime" in terms of news production at Swedish PSB since 1925. They examine dominant discourses in journalism and categorize two dimensions of journalism - journalism in relation to audience (discussed above) and journalism in relation to politics, economy and culture. Some authors examine PSB as a tool of democracy. Larsen's (2011) study of PSB policies in Sweden and Norway in terms of legitimacy shows that Swedish PSB opposes commercial media and accentuates its mission of securing democratic values. Larsen also addresses the debate concerning PSB in Sweden and Norway and points out that in this region, the development process of PSB, as well as the debate, is linked to democracy, public sphere and citizenship.

In relation to the democracy, Horsti and Hulten (2009), as well as Sarikakis and Thomas (2010) argue that PSB should improve its strategy of tackling pluralistic citizenry. Thomas (2010) acknowledges PSB's potential of extending consumer-oriented broadcasting into citizen-oriented media and Sarikakis (2010) argues that PSB has the responsibility of facilitating civic sense of belonging.

Theoretical framework

The Mediapolis

In order to understand how PSM can facilitate democracy it is important to envision its practices within the realm of the mediated public space. In his book, Media and morality on the rise of the Mediapolis, Roger Silverstone investigates "Mediapolis" which, in terms of Hannah Arendt, is a global space of appearance where subjects learn about each other (2006). Mediapolis is a mediated public space constituting worldliness: it is the terrain through which social and political, individual and plural lives are constructed; it is worth mentioning that the Mediapolis does not replace the real world, nor is it its mirror-image; rather, it is a framed version of reality (Silverstone, 2006:32). It is of a key importance to envision how this framed reality can reinforce inclusion and exclusion and enable or disable public debate (2007:30).

While elaborating on the notion of Mediapolis, Silverstone refers to Arendt's understanding of the polis and compares Mediapolis to the Greek polis as it similarly "depends on visibility and appearance, performance and rhetoric" (Silverstone, 2006:30-35). Public space is constituted through and in the Mediapolis, and such mediation depends on appearance (Silverstone, 2006:45). More clearly, all public life depends on the appearance in the Mediapolis; first and foremost, politics depends on such appearance, as it cannot be conceived or sustained without it (Silverstone, 2006:45). Appearance in the Mediapolis does offer global visibility; however, there is more to the appearance than mere visibility/presence. Visibility, availability and accessibility make the mediated world shareable, but it does not guarantee that this world is shared (Silverstone, 2006:27).

Just as in the ancient Greek polis, in the Mediapolis, human beings make wholesome appearance by actively participating in it "as thinkers, listeners, speakers and actors"

(Silverstone, 2006:36). Only when human beings think, speak, and act in relation to each other, the link between the real world and its mediated version is created.

The quality of an ideal version of appearance, which can be an aspiration in the Mediapolis, depends on the proper resources for judgement; Judgement implies the thoughts of both the same and the other are constantly talked through in relation to each other. (Silverstone, 2006:44). Judgement requires engaging with multiple lines of thought and assessing them critically. Once these requirements exist, judgement itself becomes a precondition for forming opinions. This process differs from the individual/solitary thinking as it is engaged in the space of appearance where one encounters both its "same" and its "other" and, by means of this encounter, obtains a chance of forming an opinion through judgement - involvement in the critical assessment process with the others. In the ideal version of the Mediapolis, human beings who appear are able to render the prerequisites for judgement.

Mediated public space can facilitate judgement on the basis of narratives. This implies narratives unfolding as multiple, conflicting stories, which, to put it in better terms, are agonistic stories/narratives. Judgement, or in other words, making sense of the world, requires a common ground of reference for common understanding; but, to clarify, common understanding does not imply that mutual agreement is a panacea - the Mediapolis does not seek consensus, it simply seeks equal distribution of the space of appearance among counter-narratives, because, without such appearance, judgement is of inferior quality (Silverstone, 2006:45). Carpentier and Cammaerts develop a similar thought and argue that points of conflict/disagreement are vital for democratic civic culture and they should not be eliminated in favour of consensus (2006:972). Silverstone further argues:

> Narratives are agonistic. They compete with each other and in their competition and in their performance they define both the reality and the possibility of public life (2007:53).

He believes that as political life depends on judgement, the media should strive for providing wholesome preconditions for it. As he suggests, such precondition is also a recognition of difference in and between the self and the other.

The Mediapolis is characterized by both unity and heterogeneity. It is a construction of the plurality of difference; The world consists of multiple shapes and layers of difference, but oddly enough, it is precisely the difference which constitutes the common trait, shared by

everyone in his/her idiosyncratic manner. The difference is a distinguishable feature of both "the same" and "the other." Acknowledging the difference both in the self and the other is crucial, as "neither appearance nor mediation is possible without recognition of the other, in his identity and difference" (Silverstone, 2006:38). Once the sameness, as well as the otherness, is acknowledged, there emerges a ground for communication among the plurality of differences. To expand, pluralism, a driving force of political life, not only consists of the multiplicity of differences, but also entails the existence of a common ground; because without common reference, there is no communication, and without communication, both the same and the other find themselves in isolation (Arendt in Silverstone, 2006:36). In the modern world, which increasingly depends on appearance, common ground cannot exist if it is not present in the media, i.e. in the modern polis (Silverstone, 2006:36).

To give concluding thoughts about the space of mediated appearance in the Mediapolis, its quality depends on the preconditions for judgement, while judgement itself requires thinking - critical and engaging thinking

> The absence of thought results in the absence of conscience, the absence of conscience results in the defeat of judgement and defeat of judgement results in the collapse of the political (Silverstone, 2006:45).

If the political is to be maintained, the theoretical grounds of this paper further suggest that judgement should take a form of an agonistic debate (Mouffe, 2013).

Agonistic democracy

PSM is unique and differs from other media in sense that it does not have an agenda of selling information and its internal regulations are not exactly market-driven. Its mission entails the responsibility of promoting democracy. Understanding this mission primarily depends on how democracy itself is understood. As Corcoran argues, if modern PSB practices what Chantal Mouffe calls "agonistic democracy," this will improve the current stance of European PSB, which experiences deficit in the critical approach to politics (2010). Mouffe's theory of agonistic democracy highlights the importance of acknowledging political antagonism within the society.

Shortcomings of consensus

Mouffe criticizes current western forms of democracy which, due to their rationalist approach, leave out the core driving force of pluralism - conflict (2013:6). She describes two approaches to pluralism - one which sees it in terms of multiplicity and another which sees it in terms of division (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:972). The latter is her preferred approach because it acknowledges division, and therefore, acknowledges conflict. Liberal view of pluralism seeks universal consensus; Mouffe is critical to this approach, as the political struggles often develop around existing conflicts without any rational solution (2013:130). Liberal claim of pluralism strives for the rationalization of "the political" - the conflictual to such extent that fundamental consensus is achieved; striving for such consensus is a shortcoming of liberal approach, as "the political is the ineradicable dimension of antagonism" and it can never be fully exterminated (2013:130). Mouffe argues that the particularity of pluralist democracy should lie precisely in the recognition and legitimation of conflict and not in the attempt of its elimination (2013:7). For her, multiplicity is not necessarily characterized by unity - multiplicity requires political articulation (2013). Pluralism cannot be envisaged without antagonism, as it entails conflicts due to its strong political nature (Mouffe, 2013:3). By her suggestion, pluralism should seek "conflictual consensus" to be achieved among opposing hegemonic orders in politics.

Antagonism into agonism

Mouffe argues that the modern liberal democracy is characterized by the deficit of opposing hegemonic orders in politics and the lack of political articulation of conflict; this ensues the deficit of collective political identity (2013). This deficit in politics is often compensated by some other forms of political affiliation, which can include even regionalism, nationalism, right-wing populism (2013:140). Mouffe sees this as a threat to democracy, because such forms of affiliation involve blurring of the right/wrong opposition into moral/immoral division; moralistic evaluation of the conflict/the political is not promoting the agonistic debate (2013).

Agonism is an alternative form of antagonism. Agonism recognizes conflict between the opponents and sees the opponents as "adversaries" - parties which can achieve a conflictual consensus. In agonism opponent-adversaries acknowledge the legitimacy of opposing claims. When antagonism does not take such agonistic form, the opponents see each other as enemies

and the conflict takes radical forms (Mouffe in Hansen and Sonnichsen, 2014). To Conclude, antagonism always entails the "us vs. them" distinction; this distinction within agonistic model is based on the conflictual consensus between adversaries, rather than a moralistic struggle between enemies.

Mouffe's model of pluralist democracy exceeds the traditional understanding of politics and acknowledges the political and the democratic as constituent of not only political, but also social space (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:968). The concept of public space, and particularly, agonistic public space, is central for Chantal Mouffe's take on democracy (Engel, 2006). Agonistic public space acknowledges conflicts within society and, therefore, has an enhanced political nature (Engel, 2006). Even though Mouffe's work focuses on the importance of opposing political institutions, it does not limit her ideas in terms of the mediation of such forces. Media's claim of pluralism requires that the political/conflictual nature of public space be acknowledged and respectively handled. What Silverstone calls judgement should result in the conflictual consensus between the same and the other, or, as formulated by Mouffe - us and them.

Mouuffe criticizes Habermacian rationalist understanding of "public sphere" which initially seeks universal consensus. She rather uses the term "public spaces" in multiple form, as she does not envisage a unitary image of public sphere. Public space is the space of "passions" and, ideally, the role of the media should precisely be to contribute to "the creation of agonistic public spaces in which there is the possibility for dissensus to be expressed or different alternatives to be put forward" (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:974).

Agonistic media

The notion of equivalence is another crucial aspect of Mouffe's theory. She poses a fundamental political question: "how to organize across differences so as to create a chain of equivalences among the different struggles" (Mouffe, 2013:136). This question is equally vital for the media, the Mediapolis, and especially, Public Service Media. Increased mediation of agonistic struggles can place the debate within the mediated public space and therefore create a common ground of reference for different hegemonic orders in the media world. Common ground of reference is what Silverstone envisions as an ideal version of the Mediapolis.

> This [increased mediation of agonistic struggles] does not solely concern the politics or struggles between political hegemonies, this concerns lifting up the conflictual aspects of the social and the political and including in dialogue and debate those who might be otherwise excluded from the hegemonic practices or ideology (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:972).

Carpentier and Cammaerts argue that attributing Mouffe's agonistic model of democracy will assist media in its mission of increasing pluralism and agonism through journalism (2006:972). Mouffe suggests that the media does not bear all responsibility for the lack of agonistic deficit in the politics, because if hegemonies existed, they would be represented in the media as well (2013:144). However, to repeat Silverstone's argument, worldliness, as well as political subjectivity implied in it, is constructed not only in the Mediapolis, but also through it, and the process of such construction is not a passive mode of representation, therefore, the media is suitable terrain for facilitating agonistic dialogue.

To conclude, the agonistic model of democracy demands more media attention to the groups, individuals, events, opinions, anyone and everyone who finds himself beyond the established hegemonic order of discourses and identities (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:972).

Daily Me

The paper endorses Public Service Media for its potential of creating a common ground of reference in the Mediapolis, as opposed to the internet, the new media. Public Service Media has the potential, as well as preconditions, to increase plurality, spread agonistic narratives and, in general, to meliorate the mediated space of appearance. To support this with Silverstone's argument:

(...) it is increasingly clear that on its own, that is without the link to other more inclusive media like radio or the press, the internet is private, exclusive and fragmenting medium: centrifugal rather centripetal. And it follows that to count on it being the harbinger of a new kind of global political culture, by itself, is a mistake. The internet is not yet, and may never be, strictly a plural medium. It is singular: it significantly relies on, and reinforces, identity not plurality. And it has real problems with narrative (Silverstone, 2006:52).

The centrifugal nature of the new media will be further explored by elaborating on Sunstein's theory of a "Daily Me" (2001, 2007). Daily Me is a unitary term for information-intake patterns which imply increasing possibility of filtering and selecting content. Filtering is inevitable and deeply embedded in human life, since no one can process the global abundance of information, especially in the age of the Mediapolis; however, filtering in the manner of Daily Me is a distinct phenomenon, which should be evaluated on multiple dimensions (Sunstein, 2001, 2007).

In 2001, Sunstein suspected that new media would grant people the ability to design their own media-intake in such fashion which would allow them to include or exclude any topic or opinion by choice. Later, in the updated version of his book, he noted:

> As it turns out, you don't need to create a Daily Me. Others can create it for you. If people know a little bit about you, they can discover, and tell you, what "people like you" tend to like—and they can create a Daily Me, just for you, in a matter of seconds (2007:4).

It is important to pay attention to why he accentuates "people like you." Since 2001, the practice of Daily Me has become so universal that it has allowed millions of the global population to find others with similar tastes, opinions, political or social prejudices, etc. This "other" is not the other in the Arendtian/Silverstonian sense, because it does not imply difference, rather, it eliminates it. Daily Me has enduced the emergence of "information cocoons" and "echo chambers" where all that people hear is the "louder echoes of their own voices" (Sunstein, 2007:13).

Sunstein's attempt of theorising a Daily Me intends to examine the preconditions of democracy in relation to unlimited free choice (2001, 2007). Increasing power of private control is both a gift and a challenge for modern democracy. The global community still has governments which censor the information intake of their population and there is nothing more restrictive to democracy than such censorship; however, individual fragmenting selection of the information might turn out to be just as destructive (Sunstein, 2007). Even though people have unlimited access to information, Sunstein sees the risk that consumers will fully customize their information intake and such consumer choices will generate too little information which is common and shared (2007:43). The lack of shared sources of

information entails a major consequential risk of fragmentation, which itself can lead to polarization and extremism (Sunstein, 2007:43).

Even though Silverstone uses the Mediapolis as a unitary term, he acknowledges that it is widely fragmented and segmented. According to Sunstein, it has two organizing principles - consumer sovereignty and political/citizen sovereignty (2007:32). The idea of a free market behind the Mediapolis allows information to be treated as yet another commodity to be chosen exactly as a consumer desires. On the other hand, democratic sovereignty requires that information be obtained through reasoning and discussion (Sunstein, 2007:39-40). Silverstone sees mediated communication as an opportunity of creating common sense in the civic realm and doing it by reflecting on the self in relation to the other (Silverstone, 2006:36). It is important to know how to look and where to look for such "other". The echo chambers are not a realm of such communication as they provide a shared commonness of sense only to those who are "the same" while "the other" is being excluded (Sunstein, 2007).

If the Mediapolis is to be a shared public space which nurtures citizenship and agonistic dialogue, free market logic, focused on satisfying and providing for the consumer, should be counteracted by a democratic logic of information distribution. Sunstein expands on this argument:

Freedom properly understood consists not simply in the satisfaction of whatever preferences people have, but also in the chance to have preferences and beliefs formed under decent conditions—in the ability to have preferences formed after exposure to a sufficient amount of information and also to an appropriately wide and diverse range of options. There can be no assurance of freedom in a system committed to the Daily Me (2007:45).

Conclusion

To conclude the theoretical discussion, democracy depends on pluralism, which itself depends on difference, and the space of appearance of such difference depends on media outlets "cultural agents and technologies," as they are the means of being visible in the mediated space (Silverstone, 2006:32). This gives enormous power to media outlets. Sunstein (2007) suggests that traditional media sources, which he calls general interest intermediaries, are alternative public forums to the "echo chambers". He does not see such intermediaries-broadcasters as ideal; he rather favours them for their potential of exposing unexpected

encounters of information which would normally escape the filter of the Daily Me (2007). Public Service Media, which has a mission of serving the heterogeneous society, can create a space of appearance which is near to the ideal model of the Mediapolis, where "the same" appears to "the other" and engages in dialogue. However, as the difference which divides "us" and "them," and the conflict embedded in this difference is eradicable, this paper suggests that PSM as a space of appearance should acknowledge legitimacy of different conflicts and, based on this, facilitate civic debate, rather than a dialogue.

Methodology

Research approach – case study

The paper uses exploratory case study (Besrg & Lune, 2012) as a research approach, as this approach is especially suitable for studying contemporary phenomena affecting present social and political reality: it allows social sciences to address the problems of contemporary communities. "The advantage of the case study is that it can close in on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice" (Flyvbjerg, 2001:82). The paper builds upon a phronetic research tradition that is based on Aristotele's classical notion of phronesis, which translates as practical wisdom (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Social science which seeks such practical wisdom aims more than producing analytical scientific knowledge: Flyvbjerg argues that a case study approach allows social sciences to better communicate scientific findings and proposals of improvement to the fellow citizens (2001:166).

Flyvbjerg (2001) summarized four value-rational questions of phronetic research, which have methodologically guided this paper with purpose to examine specific obstacles which PSM face in the process of facilitating democratic dialogue:

Where are we going?

Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanisms of power?

Is this development desirable?

What, if anything, should we do about it?

To explore the general phenomenon of PSM challenges in the Mediapolis, the paper uses the case of Swedish public service radio (one of the stations of SR P4) and its reporting about migration. As the case study approach guided the process of data gathering and analysis, the paper combines two research methods: news framing analysis and qualitative interviews. The peculiar strength of this case study is that by using multiple methods, it thoroughly explores the features of a contemporary phenomenon: it gives the possibility to obtain "extremely rich and in-depth information" and "the researcher is able to capture various nuances, patterns and more latent elements that other research might overlook" (Besrg & Lune, 2012:326-327). This

paper achieves generalizability of this case by relating it to a larger context consistently and systematically, throughout both the analysis and theoretical discussions.

The selected case is critical and unusual: according to the Swedish Migration Agency, in 2015, Sweden received asylum 162 877 applications. The highest monthly number of applications - 39,196 - was registered in October. this statistical data was influential while selecting the material for analysis. As increased immigration highly influences social, political and economic environment of the country, public service media responses to these changes constitute a fertile data for research. I chose the articles on migration and published during October 2015 on one of the web-platforms of SR P4. At first, my material covered seven weeks and included over three hundred news pieces; however, considering the large amount of data, I had to limit my material to one month, as I had decided on thorough systematic content analysis, which would later serve as the basis for news framing analysis. After the final selection, the data consisted of 96 news-pieces in sum. Once news framing analysis was completed, qualitative interviews with seven SR P4 employees were used to obtain a deeper understanding of the practices behind news frames.

News Framing Analysis

I chose the news framing analysis method, as it allows the researcher to do systematic analysis of media representation of certain phenomena. Framing is an essential part of journalistic work, as it is a product of a selection process after which the journalist transforms a story into a news piece (Van Gorp, 2010). Reese (et al., 2001) defines a frame as an abstract organizing principle, which makes some values and facts more prominent than others. Van Gorp similarly suggests that "a core function of framing is to define issues" (2010:92).

The process of the framing analysis was used to explore the patterns of reporting about migration and generating research questions for further analysis.

As Reese informs, news framing analysis has two approaches, each putting emphasis on either "what" or "how" (2010). The "what" approach to framing analysis thoroughly examines content in order to identify "key organizing principles" for later analysis. This approach makes the analysis functional in terms of both reconstructing actual frames and relating them to the surrounding environment or culture. The "how" approach examines how framing is constructed by journalists and what the specific effects of framing are (Reese et al., 2001) . As

the initial aim was to identify the key elements of framing, I chose the "what" approach for framing analysis and started looking for the key organizing principles in the texts. Once I had the findings from this stage of the analysis, it became significant to examine "the how" aspect and explore the journalistic practices behind framing. This was tackled by qualitative interviews with the employees of SR P4.

As Van Gorp (2010) argues, frames are often culturally embedded; hence, journalists belonging to the same culture often do not even notice or question the framing process. For the same reason, framing analysis is challenging if a researcher belongs to the same culture as the media being analyzed (Van Gorp, 2010). This paper analyzes a Swedish case, and I have a different cultural background, giving me the possibility to better detect the abstract organizing principles in the texts.

As Van Gorp informs, framing analysis has been criticized for implied subjectivity; however, subjectivity can be minimized if research is consistent and well thought-out (2010). In order to reduce subjectivity, I decided to adopt his practical guidelines to conduct news framing research.

Framing process of any phenomenon incorporates multiple framing and reasoning devices. A story has an actor, but the frame within which both the story and its actor appear in the Mediapolis is co-created by the narrator and the interpreter (Silverstone, 2006:53). Therefore, how an actor is represented in the Mediapolis depends on framing devices (narrating factors) and reasoning devices (interpreting factors). Van Gorp refers to Gamson and Modigliani (1989) who identified five framing devices: metaphors, historical examples, catchphrases, depictions and visual images (2010). Other framing devices can include themes and subthemes, contrasts, lexical choices etc. (Van Gorp, 2010). For my analysis, it was essential to identify reasoning and framing devices for every analyzed news-piece.

I divided my analysis into inductive and deductive phases. The inductive phase allowed me to be informed by my data. At this stage, I did content analysis. In order to ensure that codes were consistent throughout the analysis, I used systematic coding and constant comparison method, which implies "the repeated examination of source material" (Van Gorp, 2010:93).

At first, I did open coding, as suggested by Van Gorp (2010). During this process, I did not have any predefined codes. I focused on the story topic, title and news lead. I also paid attention to how the title, the lead and the actual story related to each other. I looked both at

actual interviewees and also possible interviewees who could be relevant to the story and were missing. I also tried to be aware of the potential framing and reasoning devices in the texts.

At this stage, I revisited the data and looked at the emerged framing and reasoning devices, trying to find overarching points. I also took his advice to use theoretical literature as a guide to identify the most relevant frames for later analysis. At the next stage, I started filling in the framing matrix and constructed frame package in accordance with the overarching themes found in the data.

In the matrix (see Appendix), the frame package fills the rows with framing and reasoning devices and columns with representations from the texts. I developed the frame package, consisting of a potential frame, core position, problem definition, problem source, problem solution, and responsibility on legal basis, responsibility on moral basis, selected sources, archetype, lexical choices and catchy phrases. Once I had the matrix, I went back to the data and started "selective coding" (Van Gorp, 2010:96). I filled in the matrix after reading each text and identified framing and reasoning devices. In case there was no frame to detect, I saved that article separately. Van Gorp's next suggestion is to evaluate the framing matrix by questioning if the list of frames is complete and if the most dominant frames have been identified (2010:97). This concluded the inductive process of data analysis.

Once the evaluation was complete, leading to a wide range of frames, I moved to the deductive phase. Van Gorp accentuates on the importance of reliability check (2010:99). In order to increase the reliability of my findings, I followed his instructions. For deeper analysis in this phase, it is important to focus on a few frames (Van Gorp, 2010). Research purposes and reliability required focusing on the two major frames such as a hospitality frame and a reluctance frame.. At first, two separate frames - an innocent victim frame and a hospitality frame - were identified. The innocent victim frame included the articles focusing on migrants. The hospitality frame focused more on the examples of citizen help and citizen position. The framing and reasoning devices of these two frames had multiple overlapping points and, therefore, were merged as the hospitality frame.

Deductive analysis implies the same principles as content analysis. I created a codebook for each frame matrix and tried to reduce the number of codes by combining similar ones. While coding the data, I used "cluster coding" (Van Gorp, 2010:100). After reading each article, I

recognized the framing and reasoning devices related to a certain frame and coded them under a frame name.

Iyengar (2016) argues that through the framing the public understands the causes and solutions to the central political problems. There are two types of frames - episodic and thematic. The main difference is in the focus: episodic frames include singular events regarding the phenomenon/issue and thematic frames depict the issue in a larger context, providing collective arguments and evidence about the phenomenon (Lyengar in London, 2106). Thematic framing does not usually focus on individuals or assign responsibility for the events to them (Iyengar in London, 2106).

The deductive stage of news framing analysis focused on the episodic frames reflecting citizen position on migration by directly interviewing citizens, quoting them or elaborating on their position. Some articles did not share this pattern and did not elaborate on citizen positions; however, several of them still fall into the selected frames as they depicted reluctant or sometimes radical positions about migration. Other potential frames are not included in the detailed analysis. One example is the consequence frame which covers the concomitant outcomes of migration. Exclusion of this frame is one of the delimitations of the study. However, as the study aimed to analyze the space of appearance for the citizen position, this frame, which did not directly refer to or give voice to the citizens, was discarded from the analysis.

Qualitative Interviews

As Reese informs, framing analysis is often criticized for its linear understanding of media effects (2010). However, this can be improved by understanding specific media and also the "journalistic factors" which shape framing (Reese et al., 2001). Van Gorp (2010) similarly suggests that frames are affected by external environment, organization, and journalists. I therefore decided to obtain deeper understanding of the case by conducting interviews with seven SR P4's employees in order to further explore my findings from framing analysis.

Once I had theoretical understanding of the research subject and had already obtained the results from news framing analysis, I needed to derive complementary information through interviews. I revisited my research purpose and theories and started brainstorming about possible questions. I formulated the questions and evaluated them using the method of

"counter-interviewing" (Kvale, 1996:95). This implied questioning my own questions and determining their value for my research purpose.

As the purpose was to learn about the experiences about the framing process within PSM, I needed flexibility during the interview process, so I chose individual semi-structured interviews as my research design. As suggested by Kvale in the interview guide, each question should be evaluated for its thematic and dynamic qualities (1996:129). I, therefore, evaluated the importance of questions for my study and the benefits of questions for the interview process. Two interview questionnaires were created: the first one included research questions and the second one presented more dynamic formulations of the questions, excluding theoretical terms so as to promote better interaction during the interview.

The subjects were selected according to their participation in the reporting on migration or the influence on the process of reporting; therefore, the participants included the local chiefs and reporters. Prior to the interview, the participants were informed that research was being conducted regarding PSM and its reporting about migration during autumn 2015.

At the interviewing stage, each participant was interviewed separately. The interviews were recorded. Each interview was transcribed manually throughout the week of recording. Some interviews were conducted in English, while other interviewees preferred to speak Swedish. Swedish interviews were translated in order to be presented in the analysis. As the study was not focused on the linguistic forms of expression, in the analytical part, quotes were rendered, so they would be textual and presentable in the academic context.

In order to categorize the material, a matrix was created. The rows in the matrix represented the questions/ideas and the columns represented the answers/reflections. Formatting the matrix in such manner made the data more tangible for analysis.

Ethical Considerations

Kvale suggests that ethical issues of research appear on all stages of research (1996). Ethical issues concerning thematization imply that conducting the specific study will be beneficial for both scientific knowledge and the human situation - research subjects (Kvale, 1996:101). As the participants of the interview were the employees of PSM, participation in a research study concerning their daily occupation will be fruitful for them. The main beneficial consequence

of this specific study for the subjects is better understanding of PSM's patterns of reporting and its internal and external struggles.

Ryen (2004) elaborates on the standard ethical issues of research, such as consent, confidentiality and trust. As she suggests, before obtaining consent, I clearly informed my interviewees that they were research subjects. I gave them general information about the research topic and design. They were aware that participation was voluntary and they could stop participating at any point. Oral consent of participation, as well as written consent through e-mail communication, was obtained.

The next aspect concerns confidentiality (Ryen, 2004). Ryen remarks the researcher's obligation to protect "the participant's identity, places and the location of the research" (2004:221). The place and location of the research is Sweden, however, further details are not revealed in the research, so identity is protected. As my research topic is culturally sensitive, some participants preferred to stay incognito. Some interviewees agreed to participate in the research only if confidentiality was granted, while others preferred their names to be mentioned in the study. Finally, I did not mention any names, because mentioning even one name would threaten the anonymity of others. Furthermore, the study does not categorize interviewees as respondent 1, respondent 2 and similar. This decision might seem extreme, but it was crucial for confidentiality purposes. In the analytical part of the research, each of the seven interviewees are referred to and, when necessary, even quoted directly; however, singular interviewees are not pointed out. This also prevents the identification of singular interviewees and their thinking patterns. Such measures were taken as the concern of being identified was noticed during research. Interviews obtained some fruitful concrete examples of the discussed phenomenon; however, the concrete examples are not included for the same anonymity purposes.

The latter decision is linked to trust, which is the third ethical aspect of interview-based research (Ryen, 2004). Establishing trust between the researcher and the participants was the basis for guaranteeing confidentiality from my side and for giving consent from their side. The interviewees, who requested it, had the possibility to look through the transcribed interviews and give a consent of using it once again.

Research results

Public service media claims superiority in democratic responsibility and media quality, this claim constitutes the main ground for its credibility and creates a specific niche for PSM (Hendy, 2013). In order to understand the position of PSM in the modern media world, it is crucial to envisage the challenges which accompany this claim in the terrain of the Mediapolis.

PSM functions within mediated public space - Mediapolis, a construction of the political and moral space within which the media has the power of connecting, excluding, communicating or miscommunicating (Silverstone, 2006). Exclusion and miscommunication run against PSM's claims of pluralism and reliability; therefore, it is PSM's responsibility to facilitate connection and communication within the political and moral spaces constructed within Mediapolis. As Silverstone argues, construction of moral space does not imply excluding those who are condemned for being immoral; it is quite the opposite - Mediapolis should imply hospitality, which welcomes the voices of marginalized groups and listens to them: "There has to be a space for the unbidden and uninvited, both in the material as well as mediated worlds" (2007). Consequently, the modern PSM's claim of superior media quality is challenged by facilitation of media hospitality within Mediapolis, which implies the urge of inviting the voice of "the uninvited" and giving it the proper space of appearance. The appearance of "the uninvited" is crucial for constructing the mediated public space; furthermore, the form of appearance is just as important - humans should appear as "thinkers, listeners, speakers and actors" (Silverstone, 2006:38). Simple appearance of "the uninvited" in PSM reporting does not signify that a wholesome space of appearance is granted. The context and circumstances of appearance define whether someone or something is treated as uninvited in the media (Silverstone, 2006).

As for the case of PSM, it was observed throughout the interviews that some respondents got the impression that reluctance about migration, and the act and thought associated with it, could be referred to as "the uninvited", "the other". Nevertheless, this is not the ultimate position; the experience regarding the representation of citizen stance on the migration phenomenon during autumn 2015 differs among interviewees.

> During that period, there appeared some sort of cooperation between volunteers and the local society; it was something new that we also followed. How come that the people

who have possibly never been involved in voluntary work suddenly are at the railways, helping people they do not know? This was interesting, because it was something new. The first week was a very clear news perspective - what's new? (Interview, 2016).

The interviewee feels that during reporting about the first wave of migration in autumn 2015, citizen hospitality had a particular news value, and it was therefore covered by SR P4. Another interviewee remembers that there were discussions about covering migration-related hospitality and reluctance and the discussion took a wrong turn:

> If we are talking about poor people who are coming to Sweden, it is not relevant to talk to "average Joes" who say: "I do not think that they should come here," because, for me personally, it does not matter what such people / they think in this situation. It would not be a question that is relevant to ask, because these people did not choose to come here of free will. Even if that view exists in Sweden, it does not change the fact that they are here… But if we discuss whether Sweden should keep receiving them or stop the process, then you can ask average Joes, then it is about democracy. Everybody can express their views, but not in every context (Interview, 2016).

As the latter interviewee argues, the context of reporting defines who/which opinion is given news value, and for the particular context of the first weeks of migration, the reluctant position did not have a significant news value. The interviewee further argues:

> There is a very important distinction here. They do not have to be pro-migration to help these people, because these people came anyway... The choice would be to let these people to sleep out in the cold or give them some food and blankets. It's about being pro-humanity, I would say. But I think that this point of view got lost when we covered it. Keeping the discussion alive in two directions is important - the political discussion is about borders, but the other one is about humanity and I think we mixed that up and that made it difficult for people to listen to our radio for them to navigate - how should I do - should I help or not? If I help, does it mean that I am with this party or that party… Helping or not helping would mean taking a stand, but it was not about that, I think. It was about having an extra jacket...but we did not talk about that in that sense (Interview, 2016)

According to the interviewee, hospitality towards migrants was misleadingly perceived as a political pose, when it was just a humane reaction to the desperation of others. Another respondent remembers that the consequences of migration were talked about, but reluctant citizens did not receive as much time on air, because in comparison to the hospitable citizens, they were not participating in the ongoing news-event:

> It is not easy to find people who are against migration - they did not stand at the central station to express their opinions (Interview, 2016).

Another interviewee acknowledges that hospitality was emphasized, but remembers that reluctance did also receive SR's attention:

> There was a lot of focus on people helping at the station, but we had people on the other side as well; not many, but we did (Interview, 2016).

Another respondent felt that hospitality was prioritized in the reporting and the news value of reluctant positions was downplayed:

> In my experience, migrants who suffered were prioritized in the news. As for citizens, only supporting citizens came to attention. We emphasized the people willing to help, as if there were no people on the other side. Citizens who were invited to speak were, for example, those who collected food and clothes in their garages and stood at the Malmö station, sharing sandwiches. This was the side which was invited to speak (Interview, 2016).

Another interviewee agrees on the latter argument and further suggests that notwithstanding the context, the people should have been given more chance to speak:

> There were so many things going on that we had to focus on what was happening, and maybe we did not have that much time to go out and speak to people; but I think that should be done more (Interview, 2016).

As the responses exemplified above illustrate, the interviewees had different outlooks on the appearance of citizens in the reporting about migration-related processes. Until further discussions from the interviews are presented, news framing analysis goes in detail, exploring the space of appearance for positions about migration.

News frames

The below-elaborated news framing analysis of the hospitality and reluctance frames represents the material published by SR P4 in October 2015 concerning migration-related action or position within the public domain. In order to illustrate the nature of these frames, specific examples of frame packages are presented for each frame. Before giving the detailed example of the frame package, it is important to note that each news-piece does not

necessarily have a frame (Van Gorp, 2010). The reluctance frame largely covered attacks on asylum facilities. Many articles, similarly reporting about the attacks on asylum facilities, were labeled under the no frame category, as they were purely descriptive.

Reluctance frame

Framing analysis attempts to see the implicit message of the news. In this case, the anti-immigration stance appears scarcely in the analyzed material and once it does, the space of appearance for reluctance about migration presents it in the context of racism, hatred and criminal activities. The reluctance frame covers two issues: there is an organized threat against migrants; EU-migrants' camp is causing threat for health. As illustrated by framing analysis conducted similarly to the latter examples, the sources of the first problem lie in hatred, racism, information spread by SD, and those of the second problem - in the lack of accommodation for migrants. The solutions offered by the frame are increased security, fight against hatred, and elimination of racists from politics and accommodation guarantees for migrants. Legal responsibility concerns premeditated attacks, racists and the police. Selected sources within the reluctance frame are compassionate citizens, reluctant citizens, SD representatives, municipalities, the police, and other state institutions. Archetypes reappearing within the frame are underage refugees, innocent migrants, SD as a villain and racists. Lexical choices within the reluctance frame are such words as "shocked,""sadly," "perplexed," "angry," "despair," "sadness," "threat," "traumatic experience," "xenophobic," "Nazi," etc. As for catchy phrases - "It is Pitiful;" "Those who come here are our guests;" "One becomes tearful;" "I am completely destroyed;" "It goes against all ethics and morality;" "The beds were already made up;" "People will take control;" "SD-politician compares refugees to animals."

One example of the reluctance frame is an article named "Resident of Tjörnarp shocked after fire attack" (SR, 29 October 2015). This article is categorized under the reluctance frame as it concerns an event - a fire attack, which, in the article, is associated with anti-immigration forces. The title, selected sources, archetypes, lexical choices, catchy phrases and moral evaluation are used to frame the event. The title itself is a catchy phrase with a distinct lexical choice - "shocked." The title is chosen to highlight that the inhabitant of Tjörnarp is shocked after the fire raising. Selected sources are two citizens condemning the incident, feel sad and experience shock. Archetypes appearing in the article are unaccompanied refugee children

and shocked citizens. The action is morally condemned by the respondents and evaluated as arson by the police. The article ends on an evaluative note: "This is one of the most sorrowful things I have witnessed throughout 65 years of my life" (SR, 29 October 2015). In this example, only condemning voices are heard.

This article is one example where reluctance is presented in relation to hatred, crime and moral inferiority. This example is not to say that the selected citizens and the subjects behind the criminal act have moral arguments of similar weight. The paper does not aim to elaborate on the moral nature of the event; rather, it tries to illustrate the context within which the event is framed. The context here is morally condemning. In relation to this, Mouffe (2013) expressed the concern about the tendency of moralizing the political. It is important to stress that reluctance about migration represents a point of conflict/disagreement in the society. In this episodic frame, reluctance is presented in its antagonistic, undemocratic forms. It is important that the conflict/the political struggle embedded in reluctance is extensively presented in a form of agonistic struggle. The agonistic form of migration-related antagonism entails "clear difference and clear alternatives between which the citizens can choose" (Mouffe in Hansen and Sonnichsen, 2014:4). The reluctance requires political articulation in the media.

Another article (SR, 29 October 2015) concerning the exact same incident has no frame, as it solely communicates the news, does not use catchy phrases, does not assign moral responsibility or repeat any archetype. Hence, as mentioned before, not every news-piece concerning the attacks is categorized under the reluctance frame.

Another example of the reluctance frame is the article "SD-politician compares refugees to animals" (SR, 29 October 2015). The title is a vivid framing device. The main message of the article is that "Yet another SD politician in northern Skåne gets attention for Facebook activities." The article is based on the politician's quote published by another media source, Sydsvenskan. The full quote (translated from Swedish) literally reads: "On safari in Ljungbyhed…. But we did not see any newcomer animals, they seem to be frightened" (October 4, 2015). The article does not include a comment from the politician or mention any attempt of conducting an interview. It solely reports about the Facebook status which was meant to humiliate refugees. This particular framing presents anti-immigration force, in particular SD, in relation to hate-speech, without giving a possibility of giving a comment. This is not to say that the possibility of speaking was not given; however, the article contains

no information about giving such an opportunity to the politician. This exemplifies how the anti-immigration force is given a space of appearance, within which the speech and the act are disconnected. Reluctance is yet again presented in its antagonistic form. To refer to Mouffe (2013) once again, antagonism entails a conflict between the enemies, while agonism is a debate between adversaries. If reluctance only appears as an antagonistic action, its space of appearance in the Mediapolis cannot become a realm for civic debate, because antagonism only inspires moralistic reactions, rather than constructive debate (Mouffe, 2013).

These examples illustrate how certain forms of framing can restrict the space of appearance for the uninvited. The reluctant position and reluctant citizens do appear in the reporting of PSM; even so, being uninvited ís not defined by the absence of appearance, but rather by the form of appearance (Silverstone, 2006). The reluctant citizens are considered uninvited, as their thought, speech and action is disconnected in the reporting. Silverstone specifically criticizes the space of appearance for such disconnection (Silverstone, 2006:41). Space of appearance implies not only presenting the images of "the other" which is passive and distant, but also allowing the other to be represented, in relation to "the same", by its speech and action (Silverstone, 2006).

Hospitality frame

On the other hand, the space of appearance for migration-related hospitality presents it context of humanitarian help and moral superiority. The core position of the hospitality frame is that the migrants cannot cope with the inhumane conditions they face without assistance; shared resources are needed locally, and citizens have moral responsibility to show hospitality and help migrants who have reached Sweden. The problem definition of hospitality frame identifies multiple issues: refugees are already here and the society needs to face them and help them; migrants become targets of organized attacks; homeless EU-migrants are dealing with complex issues; local resources are not enough to properly help everyone in need. Problem sources include war, poverty and discrimination in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East and certain EU-countries; lack of mobilization locally; lack of cooperation among local officials and solidarity groups; decreasing help from volunteer forces; hatred and racism. Problem solutions lie in more resources, i.e. finances, human resources, accommodation; reciprocal cooperation among officials and solidarity organizations, shared responsibility among state institutions; improvement of citizen conditions locally, in other

EU-countries. The hospitality frame assigns legal responsibility to municipalities, the police, and local officials who are not cooperating with solidarity organizations, attackers, and haters. Selected sources within hospitality frame are migrants, compassionate citizens, volunteers, compassionate organizations, municipalities, the police and other state institutions. Archetypes constantly reappearing within the frame are impoverished, desperate, innocent victims, underage refugees, and active citizens. Lexical choices within the hospitality frame include "disaster," "ugly face of poverty," "even more desperate," "panic-struck," "tragic," "shocked," and similar terms/words.

The hospitality frame is wider than the reluctance frame. It covers wider issues and, while doing so, gives space of appearance to involved citizens. The space of appearance for hospitality is more vigorous and conscientious; it unfolds in multiple dimensions. One distinct characteristic of the hospitality frame is its emphasis on empathy; its reasoning devices trigger emotional response to identify with others' feelings.

One example from the hospitality frame concerns the issue of EU-migrant accomodation. The title of the article reads: "We are staying." "We" in this case implies EU-migrants to be evicted from the camp located in Malmö. Selected sources include desperate migrants and one supporter. The issue is emotionalized by choice of quotes such as: "in the streets we stand no chance;" "the worst that could happen;" "the ugly face of poverty;" "a catastrophe;" "we will not have money to survive." The frame assigns responsibility for discriminating against the Roma and elucidates the despair and hardship caused by current way of handling the case.

The latter, as well as the above-mentioned examples, represent episodic framing, which assigns the moral duty of helping to one side and morally condemns the other side. There is not a neutral ground for the presence of reluctance - when present, it is morally condemned. Importantly, this paper does not argue for the equal moral value of these positions; it simply aims to acknowledge that political struggles, extensively portrayed in moral context, bear the risk of being transformed into moralistic struggles (Mouff, 2013), enhancing the already existing antagonism.

Agonistic journalism

The media constructs not only political life, but also morality (Sunstein, 2001). The analyzed frames moralize the struggles behind the choices within the frames. The hospitality frame and the reluctance frame separate compassionate citizens helping impoverished migrants from the villains attacking migrant facilities. The citizen position about migration is moralized by emphasizing the moral responsibility of helping those in need. Consequently, compassionate citizens are morally right and reluctant citizens are associated with moral and legal wrongdoings. Mouffe mentions the tendency of moralizing "the political" and transforming the right-wrong struggle into the opposition between "good and evil" (2013:141). She exemplifies this by the condemnation of modern right-wing populism as immoral or its association with hate crime (2013). As illustrated in the above-mentioned examples of the reluctance frame, reluctant citizens are presented in the context of the immoral stance on migration and hate crime.

The hospitality frame assigns moral responsibility of helping to citizens, state institutions, and politicians who do not assist migrants and do not consider their despair. The citizens' moral duty of helping migrants reoccurs within the reluctance frame as well; in addition, the responsibility of the SD for provoking hostility among the citizens, as well as the responsibility of EU-migrants for pollution are also apparent. Within the two frames, well-articulated, explained, and substantiated reluctance about migration is absent, except the one case on the unsanitary conditions in the EU-migrants camp in Malmö. Within both frames, dominant sources are compassionate citizens and, therefore, even the voices heard within the reluctance frame largely belong to compassionate citizens. The archetype of a shocked citizen concerned about migrants and willing to help them is prominent, dominating both frames.

Framing analysis results illustrate that the space of appearance is different for reluctance and hospitality, as the former is extensively portrayed in relation to undemocratic events and the latter is portrayed in relation to humanitarian action. A sustainable ground for agonistic debate about the political or conflictual struggles behind the depicted events is not presented.

Political passion behind the practices depicted within the reluctance frame is represented mostly in its extreme mode of violence and aggression. Dahlgren refers to Hall (2005) who defines passion as "intense enthusiasm" (2009:85). Dahlgren further argues that "intense political enthusiasm does not mean that one thereby becomes incapable of rational discussion or loses the capacity of compromise" (2009:85); therefore, within the reluctance frame,

political passion should not simply be associated with the images of burned asylum facilities and impoverished underage refugees.

Political life depends on plurality, on both the presence of the stranger in the world and on the acknowledgement of that presence in the communication that seeks comprehension, intelligibility and ultimately the justification of action in the world (Silverstone, 2006:35).

The reluctance frame lacks such justification of action. If political life depends on plurality, plurality itself depends on the the recognition of conflict (Mouffe, 2013). Therefore, "the strangers," i.e. racists, anti-immigration activists, or simply citizens with reluctant positions, should be given mediated space for justification of action, i.e. to express political passion in an agonistic form. Agonistic democracy can be reinforced through journalism by presenting contrasting representations and interpretations of conflict; however, as the analyzed frames illustrate, the appearance of conflict can also be largely moralizing and this destructs Mouffe's ideal of the adversary-others; therefore, the appearance is not always enough for one to be presented as an adversary.

Within the described two frames, the voice of reluctant citizens is heard only in one article which concerns pollution caused by the EU-migrant camp in Malmö. These citizens are mentioned, but their direct voices are not heard. As explained in several articles, reluctant citizens refuse to be interviewed and, therefore, their opinions are mainly expressed off the record. This argument reappeared during the interviews as well. When it comes to the migration debate, one interviewee feels that "it has become problematic for some people, because it is a sensitive issue in Sweden" (Interview, 2016). Others agree with the sensitivity concern, adding that this sensitivity is sometimes expressed in the calls and, more often, in hate mails to the radio station. Some mails just express hate, while others may have concrete questions about the way of reporting or reasoning within SR. Some people feel that "their truth" is not told, while others generally dislike immigrants and foreigners; often, there is a combination of the two. These complaints point to the existing antagonism and PSM's challenge of mediating this antagonism in an agonistic form.

PSM needs to revisit its standards and engage with the groups who feel less attached to traditional news media, as they are unsatisfied by current representation (Corcoran, 2010:85). This is one way of increasing inclusion and counteracting social fragmentation, at the same time improving the agonistic debate about migration in this particular case. If there are no democratic channels to express political antagonism, if the political struggle between "the

right and the left" is transformed into a moralistic struggle between "right and wrong," this invites violent and anti-democratic practices. In order to counter this, Mouffe suggests three measures: strengthening political antagonisms, translating them into agonistic struggles, and creating political institutions for working on these conflicts (Engel, 2006:196). The fourth measure suggested by this paper is the reinforcement of agonistic democracy in the media and particularly, Public Service Media, as it aims at the facilitation of democracy.

Reese (et al., 2001) notes that framing analysis is often criticized for its linear understanding of media effects. To avoid linear understanding, framing analysis should understand specific media and the "journalistic factors" which shape the framing (Reese et al., 2001). Van Gorp (2010) similarly suggests that frames are affected by external environment, organization, and journalists. Therefore, further parts of the analysis go back to the interviews and attempt to obtain deeper understanding of journalistic practices behind the framing.

Above illustrated framing of the news has the potential to increase the degree of social fragmentation. As observed in the below-referenced interviews, the framing patterns from autumn 2015 have grounds in two dimensions: firstly, reluctant citizens deliberately decline to explicitly express their opinions through SR P4, and secondly, SR P4 itself gives less news value to them. This can result in a lack of representation of significant audience which has a definite position in agonistic struggle.

Increased fragmentation and polarization of media environment significantly increases the importance of common ground of reference for citizens in the media world. PSM should strive to establish such grounds, since enhancing democracy and facilitating citizenship are its core functions (Hendy, 2013). Sunstein (2007) argues that viewing each other as fellow citizens starts from having shared experiences and common ground; he further explains that this does not imply that heterogeneous societies have no points of conflict; rather, this simply implies the existence of a common reference point, and specifically, its existence in the media.

As observed during the interviews, the fear of losing the common ground of reference is experienced in SR. One interviewee expresses concern that media users no longer have shared media sources and some of them neglect traditional media, limiting their media intake to alternative sources.

I wish there were a media source in Sweden, to which everyone could turn for balanced, correct information. There are some people who only consume alternative media. Observing what is written in such media can be terrifying. The form of expression is disturbing; however, I can see that it is appealing to the people who consume only that. They must have a terribly disrupted image of the world, and this is dangerous (Interview, 2016).

The interviewee is concerned that media consumers tend to filter their media sources. Sunstein (2001) similarly notes that people can customize the information intake just as they customize consumption of any other good. Sunstein observes that information circulation is increasingly guided by free market logic, which turns speech into a commodity, that , similarly to any other good, is sorted out and consumed on demand.

Sunstein (2001) elaborates on the notion of "Daily Me," which implies unlimited possibility of filtering ideas, views, positions which are not anticipated or desired by "Me". In the world of "Daily Me" becoming a common ground of media reference is a significant challenge for PSM. If everyone has the possibility to design one's own unique media environment and deliberately manages the experience of media consumption and production, it becomes easier to question the validity of PSM. One interviewee observes that the changes in the media landscape, and mostly the dynamics of social media, challenge SR's hegemony:

> We cannot sit here as we did before. We were the kings of the hill. If we did not report, who would do it (Interview, 2016)?

The interviewee points out that the Public Service Media is no longer an ultimate, hegemonic media source. It has numerous alternative media outlets, offering more possibilities of choosing and filtering information. The interviewee also notes that some people with anti-immigration opinions do not want to be interviewed or heard on the radio. The anti-immigration party does not trust SR either:

> I think their sympathizers have always been sceptical towards media like SR, SVT. They mistrust journalists, really (Interview, 2016).

Another interviewee feels that people with controversial attitudes towards such culturally sensitive themes as migration deny collaboration with traditional media, because alternative media gives them different conditions for self-expression:

> In the recent years, a new opinion about migration has arisen; maybe that opinion has always existed and the only reason it feels more dominant is that we have the new ways to express it. Maybe social media has motivated some people who used to be afraid of saying things publicly, but maybe they would rather write it there than bring it up in work- or other places where they meet their friends or colleagues. Maybe social media has both enabled and motivated them to express what they were afraid of saying before (Interview, 2016).

The respondent notices that alternative media is changing the dynamics of expression, providing a different sense of safety and taking away the fear of openly expressing controversial ideas. Sunstein (2007) similarly observe that the fear of expressing opinions has disappeared as the echo chambers have emerged: there is no fear of expressing any opinion, because it is less likely that it will be met with a counter-argument.

Another interviewee feels that particular parts of the society, as well as related stories, disregarded by SR, are still present on alternative media, where, as the interviewee has experienced, the validity of information is deeply disrupted. The respondent further argues that even if alternative media tends to dramatize certain events and damage the democracy, refraining from telling similar stories on SR is even worse, because this is one of the main factors pushing people to use alternative, less reliable platforms.

Other interviewee has an impression that people perceive migration as a sensitive matter, even though it is not. As a result, some people do not want to be interviewed or prefer to be anonymous. The interviewee feels that it is generally bad for a democratic society that people do not want to express their opinions. To counteract mistrust and hesitation, SR, for instance, recruits people with diverse opinions through social media. SR has also started building trust and developing long term relationships with the public: People are invited to longer journalistic projects throughout which their experiences are followed up and broadcasted on SR.

Sunstein (2007) argues that a well-functioning democracy necessitates the existence of the system of free expression which functions well in two dimensions: firstly, the possibility of exposure to undesired informational encounters should increase, and, secondly, common point of reference should exist in media. PSM is potentially such a system of expression. Such "intermediary" as public service media provides information for a heterogeneous group of

people; this implies anticipated encounter of a wide range of information and opinions which would not necessarily have survived individual filtering process. In other words, ideally, exposure to alternative opinions is increased on PSM. However, representation on PSM is not absolute, as the idea of free speech always implies some form of regulation (Sunstein, 2001). As reiterated throughout the interviews, undemocratic expressions cannot be allowed on SR. Hate speech is banned and if it occurs, it should be patently spoken against. The interviewees realize that SR should take stance against undemocratic movements, but for some of them this mission is blurry. Some interviewees feel that the mission of public service, which entails strengthening of democracy, is sometimes interpreted in the fashion that clashes with professional journalistic thought. In their experience, there is a fear of how reporting can influence society and which opinions it can encourage. Several interviewees feel that the mission of PSM is used to motivate some forms of exclusion; current interpretation and of democracy leads to exclusion of certain sensitive stories, affecting public trust. As some interviewees exemplify, there is a general fear of marginalizing foreigners, which results in turning down some stories and viewpoints. According to one interviewee, there is an attempt of practicing constructive journalism in order to enhance democracy, but it entails falsehood as it is not journalistically thought-out and has an aim, a mission to accomplish in the end; this frames a version of reality which is not fully realistic. Other interviewee experiences that politically sensitive questions are not asked because of the fear of answers:

> Sometimes it feels that only certain kind of voices is okay to portray and many voices are just seen as trolls or as people with crazy opinions. I often feel that if we have people who think this way, we should try to make them express those feelings in the radio, of course, in a very professional, ethical way, instead of just putting them aside and saying that these are some kind of trolls. We just avoid those obstacles, when we should just work with and talk to them instead. Of course, a lot of them are trolls, but I think there are a lot of people who have interesting opinions and we just have to give them a chance sometimes (Interview, 2016).

The latter respondent further notes:

> I do not know where the border lies between letting the controversial views be heard and promoting undemocratic views/opinions in the society (Interview, 2016).

In relation to the representation of diverse opinions, another interviewee argues:

> As long as one discusses the phenomenon without using racist words, as long as one does it in such manner that does not question human equality, one can discuss

everything and hear everyone. We have, for example, a call-in program, where people can discuss these questions. These are important questions. We have to be able to live alongside to each other. We have people who move here and we live in the same world. We have to be able to discuss this without using racist expressions, without letting our fear to turn into hate speech (Interview, 2016).

The latter interviewee emphasizes the importance of civic dialogue and further observes that the new possibilities of anonymity affect people's expectations from the PSM. Social media has become an alternative platform for many opinions: it is easier to find people with similar opinions, but speaking only with those who feel the same way creates "opinion corridors" and restricts the debate. Mouffe (2013) similarly argues that as new media has become more of a tool of isolating oneself from opposing ideas and reinforcing one's predetermined thought, new media is not reinforcing agonistic public space. Even if many argue in favour of the ability of new media to facilitate open discussion, she does not expect the implementation of this ability. New media allows self-isolation and group-isolation which is counterproductive for civic dialogue within democracy, because "democracy is precisely this agonistic struggle where you are bombarded by different views" (Carpentier, 2016:968).

The above- mentioned responses illustrate that internal dynamics of PSM are largely guided by the mission of enhancing democracy; however, some interviewees experience that this mission can be interpreted in ways that are counter-productive for democracy as they exclude certain stories and viewpoints, thereby losing a part of audience which turns to alternative media and becomes a consumer of less reliable media platforms. Another concern expressed in the interviews is the non-existence of debate on alternative platforms, caused by the tendency of engaging mostly with like-minded thinkers. In relation to this concern, Sunstein states that the practice of isolating oneself from alternative information and surrounding oneself with like-minded thinkers reinforces social fragmentation (2001). He touches upon the phenomenon of "group polarization" which can easily turn into extreme or even hate-groups. This can be counteracted by shared media experiences; otherwise, if like-minded people on web exclude contradictory views from the debate, extreme positions are nurtured (Sunstein, 2001).

To understand the dimensionality of framing, it should be reiterated that in the process of framing, journalists are affected not only by news values, but also by sensitivity to cultural themes (Van Gorp, 2010). Reproduction of preconceived cultural values in the news is not

necessarily deliberative, as journalists are also affected by culture. Hence, news media framing reproduces cultural values and norms (Van Gorp, 2010).

The interviewees referred to within the study remember autumn 2015 as a labour-intense period. Some interviewees even describe it as "an emergency situation," "a hectic period," "stressful, but interesting." As evaluated by the majority of interviewees, it was a unique, unprecedented news event, a source of constant breaking-news; in the beginning, the news was mainly delivered to the station and the news-flow was so large that there were no time and resources for deeper analysis or debate. Focus was kept on reporting.

> Migration increased rapidly, in a way that Sweden as a society, and we as media, were not prepared to, because it produced a flow of news, happenings that constantly needed to be surveyed in a way that we, as a very small organization, had difficulty seeing from afar. Practically, we were so much into everyday news that it took us a few weeks to see some patterns in reporting (Interview, 2016).

Other interviewees agree that during a big news event, focus is on the actual news flow, and more analytical aspects follow later.

> While the big news-event is ongoing, the media can lack helicopter perspective, necessary to see the whole picture (Interview, 2016).

> The first week was a very clear news perspective - what's new? It was only later that we had the capability to step aside and see the patterns, asking what other stories we could see (Interview, 2016).

For some interviewees, this period evoked vivid emotional and professional reactions to the happenings; as they had noticed during their work, sometimes, emotional response to the phenomenon and professional tasks had to be separated. Some interviewees experienced that even though the news event was hectic and some aspects of reporting might have gotten lost, certain opinions and attitudes towards migration were prioritized nevertheless. However, this experience was met with a counter-argument from other interviewees, who argued that back in autumn 2015, the debate around migration was not as organized, and that now the debate has become more definite in radio as well. To conclude the latter argument, sometimes the news develops in such a way that a particular perspective receives central attention.

As illustrated above, some interviewees feel that the reporting patterns from autumn 2015 resulted from the overwhelming flow of news, leaving no space for self-reflection, and thus causing the lack of "a helicopter perspective;" however, others have a different impression. Some interviewees remember that the proposal of talking about the reluctant side in the migration-related debate was turned down as it was considered to be too early for that aspect of reporting. Later, it was suspected that the actual reason for neglecting that angle of reporting had roots in the general hesitation of speaking with "the other side." "The other side," in this case, refers to reluctant positions regarding migration. Moreover, some interviewees note that unwritten requirements within SR limit certain stories - themes involving the reluctant stance on migration, cultural difference, and its societal effect, are largely avoided. As framing analysis and interview results have illustrated so far, SR cannot be blamed for complete exclusion of the reluctant position; however, some interviewees feel strongly that there is an inclination to avoid it or give it less value in news-reporting.

One interviewee states:

> I don't know how it is in other countries, but here in Sweden, there are definitely sensitive questions, sensitive issues when it comes to migration. There is a general fear of putting all people in the same box; there is a general fear that expressing views or covering stories on culture may put huge numbers of people in the same box (Interview, 2016).

Shortcomings of consensus

In relation to sensitivity and "the general fear of expressing views," the notion of self-censorship came up in the interviews. According to several interviewees, politically sensitive themes, such as migration cause a great degree of self-censorship within SR. Self-censorship can, as interviewees exemplify, affect who is interviewed and who is not. Moreover, some interviewees feel that journalists might not express themselves openly due to the emphasis on consensus.

> Everyone says Sweden is a consensual society. The goal is that everyone agrees and nobody throws eggs and tomatoes at each other or at politicians (Interview, 2016).

The interviewee feels that such consensus may exclude some people and ideas from reporting.

> Consensus is bad for journalism. I like when we have meetings in the morning if we disagree. I always go for disagreement, because it is more dynamic and more interesting (Interview, 2016).

The latter interviewee points out that generally, SR has been characterized by self-censorship; however, there has been a shift and it has recently become less consensus-driven. The governmental rhetoric on migration has changed, allowing SR to speak more openly about certain issues. Others also state that the environment within SR encourages self-censorship, as journalists feel that raising certain stories may put an undesired label on them. Journalists can be perceived as radical due to the stories or angles they suggest; therefore, some interviewees feel limited in the aspects of phenomena they can work on. The PSM mission is occasionally used as an excuse to turn down some stories or some angles of a story. Politically sensitive topics, highlighting the differences in the society are treated with exceptional care. Sensitivity restricts some themes and ideas. As a result, some aspects of ongoing issues are subject to insufficient critical examination. Issues related to cultural difference are not portrayed well enough, and potentially conflictual aspects of a phenomenon are avoided. According to some interviewees, such attitude towards reporting damages the trust and reputation of PSM. Excluding certain people from reporting with the fear of being identified with their ideas is counterproductive.

Some interviewees feel that certain stories are favored or discarded due to the clash between journalistic and political thoughts, and decision-making about stories can depend on political presumptions.

> Let's talk about politics and journalism - you usually have people who think that covering political aspects of stuff is journalism. They confuse the two. I am very hard on that point. We should focus on journalism. Politics is for other people. But certainly, lots of people think: "I am doing journalism." No, you are doing politics! And the struggle is to keep true journalism at SR, to fight such politicization of reporting. I still feel that some people cannot tell the difference between journalism and politics. People who call themselves journalists confuse the two. I have opinions and I choose, but I still think it is quite easy for me to differentiate journalism from politics. What I mean is that if I, as a reporter, want to do a story, and I do it out of political conviction, I am confusing the two (Interview, 2016).

As the interviews report, the present patterns of reporting differ from those of autumn 2015. Some interviewees saw the change in reporting patterns once the Danish-Swedish border-controls were introduced. One interviewee mentioned that during autumn 2015, reporting

might have lacked debate; however, after the border controls, the news flow had reduced, making the reporting more diverse and focused on different aspects of migration, including different conflicts. Another interviewee states that the current debate is represented both on citizen- and political levels. Others also agree that, after introducing border controls in January 2015, the effects of migration receive more attention, both from politics and the media: opposing opinions also get a voice, political opinions are also heard.

Liberal democratic societies overemphasize consensus, which results in "the crisis of representation" (Mouffe, 2013:119).

Conclusion

Where is PSM going?

Swedish Public Service Radio is a unique example of a traditional intermediary (Sunstein, 2007) which provides content for a heterogeneous audience, as in relation to modern turbulent media environment, technological change and challenges posed by amplification of new media consumption; it maintains financial stability, as well as public trust and ratings. Swedish Radio keeps putting emphasis on its mission of being a nation builder by promoting democracy in the society. This mission is challenged both by external factors, such as emerging echo chambers of information circulation and organizational factors, such as journalistic dynamics and professional self-censorship.

What are the gains and losses in its current development?

Public Service Media has a unique place in the mediated public space - the Mediapolis as it has a potential of becoming public forum for the citizens. The Mediapolis gives everyone an unprecedented possibility for appearance, which is a vital precondition for democratic dialogue; nonetheless, Daily Me, the modern pattern of consuming filtered information, simultaneously increases the risk of the Mediapolis becoming so fragmented that people no longer encounter difference. Without acknowledging difference, there is no pluralism, and consequently, there is no democracy (Sunstein, 2007; Silverstone, 2001; Mouffe, 2013).

Is this development desirable?

Representation of the reluctant position about migration has become a challenge for public service radio. The news framing analysis shows that the reluctant position about migration is mainly framed in its antagonistic form in the context of attacks on migration facilities. The space of appearance of the reluctance frame and the hospitality frame differ in the quality of representation. This can have grounds in two dimensions: as informed by the interviews conducted with SR P4 employees, on one hand, people with controversial positions do not

seem to have sufficient trust and desire to be heard and represented on SR; on the other hand, SR P4 has a tendency of avoiding controversial opinions. The latter tendency is affected by multiple factors - current interpretation of the public service mission of enhancing democracy and internal organizational dynamics which facilitate self-censorship among the journalists. Uneven distribution of the space of appearance increases the risk that certain groups of people feel underrepresented and do not identify themselves with SR's broadcasting. As a result, it is more likely that they opt for alternative media platforms to produce and consume information. Those who feel neglected and unheard tend to gather in so-called "echo chambers" and only discuss their opinions with like-minded people, this facilitates group polarization. Echo chambers do not have a potential of promoting democratic debate, because they imply the exclusion of "the other". The dynamics of echo chambers can increase the risk of anti-migration debate developing into extremism; it also poses the risk of citizens seeing each other as enemies rather than as potential adversaries. As a result, SR can fail to practice agonistic pluralism.

What, if anything, should we do about it?

Public Service Media has a potential of becoming a common ground of reference for citizens in the Mediapolis. PSM can construct both political and moral space which will be agonistic. In order to accomplish this, PSM should welcome those who are currently condemned for being immoral enemies and transform them into adversaries. This transformation can be achieved by finding agonistic forms of representation for the antagonism behind condemned practices.

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Appendix

Framing packages:

Potential Frame	Core position	Problem definition	Problem source	Problem solution	Responsibility (legal basis)
Despair Innocent victim	Migrants cannot survive without our help, Shared resources are needed locally, Migrants are going through inhumane conditions	Homeless EU-migrants are dealing with complex problems, EU-migrants' camp in Malmö has unsanitary conditions, Resources are not enough to properly help everyone	War, poverty and discrimination in other parts of the world such as middle east and certain EU-countries, Lack of mobilstation locally	More resources - finances, human resources, accommodation, Cooperation among officials and solidarity organizations (3), Shared responsibility among state institutions, Improving conditions locally in certain EU-countries	Municipalities, Mobilization of police, Local officials who are not cooperating with solidarity organizations
Hospitality	Citizens have moral responsibility to show hospitality and help migrants who have reached Sweden	Refugees are already here and society needs to face them and help them. Migrants become targets of organized attacks	Help from volunteer forces is decreasing. Lack of resources locally , Local officials not cooperating with solidarity groups, Hatred /racism	Active citizen involvement in problem solving, Seeing migrants as humane, Constructive cooperation among officials and solidarity groups, Working against hatred	Politicians, Police, Attackers, haters

frame	Responsibility (moral basis)	Selected sources	Archetype, stereotype	Lexical choices	Catchy phrases
Despair Innocent victim	Citizen's duty of help, state institutions, politicians who do not assist migrants and consider their despair,	Migrant , Concerned Citizen, Volunteer, Concerned organization, Municipality, Police, Other state institutions,	Impoverished, desperate, innocent victim , Underage refugee , Active citizen	A disaster, Ugly face of poverty, Even more desperate, Panic-struck, Tragic, Tragically, Shocked, Violently, Beaten	The worst that could happen, Discrimination of Romanians goes on, We will not have money to survive, It strikes directly at the heart, I will sleep with my bags in the streets of this city, Politicians should look migrants in the eyes, They are throwing us to the streets, This feels unreal, It was the worst time in their life, They treated us as dogs, Those who speak about mass-immigration do not see actual

					faces Violence while the tents were removed,
Hospitality	Politicians (2), Citizen's duty of help (4) Haters,	Concerned citizen, Malmö Stad, Volunteer	Underage refugee , Volunteer	Love-bombing, Affected both emotionally and personally	Volunteers are feeling both exhausted and excluded, No child should need to be afraid

Potential Frame	Core position	Problem definition	Problem source	Problem solution	Responsibility (legal basis)
Reluctance	The threat against migrants is increasing. We should be helping migrants. Attackers should be condemned. SD is unethical and people are against them	There is organized threat against migrants. EU-migrant camp is causing threat for health	Information SD spreads, Hatred, Racism, Lack of accommodation	Increased security, Fighting hatred, Racists leaving political parties, Accommodating the migrants	Responsibility for premeditated attacks, Racists, Police, Migrant's responsibility for pollution
Reluctance	**Responsibility (moral basis)**	**Selected sources**	**Archetype, stereotype**	**Lexical choices**	**Catchy phrases**
Reluctance	Citizen's duty of help, SD's responsibility for provoking hostility among Racists, Reluctant citizens, Migrants responsibility for pollution,	Concerned citizen, Reluctant citizen, SD representative, Municipality, Police, Other state institutions	Underage refugees, Innocent migrant, SD - villain, Racists, Active citizen	Shocked, fire-raising, Sadly, Perplexed, Military Nazi organization, Shocked, Angry, Despair, Sadness, Threat, Traumatic experience, Xenophobic, Active in Nazi group	Shocked after fire-raising It is Pitiful, Those who come here are our guests, One becomes tearful, I am completely destroyed, It goes against all ethics and morality, The beds were already made up, People will take control, SD-politicians compare refugees to animals