(De)professionalization in the new medium environment

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Abstract

This essay concerns several problems in relation to professional communication. The background is the changing circumstances and extreme phenomena like fake news, Donald Trump's use of Twitter, his and many other politicians' use of Facebook Live and, for instance, the many hostile and irreconcilable debates on social media. The hypothesis is that we see a de-professionalization in communication patterns both regarding the political system and in the public sphere enabled by digital media. In the political system, the parties and administrations are weakened while politicians and other actors take initiative. In the public sphere, journalists and the editorial offices are passed over by the blogosphere and social media. Our aim is to analyse these phenomena using media sociology and media history and point out an explanation of what is going on and point out a media historically based image of a *probable* socio-media evolutionary scenario for the future development in which we see a possible re-professionalization.

Every observation is bound by its embeddedness in the social fabric of the society in which the observation unfolds. We have taken the distinct approach to re-produce and re-describe the experience of de-professionalization occurring by the challenge of emerging social media as not only fountains of utterances of only particular and personal interest, but as the means of communicating and organizing systemic communications with wide ranging implications.

A re-production perceives itself as a copy of an original, albeit never grasping the full complexity of the original. A re-description takes the liberty of accepting another point of view than the original, creating not a copy, but an image in language of the observed object.

De-professionalization of teachers, journalists, politicians and military officers because of the emerging social media society poses a structurally important problem seen from within the perspective of the nation state of modernity with its large administrative bodies, fixed forms of political organizations and warfare. For the sociological observer of current transformations, the challenges posed to both professions and organizations does not constitute a problem in itself – rather a fascinating object emitting beams of relevance for both theorizing and empirical studies. The distinction between the re-production of inherent challenges to professions embedded in the modern welfare state and its institutions and re-description of the media revolutions occurring through the rise of the social media communication opportunities resemble a dancer trying to dance with both feet planted firmly on the ground. Our dance may be cumbersome and cruel to the expert. We might stumble, but the dance, just as observations, doesn't continue without dancers and observers. Thus, we invite you for a dance with the social media society and its challenges to professions.

Media historic and sociological background

The democratic society of today's Western world is, in a medium perspective, developed in the in the wake of the printing press. For Habermas (1976) the public sphere developed in cafes' and coffee houses around Europe as places where citizens met and discussed printed texts. The discussions divided the readers in proponents and opponents to the state. This started a development ending with the modern democratic states of today's Western world. Elizabeth Eisenstein (1983) pointed out how the printing press contributed to cultural advance in early modern Europe by preserving and making intellectual achievements more widely available. The tradesmen, financiers and intellectuals were reading a new genre – the news in the newspapers. News from

overseas, from trading and expeditions, from stock-markets, the ever waging wars and political gossip were new forms of dissemination and synchronization of information from diverse geographical and societal fields of inquiry and actions. The newspaper and pamphlet-reading society (Maza 1993) began to act on the news as a legitimate source of information. New investments, adjustments in courses of actions or engagement in new partisanship related to the news and discussions (North 2016: 126). The new feedback system would not have had the enormously emancipatory and organising democratic effect, if it had not been for the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. In 1644, John Milton pointed to the importance of the freedom of speech: "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties".[1] According to the Norwegian historian Kjetil Jakobsen, Milton believed that the Reformation was an unfinished process to be continued with the free deliberations and discussions, that is, the unhindered exchange of written, printed and oral words. In the same way as the body, so too the mind needs resistance to grow in strength. According to Milton even false claims are useful for faith and truth, as they sharpen thinking and force rebuttals. Milton was a strict critic of prior censorship. For Milton one shall write and print under his own name, so a person can subsequently be accountable for fornication, blasphemy and defamation. From Milton stems one of the major development of the underpinnings of modern democracy, that cognitive quality is assured by the free public exchange of words - and that the cognitive processes consist in arguments and counterarguments (Jakobsen 2016: 36).

For the German philosopher of the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant, freedom of the press is the only right the people have against the sovereign (Kant 1999: 304). During the enlightenment, the sovereignty of the people became a kind of a juridical fiction, conceptualizing the absolute monarchy as pre-legal contract between the people and the sovereign. The lumieres of the Enlightenment gave the idea of the sovereignty of the people a new and more concrete expression through the concept of general will: Public opinion, as expressed in the printed publicity, should guide the future development of the state. Thereof derived the radical consequence that censorship should be eliminated in its entirety. The 18th century reflection on freedom of expression observes, how society with freedom of expression enables the development of divergent points of view, which in turn help it cope with the explosion of experienced contingency (Jakobsen 2016: 57).

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[1] http://files.libertyfund.org/pll/quotes/51.html

Freedom of speech has always been restricted e.g. in relation to utterings that are violent, pornographic, or racially offensive and there are laws against lese-majesty, blasphemy, libel and for violation of privacy. On the other hand, law is a lam and slowly upholder of the exchange of words. To enhance reaction time for guidance in the dos and don'ts of free speech, the concept of *Bildung* evolves as a response to the slow and limited regulation capacity of legislation on free speech rights. The concept of *Bildung* originates from the continental thinking on education and coherence of noble and learned men (and later women). Bildung refers to learned and cultivated gentlemanship. In education and socialization practice, Bildung denominated the outcome of a lifelong quest for participation in the circles of knowledge and power, with a strong focus on presence of both moral integrity and common cultural knowledge. The man of Bildung knows the common (ancient) history, reads latin and the Homeric tales. He quotes Goethe and Aristophanes and recites Lord Byron and Shakesspeare at a dinner party. Bildung, in other words, is a culture of collective remembrance and discussion of current issues and the common European and global history (Best 1994: 20).

During the enlightenment there was a growing self-regulation in the public sphere and the publicists developed a culture of free speech meaning that the legislation from then on almost never had to intervene in the public exchange of words.[2] The publishers knew how to utter their opinions, because they had learned the right form of Bildung for participating in the public debate. According to Jakobsen (2016: 371), societies that have managed best have had a well-functioned general public with a secured freedom of speech and press. They mobilise and utilise its citizens' resources in the best way.

With the emergence of the digital media and especially the new social media since the early 2000's, the *balance* between the new information and interaction situations, provided by the new media, and the structures of the political system, the public

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[2] Conspicious of the effects from continued revolution by further public deliberation in the first revolutionary years in France, the new leadership ascended to power in France limited the rights for free speech (Walton 2009). After the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte and the Peace Treaty of Wienna in 1815, a reactionary movement abolished the freedom from censorship. It swept from Vienna to Munich, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen and virtually every other country in Europe. In the great year of eruption 1848, free speech regained its strength from the late 18th century, now molded in an ideology of democracy and popular representation (Metternich 1921: 453). The British history of free speech did not have a similar backlash. Military legislation (code of justice) throughout the western world has had a far stricter policy toward free speech, where opposition always was (is?) in danger of being denounced as treason or at least: disobedience (West 1977), even in countries with wide-ranging and constitutional rights, such as the 1st Amendment to the American Constitution from 1791, regulating the freedom of speech.

institutions and the democratic public sphere was disturbed. This disturbance means that citizens without a proper Bildung for participation join the public debate, while even opinion formers and politicians lack a Bildung and knowledge about the new media- and communication situations. If the inclusion of new citizens in the public sphere is to strengthen the democratic feedback system and not destroy it, a new form of self-regulation, media Bildung and speech (interaction) culture must be formed.

This paper is composed of four sections.

1) First it focuses on the new situations broad about by the new media and the problems and possibilities.
2) Then we analyse the function of social media, the mass media and the politically formed societal structures as they are after many years with deregulation, reforms, globalisation and last but not least neoliberalism.
3) After this section we go through two examples (private organizations and public schools) to point at a possible future,
4) In the last section of the paper, we discuss possibilities for a future public sphere and media literacy and media Bildung, where social media increase and strengthen the public sphere and give the political system a counter play by organizing and disseminating arguments and constructive counter arguments.

A new medium revolution: possibilities and problems

The new media situation with digital media and wireless networks means that everybody can reach everybody across time and space. The digital media makes data and communication structure available for disseminating communication. With modern, digitally mediated communication structures, topics can be distinguished from all other topics and easy searchable, calculable etc. This form of media makes it possible to find other people with same interest and views as our own, which give a strong tendency that we find and follow likeminded people and media. Of course the opposite is also possible e.g. to find other views but there is seldom escape from different filter bubbles, and this tendency is increased by the hugely complex algorithms of the social media platforms such as Facebook or in search queries in Google. It takes media Bildung and knowledge to provide oneself with a newsfeed with many different topics and opinions. It takes even more media Bildung to adhere to acceptable standards of communication and argumentation in a sea of rant and non-reflexive argumentation.

Just as we would not traditionally assume that someone is literate if they can read but not write, we should not assume that someone possesses media literacy if they can

consume but not express themselves." (Jenkins 2008: 176). The active side of the distinction indicate the need for new norms and media Bildung suited for the inclusion in the new networked publics. Danah Boyd (2011: 49) defines networked publics as consisting of invisible audiences, collapsed contexts and the blurring of public and private sphere, which calls for the development of a new kind of professionalization of communication, organizing societal cooperation and triggering the development of new norms and media Bildung which is adequate to the new medium environment.

Let's look closer on some of the problems provided by this new media and communication situation and thereafter we look closer into some of the possibilities.

Problems

Following the American news media BuzzFeed News, ten of the most shared news stories in the last three months of the American president election 2016 were fake news.[3] Stories that was simply not true. Many of them were distributed through right-wing websites from within the US and others from very young websites based in Macedonia. A similar picture was seen in Italy during the parliamentary election, where Beppe Grillo and others from the Five Star Movement ran websites in a similar fashion. To outside observers, their websites interfered in the election process with disinformation.[4]

Websites with large amounts of clicks generate large sums through ad-based financing. The majority of fake-news pages and social media robots stem from right-wing activists, but the left-wing activists are not devoid of using similar tactics and solutions of disinformation and generation of fake news. One recent example was the so-called Brexit election in 2016, concerning the future of Great Britain in the European Union. Boris Johnson, now minister of foreign affairs and Nigel Farage, former member of the EU Parliament and former leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), attracted much attention in a trinity with social media and mass media. In the third section of this paper, we return to this particular case. Fake news and disinformation is an extremely effective form of information, because nothing is more surprising than the message that something is not true (Giglietto et al 2016, 6).

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[3] https://www.buzzfeed.com/craigsilverman/viral-fake-election-news-outperformed-real-news-on-facebook?utm_term=.hcY3kvaxl#.wupaEJme6

[4] https://www.buzzfeed.com/albertonardelli/italys-most-popular-political-party-is-leading-europe-in-fak?utm_term=.pwk82KwQ1#.xgKAnyQ5m

Yet another unexpected problem arose, when websites, and earlier on in groups and discussion boards, added comment options. Debates and commentaries on social media and in the comment fields of the newspapers frequently turn hostile on both the commented subject and towards other contributors. In Norway, for instance, many of the newspapers have removed their comment fields after the Breivik incidents in 2011. Newspapers that still have them have employed a strict management of the threads and apply censorship according to their codes of conduct on their social media websites (Jakobsen 2016). Threats against artists, opinion formers and even politicians who express themselves on social media is rising in severance and frequency.

Another problem that is strict related to the two former is the rise of a gap between the politicians, the parties and the administration. The problem is that politicians tend to bypass parties and public servants and obstruct the political negotiation process with their use of social media.[5] A nuance of this problem is when the politicians uses a medium like Facebook Live to bypass the filter of the mass media and directly address the citizens and in this way, avoid critical questions. In other parts of the world dictators are closing down social media and employing strict censorship by prohibiting encryption and VPN-connections for its citizens by law. Newspapers and other free media are closed or taken over. The state therefore has severe limitations on access to input from critics and therefore information that could help them in increasing their knowledge about how citizens feel and think. The cognitive process consisting in arguments meeting counterarguments, as a democratic feedback system, is blocked.

Hereto the problem of *surveillance capitalism* (Zuboff 2015) which is raises concerns in the public sphere, how not at least Google and Facebook track and log information about its users and use stored data to manipulate their users. The problem of how corporations like Google and Facebook uses algorithms to manipulate its users and form the communication is a problem. In the analysis, we describe and analyze the problems from a medium perspective and a redistribution policy perspective.

Possibilities

The scope of digital media in general and social media in particular is enormous in its capacity of dealing with management of the contingency and complexity. Social media seems to act as a response to a world suddenly connected by digital networks and with access to incommensurable levels of stored data. The Facebook feed and search results

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[5] http://theconversation.com/trump-the-wannabe-king-ruling-by-twiat-72269

given by Google and Bing generate order by invisibilizing the contingency of their selections. The extreme uncertainty of a specific "hit" fade away through pageranking and actions on other sites like Facebook and twitter. Social media and digital algorithms are the current solution to generate order, as was the bureaucrats for the printing press society. The arrival of the printing technology meant problems for the old oral and manuscript-medium society and gave birth to wars about interpretation of the Bible (Eisenstein 1983). In the long run, the reading, ordering and discussion of words printed on paper and stored at home or in specialized institutions (libraries) formed the understanding the modern public society (in comparison with the feudal society). In the 21st century, the digital media plays the equivalent role. The possibility for society is to use the very same media, like what happened with the printing medium, to catch up with the new situations made possible by digital media. This gives us a perspective of a modern society 2.0 (as modern following Luhmann (1998, 3) just indicate that something is new, and therefor simply means changing). The entering of ordinary people into the democratic process in the public sphere is still absent or mostly conceived as noise at this moment. New forms of order by processing powers of algorithms and linking powers of fiber-optic cables and wireless networks have the potentiality of synchronizing society on a whole new level with itself, creating a society which can handle its contingency and complexity on a yet unseen level. If society succeeds in including the many users of social media in a new and strongly extended sphere of public discussion, a new cognitive process consisting in arguments meeting counterarguments, as a democratic feed back system could emerge. There are examples from private organizations and public schools pointing out new forms of organisations and communications and hereto also many grass-roots movements base their actions and organization structure in new forms enabled by social media, such as the Danish grass-roots movement *Venligboerne* , that rose to action in the wake of the refugee crisis in 2015.

Analysis

1. **social media**

The social media, or rather the incomprehensible rich and very young companies providing them, are responsible for some of the new phenomena in our contemporary society. They divide us in different filter bobbles and enhance our tendency to select friends that are similar to our own preferences and follow groups and watch content that we agree with, instead of trying to balance the situation with their algorithms. The filter bobbles act as separated worlds of knowledge with different conceptions of what

constitutes facts. The algorithms make the fake news raise in relevance in pageranks when we search on Google.com and let them get to the top of our News Feed on our Facebook accounts. This means that these media organizations have a great part of the responsibility for the spreading of fake news. Because they track and log our behaviour, the non-human algorithms select which search results and newsfeed posts we as individuals are served, with very little intervention options by their respective users. The algoritm-based selection of what goes into our search results or newsfeeds separate our view of the world from everyone else outside the filter bubble, creating different groups that are not only in opposition to each other, but who also build their outlook on different and contradictory facts. This is a dangerous path to walk, as Jakobsen (2016) points out; deep cognitive dissonance is more difficult to handle in a peaceful way than differences of opinion. A filter bubble is created when we only get search results and Facebook updates that confirms our outlook. Humans exhibit a tendency to consider information as true if it confirms what we already believe and this effect is increased in online communities that mutual confirmation of fake news (Giglietto et al 2016, 4). In difference to the mass media of newspapers, bookstore books and flow TV and radio broadcasting, we do not get an objective, all-round and balanced covering of the world on the Internet. We only get the news that we like based on what we have liked before and we actively select and give preference to results that confirms us in our worldview, prejudices and outlook.

2. Mass media

The press and the mass media must be seen in a long time perspective. During the time of the absolutism in Denmark until after the granting of the constitution in 1849, there were what is called a press of meanings with special prints for people interested in special subjects. After 1849, Denmark got what is called a political party press where each of the four Danish parties in the parliament, each had their view expressed in their newspaper, available in every Danish market town and provincial city. From the interwar period and onwards, both the metropolitan and provincial newspapers got a new role and self-understanding. This new form of press is called the omnibus press, meaning the press "for all". This form of press lasted during most of the 20th century; to commercial media institutions arose with differentiated media- cultural profiles at the turn of the 21st century (Schultz 2007). In the era of the political party press, the newspapers contributed with each their respective one-dimensional perspective. The news was ideological biased and facts were interpolated as contributions to the party's

own newspaper. Following Habermas (1971, 1984), who forms the concept of the public sphere, the downfall happened when news wasn't formed as a communicative action but either was formed as strategically action (to manipulate a special understanding), or as an instrumentally action (a commercial product). News as a communicatively action is ideologically seen just to quote what a politician had said, so the literate man through discussions with free thinking men in the public sphere could decide for himself, what to mean. With news as a commercial product we are reduced to passive consumers who are entertained by what we read, hear or see. According to Niklas Luhmann (1995) we do not communicate to achieve rational consensus, but to increase sensitivity to changes in the surrounding world. For Luhmann the mass media is a function system of society. Its symbolically generalised communication medium is *information* relying on the binary code *information/not information*. The Mass Media is separated from other function systems by the technology, which both enables distribution and disables interaction between media organisations and their readers, listeners and viewers (Luhmann 2002, 2). In this situation, the media organisations themselves must decide what has information value, which means that news criteria differ from organisation to organisation. They have developed their own programmes for handling the code, and therefore select differently in regard to what is thought to have information value. This means that the positive values are constantly turned into negative values; you cannot write the same thing – as a piece of information – in the paper two days in a row. This process creates a history of communication in regard to what new happenings become information. If organisations or persons from the perspective of one of the other functional systems want to have something known in public, they must tolerate the forms of the different mass media organisations and their different programmes for handling the code of information (Luhmann, 2000). A politician, for instance, may get the chance to appear as a guest on a popular television show but she will only get the questions selected by the show, and will be interrupted, only be filmed in the angles, have the time etc. selected by the show.

Another important aspect in Luhmann's theory of functional differentiation is that it is the system of science and not the mass media system that is differentiated out to communicate the distinction of true and false. It is a matter for research to make probable what is true. The system of the mass media on the other hand selects their content according to news-value and not according to trues-value. They are free to

write what they want, as long as they move within the limits of the law. They point attention to themselves by writing something new. In Denmark they are also voluntarily tied to their own organ, the Press Council and its guidelines for ethics of journalism. Similar bodies exist in other western countries.

The problem is that we now see a growing bush of websites and weblogs in Denmark that are not members of the Press Council. They live by and hope to live by one-dimensional filter bubbles like we have seen in Italy and in the USA. In Denmark we see a continuum from one-dimensional news to fabricated fake news. As an example on the first, we have the *Den Korte Avis*, which is not a member of the Press Council in relation to which the head of the journalistic association in Denmark says: "It is clear that they celebrates a one-sided view of reality, and it is not journalism".[6] In the other end of the continuum NewSpeek Networks does not only bring one-sided news, but sometimes directly fake news.[7] For instance they broadcasted the earlier disavowed story of Merkel flying refugees to Germany in the night not to attract attention.[8] The reactions from the mass media in the USA, where the problem with fake news most clearly has been observable, have been to launch fact checks. CNN, the New York Times and other news corporations like the before mentioned BuzzFeed and the FactCheck.org provides fact check of news stories and of statements from politicians and other opinion formers (Giglietto et al 2016). But until now the effect has shown to be limited qua the continuing stream of fake news. Mass media corporations, and even the public service corporations like the licence financed DR in Denmark, themselves qua the selection code of information plus/minus send programs presenting conspiracy stories with storylines plotting allegedly false truths, such as stories promoting the understanding, that it was the CIA that was behind the 9/11 bombings, that there never have been humans on the Moon etc.. Another dimension are the interviews: the mass media makes interviews with for instance a professor on climate change, discussing the climate with a climate change denial person, even though in the sciences of climate there is consensus about the climate change and its

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[6] Lars Werge to Berlingske den 12/12 2016.

[7] There are also other rightwing websites in Denmark: Folkets avis: https://www.folkets.dk/ Nationaldemokraten: https://nationaldemokraten.dk/terror-i-danmark/ and Uriasposten: http://www.uriasposten.net/

[8] http://www.b.dk/nationalt/luegenpresse-manipulation-og-kvarte-sandheder-hvem-er-det-der-lyver

human causes. Another example is that a big vaccination program in Denmark have dropped from a contribution ratio of 85% to only 15% after massively spreading of conspiracy stories of illness caused by the vaccination program.[9] Lastly it is the same news corporations that often make fact checks, which lance the interviews providing fake news, which in another program or from another editorial team is fact checked or problematized.

The question now is where the subscribers to such websites come from, who subscribe themselves to such filter bobbles as the right wing populist ones? Until now we have seen the role of social media and Mass media. In the next section we will look into the politically constructed reality to find the last part of the analysis of why we see the wave of fake news in this field.

3. The reforms

A closer look at the elections in 2016 (the Brexit election, the US and Austrian presidential elections) show a boundary rising between the big cities and the peripheral regions, where the protest and/or right wing voters predominantly live. At the same time, campaigns run by the right wing populist politicians were the ones most clearly providing fake news, according to the above mentioned criteria even though research indicate that the voters did not vote as they did solely because of fake news (Allcott, & Gentzkow 2016), the coincidence between country arias and citizens voting for populists are striking. In Denmark we talk about the yellow Denmark. The phrase refers to the peripheral regions named after the color of the right wing populist party *Dansk Folkeparti*, (Danish People Party) who gets the majority of their votes from these arias. The path taken in Denmark is a good example of the international development. The surge of right-wing and left-wing populist parties and grass-root movements throughout most of the European countries have given good conditions for the growth of fake news.

With the Danish constitution of 1849, The State of Denmark was structured for regulation in the state, regions (amter) and municipalities consisting of one or more parishes (sogne) with self-government of local regulations. With the Constitution of 1849, Denmark got an extensive network of selected male citizens with influence and responsibility that stretched out to the outermost little town. Here the parish council chairman with his parish council ruled the small community "line" in all sorts of cases

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[9] http://play.tv2.dk/programmer/dokumentar/serier/de-vaccinerede-piger/syge-og-svigtede-97048/

where it was the individual and entirely close citizen who arrived at the parish council chairman's office (located "just around the corner") and presented his problem. The governmental exercise of democracy as a common regime was ramified and present with general right to vote established in 1915. With the municipality reform in 1970 came a greater distance between decision-makers and population. It found its justification in the expectation of more efficient management of local conditions. The latest reform of state administration in 2007 drastically changed the Danish local government in its democratic basis. Mostly gone were the local integration of state and municipal administration. The reform adhered to the idea of higher efficiency of state organizations by merging smaller units and centralizing important decision-making from the small towns and converging municipal administration in larger, provincial towns[10]. At that time virtually all democratic institutions were moved far away from its citizens. Add to that police reform, judicial reform, health care reform, and school closures: Peripheral areas have been emptied for involvement both publicly and officially. Peripheral areas are inhabited by de-coupled people in houses that are falling in price, with no public transport, no access to mortgage, local hospitals, kindergartens or schools, no local police, closed counters at the public administration, and not broadband etc. The picture sounds grim in its future outlook. The government has rallied to at least widen access to broadband Internet, as a lack of fast and reliable networks would not only let the periphery out of easy access and regulation of administrative and governmental bodies, but even worse, de-couple. It is not only in Denmark that the peripheral regions are being neglected. If you look up the previously mentioned Italian comedian and politician Beppe Grillo's blog, as we did the 12/12 2016, the cover story was, that in several cities in Sicily, they no longer have water. The water supply on Sicily is in fact outsourced to a French company for the next 40 years. The outsourcing water supply meant a reduction in costs for consumers and cities but they had no water and became potentially populist voters.

The New York Times did an analysis of the media activity by Trump-voters following the 2016 election, and they surprisingly do not believe the propagated 'fact' by right-wing news outlets, e.g. that Hillary Clinton solely won the popular vote because illegal votes from illegal Hispanics were counted. Even then, they clicked "Like" and shared the post

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[10] TIL LITTLIST: https://tidsskrift.dk/politik/article/view/27653

KORA, 2016, plus ovenfor.

with the fake news because the attitude felt right.[11] US labour market is deregulated so that many immigrants from Mexico and other South American countries work for lower wages than equivalent American workers. The deregulation of financial markets during the early years in the 21st century and the following sub-prime crisis had major impacts on a large percentage of blue-collar workers in particular and in the large peripheral areas of the United States in general. During the financial crisis beginning in 2008, Denmark lost more than 100,000 jobs out of the country that were moved to other countries with lower wages, poorer working environment and less environmental concerns. Correspondingly, In the EU, large populations outside the large cities, daily experienced the competition with wage-undercutting east-workers on the fields, behind the wheel of the trucks, in industries and crafts. So even if the free movement of labour across European borders increases wealth generally seen it is not the picture in the peripheral region. With the surge neoliberalism and its impact on the organization of state- and municipal administration, policy decisions and de-coupling of politics from everyday life, we waved goodbye to the traditional class struggle. Instead, the master-slave relationship moved into the individual who must take responsibility and guilt, no matter how (Han 2016). Neomarxist analysis depicts the change in the social structure as a fundamentally economic process, in which "Electoral politics, moralizing anti-corruption rhetoric, lectures on corporate ethics and responsibility notwithstanding, corruption flows across boundaries and up and down the social structure, subordinating nations and workers to the emerging economic empires" (Petras 2007: 58). The individualization reaches new heights, and the functionality emptied countryside responds with voter cards and alternative truths.

The Politicians

Politics and the mass media have a long and shared history. In the pre-literate epoch of primarily oral culture, political power belonged to those who had a superior ear, memory, sense of verbal rhythm, and eloquence, which would be demonstrable in epic hexameter (Havelock 1963, 126). Oral culture as the prime way of sharing, memorizing and organizing kept its primacy till the advent of modern forms of dissemination of voice and picture. According to Meyrowitz (1985, 280) most of the American presidents were tall and Impressive men, capable of speaking to large collections in town halls and political gatherings. "Short" presidents only emerge in the age of cinemas and broad use

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[11]   https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/06/us/fake-news-partisan-republican-democrat.html?_r=0

of television. In the era of printing, the society was very literate and no one could become president without extraordinary good literacy skills. In the era of television, presidents must look and sound good (ibid. 161). Before the emergence of the electronic media, politicians could always deny a quote. After the emergence of video transmissions, the politicians facial expressions were exposed to the audience, demanding congruence between the wording and the accompanying facial expressions, if the voters were to build trust in the politician. Still, in the era of the TV, it was the time of the mass media and their reflective editorial work observing politicians. In the hay day of newspapers and broadcastings, the press observed, if politicians were cooperative. Their perspective questioned the presence of congruency in doing what they said they would do.

The emergence of the social media society has changed the landscape of reports and journalism. Glimmering personalities such as Donald Trump excel in demonstrating the new forms of relation between the mass media and political communication. In the social media society, politicians using Twitter (and Facebook Live) bypass the editorial boards of the mass media and their critical questions and culture of free speech. "The medium researcher Harold Innis (1986, ix) argues, that new media tend to destabilize old empires, arising not from the metropolitan centres, but from the boundaries and the outbacks, where the competitive forces create the need for new efficiencies and where a strong sense of place and time creates a dynamic local environment". The periphery may once again, just as was common before the advent of the "Anomalie" of the nation state forced itself unto disparate peripheries, observe themselves not as peripheries of national capitols and mega-cities (Megalopolies), but as peripheries to globalized power relations and economic flows (Castells 1999), not unlike the peripheries of the axial Empires (Luhmann 1997: 680).

What seams true, following Innis, in this new media situation of mass engagement in social media interaction, is the bypass of the media-political centre, where media empires installed alliance and allegiance with the old parties. Although Trumps tweets were viewed as twitter-litter in the early phases of his candidacy, he has shown true twitter-literacy. The periphery got an insider, a revolting Trump who knew the rules by which Washington politics worked. In particular, Twitter messages generates attention to the problems and worries of the people living in the so-called Bible belt or Rust-belt, an alliteration to the deterioration of the once-great coal mining and steel production, now defunct and rusting industrial compounds as artefacts from an age bygone. Jan Werner Müller (2016) describes, how the populists have had luck to communicate a

double distinction: only they talk for the people and only some people belong to the real people. Looking at the problem from a medium perspective, it consists in at least two interwoven new situations.[12]

1. Short-circuiting the political process: When Trump sends a Tweet, is it to be considered as an act of administration or just a private statement? Nobody can tell, which makes it difficult to decide if this is the politics of tomorrow or just an outburst. Politicians' use of social media gives problems for slow politics. The process of making policy in a democracy with checks and balances is a lengthy process and does not walk hand in hand with leeks to the press in form of tweets with uncompromising standpoints and positions. The parliamentary system we know arose in the wake of the printing press. It required general participation and gradually took over power from the old autocrats. In a social system based on the printing press, speech and writing, there is relatively good time to handle disagreements and establish compromise and broad parliamentary majority. The complexity of the political negotiations takes time to handle and suffer harm during acceleration driven by rapid public announcements and reactions. The result is simplifications that do not match the actual societal complexity and leads to a polarization between them and us in the social dimension - a splitting in the public opinion (public opinion in policy is functionally equivalent to political truth (Rasmussen 2016, 98)).

2. Parliamentary democracy means that citizens elect representatives to represent their interests. In Denmark there is a tradition of broad agreement across the political centre. This system is in sharp contrast to direct democracy, referenda and split views directly announced to the citizens living in their individual filter bubble. Democracy as we know it, requires the secrecy of closed rooms and slow-moving time. Quite unlikely, after Second World War bodies as the UN and the EU emerged, where not only the individual countries internally makes compromise on their own internal affairs, but with different countries, indeed the whole world has receded from special interests and committed compromises and

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[12] http://theconversation.com/trump-the-wannabe-king-ruling-by-twiat-72269

coordinated with each other. This is the most time consuming of all processes and therefore improbable in the new media time.

Organizations and social media

Organizations and media have a long and shared history that binds them together. Indeed, organizations without written language, be it on parchment, in stone, on paper or on digital screens (cyber), do not qualify as decision-disseminating systems, and should be counted as structured interaction systems. With the advent of the telegraph and, for instance, printed ads as communication medium and the railroad for transportation, organizations gained the means to enhance their production considerable and therefor had to build big internal bureaucracies to handle the increasing external complexity (Beniger 1984). This was the beginning of the times of mass, industrial production. The industrial, military and political organizations could grow in the form of big hierarchies, modelled on the design standard incorporated by the Catholic Church. Today, production focus have changed from mass production of standardized inexpensive products to demand regulated differentiated high quality products, albeit continuing even larger amounts of mass-production of commodities for a globalized world of consumers, produced in low-wage countries. At the same time, customers have developed a need for individualization organizations need to have a very high sensitivity in relation to alterations in their surrounding world (Tække 2017). According to a EU-report (Martin & Bavel 2013) and a growing scientific literature (Macnamara & Zerfass 2012, Madsen 2016, Razmerita et. al 2014, Schultz et al 2015, Treem et al 2012) organizations have begun the transformation from the old media society to the contemporary. In the first instance, they gain a number of advantages internally by enhancing means of knowledge sharing, communication and organization. If they succeed, organizations gain a number of advantages opening up for using social media in their external communication, for instance, stronger attention for alterations in the marked and better knowledge of the customers mindset. Crisis and marketing myopia can be avoided, trust and loyality by consumers can be increased, crowd-sourcing and the possibility of having customers as ambassadors are made possible. This synchronization with the surrounding world is only possible if the organization can self-synchronize i.e. making the structural and cultural changes that are needed. In a structural perspective, the hierarchic organization with its view of centralizing decision-making does not fit to the new medium situation. The power to decide must be delegated both vertically and horizontally, so every employee has the competences and knowledge about what the organization is and wants. Management theory has lately

emphasized the need for a corporate wide knowledge and understanding of organizations vision and mission. Culturally-wise, this demand changes in the form of management, where middle range managers leave their roles as gatekeepers and instead become super notes in internal networks and systems, relating co-workers together in work processes and also making it possible to reduce the enormous complexity originating from the many relations to the surrounding world. Such an organization works as one big communication system where all employees share a corporate DNA enabling them to use social media both internally and externally.

Schools and social media

The action research project, the Socio Media Education (SME) experiment has shown a way for upper secondary school classes to use social media to synchronize firstly with itself and thereafter with the surrounding society (Tække & Paulsen 2016). The SME describes the digital medium revolution in the school system in the form of three waves. In the first wave, students are distracted and try to multitask while the teachers do not know what to do and in their desperation either prohibit the new media or ignore them. None of these strategies are helpful in a situation where communication and organization everywhere else increases in speed and concurrent coupling of disparate aggregates of communication. The new communication landscape enhances its capability for managing complexity and near-synchronous forms of information sharing. In the second wave, teachers begin to use social media in their teaching to get back the attention of the students. In the experiment, this was most importantly done using Twitter, including the students in an educationally interaction system that was not only based on oral speech, as classroom interaction usually consists of, but also based on writing tweets on Twitter. In this process, the students developed partly academically competencies and *Bildung* and partly social competencies and shared norms about being a community using Twitter for both social and educational purposes. In the third wave, teachers opened for interactions with resource persons from the surrounding society. The class, for instance, interacted with an author after reading his pomes. Another example is that the class interacted with the local business corporations applicating their theories on their real and actual cases. This actuality of the cases and the meeting with real persons in real situations really fetch the attention and engagement of the students. At the same time, they learned to take part in the new medium society in a both proper way and also in a professional academic way. They

developed and learned how to organise and act using the new possibilities of social media in accordance with their social surroundings (Tække & Paulsen 2017).

Conclusion: Modern society 2.0

Looking at the history of nation states, democracies (including free speech) have had the biggest success (Jakobsen 2016). The reason why is that they have worked as a feedback system where the government has gotten critics when laws and conditions have had negative consequences. The public opinion has worked as a sensor sending signals back to the government reporting problems, alterations in the environment. The political system has depended on the system of mass media to report the public opinion and the mass media has served as buffer and gatekeeper, providing a filter of good culture for free speech. This means that the mass media has been a powerful restriction to the right of free expression, but also has been a unifying institution for sober well researched critic serving as a fourth power of state. The new medium system including digital media, especial social media, means a great suspension of this filter, already with the weblog every man got his own press (Gillmor 2004). On the one hand, this provide ordinary people with the power to bypass the gatekeeping editorial boards placed in the city centres. On the other hand, it opens up for new commercial patterns with big companies, where corporations like Alphabet (owner of Google) take over the profit from local newspapers at the one end and bloggers and websites getting traffic and therefore earn money on the other hand. In the middle, ordinary people contribute to discussions on social media, or even becomes bloggers or youtubers yelling out their uncensored outbursts. Politicians and politics alike are not immune to the new media environment. Politicians such as the current president of US and local politicians in Denmark contribute to the political communication not only bypassing the mass media but also often their own parties, becoming unsynchronized. This surge in surplus of opinions, substitutions for press briefings and sometimes maybe even declarations destined the circles of diplomacy currently destabilize the printing press and broadcast feedback system.

Following Luhmann (1997: 998ff) this look like former medium revolutions where writing in the ancient Greece also gave a surplus of meaning. This surplus was brought under controle by Aristotle and his categories. Later the printing press again provided society with a surplus of meaning checked by Descartes and the methodological doubt. After the invention of writing, stratified societies emerged. After the printing medium

multiplied texts, the functional differentiated society emerged. From the viewpoint of this paper we cannot anticipate how complexity will be handled or which new form of society structuring that will emerge with digital media. But what is possible to observe is that the success of the society based on the three simultaneous media of oral communication, writing and printing/broadcasting was based on the feedback system letting the national state act on the opinions through the mass media. At the same time, the positive examples from private organizations and public schools show that social media can provide organizations with feedback letting them self-regulate in a synchronized form with its surrounding society. This could point in a direction, where citizen are coupled to the social system of the democratic state by the same social media, which have disturbed the old feedback system. Fake news is not in the interest for the now decoupled people in the countryside if they can be re-coupled to the state system by another form of communication with and about the functioning of this system. Groups in social media for discussing all kind of different questions could be established, but rather not as a kind of direct democracy, but more like a binding kind of hearing or consultation coupled to the political system through the civil service also ensuring a fair treatment and that observed problems are taken into consiteration in the political system. This could also be a re-professionalization of the debate on social media making it more constructive and more factual. Public servant maybe educated partly as journalist, partly in the field of the specific discussion group could moderate or facilitate the communication. Maybe political parties could take over suggestions and go further with them and in the end, if not simply administration can fix a problem, alter the legislation. In one or in another form in the future we will probably see an inclusion of the enormous resources consisting in the large numbers of citizens who were not directly coupled under the former medium society but who by digital media can be included in societal communication.

In the meantime, organizations and professions react to the pervasive non-legitimized knowledge-production by idiosyncratic means through such diverging forms as closure of ranks, invisibilizing decision making procedures, hierarchizing knowledge access, outsourcing decision making to algorithms of unknown workings and proactive media strategies. Regardless of current trends, the emergence of the social media environment challenges the understanding and decision making in professional cultures. As a consequence, this demands the development of a new and different medium Bildung (free speech culture) and far more adaptive structures of political decision making an local integration at both municipal and national levels of state organizations.

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