Social Media Enter the Stadium:

A Case Study on the Political Economy of Media at the 2010 Winter Olympics

by

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ABSTRACT

Just prior to the opening of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games, a 21-year-old Georgian luger died after his sled left the Whistler Sliding Centre track travelling at 140 kilometres an hour. The following paper uses Critical Discourse Analysis and the Bakhtinian notion of intertextuality to examine how Canadian media discursively constructed social media users and their sharing of the images, video, and opinions following the tragedy. The results show traditional media discursively constructed social media as outsiders, separate from the audience, and further argued they need to follow traditional media norms in order to be responsible citizens. In considering this discursive construction within the political economy of traditional media, it is suggested that one tactic employed is the creation of flak, which attempts to discredit what it opposes. Traditional media discourse, sometimes itself the target of flak, here uses flak against social media which are impinging on the political economy of the traditional media.

Keywords: audience, critical discourse, flak, intertextuality, Olympics, political economy, social media, traditional media
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On the morning of February 12, 2010, 21-year-old Georgian luger Nodar Kumaritashvili was preparing to compete at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games. On a practice run at the Whistler sliding centre his sled left the track and his body slammed into a metal pole while travelling at an estimated 140 kilometres an hour. Pictures of his accident were distributed immediately and video of the crash began circulating on the internet outside the control of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) before media reporters were even able to confirm Kumaritashvili was dead, let alone gather minimal biographical details on the young athlete (Bondy & Vinton, 2010; Dillman, 2010; Hart & Magnay, 2010). Online message boards filled with dialogue as the public discussed the crash and subsequent media coverage just hours before one of the most watched moments of the Olympics: the opening ceremonies (Vancouver 2010 Opening Ceremony, 2010, February 13). The public searched news sites for updated information on the fate of the luger and posted links to videos of the accident, all while the IOC tried to stop the spread of digital footage (Shaw, 2010). Although tragic, this event represents a unique opportunity in both the history of the Olympics and the history of Canadian media to conduct a critical study of the discourse of traditional media paying for copyright to cover an event when that copyright is challenged by emerging forms of social media.

Given the advances in, and convergence of, information technologies in recent years, both Manual Castells (2004) and Mark Poster (1995) have urged scholars to change their sociological perspective on communication from one that considers
information moving from the sender to the receivers, to one that considers the implications of a more networked system through which everyone has broadcasting capabilities. In his work on the network society, Castells theorized the internet has the ability to link everyone from almost everywhere creating an endless process of information production, distribution, and feedback; meanwhile, Poster noted a shift from what he terms the first media age, characterized by traditional media broadcasting from one-to-many, to a second media age of participatory information exchange from many-to-many. Together these two theorists summarize key changes in when, where, and how information can be distributed and this potential is reflected in new forms of interactive social media such as Twitter, a micro-blogging site; Facebook, a social networking site; Youtube, an online video sharing site; and web-based sites of traditional media that allow the public more interactivity by providing space for comment and sharing of content.

Given these dramatic shifts in the communication landscape, these new online spaces open up room to circulate a crisis for public viewing and questioning when it is caught on video, as in the case of the death of the luger at the 2010 Winter Olympics.

The shifts in the communication landscape impact the political economy of the traditional media by challenging the authority they hold over the spaces of communication and by challenging their profit margins (David Marshall, Walker, & Russo, 2010). The political economics of communication is concerned with capital accumulation and class power as demonstrated in the capitalist mode of production, particularly in the institutional structure, organization, and production processes of the media (Calabrese & Sparks, 2004). The study of the political economics of communication is important because traditional media in the form of “high-quality,
independent news journalism which provides for accurate and thoughtful information and analysis about current events is crucial to the creation of an enlightened citizenry that is able to participate meaningfully in society and politics” (Anderson & Ward, 2007, p. 65).

A challenge for traditional media in the second media age (Poster, 1995) is that interconnectivity allows social media users to take traditional media products in the form of journalism articles, and their conversations around those articles, away from the site of traditional media products. The ability to move traditional media products challenges the political economy of the traditional media by altering the long held notions of the audience as consumers of advertising products, copyright and ownership. The Canadian Media Research Consortium (2011) notes that social networks are transforming how Canadians get the news with 71 per cent of Canadians who visit social networking sites (some 10 million Canadians) using these sites as a way to keep up with the news, share news with friends, and personalize news streams. This is “undermining existing traditional media business models based on delivering large audiences to advertisers” (Canadian Media Research Consortium, 2011, p.5). Also undermined alongside this business model is the socially held notion of the role of the traditional media as credible sources of information in society. Traditional media have a vested interest in social media as social media impact the political economy of traditional media: social media can challenge the assumptions embedded in the work products of traditional media, undermine their role as information gatekeepers in society, usurp their captive audience, and impact their economics which are driven by advertising revenues.
As the internet has developed, traditional media organizations have responded in different ways. Some have responded to this new challenge by moving with their audiences to populate this new domain of social media. Journalists working for large Canadian media conglomerates that own many of the country’s largest newspapers, such as the former Canwest Corp., have been tasked with sending their stories out through twitter, writing blogs, and crowd sourcing information using social media tools (K. LaPointe, personal communication, September 14, 2010). This is an attempt to engage traditional media consumers in a dialogue with journalists as well as an attempt to pull the audience to their news product in the online environment through interaction with social media users. By at least one account, traditional media are having success: 86 per cent of all Canadians have internet access and their top activity is visiting newspaper (86 per cent) or news (85 per cent) websites (Ipsos Reid, 2010). This tactic is counter balanced by traditional media that try to contain their products all on one web site by charging a fee for content, such as the New York Times (Pepitone, 2011, March 17). At this point, it is too early to know which will prove more beneficial for media organizations and for democracy at large.

Before moving any further in this discussion, definitions of social media and traditional media should be clearly established. According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) social media require two necessary dimensions. The first is that of interaction: social media allow for social presence and provide for media richness that allow users to both influence each others’ behaviour and resolve ambiguity and uncertainty “based on the amount of information they allow to be transmitted in a given time interval” (p. 61). The second is that of presence: social media allow self disclosure of opinions and self
presentation of identity. The degree to which these elements appear in social media vary depending on the specific type but they all to some degree allow for two-way communication which can influence the behaviours of others, resolve ambiguity and uncertainty, present an identity and disclose opinions. By contrast, the term traditional media in this paper refers specifically to commercial entities that finance their operations through the generation of advertising dollars by communicating information on current events to as large an audience as possible. Their primary product is information on news events and commentary on those events. This can be presented by newspapers, magazines, television, radio and websites. A major difference here is social media is based primarily on two-way communication that allows for reciprocal self disclosure and identity and traditional media is based primarily on one-way communication. While it can be argued traditional media have identities and can engage in self disclosure, the products they produce do not provide for this same level of reciprocity, with the exception of when they are using social media to communicate with their audience. Thus it is that the audience members of traditional media, who had limited reciprocity of identity or opinion when decoding traditional media products, can now also be social media users who share identity, self disclosure, have opinions and confirm or deny those opinions while sharing traditional media products online. It’s an audience that can talk, talk back or choose to have the conversation without traditional media being aware their news products are under discussion.

Given the vested interest of traditional media in social media, as well as the threat to traditional media posed by social media, Canadian traditional media play an important role in generation of discourse about social media: in particular, how social media is
talked about in mainstream media has important implications for what is deemed acceptable use of these new tools by the Canadian public. This study will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover how traditional media recontextualized the use of social media during the 2010 Winter Olympics following the release of video of tragic luge incident. CDA sees discourse, including language use in speech and writing, as a form of social practice which both constitutes situations, social identities, and relationships between people and groups of people and is also constitutive, as it assists in sustaining and reproducing the social status quo as well as transforming it (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Mautner (2008) notes the traditional media in particular, with their dissemination to large audiences, enhance the constitutive effect of discourse – traditional media have power that shapes widely shared constructions of reality. The 2010 Olympic Games, as a mega-event, represent the noteworthy convergence of two factors for the first time. They were the first games to take place in a country where government does not control the traditional media and the first to take place during a time when the technology exists for social media to challenge the broadcasting abilities of the traditional media in the western world (Miah, et al, 2008). A CDA of textual data from Canadian media is one way through which to analyze the emerging rules of game: what is constituted as acceptable for Canadians using social media and what is not. A critical examination using discourse analysis of the dialogue of Canada’s traditional media about social media (Wodak, 1999) and the production, distribution and consumption of the death of Nodar Kumaritashvili will provide insight into the political economy of the traditional media and the hegemonic process underway: how traditional media frames social media, how it
addresses and labels social media users and their activities, and how it legitimizes and
delegitimizes social media use in news circulation within the new online media ecology.

It needs to be recognized this work is just a starting point. This study is limited to
one side of a conversation and does not include how social media discursively construct
traditional media. Those questions are equally important but must remain for a future
study. This work should be considered as just one part of an ongoing examination of the
altered relationship between traditional media and its audience, many of whom are now
active through the use of social media.

Given the important role traditional media play within democratic countries
providing information and analysis on current events that are needed in order for citizens
to participation in the democratic process, this work on how the traditional media
discursively constructs social media and the norms of social media use is an important
contribution towards understanding public participation in the journalism process as well
as the evolution of the relationship between traditional media and the people formerly
known as the audience.
Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research which relates to the socio-historical context of the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, British Columbia, can provide insight into some of the tensions which emerged in dialogue in the traditional media regarding social media users following the luger incident. Scholars (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009; David, 2010) have begun documenting the tension that exists between the public sharing digital content online and corporately owned host web sites such as YouTube. Further to this, much work (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2009; Deuze, 2007; Thurman, 2008) has considered convergence of all mediums on the internet, illuminating the tensions between the public, who want to access and share content for free, and copyright holders, who want to be paid for and control their work, as well as the subsequent changes this convergence is generating in the practices and traditions of journalism, traditionally a copyrighted medium in which the journalist holds a privileged editorial position. In relation to organized sport, this new convergence of networked relations and systems challenges the political economy of sports broadcasters and international sports organizations, such as the IOC, especially when sporting events take on the air of news stories. Due to the timelines around the development of new media and digital video, as well as the IOC’s selection of host countries with state run communication, no research has as of yet been undertaken questioning in what ways discourse is used by traditional media responding to challenges to its political economy by social media in a host country during the Olympics.

Section One: Digital Video Goes Online
The development of digital video technologies has opened access for the public, creating a new genre of broadcast journalism in which any citizen can participate; however, its presence online has resulted in dialectic tensions between the corporate ownership of internet sites which play host to this content, content providers and those socially sharing the content. The owners of the host sites use rhetoric of creating democratic space, sharing whatever is uploaded, while at the same time dealing with corporate clients, who may not tolerate copyright or security violations and may require host sites to enforce copyright laws. As sharing digital video is the object under discussion in this proposed research project, the socio historic context around the development of the medium are important in considering the recontextualization of the death of Nodar Kumaritashvili.

**Sharing digital video: liberation and constraint.**

Scholars have done considerable research in the past four years on a significant technological change that is altering the media landscape: the development of software which allow for videos to be circulated and consumed via the internet (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009; David, 2010) outside the hands of traditional broadcast media. Prior to these developments people were constrained in their broadcasting abilities as streaming video required expensive equipment, extensive software, and viewing videos on-line didn’t work well due to limited bandwidth (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009). The website YouTube was founded in 2005 and acts as a host site where people can upload and share their videos. Since the launch of YouTube, there has been a dramatic shift in the use of digital video in online behaviour. As of June 2010 seven in 10 adult internet users in the United States have used the internet to watch a video, about half of all adults in the U.S.
(Purcell, 2010). David (2010) notes the ability for people to create videos and repurpose video content, such as combining editorial commentary with footage captured from broadcasts of mega-sporting events like the Olympics, impacts their self mediations and daily experience online as they become the broadcast journalist. Meanwhile Haridakis and Hanson (2009), Pauwels and Hellriegel (2009), and Regnier (2008) all describe this shift as levelling the field of broadcast by allowing members of the public to bypass the traditional media gatekeepers, the television networks which privilege professional media productions, and the tyranny of the time-based TV schedule in order to create and distribute video inexpensively to a potential audience of millions.

Online video has also been influenced by the different spheres in which it circulates, developing its own set of behaviours and patterns (Davisson, 2009). One such pattern is the ability for a video to go “viral” circulating rapidly on the internet, usually proliferating in copies so rapidly or being viewed so frequently that it gains attention from traditional media who in turn apply the label “viral” and further enhance its circulation (Marwick, 2007, p. 12). Several researchers have also put forward the assertion that online videos are considered more authentic when they are less polished, of poor technical quality, and lacking the traits of a video produced for media broadcast networks (David, 2010; Andan-Papadopoulos, 2009). It is unfortunate that these unique patterns have not as of yet been thoroughly explored at the level of meta analysis; however, the media labelling, speed of circulation, and large viewership are all important when considering media discourse around the videos that circulated on the internet of Kumaritashvili’s fatal crash.

**YouTube as a site contested.**
Although the underlying technological shifts have opened opportunities for the public-at-large to upload videos on the web, this sense of liberation exists in tension with constraint. YouTube dominates the internet as the site of choice for uploading and viewing peer produced video content, giving it a privileged position in the world of digital video (Nielsen, August 2010) and making it a site where the power of digital video is debated and contested. Although broadcast television and YouTube both provide video transmission capabilities, YouTube’s ease of access and uniquely social aspects allow it to be a site of social interaction where videos are both the site of, and topic under, discussion through written forums, debate and co-viewing (Haradakis & Hanson, 2009). Both Marwick (2007) and Pauwels and Hellriegel (2009) have undertaken critical analyses of YouTube documenting its rhetoric as a site of new public debate and assessing whether YouTube lives up to its own, and the traditional media’s rhetoric about its democratic potential for peer production and distribution. They provide examples of the company’s corporate owners – Google Inc. bought the company in 2006 for $1.65 billion – behaving in ways which reinforce corporate ideologies and ignoring user complaints about a lack of agency to influence the site. These behaviours include restricting the placement of links to external sites; influencing which videos are viewed and become popular; and allowing commercial clients to buy time on the site. All of these are points to consider in analysing traditional media texts that discuss Kumaritashvili’s fatal crash and circulation of video of the event.

Specific case studies also point to YouTube as a site for continuing struggle between users, government and corporations. Regnier (2008) examines a debate between YouTube users which took place just after the company was purchased by Google Inc.
Users debated the merits of the populist tropes of YouTube as a social network and site of participatory culture against a backdrop of fears that corporations were being allowed to infiltrate the site under false pretence, even though this would violate the rules established for the rest of the community. Meanwhile, Anden-Papadapoulos (2009) documents how the omnipresence of digital camcorders by U.S. troops in Iraq led to a proliferation of homemade videos on YouTube; however, when it became clear these videos did not conform to official government framing of the war and posed operational security concerns, the United States Department of Defence launched its own official channel on YouTube and blocked troops from accessing the website on military computers. Initially YouTube accepted video postings of segments of movies and television programs that were copyrighted. Subsequently, many were removed at the request of the copyright holders and a note to that effect was posted where the videos had been.

These studies provide a valuable contribution by exposing the tension between the liberation of digital video from the confines of the broadcast world, only to have new forms of power come into play in terms of shaping and controlling the voice of a generation of social media users playing on the edges of the traditional media realm. This tension between rhetoric and reality is highlighted by corporate attempts to control crises among social media, behaviour which becomes a point of discussion in the dialogue around the control of the video of crash at the Whistler sliding centre.

Section Two: Social Media meet Traditional media

The expansion of video capabilities online is not the only factor influencing and shaping traditional media: the internet has also opened up for other forms of
communication. The line between traditional journalists in all media streams and social media, which includes members of the public sharing news through online networks, has blurred as the digital nature of new technology makes information permanent, searchable, replicable, and transformable (Gimeno, 2008). Events are “decentred and delivered through a variety of platforms, not only television but personal websites, mobile phone communication, Google, YouTube, debates on MySpace.com…” (Volkmer, 2009, p. 91).

The internet as a whole has had an impact as a site for public participation, which in turn has had implications for and challenged the authority of journalists. Not only has this created a new breed of hybrid journalist who converge skill sets formerly associated with radio, TV and print, but the public can now assume the role of journalist engaged in telling and retelling narratives.

**Convergence culture.**

Peer production is not limited to digital video. Rather, digital video is just one form of media that is part of a larger trend of internet-based participatory culture including video and photo sharing sites, blog and micro-blogging sites, and social networking sites, such as Facebook and MySpace, which allow individuals to post content from many different types of media and share it with a network of people or the public-at-large and in turn inviting their comments. Anden-Papadopoulus (2009) describes this as:

> A trend in contemporary ‘confessional’ media culture to employ digital technologies for exposing and exhibiting the self on the internet or other media venues. They are part of a recent explosion of private discourses in public spaces such as swapping intimate details about your life via MySpace or Facebook. (p. 21)
These social media have also come to play a key role in the distribution of images of tragic events — the London bombing attacks in July of 2005; Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein’s execution; the Virginia Tech shootings in April 2007; the Sichuan earthquake in China in May 2008; US Airways flight 1549 landing on the Hudson River; and Iranian election protests that preceded the murder of Neda Agha Soltan in 2009, among others — which have all been captured by people at the scene via portable digital recording devices and circulated via social media networks (David, 2010). As this is clearly a trend in participatory documentation and sharing of events deemed relevant or newsworthy to a wider public, further research from the perspective of the political economy of the traditional media is warranted.

Henry Jenkins uses the term ‘convergence culture’ to describe this shift: both a bottom-up, consumer-driven process and a top-down, corporate-driven process which is increasing interdependence of communication systems (Jenkins, 2006, p. 243). While Jenkins (2004) notes consumers are “learning how to use these different media technologies to bring the flow of media more fully under their control and interact with other users” (p. 37), so too are media companies “learning how to accelerate the flow of media content across delivery channels to expand revenue opportunities, broaden markets and reinforce viewer commitments” (p. 37). In an interview on viewer commitment to participation in this new convergence culture, one media executive noted that being engaged with one’s emotions lies at the heart of participation, whether that emotion was “sad, mad or glad.” (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2009, p. 386). This suggests that audience engagement during the 2010 Winter Games will have to be considered from
multiple perspectives, as not all negative emotion is considered negative by media executives considering the economic outcomes of good broadcast ratings.

**Tension and change in traditional media.**

Convergence culture and the participation of the public are also creating tensions within the traditions of the corporately owned traditional media. There have been several studies which analyze the impacts of online news production on journalists, highlighting the tension between attempts to maintain their traditional role as gatekeepers of official spaces for public discourse and this new public sphere with its seemingly limitless room for content of all varieties moving at rapid speed. Boczkowski & Mitchelstein (2009) reviewed much of the research done since 2000 to examine online news production, the role of user generated content, challenges to professional dynamics and alterations in journalistic practices. Their results reflect the qualitative research interviews done by Thurman (2008) and the case study conducted by Deuze (2007), which all note that convergence of news provided via the internet has made media platforms less important in the field of journalism as everyone is working in a news environment which includes the capacity for print, audio, and video. At the same time, they also note increased frustrations for journalists themselves as they are asked to meld practices from what were previously different traditions and the speed of the news cycle has been enhanced to the point where, especially in crisis situations, concerns abound about traditional media accuracy and the frustration of new media scooping traditional media are paramount.

In addition, convergence has altered the relationship between journalists and their public. Deuze (2007) notes that participation is nothing new in journalism, being practiced in all forms through letters to the editor, opinion polls and tip hotlines, yet this
new level of interactivity online – in which the audience can participate and bloggers can challenge the elite information control and legitimacy of mainstream news – is counterintuitive to traditional journalistic culture. Some scholars such as Goode (2009) argue the contributions of the public are being understated: that the term citizen journalist should not be limited to direct contributions of video, photos or eye witness accounts to news content, but should also includes new modes of citizen participation such as posting comments on an existing news story, rating, tagging, or reposting a story in order to influence story selection process as all of these activities facilitate democratic involvement in journalism. Simply put, “journalism is in no small measure a craft of re-telling stories rather than simply disclosing them” (Goode, 2009, p. 290); hence, any measure which contributes to the re-telling of stories is akin to the functions of journalism. Other scholars note there is a tension between traditional media and the public as the public often violate ethical norms of the traditional media (Gimeno, 2008), re-circulating content which could be considered to re-victimize those who have been tortured or suffered in conflicts and had their suffering documented and put into circulation. Critical scholars have in turn criticized traditional media for producing news which accords with notions of decency and taste but often maps with a propagandist function concealing the truth (Tait, 2008). This tumultuous relationship leaves open the door to further research on whether public participation in the selection and circulation of content has resulted in changes of the discourse of traditional media when they are faced with decisions to carry content of a questionable ethical nature including videos such as the death of luger at the 2010 Olympics.

Section Three: Mediasport and Social Media
The profound shift in the landscape of communication over the last few years has created turmoil for broadcasters in the world of “mediasport” - what Real (2010), following Wenner (1998), refers to as sports which are communicated through media. These changes have created confusion and tension for those with licenses to broadcast mega events such as the 2010 Winter Olympics, as they get caught between the desire of third party sponsors, athletes and the public for more access, balanced with their own concerns over loss of control of the product: images and stories. Host cities, states, and media all have an interest in the control and content presented during the Olympics (Finall & Xin, 2010; Lee & Maguire, 2009; Shaw, 2008; Xifra, 2009); however, the political economy of the traditional media in the Olympic context could not be truly challenged by new media until the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver due to games’ locations (Miah et al., 2008) and timelines for technological developments.

**Mediasport and tension in an age of digital plenitude.**

A brief review of literature on the topic of mediasport reveals just how profoundly this new digital networked public sphere, and the technology which liberated digital images from the bounds of TV time and channel space, has created “enormous conflict and uncertainty” in sports broadcasting – a field which relies on controlled production and distribution for its capital (Hutchins & Rowe, 2009, p. 355). Less than a decade ago, mediasport scholars were struggling with the implications of the decision by NBC not to air the Olympics live or to inform the audience they were watching a taped delay; however, scholars were still able to anchor their discussions around the Olympics as a mega-event, narrated through television into homes where families would gather together to watch the unified myth and drama unfold (Rivenburgh, 2002) and networks could still
rely on good ratings. Time was shifting, but space was still limited and hence copyright was still supported by technological limitations. This no longer appears to be the case.

Rowe (2008) brings up some relevant points about the emergence of digital film and its implications for sport: technological developments at the turn of the century have reduced the power of space as people can watch live from anywhere in the world and digital video has reduced the power of time as sport film can defamiliarize and challenge time: an event from the sporting world can be played anew in endless repetition on the internet, as it was in the luger death. People don’t have to watch sports live to see the action and affective attempts to ensure content remains confined with a specific broadcaster are a point of debate for the people formally known as viewers. Mediasports are now subject to a struggle between media companies, sports organizations, clubs, agents, athletes, and increasingly active audiences all vying for material and cultural possession of their sporting choice (Hutchins & Rowe, 2009) and this struggle occurs even when there is no crisis driving added public and traditional media interest. The IOC in particular has struggled with decisions around allowing social media use by athletes. U.S. skier Lindsey Vonn, whose sponsors include Red Bull energy drinks and Proctor and Gamble among others, told her 30,000 blog followers she wouldn’t be posting during the Vancouver Olympics after she became confused over convoluted IOC regulations for athlete blogs (McClusky, 2010). Rights holders, who pay more and more for broadcast rights, have expressed fears that online coverage will dilute their exclusive rights and are seeking more and more control (Boyle & Haynes, 2002; Rivenburgh, 2002), while the public, who are expressing their voices on their new found space and being encouraged to participate online to enhance corporate customer relationships, want more and more
direct access (Jenkins, 2006). It is here where convergence culture and journalism shows dialectic strains: news corporations encourage social media participation but only within the confines of their own corporate agenda.

**The political economy of Olympic media.**

It has been well documented that control over media content during the Olympics is not just important to the IOC, but also to countries looking to enhance their reputations, also called soft power, at the global level and traditional media corporations looking to capitalize economically off the Olympic frame: “the power of elite athletes to promote peace and understanding among the nations” (Shaw, 2008, p. 16). Finnal and Xin (2010), Lee and Maguire (2009) and Xifra (2009) have each documented efforts to present a nationalist or nation-state agenda during a mega-sports event in order to enhance a nation’s soft powers – the legitimacy of its cultural and political values – with varying levels of successes as tension exists between a host country’s desire to be seen positively in the eyes of the world and its desire to win using home field advantage. Shaw (2008) notes the IOC is particularly protective of its broadcasting rights as it generates much of its revenue through those sales. Between 2001 and 2004, 53 per cent of the IOC’s revenue was generated by the sale of broadcasting rights, with the revenue generated by the sale of the broadcasting rights split 51 per cent to 49 per cent between the IOC and local organizing committee. Further to this, the journalists covering the Olympics work for traditional media corporations interested in generating advertising revenue which exceeds the costs paid for the broadcasting rights. As Shaw (2008) explains, during the 1980s the broadcasting industry discovered the Olympics were a perfect backdrop for advertising and in a few years the athletes had become the product lines. When brought
together, the national and the corporate interests in the political and capital economy of
the Olympics form a powerful force which makes it is a “career ender” for any
mainstream journalist who criticizes the Games (Shaw, 2008, p. 156). When considering
the traditional media discourse around the sharing of the viral video of the luger death
through social media, the host country’s traditional media have a strong economic and
political imperative to retain their status as gatekeepers for determining not only what is
considered news, but how that news is framed to the benefit of the host country.

**Social media enter the stadium.**

Given the aforementioned timelines of development for digital video and
convergence on the internet, the 2010 Olympics are the first opportunity to research the
political economy of the traditional media in a host country as they grapple with social
media and use discourse to re-contextualize the use of social media during Olympic
events. YouTube had just been founded in 2005 and was in a fledgling state during the
2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, Italy. The 2008 Olympics were in Beijing, China.
According to Billings (2008), production and distribution of Olympic footage remained
based on the decades old convention of the sale of broadcast rights even during the
Beijing Olympics. While these games were dubbed the first Olympics 2.0 in reference to
the availability of digital video, blogging and other forms of new media (Miah et al.,
2008), the cultural and political climate in China as a communist host country with a state
run press makes any form of social media challenge to official host country traditional
media coverage a dangerous undertaking for Chinese citizens who may face jail or other
loss of freedoms (Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova, & Shleifer, 2003). In China, the political
economy of the traditional media was not threatened by social media because of the
monopoly of state control. The 2010 Olympics represents the first opportunity to study the discourse of traditional media regarding social media when social media can impact the political economy of the traditional media. The digital video of Nodar Kumaritashvili’s fatal crash and the resulting discourse provides a new linguistic corpus for critical examination.
Chapter 3

METHOD

This study approaches culture from a critical paradigm, building on the work of the above scholars from visual, convergence, traditional media and media sport studies, many of whom view culture as socially created and the site of hegemonic struggle in which power is constantly in flux. In this context, critical can be defined not as detecting only the negative side of social interaction and processes, but rather what Wodak (1999) refers to as “distinguishing complexity and denying easy dichotomous explanations” (p. 186). Hargreaves (1982), in considering the sport media complex from a critical perspective, refers to hegemony theory as allowing for a “war of position” that is both top down and bottom up. Power is owned and exerted but “characterized by conflict, and consent, coercion and struggle” (p. 118), and power struggles key in on the uniqueness of the historical moments in question. This study asks how social media users are linguistically constructed by traditional media during the 2010 Winter Olympics in order to explore the political economy of the traditional media. It is in the discourse of traditional media of the host country, particularly those who paid for Olympic broadcasting rights but also those who are under the influence of the host agenda, and their discussion of social media circulating of the video of the luger accident which surfaces these tensions in the political economy of the traditional media.

In order to capture this hegemonic struggle within its socio-historic context, this study uses Mikhail M. Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of dialogue as a theoretical starting point, followed by a framework of discourse historical analysis, a form of critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 1999) which not only considers the socio-historic context in which the
discussion of the viral video from the 2010 Winter Games takes place, but also the political economy of the actors involved in the dialogue. The goal of this study ultimately is to understand how in this instance traditional media frames social media, how it addresses and labels social media users and their activities, and how it legitimizes and delegitimizes social media use in news circulation within the new online media ecology.

**Bakhtinian Dialogism as Theory**

Russian literary scholar Mikhail M. Bakhtin’s notions of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1981) is an appropriate starting point for this study as the Russian literary scholar considered dialogue as the site in which culture is contested. According to Bakhtin, there is neither a first nor a last word. Each utterance is culturally created, stretching into the past from which it came and into the future of the culture where it exists, as well as reflecting the culture struggles between various facets of society, a reflection of the hegemonic struggles constantly underway. According to Bakhtinian scholar Dentith (1994, p. 34), every utterance participates in the “dynamics of a language in tension, so that every utterance involves the taking of sides in all the multiple conflicts and negotiations that constitute the politics of language.” The word comes to its user “already marked by its history, bearing traces of its previous use, which any writer must continue, contest or deflect” (p. 35, 1994). According to Bostad, Brandist, Evansen, & Faber (2004), Bakhtinian dialogism explores how “meaning springs out of dialogue and belongs to dialogue, making dialogue a core aspect of all forms of culture” and “any cultural utterance refracts the intertextual echoes it carries, thus fitting them to the participants, situations and purposes at hand” (p. 7). Given the newly connected communication sphere places dialogue into converging forms of transmission, and augments the number
of voices discussing any given news event in this networked society, several scholars
(Bostad, 2004; Davisson, 2009; Pace, 2008) call for further exploration of on-line
narrative using Bakhtin’s concepts of dialogic discourse as a means of understanding how
the evolution to these new forms of communication are socially constructed. The purpose
of applying a Bakhtinian lense is to explore how these new, more accessible forms of
communication are related to the discourses of the past: how dialogue has evolved
through cultural struggle to discursively construct these new forms of online narrative
and their relation to discourses of previous eras.

According to Bakhtin (1981), people’s social lives exist in tension between
centrifugal and centripetal forces, pulling them between unity, monologue, and
centralization and disunity, dialogue and decentralization. Bakhtin scholar Morris (1994)
describes Bakhtin’s concept of monologue as ‘any discourse that seeks to deny the
dialogic nature of existence, and pretends to be the ‘last word’ (p. 247), typical of
authoritarian regimes. Bakhtin noted that societies move from ‘monoglossia’, a stable and
unified language, to ‘polyglossia’ (two or more voices in the same society), to
‘heteroglossia’, many voices representing the conflict between the centrifugal and
centripetal forces in society (Morris, 1994, p. 246). These forms can be found in every
utterance: thus dialogue is the process of exhibiting heteroglossia and culture is the
product, however fluid its existence. While Bakhtinian scholars insist that dialogue is
“always situated in real concrete and everyday spaces” they also argue that “dialogue is
over-determined at various levels through specific historical forms of social mediation”
(Roberts, 2004, p. 888). Heteroglossia represents this struggle within the language of a
culture. It includes the language of social groups, classes, professional groups, different
generations, and different languages for different occasions. Thus, Bakhtin’s notion of
dialogism is uniquely multifaceted, pulling not only between ideologies in society, but
also forward and backward in time, making it useful in deconstructing dialogue around
the notion of viral video, which is culturally influenced by video, sport, pride of the host
nation and traditional media in their previous and future forms as well as the site of an
ideological struggle between international sporting organizations, the traditional media
and social media over the ownership of images.

**Discourse Historical Analysis**

Like Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism, Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA) brings
together the work of a number of academics in order to provide a research and analysis
method that takes into account the cognitive (socio-psychological) and socio-historic
context when exploring the mediated interaction between discourse and social structures.
It is inherently political, focusing in on dialogue which is infused with power, thus
providing an appropriate framework for this discussion on the discourse of the traditional
media regarding social media use that challenges their political economy during the
international media spectacle of the Olympics. The work of Teun van Dijk (Wodak,
2004) provides a useful starting point for this type of discourse analysis, defining
discourse as a form of knowledge and memory of social practices whereas text is defined
as illustrating concrete oral utterance or written documents. An argument parallel to the
dialogic theory of Bakhtin, Wodak (2004. p. 187) notes “it is very rare texts are the work
of just one person, they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies struggling for
dominance.” Thus Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism is an appropriate grand theory on which
to anchor this DHA exploration.
In this approach, discourse cannot be separated from historic context. Wodak and Meyer (2009) argue that it is not objective social situations (determined by social structures) that influence language variation but rather it is the “subjective definitions of the relevant properties of these communicative situations that influence talk and text” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 14) and these subjective definitions are determined by the social-psychological contexts of the relevant actors, in this case subjective definitions within Canadian traditional media during an Olympic event in which Canada is the host country. In addition, the discourse-historic approach brings the need for memory into this definition, describing discourse as structured forms of knowledge and the memory of social practices, making the historical aspect of projects using this method explicit as “a relevant context that needs to be taken into account” (Glynos, Howarth, Norval, & Speed, 2009).

Discourse historical analysis takes into account four levels of context: descriptive immediate language or text internal; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses; the extra linguistics social/sociological variables and institutional frames of specific context situations where both socio-historic and cognitive context begin to come into play; and finally the broader socio-political and historical contexts which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to. By taking in the larger context and co-text of utterances into account, it is possible to grasp the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of discourses among groups, in this case traditional media in relation to social media. There are five questions which Wodak (2004) argues deserve specific attention:

1. How are persons, objects and events named and referred to linguistically (nomination)?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them (predication)?
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others (argumentation)?
4. From what perspectives or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed (perspectivation)?
5. Are the respective utterance articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated (intensification vs. mitigation)? (p. 194-195)

These are the questions which will be used to frame this research; hence the research question would read, “How are social media and traditional media and the sharing of the video of the incident named and referred to linguistically?” This rephrasing of the first question is done to shift the focus of the analysis onto the naturalization of power as a socially constructed phenomenon.

The data from the study are drawn from Canadian media: newspapers, radio transcripts and television transcripts published in the English language. A search of four media databases - Financial Post Infomart; Canadian Newstand Pacific @ ProQuest; Lexis Nexis Academic Universe Canada; and Google News - for the words “luge” and “social media” or “pictures” or “video” returned a corpus of 12 data sets, which include both traditional media who held broadcasting rights and those who did not, for a corpus of 7,993 words. During the 2010 Winter Olympics, the broadcaster with paid copyrights was the Canada’s Olympic Broadcast Media Consortium, which is made up on CTVglobemedia Inc., owner of CTV television and Globe and Mail newspaper, as well as Rogers Media, which includes Omni Television and Rogers Sportsnet (Canada’s Olympic Broadcast Media Consortium, 2010). The corpus includes articles, columns and transcripts from CTV, the Globe and Mail, CBC Radio, the Vancouver Sun, Vancouver Province, and National Post, owned by what was then Canwest Newsmedia and is now
Post Media, and the Toronto Star, owned by the TorStar Corporation and Calgary Sun, owned by Quebecor (see Appendix B for a list of texts included in the corpus).

In order to operationalize the textual analysis, a set of tools was assembled for each question. To address the nomination of social actors, objects, phenomena and events and processes and actions, a linguistic analysis was conducted of each text which looked for membership categorization devices such as deictics, anthroponyms, tropes, and verbs and nouns. Operationalizing predication was slightly more complex as Reisigl (2000) notes that the process of linguistically assigning qualities to people, objects, events, actions and social phenomena can be explicit or implicit, specific or vague. To seek out the qualities associated with the nominations, the data was analyzed for references (based on explicit denotation as well as on more or less implicit connotation), attributes (in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctival clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups), predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes and euphemisms) and more or less implicit allusions (Reisigl, 2000). These first two sections of analysis pay particular attention to equivalence and difference (Fairclough, 2003) and the simultaneous operation of the logic of difference and the logic of equivalence. The analysis includes seeking out tendencies to create and proliferate differences between objects, entities, and groups of people as well as collapsing and subverting differences by representing objects, entities, groups and people as equivalent to each other (Fairclough, 2003) in order to provide insight into the political hegemony of social agents, particularly traditional media.
From there, the analysis moves towards unearthing the claims that together form the argumentation schemes put forward in the texts, looking at what Wodak and Meyer (2009) describe as claims of truth and normative rightness. The underlying assumptions will be rooted out from the texts, looking at three types of assumptions defined by Fairclough (2003, p. 55): existential assumptions or what exists only through people’s belief in a concept’s existence; propositional assumptions of what is, can, or will be the case; value assumptions about what is good or desirable; and bridging assumptions, which are necessary for the text to make sense. Fairclough (2003) notes implicitness is a pervasive property of texts and are of considerable social importance as all forms of community rely upon meanings which are shared. For the purposes of this study, the interest lies in analyzing the corpus at the intertextual level for those “claims” by traditional media which shape common ground when it comes to understanding social media and its use, as this is an important issue in regards to ideology and political economy of the traditional media in the new online ecology.

The next step is a linguistic analysis that focuses on perspectivation: framing and discourse representation that positions the speaker or writer’s point of view and expresses involvement or distance. This is done by assessing direct or indirect or free indirect speech as well as looking at legitimization, the way authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy (Fairclough, 2003). Specifically, moods of authority are assessed based on four categories, including authorization or the reference to authority of tradition, custom, law and or persons in whom institutional authority is vested; rationalization, or legitimization by reference to the utility of institutionalized
action and its supposed cognitive validity; moral evaluation or reference to value systems; and mythopoesis, or legitimation conveyed through narrative.

The final category of linguistic analysis includes searching the data for strategies of intensification or mitigation specifically by assessing the modalities associated with the perspectivation, argumentation schemes, nomination and predications. When considering the use of social media as a recontextualized event within traditional media texts, the extent one commits oneself, and their degree of commitment to the truth, “is part of how one identifies oneself, necessarily in relation to others with whom one is interacting” Fairclough, 2003, p. 166). This in turn, provides insight into the political economy of the traditional media in a case study in which their authority is being challenged by users of social media.

The text internal and co-text analysis are conducted on all data sets, as well as moving in a circular process to consider intertextual and interdiscursive analysis (utterances, texts, genres, and discourses). The analysis is presented at the intertextual level and then the broader context of the extra linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames are used to help elucidate a critique. As recommended by Wodak and Meyer (2009), other theories are brought in from across disciplines as necessary to assist in the analysis, based on the principle of abduction, in order to assist in analysis of the results. Ultimately, the goal of this research is the rooting out “of a particular sort of delusion” (Wodak, 2004, p. 187), the construction and naturalization of power within society through traditional media discourse. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) typify three key elements of critique within the discourse-historical approach: the discourse immanent critique, socio-diagnostic critique, and prospective critique. Immanent critique enables
the analyst to discover contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text and socio-
diagnostic critique identifies conceptual metaphors that camouflage the ideological
function of these everyday beliefs. Finally, and most importantly, prospective critique is
concerned with processes of communication, and the possibility of improving such
communication, in this case by understanding the naturalization of power relations
between traditional media and social media. De Beaugrande (1997) describes the
importance of discourse analysis as it applies to the political economy of all media:

The responsibility (of science) is greatest when the object of investigation
happens to be discourse, the main human channel for organizing life and deciding
who knows or does what: whether knowledge and power will be shared or
hoarded, whether people accept or deny responsibility for what they say and do
and so forth. (p. 43)

Ultimately, the goal of this research is to provide Canadians, both within traditional
media and those who use social media, with an idea of the discursive construction of
social media use through traditional media discourse. The results should be compared to
future studies which examine how social media discursively constructs traditional media.
It is one study among many that can help enlighten future users of social media in the
United Kingdom during the upcoming 2012 Olympic Summer Games as well as provide
social and traditional media in Canada an understanding of what took place so they can
work together to change the future if they so chose.

Reliability, Validity and Ethics

In discourse historic analysis, reliability and validity are related by Wodak and
Meyer (2009) to the notion of triangulation: the permanent moving back and forth
between findings and the evaluation of those findings from a multitude of theoretical
perspectives which surface during analysis. Thus, validity and reliability are related to the
design of the study described above, including the movement from background
information gathered through research and to the dialogic analysis of the texts themselves
to further research. Objectivity is not considered a goal, nor could any claim of
objectivity be considered reliable as “each ‘technology’ of research must itself be
examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analysts, and
therefore guiding the analysis towards the analysts’ preconceptions” (Wodak and Meyer,
2009, p. 31-32). With that being said, fairness, honesty and a lack of bias are goals that
should be sought as much as possible. It should be kept in mind throughout this study
that this work is limited to one side of a conversation and does not include how social
media discursively construct traditional media. Those questions are equally important but
given the amount of work involved in discourse historic analysis, must remain for a
future study. It is just one starting point in the ongoing examination of the altered
relationship between traditional media and social media.

Given that the analyst may potentially be embedding their own beliefs in any
findings, at this point I would like to provide a first person account of my own experience
as a former member of the traditional media, along with my current employment and my
whereabouts during the 2010 Winter Games. I spent 10 years as a print journalist in
British Columbia communities including Tofino and Ucluelet, Vernon and the North
Okanagan and Prince Rupert on the North Coast. However, I left the industry in 2008 to
pursue other opportunities. I have a high regard for journalists of all stripes, most of
whom, like myself, only do what they do because they believe in the importance of the
press within our society. Any criticism levied at the traditional media in this paper is
neither an allegation of conspiracy among individual members of the traditional media
manipulating news to serve the interests of corporate or political elite, nor an assumption that editors and journalists are passive or laissez-faire in the construction of their work (Goodwin, 1994). Rather, I consider journalists’ work to be a product of the constraints and freedoms of their own knowledge, their work environment, the events on which they write and the time and the place in which they write it. It follows that I consider Bahktinian dialogism to be an appropriate theory under which to consider the traditional media’s discourse around social media during the Olympics, because it is able to take into account all of the above considerations.

During the 2010 Winter Olympics I was in Vancouver working for my most recent employer, the provincial government, and part of my role during that time was to consume and monitor traditional and social media coverage of the Games. Because of this, I am able to bring a lived experience of the traditional and social media over the course of the Games, from the opening to the closing ceremonies, and this in turn informs my knowledge of the narrative plot line of the larger corpus of media coverage throughout the event. That being said, this paper is entirely untied to my employment during the Olympics, all opinions within it are my own and are grounded in my own lived experience as a member of the traditional media, someone who has worked in service of the traditional media, and someone who uses social media.
Chapter 4

ANALYSIS

In analyzing the corpus to determine how traditional media frames social media, how it addresses and labels social media users and their activities, and how it legitimates some use of social media and delegitimizes others in news circulation, six factors were taken into account in the analysis. The analysis begins with a review of the context of Canadian traditional media at the time of the 2010 Winter Games, assessing the challenges brought about by emerging internet technologies as well as the economic slowdown that began in 2008. It then considers how the key players within the corpus are named linguistically and how their actions and processes are described. Following this, existential, value and propositional based assumptions are fleshed intertextually from across the corpus in order to provide an overview of the claims used around social media use and the accident at the Whistler Sliding Centre. Then, moods of authority are used to generate a sense of perspectives within the work and analyzed in order to determine who is making the arguments; and, finally, the intensity with which the naming of the players and arguments are considered in terms of the illocutionary force: what statements are made with intensity and which are mitigated as possibilities. Discussion of the results will take place in the following chapter.

Context: The State of Canadian Media in 2009

In considering that discourse cannot be separated from the context in which it is generated, it is with a review of the context of the traditional media at the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics where this analysis begins. To start, the state of Canadian traditional media ownership is examined and the implications of cross media ownership
are considered for journalists in their role reporting on the 2010 Winter Olympics. Then, the two of the largest challenges facing traditional media are considered – the impact of the internet on the economics of the traditional media and the economic slowdown in 2008 – both of which are credited for causing layoffs and revenue declines which in turn resulted in significant job losses in Canadian traditional media just prior to the Winter Olympics in Vancouver. Finally, the official Olympic broadcasters are themselves considered as well as the ratings and results the IOC presented of traditional media coverage of the 2010 Games, which claims enormous success of internet-based traditional media, without providing any evidence the internet generated added revenue.

**Canadian media ownership.**

Traditional news media in Canada are no exception when it comes to the criticism that they are subject to an overt amount of cross-media concentration of ownership: not simply the horizontal integration of one traditional media genre, or vertical integration along the production chain, but cross media concentration where large companies own traditional media of many different genres and in large quantities. The Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage (The State of the Canadian Broadcasting System, 2003) noted the top five major players in the Canadian traditional media market - with holdings in newspapers, magazines, internet publications, television, networks (internet services), and wireless - have since the 1970s continued to increase their ownership of all media in Canada from 28 per cent to 68 per cent in the year 2000 (p. 351). In 2010, during the Winter Olympics, the top private players were:

- Bell Canada Enterprises (BCE) Inc. which owns CTVglobemedia (25 television stations), the Globe and Mail newspaper, 17 speciality channels and
six television stations affiliated with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Bell Canada and Bell Mobility;

- Quebecor which owns Sun Media Corp., including the Sun chain of newspapers;

- Canwest Global which at that time still owned Canwest newspapers including both major daily newspapers in Vancouver, 11 Global Television stations, and two stations affiliated with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; and,

- Rogers Communications which owns Rogers AT&T wireless, Rogers Cable, eight speciality television channels and Rogers Publishing which includes half a dozen Canadian magazines. (González Martín, 2009)

Critics of traditional media concentration have noted that cross media ownership not only reduces the number of voices represented within traditional media by circulating content across a variety of mediums, it also allows large companies more control over journalists, and encourages journalists to practice self censorship. Gonzalez Martin (2009) notes that if what a journalist wants to publish does not meet the interests of the corporation, they lose their jobs in an environment where there is significantly more risk they won’t be rehired as there is an increased chance other outlets or publications are owned by the same company.

**The economic state of the Canadian media in 2009.**

The economic state of Canadian traditional media in 2009 as the 2010 Winter Olympics approached was uncertain and troubled. It reflected both declining traditional media revenues attributed to large numbers of the news media’s audience migrating to the internet and the economic slowdown occurring within the larger global economy in late
2008 that was preceded by reckless lending practices in the United States (State of the Canadian media, 2010). When considering the former challenge, the Canadian Media Research Consortium (State of the Canadian Media, 2010) urged those in traditional media to come to terms with the fact that internet is now considered a more important source of information than TV or newspapers. This is evidenced by statistics which claim the average number of hours per week Canadians spend on traditional media has declined from 32.1 to 29.5 between 2004 and 2007 and internet time increased from 13.2 to 17.1 over the same time period. Seeking news online was the second most common form of information search, with 79 per cent Canadians placing value on the ability of online news to link to more detailed information and 43 per cent valuing participation in online discussion. Even with this information, Canada’s traditional media remain challenged to find a new economic model: paid circulation and classified advertising revenues continue to decline due to the growth of online readers and alternative internet-based classified advertising. The latter global economic challenge which emerged in late 2008 only compounded these existing problems, leading the Canadian Association of Journalists (CAJ) to warn of “an industry death spiral” as 1,200 media jobs were cut in the last quarter of 2008, include 600 jobs at Sun Media and 560 jobs at Canwest (Job cuts impact quality, 2009, January 5). According to the CAJ:

The economic downturn compounds the existing challenges of adapting to an increasingly fragmented media marketplace and the related loss of audiences and advertising revenue. Every major national private-sector media owner has cut its workforce in the last year, a list that also includes TorStar, Rogers Communications and CTVGlobemedia.

Job losses in traditional media continued through 2009 with the Globe and Mail cutting 30 jobs, with another 60 taking voluntary retirement (Globe lays off 30, 2009); CBC
reducing employment by 640 and aiming to reduce operating expenses by $171 million (Familiar faces, voices to leave, 2009, May 28); Canadian Press cutting 25 jobs or eight per cent of its workforce in April (CP to cut 25 jobs, 2009, April 7); the Toronto Star planning to cut 160 jobs in a restructuring (Toronto Star Plans buy outs, 2009, November 3); and in October 2009, media giant Canwest was delisted from the Toronto Stock Exchange and put its Global television network under court ordered creditor protection (Taylor, 2010 January 8). This court protection was not to be resolved until after the 2010 Winter Olympics when the company was split up, with its television stations sold to Shaw Communications and its newspapers to a group of Canwest creditors, led by former Sun Media CEO, Paul Godfrey (Canwest sells newspapers, 2010 May 11).

**Olympic coverage.**

When it comes to Olympic broadcasting, the IOC claims to seek out companies which can provide the widest coverage for the Olympic Games across all available media platforms and latest media technologies (International Olympic Committee, 2011). While Canada has companies that own a significant percentage of traditional media assets in certain sectors, it was a consortium of two of the biggest players - CTVglobemedia (owned by Bell Canada Enterprises) and Rogers Communications - that were allocated the purchasing rights for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics (Krashinsky, 2010), taking over from the publicly funded Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as the official broadcaster. Together, the two companies paid $153 million (US) for the Canadian broadcasting rights to the Vancouver 2010 Olympics and London 2012 Olympics; however, the economic slowdown impacted advertising revenues and they did not break even on their investment following 2010 (Krashinsky, 2010). This is despite the fact the
IOC calls Vancouver 2010 “a defining moment in Olympic broadcasting history, with the most extensive coverage ever produced for the Winter Games reaching a record potential audience of 3.8 billion people worldwide and approximately 1.8 billion viewers” (International Olympic Committee, 2010, p. 32). The IOC boasts approximately 99 per cent of Canadians watched at least some Olympic coverage, with two thirds of the population watching the hockey final between Canada and the U.S. The IOC also claims record online figures in Canada, with CTVolympics.ca and RDSolympiques.ca “attracting an unprecedented 215 million page views – nearly five times the number achieved during Beijing 2008” (International Olympic Commission, 2010, p. 32). The IOC goes on to claim nearly half of all internet users in Canada visited these websites during the Games and these visitors viewed a record 41.8 million videos online, while there were 259,079 videos viewed on mobile phones. What the IOC doesn’t say is whether traditional media organizations were able to generate any new revenue from this online content to help address the current challenges with their business model.

**Nomination and Predication: Naming and Framing the Actors**

It is from this context of journalists facing job loss and corporations struggling with the development of the internet that the discourse analysis itself begins. Analysis of the traditional media texts generated linguistic categories for the athletes, the organizer and host country, as well as traditional media themselves, and social media within the context of the Olympics. In addition, the traditional media texts were analyzed to determine what common traits, characteristics, qualities and features were attributed to each group. The results were then examined across the corpus to generate co-textual
analysis (see Appendix A for a breakdown of the nomination and predicative strategies within corpus).

**The athletes.**

The nomination and predication of athletes within this corpus generated two themes of significance: the first that athletes within the Olympic context are named in relation to their national identity, and the second that athletes are named as their own elite group. To begin with, athletes were always introduced with their name, their country and their sport. There was no genre, no individual story in the corpus, which did not include a description of Nodar Kumaritashvili as a luger from the country of Georgia (Brown, 2010, February 14; Korn, 2010, February 14; Mainville, 2010, February 15; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Young, 2010, February 13; Walton; 2010, February 13; Zelkovick, 2010, February 13). Further analysis included predicative strategies which overtly or implicitly noted Kumaritashvili’s own supposed inexperience or newness to the Olympic level of competition and then compared it with his country’s supposed newness, being a part of the former Soviet Union until the late 1980s (Brown, 2010, February 14; Mainville, 2010, February 15; Walton, 2010, February 13).

Secondly, athletes were named as part of their own separate group with unique expertise related to sport and a level of commitment that bordered on spiritual. They are Olympic athletes who batter themselves in training to become drop the hammer and become the best in the world (Korn, 2010, February 14), going for gold (Walton, 2010, February 13) in competition. They are devoted athletes who dream of competing (Mainville, 2010, February 15) and train to achieve great experiences (Ullrich, 2010, February 15), to become experts and masters (Korn, 2010, February 14). Their
performance is so masterful; they can compete in Kumaritashvili’s honour, an indication that their performance is worthy to eulogize someone’s existence (Korn, 2010, February 14; Walton, 2010, February 13).

Olympic organizers.

There are two components of the organization of the Olympics that are named within the corpus: that of the international organizer and that of the host country, Canada. The international organizer is named as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), an international sports body which lives in the neutral territory of Switzerland (IOC orders, 2010, February 22) and is predicated in the role of referee whose lawyers are responsible for ensuring the games are fair, and copyright is protected and only used by those who pay for it (Brown, 2010, February 14; IOC orders, 2010, February 22; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). This is different than the role of the host organizing country, which provides the setting for the Olympics, in this case named as Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, Whistler, Yaletown and the locals who form the backdrop against which the games are played (Brown, 2010, February 14; Walton, 2010, February 14). In this case, the spectacle is predicated by red-clad Canadians, waving the Maple Leaf Canadian flag in the village square. The host attempts to provide hope, happiness and beauty, with a great yearning for things to go well as they watch, celebrate and cheer the pageantry. The metaphoric theme of light is reinforced through contrast when the narrative changes, the death of the luger casts a pall, shadow and cloud on the host country’s opening ceremonies and its spokesperson, John Furlong, looks like someone had pulled the battery out of him (Brown, 2010, February 14; Dowbiggin, 2010,
Traditional media: Gatekeepers and guides.

When considering how traditional media are named, a further two categories emerged from the corpus: traditional media as a singular large system performing a function of providing information within society and traditional media broken down and referred to by its various mediums, performing various roles and producing various genres. When traditional media are referred to as part of a larger system terms include: traditional media, system, network and organization. This overarching system includes professionals, working in a profession who have their own professors and over-arching experts who study these systems as a whole. Meanwhile, the sub-component category which breaks traditional media down into TV, radio, newspaper, web-based publications but also components within those mediums themselves: such as copy editor, writer, reporter, news director, commentators, pro journalists and broadcasters, to name but a few. Not only does the nomination of media in this corpus suggest that society at large has pre-existing knowledge of traditional news media as a whole, it assumes that Canadian society at large is familiar with the individual media operators within the Canadian system (Brown, 2010, February 14; IOC orders, 2010, February 12; Renzetti, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Zelkovick, 2010, February 13).

Within the context of the Olympics, the traditional media as a social system were named and described with various economic and ideological nominations and predications, the former referring to matters of economic interest and the later referring to what Fairclough (2003) describes as incorporating significations which contribute to
sustaining or restructuring power relations. The economic nominations within this corpus provide a sense of the Canadian traditional media not as an art but as a trade whose membership has an internal code of ethics, its own space of operation, and even its own set of rights as corporate entities. To start with, at the Olympics, traditional media are described as having their own space: a great cavern or great hall of traditional media also described as the main press centre in which press conferences are held specifically to pass along information for those with licenses and credentials to cover the Olympic Games (Brown, 2010, February 14; Young 2010, February 13). As a trade, traditional media refer to themselves as having a code of ethics which may not be understood by outsiders, even though most make it available on their websites and through professional journalism organizations. It is noted within the corpus that they don’t copy directly as that would be plagiarism and a sin, but they do crib, and the same phrases pop up again and again in stories on the same topic. Journalists also have their own information sharing services such as the wire to provide them with information and assist with the global circulation of information. The ethical difference seems to be that journalists credit their sources. They don’t copy directly without credit. (Brown, 2010, February 14; Dowbiggin, 2010, February 13; Mainville, 2010, February 15; Renzetti, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Ullrich, 2010, February 15; Young, 2010 February 13; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). Being first, chasing the story, trying to get the scoop and break news, as it was in Boczkowski & Mitchelstein’s study of journalism in the new media ecology (2009), remains a key predication in considering the value of their trade.

When considering the ideological names and processes of the traditional media within the Olympic context, one of the strongest themes within this corpus was that
Canadian traditional media refer to themselves as authorities and gatekeepers who help
the public determine what is worth thinking about and what is considered fair play for
discussion as news (Brown, 2010, February 14; Dowbiggin, 2010, February 13; IOC
orders, 2010, February 22; Renzetti, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010, February 13;
The terms “chiron” (Brown, 2010, February 14), a wise Centaur who was the teacher of
heroes in Greek mythology, and “guru” (Dowbiggin, 2010, February 13), a religious and
spiritual leader, are both used. These could be considered exceptions in the corpus, if it
weren’t for the extensive predicative support found for this characterization including:
treating images with care and restraint, constantly updating, providing graphic warnings,
making the call, agonizing over decisions, defending and questioning on behalf of the
public, giving their decisions much consideration and determining what is fair play and
what is foul play (Brown, 2010, February 14; Dowbiggin, 2010, February 13; IOC orders,
2010, February 22; Korn, 2010, February 14, Renzetti, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010,
February 13; Ullrich, 2010, February 15; Young, 2010, February 13; Zelkovich, 2010,
February 13). While economic considerations of tradition and trade come into play in
setting the traditional media apart, clearly their self description confers upon them an
insight beyond that of society at large, a form of power which comes from experience.
The depth and breadth of nomination and predication of traditional media in both these
roles will be considered when comparing the nomination and predication of social media.

Social media.

There were three threads which arose naturally when considering the nomination
and predication of social media: social media as depersonalized and anonymous; social
media as uncontrollable and animalistic in its behaviour; and social media as site for illegal behaviour. The depersonalized nature of social media was evident in its nomination within the corpus. Social media is a thing labelled with proper names such as Internet, YouTube and Twitter.

Only in its use are social media attached to people and even then the deictic and collective references are depersonalized, such as one, another, some, whoever, public, people, no one and everyone, contributors, posters, average blogger and voices. The only examples of personalization, instances in which users of social media were afforded names, were instances when they were being used to provide examples of what traditional media consider to be proper online etiquette (Shaw, 2010, February 13; Ullrich, 2010, February 15; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). Grouped together as anonymous through their nominations, social media users in some texts are then predicated as both uncontrollable and animalistic. There is a reoccurring theme of a battle for control over the video, with social media users being responsible for the video popping up as fast as it can be taken down, like an infestation (Brown, 2010, February 14; Ullrich, 2010, February 15; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). The video, due to the actions of social media users, is something people cannot escape. They circulate, share, flood, float it (video) around online and in their circulation, generate death porn from the video of the accident (Brown, 2010, February 14; IOC orders, 2010, February 22; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Ullrich, 2010, February 15; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). It should be noted there are some instances in which traditional media also take the blame for airing the video; however those are far fewer than references to social media. It is interesting to note in relation to social media that the terms buzz and abuzz appeared, creating a sense
of hive mind or collective animal instinct (Dowbiggin, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010, February 13; Zelkovich, 2010, February 13). This buzz was then portrayed as inclusive of all reactions: the good, the bad and the ugly or condolences, horror and amusement.

Having anonymized and generalized social media users, the final form predication was that of tainted social mores, with some social media users judged as having a sick fascination that leads them to violate traditional media norms of copyright through the rampant swapping of materials as the kids or new generation engage in mash ups, crowdsourcing and fair use battles (Shaw, 2010, February 13; Renzetti, 2010, February 20). The term death porn appeared in both Vancouver’s largest circulation newspapers, in the headlines, parts of the news coverage which are considered summary of important key messages from the articles (Shaw, 2010, February 13; Ullrich, 2010, February 15).

Ultimately, when considering how social media are named, what stands out the most is how nomination in this corpus depersonalizes social media users and then predication generates criticism of social media use around the circulation of the video of the tragedy.

**Argumentation: A framework of claims**

The arguments with the corpus are presented in this section as they appeared in the texts, in the form of smaller units or “claims” that together form an argument. To locate a claim, the method suggested in Discourse Historic Analysis involves determining the subject of each sentence or topic by asking the question “as for” in regards to each sentence unit (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Following a determination of the sentence topic, Reisigl & Wodak (2009) suggest using existing literature to assess argumentation schemes or claims. This analysis focused on existential assumptions of what exists based on people’s beliefs and value assumptions about what is good or desirable (Fairclough,
It is not the intent of discourse historic analysis to judge the validity of, or reject, claims but rather to determine what claims are made in regards what topics, based on what underlying assumptions - although the validity of the claims may be questioned in the critique following the analysis. By determining topics, and assessing common assumptions across the corpus, the analysis provides insight into what arguments are being presented by the writers as generally acceptable to their readers and based on what assumptions. In this case, the claims seem to naturally clump together in categories similar to the analysis of predication and nomination. There are claims around technology, athletes, traditional media, nationalism, and social media. The claims within each of the following sections are presented progressively as they most frequently appeared within the individual articles in the corpus as the authors built towards their arguments. Ultimately, by assessing the argumentation within the corpus, the discursive construction of beliefs and values becomes evident as “all forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, and no form of social community or interaction can be conceivable without such common ground” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). By cross referencing the topics of the sentences within the corpus and then determining whether they were grounded in existential, value, and propositional assumptions (Fairclough, 2003), the shared claims were flushed out of to examine how the sharing the video of the death of Nodar Kumaritashvili was discursively constructed.

**Technology.**

Traditional media framed technology within this corpus as something of value within society. Technology as a topic is represented as a source of power, so much so that
although it was created by humans, it is not within human control. When considering the topic of technology, the following claims were evident across the corpus and across genres. It was in Mainville’s (2010, February 15) impartial news coverage on Kumaritashvili’s family and their reaction to the video in which Nodar’s father says he did not think he could survive watching the video; it was in Shaw’s (2010, February 13) article/column in which the reporter professes repeatedly that the “genie is out of the bottle”; and it was in Renzetti’s (2010, February 20) editorial work when she notes “the kids have fled the barn and have flip cameras in their hands.”

- Claim One: Understanding technology is an important form of literacy and access to technology makes it easy to get information.
- Claim Two: People who have access to more technology and are technologically literate get more information and have more choices.
- Claim Three: There is no way to control technology. It allows images to travel the world and be seen by large audiences.
- Claim Four: Young people know more about technology and have access to more information.

These two existential claims – technology as powerful and uncontrollable – are seemingly at odds with one another: you should want it, but you may not be able to control it. Yet these claims were pervasive.

**Athletes.**

Athletes, like technology, are also valued for their power; however, their power is not backed by an existential claim but is granted by the values society places on sacrifice, risk and struggle for greatness. Thus, the following claims:
• Claim One: Olympic athletes take risks, are focused, and are heroes who make sacrifices for their country.

• Claim Two: Olympics are the experience of a lifetime for athletes and even more so if athletes have the honour to compete in their home country.

• Claim Three: Athletes need traditional media to connect with fans and vice versa. Without fans, athletes are not truly appreciated.

• Claim Four: Athletes carry on in the face of adversity, such as the luge tragedy.

These claims further validate Shaw’s (2008) work on the Olympic Games. Shaw presents this value of elite athletes as one of three key frames for media covering the games, the others being nationalism and globalism. Both Brown (2010, February 14) in his column states “it (death) was not completely unthinkable: he (Nodar) was, after all, doing a terribly dangerous thing,” and Walton (2010, February 13) in his news article includes direct statements that danger to life is an inherent part of being an elite athlete. The Games are about the sacrifice of athletes seeking out “the experience of a lifetime” (Walton, 2010, February 13), the countries they represent and international peace building.

**Host country/nationalism.**

Arguments around the host country involve a substantial amount of existential argumentation, starting with the concept of host nation as a community whose reputation is on the line. Given, as Castello (2009) argues, nation building is a process of cultural and political construction in which the traditional media have a central role, the discursive construction of Canada by the traditional media during the Olympics is a fertile site for considering arguments around Canadian identity. Both the host
organization and Canadian athletes became representative of this imagined Canadian community. Once existentially established the nation is then valued on whether it can deliver a successful games and whether its athletes perform well.

- **Claim One:** Canadians are good hosts who wanted the Olympics to go well and who wanted our athletes to win. We put a lot of effort into hosting and were invested in the games.

- **Claim Two:** The track was developed by the host country, and there were warnings the track was too fast. The incident brought questions about the host country’s behaviour and respect for athletes.

- **Claim Three:** The accident wrecked Canadian expectations everything would go well and brought down the spirit of the opening of Canada’s games.

- **Claim Four:** Like our athletes, the host organization fought to overcome this adversity and the games were a success in the end.

The Olympic Games require the belief in the existential concept of nation, otherwise there would be no reason to compete and nothing to display internationally. This process has been documented in other studies noted in the literature review on the generation of soft power for nation states including studies on the Games in Greece and China (Finnal & Xin, 2010; Xifra, 2009). It is argued the success of an Olympic Games reflects upon the host nation both internally within its own discursive nation building process and externally in countries around the world. Given the concentrated traditional media attention over the course of an Olympic Games, the stakes are assumed to be high. Thus, not only do Canadian traditional media argue for the existence of Canada as an imagined
community, but characterize the nation as hard working northerners who play the role of the good host and triumph over adversity. To do otherwise would simply be un-Canadian.

**Traditional media and technology.**

When it comes to accessing athletes, the traditional media is argued to be technological savvy and able to pass on that knowledge to a Canadians keen to get to know their heroes. At the same time, there is also tension as the existential argument that technology is all powerful further supports the claim it is impacting the norms and traditions of news media.

- Claim One: News media are technologically savvy, but technology is changing traditional media standards and norms.
- Claim Two: The way younger people are using technology and social media is forcing traditional media to change.
- Claim Three: It’s a tough time to be a journalist as technology is forcing traditional media to move faster.

Both young people and technology are argued to be uncontrollable forces of change (Dowbiggin, 2010, February 13; Renzetti, 2010, February 20; Shaw, 2010, February 13).

**Traditional media within the Olympic context.**

As traditional media are positioned within the Olympic context, propositional argumentation begins to build on the previous existential and value based arguments. The arguments around technology providing individual choice and power; the value of traditional media in educating people on the use of technology; the presentation of the existential existence of Canada as a community; and the positive value of the role of
Canadians as good hosts all underlie the claims for how the traditional media propose the 2010 Winter Olympics should function.

- **Claim One:** The IOC owns and sells images from the Olympics to traditional media so traditional media provide the Canadian audience with access and information it does not otherwise have.

- **Claim Two:** Using technology traditional Canadian media can meet many Canadian needs within the Olympic context.

- **Claim Three:** Traditional media bring athletes closer to the audience and the audience closer to athletes through technology.

Brought together, it becomes evident the traditional media value themselves as key participants in the Olympic context and they propose they are necessary guides for the event as a nation building experience to occur. This argumentation is backed up by the substantial amount of nomination in the corpus on traditional media (see Appendix A).

**Traditional media rules around the luge tragedy.**

The argumentation which develops around the traditional media’s sharing of the tragedy at the Whistler Sliding Centre builds on the previous existential and value based claims by adding further propositional complexity. They begin to propose notions of what traditional media are and how good traditional media behave. It also builds on the nomination and predication of the traditional media as insiders within the Olympic event.

- **Claim One:** There are rules around what traditional media can cover as news and what they cannot, which are not well understood by those not employed in traditional media. Good traditional media generally all follow the same rules.
• Claim Two: News has an intrinsic quality journalists recognize as “news” and some stories are more “newsworthy” than others. Some of the qualities of newsworthiness are unanswered questions, if something is being hidden or negligence.

• Claim Three: It is okay for traditional media to show a shocking video such as the luge accident if it provokes questions, a quality of newsworthiness.

• Claim Four: News media are considerate when dealing with victims of tragedy and they warn people of graphic content in the news.

• Claim Five: It was a difficult decision to air the video for traditional media, but the video generated questions about whether the Olympics would go on as planned and hence it was deemed newsworthy.

• Claim Six: Traditional media were able to defend their decision to show the video because they followed the rules: they treated graphic images with care and restraint, they thought about it before they aired a video, and they warned people of graphic content.

• Claim Seven: Once changes were made to the luge competition and the games were able to go on, there were no more questions so they stopped airing the video: anyone who went on airing the video after that was not following the norms of traditional media.

The propositions of what makes someone a member of the traditional media here reinforces the trade based mentality in traditional media, a normative rightness of news behaviour that builds on centuries of organizational and cultural norms (Dowbiggin,
Traditional media’s portrayal of social media and the luge tragedy.

When discussing how people shared the video of the luge accident, traditional media also brought forward similar claims based on the underlying existential-based assumptions of technology as an all powerful enabler of choice and the value-based assumptions of the valuation of Canada as a good host and the traditional media as guides. The claims suggest traditional media as important in their role of being able to guide social media users in this brave new world.

- **Claim One**: The audience used to passively allow traditional media to choose what information was appropriate. Technology and the creation of social media changed that.

- **Claim Two**: Although both are ways to share information with a network of people, there are differences between the new social media and the older more established traditional media.

- **Claim Three**: The technology of social media and digital video allowed social media users to share the video of the luge accident faster than traditional media.

- **Claim Four**: Social media users wanted to see the video and there is no way to control technology.

- **Claim Five**: The response of social media users varied and some of it was inappropriate. At times it did not meet the norms of traditional media, and at times it also did not meet the norms of general social ethics or good taste.
• Claim Six: If technology allows people to bypass traditional media, people need to learn traditional media standards and norms and apply standards of social ethics in their sharing.

• Claim Seven: People are the problem, not technology: people using social media have a responsibility to use this powerful instrument properly.

• Claim Eight: If social media were considerate in their treatment of the video through their use of technology as the traditional media was, it was sharing news. If they were not, it was death porn being shared by sick voyeurs.

• Claim Nine: If social media went on sharing and watching the video after questions were answered and the games resumed for the athletes, it might be called death porn.

People as the problem came out in strongly in the overall argumentation. This includes Shaw (2010, February 13), “Before we had a media system where everything was filtered through journalists but that doesn't happen anymore”; Korn (2010, February 14) who states when it comes to the audience “its hard for us to stop feeding on the story”; Young (2010, February 13) who states the IOC and VANOC will need to do some “soul searching” following the uncontrollable circulation of the tragedy on Youtube; to Ullrich (2010, February 15) who in his column claims the major traditional media television networks with Olympic broadcasting rights made the decision to air the video because of the uncontrollable “sick fascination” of people who “want to bear witness”.

Given the important valuation of traditional media in the games and the importance of hosting a successful Olympic Games to the Canada’s soft power as a nation, the traditional media carefully argue that inexperienced social media users should follow
their lead during the Olympics for the sake of the nation and its athletes. Otherwise social media were showing evidence of having no ethical standards to apply to their content.

**Perspectives: Whose Story is Being Told**

Perspective in a corpus made up of traditional media articles include a common denominator in that all traditional media articles start from the authority society invests in journalists, coupled with their own traditions and norms of writing from a position of authority. The authoritative mood of the journalist is more visible in some genres such as columns and opinion pieces than others such as radio interviews or written news articles wherein the journalist by western standards is expected to remain unobtrusive and neutral in opinion. While it would seem these genres would be overtly identifiable based on placement and labelling within their respective products, the Olympics generated substantial variations from normal structures of products and hence textual cues had to be used to determine into which genre or cross genre an article should be placed and whether the level of perspective provided by a journalist violated norms of the genre. In print media, the editorial or column genre included perspectives of the journalist as authority with valuable personal insights; perspectives of Canadians; perspectives of political authority; university and media experts; and locals. Perspectives in other genres, such as the radio interview and news articles, included that of journalist; traditional media organizations; athletes; and the family of the luger. The following analysis moves through each piece in the corpus in order to capture shifts in perspective which augment the argumentation presented in the previous section.

**Columns and editorials: From the journalist’s perspective.**
In Brown’s (2010, February 14) column, the main perspective presented is that of a journalist as a person whom institutional authority is invested in, followed by the perspective of Brown as a Canadian at a Canadian Olympic Games. He uses descriptive scenes to place himself as a journalist, referencing events to which only journalists are invited such as the “great cavern of media, where information is everything” and “the press conference.” In particular, he reinforces his perspective as one where traditional media have information sooner than everyone else. “There was news of the death in the room, but the pictures on the television were of people celebrating on the streets of Vancouver… Yaletown, the Chiron on the TV said. People were happy in Yaletown.” He follows up on this perspective by referencing the perspective of a Canadian, with pride in hosting the games. “The press conference started 12 minutes late, unusual at these beautifully prepared and planned games.” This nationalistic perspective seems to gather in strength as he progresses to consider the statement of the impact of the luge accident on the Games. “Christ, it was sad, almost as sad as the man's death. The wrecked expectations of it all.” This is strong perspective of a disappointed Canadian.

Young’s (2010, February 13) column also relies heavily on the traditional voice of journalist as authority, similar to Brown’s piece. He too references events which may be of interest to those not in the traditional media, events which only journalists have access to such as the press conference. He then sets up a structure which allows him to present his questions as a journalist and the answers he had receives from his sources. He also brings in the voice of athletes as experts, and the authority of political leaders such as the head of the IOC and Georgia’s Minister of Culture and Sports. All of this follows along within standard journalism reporting techniques, until he talks about the video circulating
among social media users on sites such as Youtube.com, when he discusses the changes technology and social media have brought about.

Young writes:

“The Olympics have endured tragedies before, like the 1972 Munich massacre. But this one will resonate in a different way, after it was replayed over and over on YouTube videos that were shut down by the IOC as fast as they sprung up. There has to be some serious soul-searching going on among the IOC, the sport's leaders and Vancouver organizers.”

While the moral evaluation of social media users is muted, the voice of journalist as authority brings together how uncontrollable technology has altered the distribution and consumption of the tragedy. Going back to Rowe (2008), Young’s perspective is that digital video has reduced the power of time as an event from the sporting world can be played anew in endless repetition on the internet. This placed next to a statement of moral evaluation which leads the reader to question: will the Olympic organizers consider the moral burden higher because of the new technology? The writer leaves reader to draw their own conclusions.

Renzetti’s (2010, February 20) column is interesting because it begins from the perspective of the traditional authority of a journalist and traditional media at large, but she uses the authority of that perspective to validate the value of youth and technology, writing a mythopoesis of the modern world in which youth are always pushing the boundaries with technology to create progress for the human race. She starts talking from the perspective of a columnist using the tale of 17-year-old novelist who gets caught plagiarizing online. The young novelist’s perspective is then brought in and the novelist sets about defending her actions with “zeitgeist defence,” claiming to be living with the spirit of the times which denies copyright. The journalist then goes back to using the
authoritative voice of tradition, a university professor who validates this claim; youth haven’t got a clue about plagiarism because technology makes it easy to copy. The journalist then falls back on her own voice as authority, noting how hard it is to be a journalist when technology drives you much faster than the good old days. She acknowledges journalists may not plagiarize word for word but they do crib from each other, and then seeks out a lesser punishments for journalists caught accidentally plagiarizing, falling back on the previously mentioned mythopoesis: that the youth of tomorrow will judge journalists by different standards.

In Shaw’s (2010, February 13) mixed genre column/news article, she switches from third to first person to discursively reinforce voice of authority for all journalists. This is mixed genre work that is not the norm in traditional media. At the beginning of what appears to be a news article, traditional media is placed in contrast with social media repeatedly: in the headline, subhead and in the first four paragraphs of the article. The article begins with a headline that reads “Olympic tragedy: Death porn or sharing the news?”; the subhead is: “traditional and social media air death video…”; this is followed by text written as an impartial news story that notes CTV aired the video, Youtube tried to take it down and it spread faster through Twitter than “traditional media.” At this point, Shaw switches perspective to quote the authoritative voice of a journalism professor who was on twitter when the incident took place and he explains what happened. She then wraps up the first four paragraphs noting the website of the Vancouver Sun “for its part” chose not to run the video, giving her own publication a perspective of valid authority within her own story. The voice of the university professor is then brought back in as an authority on how social media is impacting media itself,
claiming that "Before we had a media system where everything was filtered through journalists but that doesn't happen anymore. It transfers the responsibility to us to decide whether to watch this video or not." His voice of authority is used as a call to people at large to take responsibility for their social media use.

Following on this, Shaw then brings in some outside voices to represent voices of social media users. The two examples, Kris Krug and Anthony Floyd, are presented from the perspective of average social media users; however a brief background search shows they have more expertise in technology and traditional media that one would expect. Floyd is a computer software programmer, geo-cacher and blogger who appear in several of Shaw’s articles on various topics so he’s clearly familiar with the norms of traditional media as a source and Krug teaches a journalism course called, New Media Literacy for Journalism, at British Columbia’s Institute for Technology. Although cloaked as the average user, both men have strong ties to traditional media making their perspectives as average social media users discussing appropriate social media use and how it relates to standards of journalism somewhat questionable. However, the validity in the arguments remains when suggesting social media users may want to consider meeting the norms of general social ethics or good taste. Shaw then employs a switch in perspective to generate authority for the voice of the journalist: she switches genres from a news article to an opinion column by moving from a third person perspective to a first person. “Regardless of your view on the ethics of the sharing of such controversial images and video, it is clear there will be no turning back the clock” she notes, concluding the only way to control technology is to educate its users on established traditional media norms. It’s not the statement itself which generates questions but rather the last minute switch in genres.
Given all the other statements in the piece on social media use, it seems unnecessarily repetitive to go from a news story to an editorial at this point just to drive home a point.

The last two columnists both chose different perspectives from which to ground their work. Ullrich’s (2010, February 15) piece relies on the authority of the journalist, on moral evaluation and reference to authority of traditions around death to ground his argument, while Korn (2010, February 14) takes the perspective of an athlete and a member of the public.

Ullrich begins his column from the perspective of Nodar Kumaritashvili’s father: if Nodar’s father doesn’t want to watch the video, neither should anyone else. After bringing the family’s authority over funeral arrangements to the fore, he quickly switches back to the perspective of the journalist, sympathizing with the difficult decision of news director to air the video. He then quotes three unnamed social media users with different perspectives on the sharing of the video but validates the perspective of “a local reader” who describes being guilty of “a sick fascination” an uncontrollable urge to look at the pictures. He ends by going back to his authority as a journalist to claim that news directors aired the video because that’s what some people want.

Korn, on the other hand, starts from the perspective of an athlete, which is within the realm of possibility because she was an Olympic medalist in rowing. She uses a first person experience to write about how athletes experience disruption at the Olympics, but also as a member of the public viewing the video of the accident through social media channels: people are “rattled, shocked and sickened” as “we can’t escape that video” and “outside that bubble, for those of us not in the zone, it's hard to stop feeding on the story.” It is a light mention of the technology of social media, but it relates to social media
technology as her point seems to be that the story is continuously available. Her perspective from both roles is that athletes are moving on and so should the public: “There's a time to mourn and a time to go on with life -- and competition.” The statement is empowered by the athletes’ perspective, carrying with it the weight of those who have sacrificed and trained their whole lives to be at this event.

**The radio interviews: Journalists as judge.**

Perspective in the CBC Compass news article and radio transcript (IOC orders, 2010, February 22) is slightly more convoluted. This piece appeared well outside of the cycle of the luge tragedy news story, as events at the Whistler Sliding Centre were allowed to continue and traditional media had moved on to other stories. Rather the news story here is about a letter from the International Olympic Committee ordering “blogger” Stephen Pate to remove the video of the accident from his website. The news article and radio report by CBC Compass are both presented from the perspective of the CBC as a news authority during which they question Pate’s legitimacy as a news organization. In the radio transcript in particular, the tone of the radio interviewer is disparaging, and the interviewer stresses Pate’s credibility has been questioned by the CBC under other circumstances:

Host: Stephen I am sure you know, there’s been a lot of controversy here on PEI about whether you are really a news organization or not?  
Stephen: Well that’s foolishness of course.  
Host: Do you consider yourself to be a real news organization?  
Stephen: Of course we are. I covered over 2,500 stories last year…

After Pate attempts to justify his plausibility as a news organization to the radio host, the radio host reasserts his own authority as a member of the journalistic profession by directing Pate back towards the accepted justification for the story reaching the end of its
news cycle, that changes have been made to the track so the problem has been solved; hence, the reason other news outlets have moved on to other stories.

**News articles: Traditional media quoting themselves, athletes, and locals.**

Dowbiggin’s (2010, February 13) news article on Olympic media coverage starts from the perspective of the journalist as a person in whom institutional authority is vested to legitimize the arguments. This perspective is generated by quoting sources from the CTV Rogers Olympic Broadcast Consortium, which includes the Globe and Mail and is also the publication in which the article appears. This followed by the perspective of another individual granted the spectre of authority as a media expert: “an internet strategist who has a nationally syndicated radio column on trends and developments in technology.” It does not say if this radio station is also owned by a member of the CTV Rogers Olympic Broadcast Consortium. Then the work shifts perspectives, from journalist as trusted authority to the utility of institutionalized action of traditional media. This is done by referring to the broadcast news media as a trade with a known history and is shown through first person presentation of the phrase “the first time in broadcast history.” Without referring to a source, the journalist grants the history of the broadcast medium significance and the first instance of something within that history is considered a justification of newsworthiness. The issue is not whether the statement has merit, it well may, but rather its presentation by the journalist as a fact without citing source puts it in the category of the utility of institutionalized action. It’s an assumption that is granted validity due to its placement in perspective. Dowbiggin’s article also includes similar shifts of perspective as Shaw’s (2010, February 13) moving from direct to indirect speech: starting under the guise of a news article but then leaning towards an opinion
Zelkovich’s (2010, February 13) article is an interview with the official broadcast consortium explaining their decision to air the video of the luge accident and that part of the article carries with it both all the institutional authority and the customs of traditional broadcast media. What is of particular interest in this work, though it occurs later in the article, is when Zelkovich uses the perspective of the public through unattributed social media posts to criticize traditional media for the decision to air the video followed by a reversion to the authority of his own voice as journalist to criticize social media users for describing the video inappropriately as “cool.”

As a journalist, Mainville (2010, February 15) writes with very little presence of himself in the first person, the traditional mode of news reporting from a western standard of supposed impartiality. His source for this story is Nodar Kumaritashvili’s father, who is given added authority as an athlete who competed for the Soviet Union, a large country, not Georgia as a “new” country only in existence since the end of communism; however Mainville appears when he proposes existential argumentation mentioned in the previous section, the reference to value systems based on the belief in the concept of nation. He writes: “His death overshadowed the opening of the Winter Games in Vancouver and plunged Georgia into mourning.” Kumaritashvili the senior uses his perspective as athlete to reinforce the value of the athlete as devoted and willing to sacrifice.

Moods of authority in Walton’s (2010, February 13) article rely on the perspective of athletes and Whistler residents to validate the argument of athletes as heroic risk
takers. The article starts by considering the perspective of a Canadian alpine skier who has been waiting for years to compete in his home town. The journalist goes on to interview three locals: a young man attending the opening ceremonies, a snowboarder, and local carpenter, all of whom validate risk is part of sport. The article ends with a luger’s mother contending her daughter, who is competing at the Olympics, likes the speed of the track.

Considering the perspectives presented in each of the individual articles, although there is a substantial amount of argumentation about appropriate social media use, there is little done to include the average social media user’s perspectives within the corpus. Social media are quoted but few are interviewed. It is hard to say why this is but it is noteworthy in its absence.

**Modalities: Strategies of Intensity and Mitigation**

When considering the force with which all the above utterances were made, utterances about athletes; traditional media, social and ethical norms; benefits of technology; the IOC’s ownership of copyright; and the need for the Olympics to go on were mainly presented as strong statements, while the traditional media generally mitigated statements around social media norms and social etiquette as well as the impact of the luge tragedy on the outcome of the Olympics. Examples of mitigated statements around the outcome of the Olympics include several utterances made by traditional media about the incident casting a pall, a shadow or a cloud. These can be considered mitigated statements because the outcome was not determined, it was not black, darkness or the end. The mitigated statements acknowledged a loss had occurred while still providing the
possibility of a narrative of a successful Olympic Winter Games at the conclusion of the three-week event.

Meanwhile, examples of mitigated statements around the use of social media include Renzetti’s (2010, February 13) notion that maybe now is the time to consider “how we look at borrowing,” and the choice of several writers to use multiple examples of statements from social media around sharing of the video of the accident. What remains an intensified statement no matter which part of the corpus is examined is that the norms of established traditional media when considering whether to air the video were appropriate, even when the application of those norms ended up with some media airing the video and others not.
The analysis flushed out a number of discourses in traditional media articles that were frequently used to frame and discursively construct social media users, their discussions and the sharing of the video of the death Nodar Kumaritashvili at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games. These included discourses of technology as an uncontrollable force, traditional media as providing normative and ethical standards for social media users, the nation as host, and the athlete as valued hero. In discussing the result of the discourse historic analysis, these discourses are considered in triangulation with other theories including notions of intertextuality, heteroglossia and monoglossia (Bahktin, 1981), and the political economy of the media (Hargreaves, 1982) in order to assess the discursive construction of social media and key in on the uniqueness of the historical moment in question.

**Intertextuality: Seeking Similar Discourses in Media**

When considering the tragedy at the 2010 Winter Olympics, the authors included in the corpus make three suggestions of similar events that are comparable to the Kumaritashvili’s tragedy: the Munich massacre at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, West Germany when a terrorist group killed 12 people; the 1996 bombing of the Atlanta summer Olympics in the United States during which two people died and 111 were injured; and the death of Robert Dziekański who was tasered five times by members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) at the Vancouver International Airport and subsequently died on October 14, 2007. When looking at the discourses in the articles in this corpus and then comparing them with articles on those events in the
two-week time frame when they happened, there is cross over in the discourses but it is
not complete. They lack the discursive construction and commentary around social media
use.

Articles on the first two Olympic incidents include similar discourses on athletes
as valued heroes, the importance of nation and nation as good host, but do not include
discourses of social media technology because the events took place during a time in
which the technology to share video and use internet based social networks did not exist.
Hence they lack discourses on technology at large and social media and digital video in
specific.

The tasering death of Dziekański looked at first to be a fruitful area of
intertextuality for many of the discourses in the corpus around for luge tragedy: it
occurred during a time frame when comparable technology exists and there were
questions around nationalism and the nation as a good host. However, this turned out not
to be the case as a search of the same databases used to retrieve the corpus in this study
returned no results for “death porn”, “social media” or equivalent terminologies. Rather,
there seemed to be very little controversy relating to the traditional media’s decision to
show the death of Dziekański and subsequent sharing of the video by social media users
on Youtube and other sites. They all aired the video on various forms of technology and
even print media who would not air the video of the luge accident put the Dziekański
video on their websites and wrote detailed transcripts describing its contents. The only
controversy which accompanied the video was the RCMP’s refusal to return the video
back to the man who shot it. The so-called “citizen journalist” turned his video over to the
police after the incident and there was a public outcry after the police refused to return it
as traditional media were waiting to release the footage to the public (Gratl, 2007, November 13). There was never a debate over whether or not to show and share that video.

The prevalent discourse absent in both the Munich massacre and the Atlanta bombing include that of social media technology as an uncontrollable force which is impacting traditional media norms. The same discourse is mostly absent in the Dziekanski tragedy. At the time of the incident in 2007, the traditional media’s discourse reflects a concern with Royal Canadian Mounted Police conduct and imminent damage to the Canadian national identity in the eyes of the international community.

The next step in an intertextual assessment is to consider the contextual factors that were present during the luge accident at the 2010 Winter Games. First of all, traditional media journalists complain about the impact of newer social media technology on traditional media working conditions in the corpus; however there is no mention of any of the contextual factors which gave this impact such as high cost, such as the economic state of the Canadian traditional media or the downsizing of the number of journalists working in the field and the consolidation of companies in the field in which they work. Secondly, there was no mention of the high expectations placed upon them by their political sources and corporate owners to contribute discursively to the framing of successful Canadian Olympics, both for the purposes of generating advertising and for increase of soft power for Canada within the international community. It seems unlikely there would be any reasons for journalists in traditional media to discuss these contextual factors in their work so the absence of these contextual factors in the discourse is not surprising. Yet, within the larger institutional political economy of the traditional media,
these contextual factors may prove relevant when considering under what conditions can be found the same discourses around social media use. When seeking out similar discourses around social media use, discourses around the importance of nation and discourses around the uncontrollable all powerful nature of technology should be sought. In addition, contextual factors such as a weakened state of the political economy of the traditional media coupled with an intense attack on the nation’s reputation in the sphere of the international community may need to be present. Based on this research, these could be considered as starting points when seeking out comparable discourses in traditional media around social media use.

**Heteroglossia and Monoglossia: Glossing over Difference in Social Media Use**

This corpus, examined in this study, provides a rich source of data from which to consider how new forms of social networking and sharing information are being discursively constructed as connected to traditional forms of media even though their functions are different. It is a vivid example of Bakhtin’s (1981) tension in language, the tension between ‘monoglossia’, or a stable and unified language, versus ‘heteroglossia’, many voices representing the conflict between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in society (Morris, 1994, p. 246). Even though both Castells (2001) and Poster (1995) have noted the change between the first media age when information flowed from one to many, to the second media age with information moving through networks from many to many, traditional media struggling with this shift are trying to discursively pull towards a monoglossic sense of the term “media” in which social media and traditional media are intricately connected and fall under the same norms, rules, and etiquette. There is a
discursive pull to ensure the same norms, rules, and standards of etiquettes are reflected across society’s media at large, be they traditional or social.

This monoglossic pull can be explored further by examining the predication and nomination of the role of the audience in the Olympics versus that of social media users. The audience is separated as a category from social media users and it is suggested they are in need of traditional media’s help to decide on the limits and nature of appropriate access to the Olympics and its athletes in the new world of media and technology. This is compared to the social media users who are constructed as either young people who understand technology but some of whom use it with no respect for norms of traditional media or social ethics and etiquette, or social media users who do not have the ability of youth to control the technology and become trapped as sick voyeurs subject to its power. The monoglossic pull can be seen in the traditional media discourse which presents both the traditional audience and social media users (although in some cases, they may be one and the same) as needing a connection to traditional media for some form of guidance. Those not familiar with social media technology need traditional media to access the Olympics and its athletes and learn how to access technology. Those familiar with social media technology need traditional media to guide them in the appropriate use, etiquette and ethical considerations around social media technology.

The discursive construction of two separate entities - the traditional media audience and social media users - may represent a struggle in traditional media over how to construct the people formerly known as the audience. The audience of traditional media today likely includes many different variants of technological sophistication among social media users as well as some people who don’t use social media at all. The
overarching message from traditional media directed at both groups is that “you need us.” There is truth to this statement as traditional media play an important role in society, in this case a specific need to bring to the fore standards and ethics of truth, verifiability and responsibility which do not always exist in social media. However, the flip side which rarely emerges in traditional media discourse is that traditional media still need an audience, whether they are social media users or not, in order to generate revenue. The discourse around social media in this corpus recognizes the important role of traditional media in a democratic society in sharing information, while also subtly fulfilling the political economic imperative of revenue generation for traditional media.

**Perspectivation: A New Tradition in “Streeters”**

Traditional media perspective dominates this corpus, yet there was no recognition of how traditional media are modifying their own norms through the use of technology. Specifically, they are using the comments posted by social media users in ways which are clearly different from past traditional media norms. When the perspectives of social media users are included in the corpus, they most often take the form of a random sampling of unattributed comments. This is not the norm for traditional media in recent decades. Traditional media sent out to get the opinion of the man or woman on the street, known as “the streeter”, used to have to ask people a question as well as getting their names and permission to quote them. In this corpus, journalists are taking quotes from social media networks to include the public’s perspective without either getting permission or in some cases, giving attribution. Given it has been argued that anonymity online encourages people to voice opinions they wouldn’t normally voice if they were being identified, this technique of sourcing opinions is likely generating different
perspectives than a “streeter” would. It’s a change in the process of news reporting in a way which could be compared to reporting graffiti rather than the perspective of a citizen who will be held responsible for his or her opinion by those who connect with him or her on a daily basis. If traditional media are to be successful in applying standards of socially appropriate behaviour and etiquette to social media users, this change in reporting behaviour seems counter intuitive. The traditional media seem to want to encourage more responsible social media use but present social media users in a way which masks their true identity and thus makes social media less responsible to society at large.

**Intertextuality and Political Economy: Flak for Social Media**

If Bahktin’s (1981) notion of language as intertextual is to be upheld, if there is neither a first nor a last word and each utterance is culturally created stretching into the past from which it came and into the future of the culture where it exists, as well as reflecting the cultural struggles between various facets of society, then this discursive framing of social media can and should be connected intertextually to other examples of discourse in traditional media from previous times. What comes to mind is a modified and much gentler notion of “flak.” Previously “flak” was defined as a concept within the political economy of the media where negative feedback kept the traditional media in check, particularly around issues related to communism during the McCarthy era, by threatening punishment to those who do not toe the neo-liberal ‘party line’ of the powerful elite (Comeforo, 2010). It was in the past applied to the point of blacklisting journalists and clearly; this comparison is not meant to suggest traditional media have similar powers over social media users.
What traditional media do have is the ability to discursively construct new standards of etiquette and ethics for social media use by pointing to examples of poor behaviour. This discursive framing of social media users can be seen as a new, much gentler form of flak wherein traditional media give flak to social media users who are both violating social norms of etiquette and may also simultaneously be impinging on the political economy of traditional media. By taking random unattributed comments from social media sites and holding these up as examples of sharing death porn and other forms of callous or socially unacceptable behaviour, traditional media are gently disciplining social media users the same way that traditional media are disciplined through letters to the editor and complaints by the public to editorial boards or professional organizations. It’s not a new concept. It just involves new players and subtler ways of achieving the outcomes: traditional media are attempting to get social media to buy into the normative rightness of traditional media. And this seems to occur in situations where there are two elevated political imperatives present: that of the nation state’s reputation and where technology allows social media to challenge the political economy of traditional media. It can be considered to serve two purposes: it is both a power play to maintain the political economy of traditional media and nation state, while at the same it can also be considered an attempt to educate the public on standards of journalistic ethics and social responsibility. It is a two sided coin and only once it is seen as such can people using social media decide on the merits of either accepting the discursive construction in traditional media or pushing back with the power of a new online ecology which provides ample space for differing opinions.
Chapter 6

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The traditional media’s discursive construction of social media users and their behaviour around the death of Nodar Kumaritashvili at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games deserves further exploration in different contexts. Canada, although geographically large, is a country with a relatively small population and small traditional media corps which in turn produced a small corpus. In other situations, it is likely a more robust corpus could be found, especially in those countries with which Canada shares historical ties, such as its neighbour to the south, the United States, and some of European countries such as the United Kingdom. Having established the two key contextual factors and underlying discourses that were present as part of this discursive construction of social media technology and its users - the importance of the nation state and the power of technology impacting traditional media, both of which are supported by the profit incentive of capitalism and private corporations - there are several other situations which come to mind that may provide fruitful sites in which to seek out similar strains of discourse. In particular, the release of the US Embassy cables by the website Wikileaks in late 2010 and subsequent media coverage may be a good starting point as both the soft power of the United States and the political economy of the traditional media were brought into question. In addition, the 2012 London Summer Olympics may provide further opportunity to study the discursive framing of social media use in a rich traditional media environment with comparable traditional media norms to Canada. Also, this study suggests a need for further study on the discursive construction of traditional media by social media users. This would provide insight into hegemonic forces at play.
shaping traditional media as it moves towards integration with online technology.

Further, allowing journalists to work with social media users as they develop this new discursive construction, through community panels or other feedback forums, would allow joint development of common standards of social media use and journalism ethics. If traditional media standards are changing due to changes in technology and social media use is increasing, a joint conversation is far preferable to the extreme alternatives suggested by this corpus: either the blanket application of normative traditional media rightness, the continuance of giving flak as a form of education to those who choose to participate in discussions that are relevant to both the concept of nation and technology, or on the flip side, a complete dissolution of standards of ethics and etiquette for both traditional and social media in the decades to come.
References


### RESULTS OF TEXTUAL/INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

#### Analysis of nomination and predication of social actors around the luge accident during the 2010 Winter Olympics

Each category is broken down into the discursive construction of the social actor(s) in question, discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events related to them, and the discursive construction of processes and actions related to them. **These sub categories are marked in bold type.**

Nomination strategies include all words. 
Predicative strategies in the analysis are in **bold italics**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| **Nomination:**<br>How are new media and traditional media and the sharing of the video of the incident named and referred to linguistically? | **Discursive construction of athletes as social actors:**  
  **Proper names:**  
  - Nodar Kumaritashvili; Georgian; Australia's Hannah Campbell Pegg; Munich Massacre; Georgia; Burkarini; Georgian; Atlanta bombings  
  **Deitic and phoric expressions:**  
  - him; **young man**; he; himself; son; man (Nodar); athletes; athlete; his; themselves  
  **Professional anthroponyms:**  
  - Olympic athlete; luger; Olympian; young luger; athletes; world cup ski racer; bob sled; snowboarding; luger; snowboard; expert in luge track design; **best athletes in the world; master of mental preparation; coach; devoted athlete;**  
  **Ideological anthroponyms:**  
  - **Eric the eel in the pool (reference to inexperience); raw also ran (Nodar's inexperience); little lemmings; crash test dummies;** make shift memorial; medals plaza; **Georgia as part of former Soviet Union; hometown; Georgian resort town; new country trying to make its new way**  
  **Collectives:**  
  - sport; team leaders; athletes; athletes village; International luge federation; the best  
  **Economic anthroponyms:**  
  - **going for gold; Georgia as part of former Soviet Union; new country trying to make its new way; drop the hammer; expert** 
| **Predication:**<br>What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes (more or less positively or negatively)? | **Discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events related to athletes:**  
  **Concrete:**  
  - memorial marked by flowers, candles, and a picture; competition; cross training; flung out of sled; attaining exceptionally high speeds; doing a terrible dangerous thing; training run; fatal run; fatal luge |
training run; hit a post; not protected by hay or padding; died

abstract:
- death overshadowed opening ceremonies; warnings (track to fast);
  course quickly gained a reputation; risk is part of the sport, people
  need to understand that; bring athletes into mainstream media;
  mainstream audience is not there for her sport; playing field is
  levelled; people (athletes) who embrace social media can become the
  next star; fearsome reputation (track); (track) is pushing it a little too
  much

discursive construction of processes and actions related to athletes:

material:
- marked by a makeshift memorial; battering themselves; training;
  nearly lost control; thrown down a track; went high, flew off; achieve
  great experiences

mental:
- in the zone; bubble over with aggression, confidence and readiness;
  cope with surprises; be prepared; paid respects; visualized or
  planned for; on auto pilot; dream of competing; athletes tell
  themselves Nodar would want competition to continue; discuss
  delays with ourselves in our heads to prepare

verbal:
- pledged to compete in his honour

discursive construction of Olympic organizers/host as social actors

proper names:
- International Olympic Committee; IOC; Vancouver Organizing
  Committee; VANOC; IOC; Jacques Rogge; VANOC; John Furlong; IOC
  spokesman Marc Adams; Vancouver 2010; Canada; Whistler;
  Olympics; Canadians; Game; BC Place; Vancouver 2010 Games; Coast
  Mountains; Whistler sliding centre; The games; International Olympic
  Commission; Yaletown; Coal Harbour British properties; Olympic
  Rings; Olympic Committee of Georgia; Vancouver 2010 Winter
  Olympics; Canadians; IOC in Switzerland; Whistler Creekside; Winter
  Games; Government of British Columbia

deitic and phoric expressions:
- mountain village; resort community; lawyers; International sports
  body

professional anthroponyms:
- President and CEO; Minister of culture and sport for Georgia;
  Vancouver resort community; Olympic rings; medal plaza; Canadians;
  copyrighted materials; copyright; lawyers; court, photographer;
  president of the International Olympic Committee; Vanoc CEO;
  employee in communications

ideological anthroponyms:
- Maple Leaf; Canadian flag; mountain village; flags; red-clad
  Canadians; Village square; just like Christmas; hope happiness and
**beauty; great yearning; huge and bright;** hypocrites

**collectives:**
- Canadians; the games; **locals;** thousands

**economic anthroponyms:**
- **resort community; Olympic rings; medal plaza; Canadians; copyrighted materials; legality; power;** no indication of track deficiencies; copyright; secrecy and absolute power over image;
- **lawyers; court**

**discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events related to Olympic organizers and host:**

**concrete:**
- branding imagery; curves; images of the 2010 Winter Olympics; **gray, sad and eloquent (Jacques Rogge); like someone pulled the battery out of him, crestfallen, sad, wrecked (John Furlong); press conference;** opening few days of the Olympics; torch tying up the streets all day; marched down the walkways in Whistler to take part in the opening ceremonies; **press conference started late; opening ceremonies; hire lawyers; go to court;** put up a fence; move starting point; drop speed 10 KM

**abstract:**
- **questions; it's a time for sorrow, it's not a time to look for reasons;** games officially open; investigation; **an investigation; switch from hope happiness and beauty to stark;** looked like someone had pulled the battery out of him; pageantry unfolds; the spectacle; the curves were deadly now; **beautifully planned and prepared games; something so deadly on the cusp of something so huge and bright; wrecked expectations of it all**

**discursive construction of processes and actions related to olympic organizers/host:**

**material:**
- awarded; braved the rain; waved a flag; protect; **videos shut down by the IOC almost as fast as they sprung up**

**mental:**
- soul searching; watch; prove; celebrate; watching; bully

**verbal:**
- communicate; promise (information on accident); cheers erupted

**discursive construction of social media**

**proper names:**
- **internet; Twitter; YouTube**

**deitic and phoric expressions:**
- **one; another; Email; some; people; The people; whoever; mashup; they**

**professional anthroponyms:**
- Web reaction; social media; social media sites

**ideological anthroponyms:**

---
**death porn; mash up generation; good, the bad and the ugly; genie in a bottle; changing media; abuzz with commentary; social media will be the buzz**

**collectives:**
- average blogger; blog; people; public; twitter; no one and everyone; people; voices; online; contributors; social media; twitter posters; crowd sourcing

**economic anthroponyms:** non found

**discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events related to social media**

**concrete:**
- tweets; video link; social media channels; chat sites; smart mash up; rampant swapping of materials

**abstract:**
- Fair use battles; crowd sourcing; people (athletes) who embrace social media become the next star; kids have fled the barn and they have flip cameras in their hands

**discursive construction of processes and actions related to social media**

**material:**
- see the footage; take it down; put it up; post; linked; go online and set up a notice or text message her and wish her good luck; saw it at work, watched it at home went and looked at the after pics; again and again, over and over; repeat viewing; can’t escape; shut down, sprung up; able to personalize their experience; circulated; shared; flooded; floating around online; no way to control; near impossible

**mental:**
- gatekeeping; sick fascination; bring it home; witness; want to bear witness; view the tragedy; stop and think; reaction was horror; reacted almost callously; thought it was cool; those who crave group experiences

**verbal:**
- criticizing; calling it death porn; condolences and best wishes; abuzz with commentary; telling you to take it off; voice your own highlights

**discursive construction of media and media experts**

**proper names:**
- National Post; Globe and Mail; Calgary Sun; Toronto Star; Vancouver Sun; Vancouver Province; NBC; CTV Rogers Olympic Consortium; Sportsnet; ABC; CBS; TSN; CTV; CTV Olympics.ca; X-Box; Silverlight; Agence France Press; New York Times; School of Journalism; German Newspapers; NJN Network; The Daily Beast; David Letterman; Die Welt, Der Speigel and Deutch Welle

**deitic and phoric expressions:**
- its; they; we; networks; big screen; reporters; writers; best professionals; chiron

**professional anthropononyms:**
- (Media as a Collectives)
Media; traditional media; media system; networks; consortium; news organizations; consortium coverage; the news; great cavern of media; great hall of communication; main press centre; TV; communicate; licensed broadcaster; news organization; professional; profession; Professors; pageantry; big screen; around the world (Media system components)

instant expert; copy editors; university professors; established producer and publisher; reporting; show; topping the best seller list; late guru; internet strategist; vice president of digital media and research; bylines; microphone; tv screen; publisher; television; press conference; the wire; journalists; proper reporting; world’s writers; reporters; news directors; journalists; pro journalists; CTV commentators media broadcast

Collectives: see media as a collective above

idealological anthroponyms:

patches of black (no media); chiron; guru; fair play versus foul play; abridgement of rights; authority; broadcasting history; plagarism; gatekeepers; moral bankruptcy; tell truth; opening ceremony; newsworthy

economic anthroponyms:

gatekeepers; rights holders; mainstream broadcast; news directors; media’s moral bankruptcy; the story; massive hall with massive screens; images; copyrights; fairplay versus foul play; precedent; authority; abridgement of rights; serving across different outlets; chasing the best stories; being broadcast; the scoop; break news; speed of modern communication; news policy

discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events related to media

concrete:

graphic warnings; plagarism software; show the accident or stop the footage; replay; covering/covered opening ceremonies; lifted several passages; crib; the same phrases popping up again and again; every second of every major event rendered across multiple platforms; primary aim of media roll out; video call; made available; people on tv celebrating while news of death takes the media room; broadcasting verbatim; personalize from your couch; appaulingly easy (to plagarize); plagarism a sin along with fabricating material

abstract:

cut its video off; treat graphic or disturbing images; games will be mobile, online, on portable devices, even on X-box; make the call; communicate tragedy; make the decision to air; agonizing decision; reshowing it; news took the room quietly; no noise in the media area; decision to air; decided; faster turnaround time; don’t know what plagarism means; take full responsibility; lay blame; unanswered questions; defending; question; much consideration; made it newsworthy; going beyond mass audience to more obscure narratives; bring athletes into mainstream media; find these athletes
**discursive construction of processes and actions related to media:**

**Material:**
- Trying to restrict; writing published; wrote a story; constant updating; selling images; waiting

**Mental:**
- News sunk in slowly; lodges in the back of your head; *treat graphic or disturbing images with care and restraint*; started to cry; trying to *figure out what to write and then everyone knowing what to write (readers) mistrust*; everything to say and nothing to say; *the natural inclination to break news*; *the way we look at borrowing*; making judgements; in a hurry; research; easy to forget; guiding principle; filtered

**Verbal:**
- Report a story; report the news; know the story; *warning viewers*; *screaming plagiarism*; too often events covered by news organizations are tragic and shocking; media said much or knew much; no one knew any Georgian journalists; *zeitgeist defence*; acknowledgements; describing
Appendix B

ARTICLES IN THE LINGUISTIC CORPUS


