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Constructing a Political Press Conference:
Cross-mediality and the NOS' Web of Entanglements

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Summary

This thesis will disentangle the web of connections between the four chosen platforms: the liveblog, the internet news articles, the eight o'clock newscast and the political press conference; in order to analyze how the NOS constructs the political press conference in a cross-medial manner. I argue that the political press conference should be considered the most important platform on the specific day it is broadcasted. This finding is supported by the qualitative importance of the references from the three platforms. Furthermore, through an analysis of authorship based on Erdal's cross-medial framework, I will conclude that the NOS purposely hide their production processes. Without further field work, their intent remains unknown. It is certain, however, that this leaves only their cross-media communication processes visible. Delving further into this phenomenon will lead me to the political implications of the NOS' cross-mediality. An analysis of the relationship between the Dutch state and the NOS will provide insight in how this cross-medial network, where the three platforms build anticipation for the main event, the political press conference, contribute to the ideological dominance of the nation state. The current extreme entanglement of politics, society and the media, strengthened by the Covid-19 pandemic, has made it possible for outlets like the NOS to use the myth of the mediated center as a tool. Since the intrusive measures regarding the coronavirus are constantly changed, the NOS functions as the messenger between the abstract power of the state and the violence enacted by the state. They provide the public with the vital information that is necessary in order to avoid prosecution by the Dutch government. The NOS is currently in the position the media always claimed to be in. They function as a gateway, for many, into what is currently happening in the nation state and thus in society.

Keywords: Intermediality, Cross-mediality, Network, Media, Platform, Political Press Conference, the NOS, the Myth of the Mediated Center

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Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the world. Social distancing has become the norm (and law), travel restrictions have been put in place and many countries are even in lockdown. During these trying times, one level of governance has regained its importance, the nation state. With his globalization paradox political economist Dani Rodrik discussed the trilemma between democracy, hyper-globalization and national self-determination. He argued that only two of these three factors can co-exist.¹ If only for a short period of time, it appears that the world has chosen national self-determination and democracy. Countries have composed and enforced their own policies regarding the coronavirus, they have continually bailed out businesses and many have imposed travel restrictions. Hyper-globalization in the sense of supranational rules and regulations regarding the virus, has remained largely absent with one exception regarding the testing and approval of the various vaccines. How this will develop during the continual of pandemic cannot be predicted however. The development of the importance of democracy is much more obvious. As highlighted by the storming of the United States Capitol as recent as January 6, 2021, perceived attacks on democracy are suppressed and the persecutors are prosecuted.

One of the most visible effects of the current importance of the nation state are the political press conferences by (now demissionary) prime minister Mark Rutte and (now demissionary) deputy prime minister and minister of health, welfare and sport Hugo de Jonge. These conferences are broadcasted live on television and discuss the state of events regarding the coronavirus. They are used to announce new policy, including immediate measures. As a powerful and popular tool of the state, this phenomenon deserves to be analyzed. The news cycles surrounding the press conferences are vital to their meaning and will be extensively focused on. However, since the news cycle is too extensive, the main outlet introducing, hosting and concluding *one* single press conference will be analyzed in this thesis, namely the NOS. The press conference in question was broadcasted on September 28, 2020. Due to time and space considerations, this thesis focusses on their

¹ Dani Rodrik, *The globalization paradox: democracy and the future of the world economy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2011), 57.

liveblog, their internet news articles (referred to simply as internet articles) and their eight o'clock newscast.

This thesis will also introduce Erdal's cross-mediality as a superior framework to Bolter and Grusin's 'remediation', Irina Rajewsky's 'intermediality' and Henry Jenkins' 'transmediality'. Furthermore, it will build on relevant works by Benedict Anderson, who discusses the imagined community of the nation state and Nick Couldry who warns about the myth of the mediated center that persists in media studies. Couldry defines this myth as "the belief, or assumption, that there is a centre to the social world, and that, in some sense, the media speaks 'for' that centre."² The concept instills this thesis with some much needed carefulness and will prove useful as a way to analyze the power of the media. Considering the theoretical framework and the social relevance, this thesis will answer the question: How does the political press conference, regarding the coronavirus, held by Mark Rutte and Hugo de Jonge on September 28, 2021, function in a cross-medial network constructed by the NOS?

The main research question will be answered through two sub-questions: how does the NOS cross-medially construct the political press conference?; and: what are the political implications of cross-mediality? Before answering these questions, I will delve into the theoretical framework and method. Four popular frameworks for analyzing inter-, cross- or transmedial content will be analyzed and the beforementioned concepts will be explained in-depth. Then, I will explain the methodology. The analysis will consist of *Chapter 2: A Cross-medial Construction Surrounding the Press Conference* and *Chapter 3: The Political Implications of Cross-mediality*. In *Chapter 2*, the NOS will be introduced, the analyzed platforms will be defined, I will disentangle the web of connections between the platforms and analyze the platforms with Erdal's cross-medial framework. In the more theoretical *Chapter 3*, the power of the media and the political implications of cross-mediality will be discussed through the imagined community and the myth of the mediated center. The thesis will then be concluded with an elaborate answer to the research question and suggestions for further research.

² Nick Couldry, *Media Rituals: A critical approach* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 2.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework and Method

1.1 Remediation, Intermediality and Transmediality

In order to properly contextualize the press conference in the web of connections, it is essential to understand the relations between different platforms. The network of relations has become vast and dense, making the platforms increasingly difficult to distinguish. Thus, it is important to clearly define them and analyze them with the academic framework they require. The framework needs to take into account how platforms relate to each other and especially how their boundaries are crossed. There are four broad concepts that fit this description: intermediality and remediation, transmediality and cross-mediality.

Some important scholars in the field of 'intermediality' are Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, Freda Chapple and Chiel Kattenbelt and Irina Rajewsky. However, since my corpus is so distinct, not all scholars will be of use. For example, theater and performance scholars such as Chapple and Kattenbelt will not be included. Instead new media scholars Bolter and Grusin will be the starting point. They define remediation as "the representation of one medium in another."³ They argue in their influential 1996 article *Remediation* that all modern media remediate older media.⁴ In a later article, Bolter elaborates that not only do new media remediate older media, older media also remediate newer media. Remediation is thus a constant process that reshapes all media.⁵ While the authors do not clearly define new and old media, they seem to equate new media with digital media. Moreover, Bolter and Grusin work with a very broad definition of media. They accept, what they call, the popular view that "the role of the media is to record and transfer sense experiences from one person to another."⁶ While the arguments of Bolter and Grusin are strong, their framework is oftentimes too broad for practical application.

³ Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 16.

⁴ Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge (Mass.); London: MIT Press, 2000), 20.

⁵ Jay David Bolter, "Transference and Transparency," *Intermédialités / Intermediality* 6 (Fall, 2005): 14.

⁶ Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 1.

This is also argued by Irina Rajewsky.⁷ She argues that their conceptualization holds ground and is useful for the theorizing of large media shifts, but that it is not reconcilable with her more narrow subcategories for *practical* analysis.⁸ According to Rajewsky, ‘intermediality’ has been used as an umbrella term, meaning that referring to the term as such is imprecise.⁹ She distinguished *broad* and *narrow* conceptualizations. Rajewsky argues for the narrow approach, arguing that epistemic objects gain “heuristic and practical value” when “each particular understanding of intermediality” is connected to the specific object of analysis.¹⁰ Rajewsky, therefore, considers intermediality “as a critical category for the concrete analysis of specific individual media products or configurations.”¹¹ This way of viewing an ‘intermedial’ framework has strongly influenced this thesis.

Rajewsky’s own intermedial framework consists of three subcategories: medial transposition, media combination and intermedial references. ‘Medial transposition’ represents the transposition of one media product to another medium (for example, a film adaption of literature), ‘media combination’ comprises the “combination of at least two conventionally *distinct* [emphasis added] media or medial forms of articulation” and ‘intermedial references’ where “the media product uses its *own media-specific means* [emphasis added], either to refer to a specific, individual work produced in another medium... or to refer to a specific media subsystem.”¹² Rajewsky’s framework can be more easily applied than that of Bolter and Grusin, but she does not adequately take the networked and digitized structure of the internet into account. As becomes clear from *Appendix 2* this has made her subcategories outdated. Medial transposition has been used in *Appendix 1* to delimit the transposition of spoken text in other media to the written text in the internet articles and the liveblog. This is the furthest extent to which Rajewsky’s categories are useful for this analysis.

Henry Jenkins explains that transmediality is the result of a story “[unfolding] across

⁷ Irina O. Rajewsky, “Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality,” *Intermédialités / Intermediality* 6 (Fall, 2005): 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹² *Ibid.*, 52-53.

multiple media platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole.”¹³ Transmediality thus focuses on the crossing of media borders. However, he also mentions ‘the whole’. Among other reasons, this is why Jenkins’ concept works well in relation to fictional storytelling, especially for the analysis of planning and storytelling in storyworlds like those found in the Star Wars franchise or the Marvel Cinematic Universe. It is, however, impossible to define the whole of the news. While most news articles add something distinctive and valuable, they do not create a planned ‘whole’. It is possible, as I will argue in *Chapter 3* to define a whole in relation to one outlet’s specific output. However, this is still not in line with how Jenkins uses the concept. Jenkins’ framework is also more content oriented than platform or media oriented. This makes it extremely difficult to use for an analysis of the references. Like remediation and intermediality, transmediality is unfit for the analysis of the corpus.

1.2 From Remediation, Transmediality & Intermediality to Cross-Mediality

The proper framework needed to come from outside the media studies tradition. Cross-mediality is a term from journalism studies that perfectly encapsulates the useful elements of the three other concepts, while improving on the elements that made them unfit. Erdal addresses the ongoing trend of ‘convergence journalism’ by introducing his own model, the *cross-media axis*, that takes into account what he calls cross-media communication and cross-media production processes.¹⁴ He defines cross-media as “communication where two or more media platforms are involved *in an integrated way*.”¹⁵ Erdal argues that media can converge along the horizontal axis, meaning that the total media output consists of multiple platforms, and the vertical axis that concerns the production process (and the concept multi-skilling).¹⁶ Erdal discovered four categories through his field work in several newsrooms. He

¹³ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 97-98.

¹⁴ Ivar John Erdal, “Coming to Terms with Convergence Journalism: Cross-Media as a Theoretical and Analytical Concept,” *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 17, no. 2 (May, 19, 2011): 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

introduces “single-reporter multiplatform journalism” where a single reporter produces the same story for at least two separate media forms; “hard-drive journalism” where a single reporter produces a “new version of an already existing news report for a different platform”; “intra-platform coordination” where reporters or editors from different media forms “share information, and coordinate their efforts in covering a particular news story”; and lastly, “intra-platform production” where reporters from different media forms “cooperate extensively in covering a particular news story, sharing content and raw material”.¹⁷

The work of Lev Manovich supports Erdal’s framework. He defines five principles of new, digital media: numerical representation, modularity, automation, variability and transcoding.¹⁸ The logic of numeral representation highlights a different ontology regarding new media which differs from the ontology of the older media Rajewsky still worked with. Every digital media object is comprised of digital code.¹⁹ In combination with modularity, this means that digital media objects can be easily repurposed and rewritten. Modularity entails that new media objects are formed from independent elements like text, images, videos, code, etc.²⁰ Since these are all coded, they can easily be put into a different context, or be radically altered. This can even occur after publishing. That is why many news outlets log when digital articles have last been altered. Manovich specifies how the first two principles “allow to automate many operations involved in media creation, manipulation and access.” Automation focuses on the importance of algorithms and templates. Many platforms already have a framework in place that can be filled in with content and modular elements. This makes it increasingly easy to fill articles with, for example, hyperlinks and embedded articles, creating near infinite ways to navigate through texts on the internet. This infinite potential is what Manovich terms variability.²¹ He connects this notion to hypertext.²² The path of texts on the internet is connected through, for example, hyperlinks and the other references I have distinguished. Lastly, ‘transcoding’ concerns the relationship between the

¹⁷ Ibid., 9-10.

¹⁸ Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001), III.

¹⁹ Ibid., 49.

²⁰ Ibid., 51.

²¹ Ibid., 56.

²² Ibid., 57.

ontology of the computer and culture. It not only refers to transforming culture into a numerical representation of itself, but also to how culture is being reshaped by the ontology of computers.²³ For example, how navigating the internet has transformed news consumption.

The five discussed principles contextualize the digitization of culture and ontologically explain the nature of media convergence. New media all consist of code meaning that the modular elements constructing them can be shifted around and played with. This 'new media' ontology favors Erdal's framework, since it better takes into account how the different platforms are coordinated, how they can be altered and what role the human (the author) plays in this, making cross-mediality the most appropriate framework.

1.3 The Imagined Community and the Myth of the Mediated Center

In 2013, Stylianos Papathanassopoulos et al. performed a comparative study of eleven nations' news consumption, tracing trends in media consumption. While this study is relatively old, it is one of the most comprehensive studies on the specific subject and has not been replicated on the same scale since. The researchers found that younger generations were "tending to replace traditional news outlets, especially newspapers, with the internet."²⁴ However, "TV remain[ed] the most popular choice for news in all countries of [their] research."²⁵ Like Erdal's work, this study was performed from a background in journalism studies. It provides the more theoretical analyses of this thesis with a practically and socially relevant backbone.

Television's dominance has become especially clear during the pandemic. Record numbers of viewers are constantly drawn to the television by the press conferences and speeches. The top ten most watched programs of 2020 all consisted of press conferences and the two speeches by Mark Rutte from 'het torentje' on the coronavirus.²⁶ These press

²³ Ibid., 63.

²⁴ Stylianos Papathanassopoulos et al., "Online Threat, But Television is Still Dominant," *Journalism Practice* 7, no. 6 (2013): 700.

²⁵ Ibid., 702.

²⁶ "Kijkcijfers van 2020: Mark Rutten bezet de gehele top-10," nrc.nl, accessed december, 12, 2020, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/01/08/kijkcijfers-van-2020-mark-rutte-bezet-de-gehele-top-10-a4026831>.

conferences (and speeches) address the nation as a whole. Historian and political scientist Benedict Anderson argues that the concepts of nationalism and the 'nation' should be questioned. He theorizes that nations are imagined communities. It is impossible for every inhabitant of the nation state to be aware of the existence of all its other inhabitants, let alone to know them all. A nation consists of peopling acting as "a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time."²⁷ Even though they have never met each other, millions of people are confident in the existence of others and this feeling is reassured through media representations (such as the press conferences).

While Anderson also discusses the role the media play in this process, it can further be reviewed through Couldry's *myth of the mediated center*. He accuses many scholars of neglecting their role in the construction of the myth by not being critical of the self-assumed central role the media take on. The myth contains the claim that there is a center to social life. Deconstructing the myth means understanding and rejecting the claims that society has a center *and* that the media speak for that center. Couldry connects the myth to media rituals and media spectacle along the definition of Dayan and Katz. Since I will not analyze media rituals, Couldry's concept will be applied to analyze the powerful claims of the media.

1.4 Gathering & Analysis Method

A well-defined corpus is essential for the analysis of a topic large enough to fill books. Since the start of the coronavirus pandemic in the Netherlands, there have been forty-seven official press conferences.²⁸ All of these press conferences, to varying degrees, have been covered by the media. Clearly, within the scope of this bachelor thesis, this is too much to consider. Therefore, I have limited the corpus to one single press conference. I will focus on the press conference of September, 28, 2020, since it was the first conference after a series of measure relaxations where a stronger, more intrusive policy was announced that continued for months.

²⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 26.

²⁸ "Coronavirus: beeld en video," Rijksoverheid, accessed december 12, 2020, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/coronavirus-covid-19/coronavirus-beeld-en-video/videos-persconferenties>.

Furthermore, since the press conference was covered by a wide variety of media, I have limited the corpus to the coverage of one single broadcaster. However, as can be viewed in *Appendix 4*, the NOS maintains at least seventeen platforms and has made it possible to watch and listen to the press conference live on six different platforms: television, the NOS website and app, YouTube, Facebook and Radio 1. Considering references to the press conference were most likely made on all of the NOS' platforms, this was still too broad. The corpus was further limited to include only three popular outlets: the liveblog, the internet articles and the eight o'clock newscast. These can be considered the main platforms by the outlet, target the general public and produced a feasible amount of articles.

However, it would be unproductive to analyze every article on the specified platforms. Therefore, all the articles on these platforms have been filtered on the words *conferentie* (conference), *persconferentie* (press conference), *corona*, *virus* and *coronavirus*. This means that the corpus now consists of fifty-four short articles from the liveblog, twenty-one internet articles and ten newscast articles. Not all of these articles will be discussed, but a full analysis of the references in each individual article has been included in *Appendix 1*. In order to keep clear distinctions, the articles have been labeled based on platform: A: Liveblog Articles; B: Internet Articles; and C: Newscast Articles.

For the analysis, I will make use of two separate but intertwined methods, namely the textual analysis and the platform analysis. In *Chapter 2*, I will make use of both methods, while applying Erdal's cross-medial framework. This will provide me with insights on how the NOS constructs their news cycle on the specified day. I will demonstrate how different articles refer to each other, how they are interlinked and how they build anticipation for this press conference. This analysis will contribute to the debate on intermediality and cross-mediality. Second, I will analyze the entire cross-medial construction by the NOS using the concepts 'the myth of the mediated center' and 'the imagined community'. This chapter has been influenced by structuralist analyses. The concepts will help analyze the political implications of cross-mediality in relation to the specific content of the NOS. While this is not as clear a debate as that on intermediality and cross-mediality, many academics have written on the political implications of television, the internet and participation culture.

While this analysis does not specifically focus on participatory audiences, it does provide additional insights on how audiences are invited to trace relevant news across different platforms. Thereby it helps connect a more media studies approach to a topic usually reserved for journalism studies.

Chapter 2: A Cross-medial Construction Surrounding the Press Conference

2.1 Introducing the NOS

The NOS are a subsidized Dutch broadcaster. Their name is an abbreviation of ‘Nederlandse Omroep Stichting’ which translates to Dutch Broadcast Foundation. Since the foundation is subsidized, it is obliged to fulfill certain tasks recorded in article 2.34a of the Dutch media law, consisting of three separate points. A more in-depth analysis has been included in *Appendix 3*. The most important elements from this are that the NOS need to produce media content, consisting of news, sports and special events, as a national public service and that they can be forced, by executive order to produce this content.²⁹ Even though the foundation is generally free to produce content (as long as it has a general appeal and is in line with their statutes), it is not always free to choose the subject matter. In the case of an event like the coronavirus pandemic, the NOS are forced to inform the public through the reporting of the data. On television, for example, this means that they introduce and conclude the press conferences. Their obligations explain the central role the NOS are playing in providing the public with the information and mandates from the press conferences and other government outlets.

The media law specifies that the NOS should at least produce radio and television content.³⁰ However, the NOS also produce content for various internet platforms. This is more in line with the statutes presented on their website. Like article 2.34a, these statutes consist of three points. The first two are identical, but the third point differs. Article 2.34a specifies the beforementioned executive order, but this point is replaced in their statutes by a point wherein they expand their obligation to produce for television and radio to include all available media.³¹ While this obscures their obligation to the Dutch state, it explains why the broadcaster has extensively strengthened its online presence. Exemplifying this are the

²⁹ “Mediawet 2008: Artikel 2.34a,” Overheid.nl, accessed January 13, 2021, https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0025028/2020-11-01#Hoofdstuk2_Titeldeel2.2_Afdeling2.2.2a_Artikel2.34a.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ “Taken en missie,” NOS, accessed January 13, 2021, <https://over.nos.nl/organisatie/taken-visie>.

various applications they released for mobile devices, highlighting the increasing tendency of outlets to produce for a variety of platforms.

2.2 Delimiting Media

The three main media technologies the NOS produce media content for are television, the internet and radio. All three technologies host multiple platforms. I use the term 'platform', in line with authors like Jenkins and Erdal. How I define media technologies falls in line with what Couldry calls central media.³² Distinguishing between media technologies and the (smaller) platforms they host allows me to be specific. While platforms like the liveblog and the internet articles share very similar forms of mediation, they are distinguished by several factors. Their context differs: articles in the liveblog are presented above each other, meaning that the NOS encourage reading the articles in the liveblog scrolling from new to old, while internet articles are presented individually, meaning that readers are only encouraged to discover 'new' articles through embedded articles and hyperlinks; their size differs: liveblog articles are much shorter and sometimes largely consist of quotes or hyperlinks (A36, A38 and A33), while internet articles are longer and more in-depth; their formality differs: liveblog articles can be straight to the point and barebones (like the beforementioned three articles), while internet articles are more formal and elaborate. The newscast is entirely distinct. It is construed on a different media technology and characterized by a news anchor, articles with differing lengths, reportages and interviews. The platform is generally formal, with sporadic moments of playfulness during, for example, (video)calls. It also constantly incorporates other media. This distinction between media technologies and platforms allows clear definitions of the platforms while also acknowledging the technology, and to a certain extent, the mediation most media forms share.

There is however another way of defining media that highlights different elements. This definition comes from intermedial scholar, Lars Elleström, who attempts to explain the

³² Couldry, *Media Rituals*, 2.

functions and limitations of media borders. The beforementioned definition of the platforms is entirely based on the journalistic distinction made by the NOS, while Elleström's conceptualization prioritizes what he calls modalities of the individual media products. He argues that a media product can only be conceptualized 'as such' "when its function of transferring cognitive import among minds is realized."³³ While this definition is much too abstract for practical application in this thesis, it points to the references as one of the most important elements of mediation since they attempt to transfer cognitive import to the users. These references are products of the delimited platforms. The platform itself is too broad to consider a single media product. Instead it hosts them and brings together different media products. This definition of media highlights that the references are a vital element of the form of *mediation* found on the platforms.

2.3 Disentangling the Web of Connections

The references between these three different platforms are important, since they highlight which role they play in the network. They show that the platforms rely on each other to spread news. Some will contain more references and function like gateways, while others contain (almost) no references and stand on their own.

Forty-one of the fifty-four liveblog articles contain a (cross-medial) reference to another platform. All these references can be found in *Appendix 1*. Seven unique references were used in the liveblog: embedded videos, embedded articles, embedded photos, embedded slide shows and embedded tweets, hyperlinks and references in-text. Even though embedded articles and hyperlinks function somewhat similarly, embedded articles are placed on the bottom of articles, for example A2 and A5, under the text "Bekijk ook" (also watch). The entire title of the article is listed in combination with a short image of the article (similar to a thumbnail on YouTube). This highlights the article, making the reference more obvious. Hyperlinks work differently. Directly related to hypertext, they are linkages

³³ Lars Elleström, "The Modalities of Media: Model for Understanding Intermedial Relations," in *Media Borders, Multimodality and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 18.

between different texts. A good understanding of hyperlinks can be based on the work of George Landow. He conceptualizes hyperlinks in relation to hypertext and builds on works by Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. The authors highlight a more involved role of the reader. Special attention is given to paths, trails, nodes and linkages.³⁴ Hyperlinks are one of the most popular examples of these linkages. Individual texts can be connected through them in a way that invites readers to further investigate related texts. Different NOS articles are connected through these hyperlinks, highlighting the connections between the different platforms and their respective content. Hyperlinks are often single words or sentences, inviting the reader to delve deeper into specific statements.

Embedded videos, photos, tweets and slideshows are near self-explanatory and are exemplary of Manovich' automation and modality. They can easily be implemented into the pre-structured platform. For example, all the embedded videos on the platform make use of the same NOS video player. The most difficult of the seven references is the in-text reference. What I consider to be a cross-medial, in-text reference is a piece of text that mentions another platform or transposes text from another media technology or platform. Delimiting the latter category, transposed text will only include quotes or paraphrases. For example, A36 to A40 all contain quotes from the press conference.

Nearly all of these references appear in the internet articles as well. However, new references are introduced as well: embedded screenshots (charts, still weather maps, etc.), interactive maps, embedded YouTube videos and embedded Twitter accounts. Clearly, many of these references are similar to those found in the liveblog. Screenshots and photographs can even be considered the same modular element. However, there are also multiple examples of intramedial referencing. Where cross-medial references *cross* media borders, intramedial references refer to (content on) the same platform. This includes all references in the internet articles referred to as "Reference to NOS Internet Article" in *Appendix 1*, for example. B7 and B12 are special in that regard since they are internet articles first published by other sources, but hosted by the NOS. They contain references to the same platform by a different outlet.

³⁴ George Landow, *Hypertext 3.0: Critical Theory and New Media in an Era of Globalization* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 1-2.

The newscast introduces only one new reference, which is surprising considering its entirely different form of mediation. The newscast mostly consists of screenshots, reportages and interviews in various mediated forms. Unique aspects are its visual presentation, which is entirely video based, and the news anchor. Most difficult however are the video reportages (with voice over). Even though they appear very similar to the embedded video reference, they have been included in *Appendix 1* as a separate reference. These reportages not only consist of video, but they are also narrated by a reporter. The reportage can therefore be considered to be a hybrid medium. Manovich argues that a hybrid medium fuses “the languages of previously distinct media.”³⁵ Applying this same logic to the media product, delimiting the reference, in line with Elleström shows that the elements in the video reportage interact to the degree that they are inseparable. Without the integrated voice over, the embedded video would not convey the same meaning. In multiple video reportages the physical image of the reporter is also included. Further entangling the two. The reportage should thus be considered a hybrid reference consisting of different, intertwined forms of mediation.

All three platforms should, to differing extents, be considered as multimedia as defined by Manovich. He writes: “multimedia does not threaten the autonomy of different media. They retain their own languages, i.e. ways of organizing media data and accessing and modifying this data.”³⁶ Where the reportage is an example of hybridity, the liveblog and the internet articles incorporate other media forms and references without altering their ‘languages’ in any way. Exemplifying this are the embedded videos and the photographs. The videos speak for themselves and are elaborated on by the written text, or support the written text. The photographs often remain unmentioned and simply function to illustrate the written text. Their forms of mediation remain untouched.

³⁵ Lev Manovich, *Software Takes Command: extending the language of new media* (New York; London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 169.

³⁶ Ibid.

2.4 Determining the Main Platform

Based on the quantitative amount of references between the platforms, the internet articles should be considered the main platform (twelve references to the platform in the liveblog, twenty-three in the internet articles and one in the newscast). A snippet of an internet article can often be found in liveblog articles. For example, articles A2 and B1, A12 and B6, and A18 and B8 are directly related. Some of the liveblog articles function as a sort of summary of the more expansive internet articles. These connections are often made through embedded articles or hyperlinks. This makes the liveblog a gateway, in some cases, to the more in-depth internet articles. The most references to the internet articles are intramedial however. Even though there are three references to the liveblog in the internet articles, the platform mostly refers to itself (twenty-three times).

The eight o'clock newscast is a little different to the other platforms. It similarly discusses the topics of the internet articles, but only one explicit reference is made to the platform. To a certain extent, the newscast functions as a summary of all the important news posted to the other two platforms expanded and commented on in video form. Exemplifying this are articles C11 which discusses the same topics as articles A2 and B1 and C3 which is related to A28 and B14.

All three platforms regularly reference the press conference. Not only is the press conference the most watched event of the week, it is also one of the most politically relevant events, since it is used to officially announce new policy.³⁷ The presented information not only applies to every single citizen, but also to everyone visiting or travelling through the country. Thus, as is required by article 2.34a, the NOS are forced to report on it. Accordingly, it is heavily featured in the news cycle of the day. This importance of the platform is reflected in the references. Before the press conference, articles A12, A23, A24, B6 and B10 build anticipation for it through direct references. Many other articles such as A3, A5 and A14 build anticipation by highlighting the lead up to the press conference and the severity of the situation in the Netherlands. Moreover, articles A34 to A40 were published

³⁷ "Kijkcijfers maandag: persconferentie Mark Rutte trekt zo'n 6,5 miljoen kijkers," Gids.TV, accessed January 13, 2021, <https://www.gids.tv/artikel/10665/kijkcijfers-maandag-persconferentie-mark-rutte-trekt-zo-n-6-5-miljoen-kijkers>.

during the press conference. Articles A46, A48, B18, B19, B21 and C21 were published after the conference and discuss the implications. There are fifteen direct and three indirect references in the liveblog, seven direct and one indirect references in the internet articles two direct references in the newscast. While more references were made to the internet articles, many of them were intramedial and targeted various articles. The press conference is a single event, making the high amount of references much more special. The press conference should therefore, based on the qualitative importance of the references, be considered the main platform in the network.

2.5 Cross-Media Production Processes and the Web of Entanglements

Erdal's distinction between cross-media communication and cross-media production processes highlights an important aspect of the crossing of media borders. He pays attention to the way media are created and distributed among the different platforms. Authors have to be assigned to different platforms or different stories in order to ensure a full coverage of important events on all relevant platforms. Cross-mediality in news production does not happen accidentally, coordination is key.

Erdal's four categories 'single-reporter multiplatform journalism', 'hard-drive journalism', 'intra-platform coordination' and 'intra-platform production' are all part of his definition of cross-media production processes. Since the NOS produce cross-media content, they land somewhere on the axis. Complicating this, however, is that the NOS only very rarely highlight authorship. While outlets, in general, do not highlight authorship in their liveblogs; NRC, AD and Volkskrant, for example, highlight authorship in their internet articles. There is only one example where a correspondent is highlighted by the NOS (B8). The NOS thus purposefully hide their production process from their viewers.

Without field work, this leaves only cross-media communication as a visible process. Communication is something the NOS specialize in. In *Appendix 3*, I have examined every single platform the NOS produce content for on all three media technologies. On the day of the press conference, it is nearly impossible to produce the content the NOS have published without a form of intra-platform collaboration. The three popular platforms work do not

work in conjunction like in Erdal's last category. While articles on the same stories are published, it is not clear that extensive cooperation took place among journalists to cover one particular story. Each of the analyzed platforms adds something unique, but that is largely due to the unique mediation found on each platform. The internet article is the most in-depth, the liveblog article is short and concise, perfect for summaries and quotes, while the newscast article adds commentary on the subject and interviews. It could be so that one single reporter creates the articles for all three platforms, however, since each platform covers the press conference differently, it is much more likely that the NOS make use of what Erdal terms intra-platform coordination. It would be unnecessarily complicated to have the same reporter ask question during the press conference and transpose quotes for the liveblog, while simultaneously writing in-depth articles on the implications of the new measures. The NOS construct the press conference at the top of the network, supported by the three other platforms. In *Chapter 3*, I will delve deeper into the implications of this phenomenon.

Chapter 3: The Political Implications of Cross-mediality

3.1 The Coronavirus and the Imagined Community

The pandemic has strengthened the need for a strong national government. Quick decisions needed to be made and new information needed to be briefed to those inhabiting, residing in and travelling through the country. Constant updates on government policy through news outlets become the norm instead of the exception. The nation state remains at the core of this phenomenon. The combination of this political relevance and their network of platforms presented the NOS with the possibility to play a vital part in the lives of their readers and viewers.

Basing the network outlined in *Chapter 2* is the hierarchical tree network topology. This structural network topology, originally from computer sciences, was applied to television by Ben Sassen, who explains that the topology consists of two elements.³⁸ The first being that the network only allows for one way communication on all channels, meaning that the network is structured by one sender broadcasting to many receivers. The second point entails that these “receiver nodes use *dumb terminal* devices as their interface to the network.”³⁹ The television set is not meant to perform any other task in the network except than receiving information from the sender nodes. While the topology does not fully hold up for the other three platforms, its first point still stands. There is no way for audiences to interact with the content on these platforms. Even if the audience no longer uses dumb terminal devices (many access the platforms on computers or mobile phones), the platforms do not allow for any of the interactive capabilities of the devices.

This topology has without a doubt remained the standard structuring form for television, however. The NOS are at the root of the hierarchy structuring their network. Watering the root is the direct influence of the government which ultimately controls the actions of the NOS through restrictions and executive orders as recorded in the media law.

³⁸ Ben Sassen, “television as network – network as television,” in *Travels in Intermediality: ReBlurring the Boundaries*, ed. Bernd Herzogenrath (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2012), 232.

³⁹ Ibid.

This powerful position of the outlet allows it to strongly influence its audience. While audiences are not cognitively passive, as is also argued by Sassen, they are powerless in the network.⁴⁰ Exemplifying this is the way the NOS published content regarding the scope of measures for the coronavirus. At first, a more regional approach was chosen. The Netherlands attempted to delegate power and responsibility to specific safety regions (veiligheidsregio's), but as is argued in article B11, this approach completely failed. Instead, the nation state became the most important level of government during the pandemic. However, none of the articles even discussed the possibility of a more supranational approach. The decision to not discuss certain alternatives in this case automatically favors the chosen approach. Cognitively aware audience members cannot challenge the NOS on this decision. The emphasis on the nation state, by the government and the NOS, has thus remained largely unchallenged.

While this nationalism and the nation state may appear natural, the topics require critical evaluation. Due to the Schengen acquis abolishing the strong enforcement of borders regarding the free movement of peoples, it is naïve to believe that the virus *will* act different across them. Enforcing different rules across borders should thus be properly substantiated. This did not happen. In his seminal work, Anderson dissected nationalism and the nation state, tracing the origins of the terms. He relates its total ideological dominance to the hegemony of two previous taken-for-granted frames of reference, namely the religious community and the dynastic realm.⁴¹ Anderson examines the claims of the nation state and his work instills, like Couldry's, a sense of carefulness helping to avoid simply accepting these claims as truths. He points to the novel and the newspaper as the technical means necessary for 're-presenting' the 'imagined community'.⁴² Similarly, the various platforms of outlets like the NOS are now responsible for re-presenting the imagined community and the borders of the nation state. It is through media that the imagined community can be formed, since it is otherwise impossible to feel like you are simultaneously experiencing empty time with strangers.⁴³ It is the people and the rules enforced on them that determine how the virus

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12.

⁴² Ibid., 24-25.

⁴³ Ibid., 26.

acts across borders. The manner how shared space and shared time are perceived influences how people will act in relation to each other. Not only do a shared language and shared institutions like the government help form a shared sense of experience, it is largely media representations of these institutions and the people abiding by them that provide the concept with a sense of actuality.

The idea of the nation as something absolute is thus inaccurate. While some borders may be physically enforced, they are not real. The nation state itself is a representation of a power structure organizing society. This structure is objectively represented through the bureaucracy of the state and the laws. It is reinforced through the judicial system and enforced by the state's monopoly on violence through the police force and the military (borders being an example). The ideological effects of this structure are clearly present, especially during the pandemic. People have not only been scared by the virus, but also by the measures taken by the government. Without media representations of the effects of the virus and the measures by the government, not nearly as many people would have radically altered their behavior, since it would have been impossible to understand the full scope of the situation. This is reflected in articles discussing those that still live their regular lives by, for example, partying.⁴⁴ In actuality, there is nothing *physically* limiting these people from continuing their 'normal' lives (assuming they are not affected by the virus), except for the threat of judicial and physical violence posed by the state. The roles these outlets play in this phenomenon is thus extremely important.

3.2 The Myth of the Mediated Center and The Urgency of the Political Press Conference

Since the media are such an effective tool to re-present the scope of the situation, it is possible to view them as a gateway to what is actually happening in society. Without the media, it would have been nearly impossible to spread the news as quickly and widely as

⁴⁴ "Jongeren op illegaal feest: 'Op school zitten we ook met 1600 man'," NOS, accessed January 28, 2021, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2355478-jongeren-op-illegaal-feest-op-school-zitten-we-ook-met-1600-man.html>.

required. Even if spreading the news would eventually be successful, the slow transmission would unquestionably have caused many more to become infected. Couldry warns about the dangers of viewing the media as a gateway. He argues that the myth of the mediated center lies at the core of the media's claims, helping construct the idea that society has a core and that they speak for it.⁴⁵ It is in their direct (commercial) benefit. He advises academics to be careful and critical. Even in otherwise solid media critiques, Couldry argues that the myth is often not critically examined and taken at face value.⁴⁶

Even though the press conference cannot be considered a media ritual, it is a privileged platform only superseded in importance (regarding the virus) by the speeches held by Mark Rutte from het torentje. These speeches are given on very special occasions and the platform itself therefore contains an immediate urgency. Before Rutte's first speech on March 16, 2020 it had last been used by prime minister Joop den Uyl in 1973. These two platforms thus carry (varying degrees of) weight. A new liveblog or internet article as such will not concern anyone. An announcement of a new press conference, however, or even worse, a new speech from het torentje, will immediately cause speculations from audiences and news outlets. These platforms as such, as constructed within the network, appear to indirectly show the state of affairs, since the government has deemed it necessary to use them.

Political events like the press conference have an intentionally special place in the network. Before the pandemic they occurred very sporadically. Due to this near absence in less trying times, they gain a privileged position as long as viewers are aware that they *could* happen. This connection with politics gives the media (also as a governmental tool) power. While coordination is key in the cross-media production processes, anticipation is one of the key factors in the communication processes. This shows from the beforementioned anticipation building articles with their direct and indirect references to the platform. A press conference itself becomes synonymous with a serious situation. They are a testament to the power of the media and demonstrate that the myth of the mediated center is in some

⁴⁵ Nick Couldry, "Television and the Myth of the Mediated Centre: Time For a Paradigm Shift in Television Studies?" Paper presented at the *Media in Transition 3 conference*, MIT, Boston, USA 2-4 May, 2003, 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 5-6.

ways a tool. The self-assumed role of the media, that cannot be challenged from within the network, contains political power that is reinforced with the actual connection to the politics of the nation state presented in the press conferences.

Herein also lies a danger, however. There has been a small, but very vocal, portion of the audience that outright rejects the entire hierarchy of the network. While this counterculture has been around for much longer, the current has grown much stronger during the pandemic. The Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid (National Coordinator for Fighting Terror, and Safety) even included these people in their warning about growing polarization and extremism.⁴⁷ The distrust (outed mostly online) against governments and the media has especially become stronger. One popular slogan of the (unorganized) 'movement' has become "Media = Virus" (it is even printed on merchandise).⁴⁸ These people congregate on platforms organized by what Sassen calls the ad-hoc network topology. While the criticism on the government deserves different attention, the strong criticism towards the media is to a certain point understandable. Not only do the NOS receive government funds, their content is based on a hierarchical network structure that does not allow for any way of challenging it. The framing, exemplified by the lack of discussion of supranational options, is being noticed leading to claims that the media only spread propaganda and lies amplified by various conspiracy theories.⁴⁹ Due to the hierarchical tree topology not allowing participation to a certain degree, the current network can only be rejected in its entirety by these people, only amplifying radicalization. It is unlikely that the NOS will alter the network topology of their platforms however, the benefits resulting from the myth of the mediated center are too substantial.

⁴⁷ "Polarisatie en extremisme," Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid, Accessed January 26, 2021, <https://www.nctv.nl/onderwerpen/dtn/actueel-dreigingsniveau/polarisatie-en-extremisme>.

⁴⁸ "Media = Virus," Jensen: Het Vrije Geluid, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://de-jensen-show.myshopify.com/collections/media-virus>.

⁴⁹ Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding en Veiligheid, "Polarisatie en extremisme."

Conclusion

I set out to answer how the political press conference, regarding the coronavirus, held by Mark Rutte and Hugo de Jonge on September 28, 2021, functions in a cross-medial network constructed by the NOS. Supported by an analysis of the references between the platforms, I argued that the press conference are the most important platform of the day. While it did not quantitatively receive the most references, the references were of qualitatively more importance, since they all refer to one single event, whereas the references to the three different platforms target different articles. This network provides the press conference with a privileged position. The implications of this were further analyzed in *Chapter 3*, where I demonstrated that the NOS use the myth of the mediated center as a tool in their hierarchical network (topology), which is impossible to challenge from within the network. The myth strengthens the messages sent by the government and in turn helps construct the imagined community of the nation state.

While it is impossible to predict how the coronavirus will develop over the upcoming period of time, it is for certain that an important role remains for the NOS. It is unlikely that their network topology will change, meaning that they will continue to trick their audiences into taking the myth of the mediated center at face value. The development of movements outright rejecting the truth claims the media make (among many other more dangerous claims) have proven to worry even the NCTV. Providing their audiences with a platform based on the ad-hoc network typology might be an interesting possibility to relieve some of the tension *if* a conversation were started. This could strengthen the connection between the sender and the receiver nodes, leaving an important role for the now oftentimes unnamed authors to play.

Even though this thesis succeeded in answering the research question, so many limitations were imposed due to time and space concerns that the given answer is extremely specific. This especially applies to *Chapter 2*. There are a vast amount of elements included in the thesis that could (and should) be expanded on with further research. For example, more platforms could be included; cross-medial networks surrounding more press conferences could be analyzed; the press conferences themselves could be dramaturgically

and linguistically analyzed; future implications for the nation state could be considered in more economic and geographic studies; fieldwork of, for example, the NOS could be performed in line with Erdal; and an ethnographic study of those rejecting all the claims by the media could provide new insights into the importance of among other factors the discussed network topologies. The topic remains expansive enough to fill books.

Appendix 1

The Liveblog Articles, Internet Articles and Newscast Articles and their References

Article	Title	Platform	Word Count	Type of Reference	Direct, Indirect or No Reference to Press Conference
A0	"Nieuw liveblog"	Liveblog	26	Hyperlink to Previous Liveblog	No
A1	"Boetes tot 10.000 pond voor Britse quarantaine-sjoemelaars"	Liveblog	134	Reference to BBC Internet Article (Hyperlink)	No
A2	"Niet 21, maar 7 miljoen buitenlandse gasten"	Liveblog	55	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	No
A3	"Vandaag op de agenda: OMT en veiligheidsberaad"	Liveblog	167	No Reference	No
A4	"India telt meer dan 6 miljoen besmettingen"	Liveblog	117	No Reference	No
A5	"Voetbal moet de kans krijgen te overleven"	Liveblog	64	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
A6	"Consumentenbond: geen goede informatie over rechten bij pakketreizen"	Liveblog	108	Reference to Consumentenbond Tweet (Embedded Tweet)	No
A7	"Producentenvertrouwen neemt steeds meer toe"	Liveblog	85	Reference to CBS Article (Hyperlink)	No
A8	"Gemeenten krijgen 146 miljoen om schuldenproblematiek aan te pakken"	Liveblog	112	No Reference	No
A9	"OM: honderden strafzaken die met	Liveblog	95	Reference to Openbaar	No

	corona te maken hebben”			Ministerie Article (Hyperlink)	
A10	“Vorige week recordaantal mensen getest bij GGD”	Liveblog	51	Photograph AFP	No
A11	“Medewerkers en patiënten Spaarne Gasthuis hebben corona”	Liveblog	85	Reference to Spaarne Gasthuis Article (Hyperlink)	No
A12	“Vanavond persconferentie Rutte en De Jonge”	Liveblog	99	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
A13	“Watersport- en recreatiesector verwacht nog grotere schade”	Liveblog	113	No Reference	No
A14	“Ernst Kuipers: drastischer ingrijpen is nodig”	Liveblog	129	In-text Reference to <i>Spraakmakers</i> on NPO Radio 1 + Embedded Tweet	No
A15	“Huisartsenpraktijken dicht door uitval artsen en assistenten”	Liveblog	93	No Reference	No
A16	“Verblijf in ‘quarantaine-hotel’ Australië leidde tot tweede besmettingsgolf”	Liveblog	108	No Reference	No
A17	“Festivalorganisator ID&T schrapt groot deel banen”	Liveblog	67	No Reference	No
A18	“Artsentekort India pijnlijk duidelijk in coronatijd”	Liveblog	58	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	No
A19	“Vrouw wil geen mondkapje dragen en valt personeel vliegtuig aan”	Liveblog	54	Photograph ANP	No
A20	“OM: bijna 7000 keer verzet tegen noodverordening”	Liveblog	88	No Reference	No
A21	“Aantal besmettingen iets lager dan gisteren”	Liveblog	164	No Reference	No
A22	“Gommers: IC-bezetting over twee weken naar 400 tot 700”	Liveblog	230	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video (Same as A25)	No

A23	“Geen publiek meer bij voetbal, horeca om 22.00 uur dicht”	Liveblog	44	Reference to NOS Internet Article	Indirect
A24	“Zo goed als bevestigd: No publiek bij wedstrijden, horeca vroeger dicht”	Liveblog	74	In-text Reference to Press Conference	Direct
A25	“Kuipers: afschaling reguliere zorg in ziekenhuis dreigt”	Liveblog	128	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video (Same as A22)	No
A26	“Vijf coronadoden in verpleeghuis Norg”	Liveblog	87	Reference to Dagblad van het Noorden Internet Article (Hyperlink)	No
A27	“Burgemeester Tilburg: verkeerd afweging gemaakt over voetbalfeest”	Liveblog	107	No Reference	No
A28	“Reisadvies België aangepast naar code oranje”	Liveblog	127	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	No
A29	“Bruls: nu actie ondernemen, anders loopt Nederland vast”	Liveblog	46	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	No
A30	“Fauci: mogelijk pas eind 2021 weer terug naar normaal”	Liveblog	154	In-text Reference (Transposition) + In-text Reference to Nieuwsuur	No
A31	“Horeca-ondernemer: ‘Dat ik mij ernstig zorgen maak, is een understatement’”	Liveblog	87	In-text Reference (Transposition) + In-text Reference to Press Conference + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
A32	“Rechter verlaagt coronaboetes van drie overtreders”	Liveblog	95	Reference to Liveblog Article A20 (Hyperlink) + Embedded NOS Internet Article	No
A33	“Coronapersconferentie om 19.00 uur live”	Liveblog	85	In-text Reference to Press	Direct

				Conference + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Six Hyperlinks (NPO Start, Livestream on the website and app, NPO Nieuws, NPO Radio 1, NOS Facebook page and NOS YouTube Channel) + In-text Reference to NPO 1	
A34	“Landelijk strengere maatregelen”	Liveblog	93	In-text Reference to Press Conference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	Direct
A35	“De Jonge: we doen ons beter, maar het virus doet het beter”	Liveblog	203	In-text Reference to Press Conference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	Direct
A36	““Werk thuis, tenzij het niet anders kan””	Liveblog	34	No Reference	Direct
A37	“Alle sport zonder publiek, advies om mondkapjes te dragen in winkels drie grote steden”	Liveblog	130	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	Direct
A38	“Effecten binnen tien dagen tot twee weken verwacht”	Liveblog	76	In-text Reference (Transposition)	Direct
A39	“Reisbewegingen beperken, niet met hele gezien winkelen”	Liveblog	85	In-text Reference (Transposition)	Direct
A40	“Nieuwe regels groepsgrootte”	Liveblog	101	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	Direct
A41	“Bruls tevreden over landelijke aanpak”	Liveblog	128	In-text Reference (Transposition) to NPO Radio 1	Indirect

A42	“Rutte gaat winkelen met mondkapje op”	Liveblog	108	In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	Direct
A43	“Vermogenstoets voor inkomenssteun mogelijk uitgesteld”	Liveblog	58	In-text Reference to Press Conference	Indirect
A44	“Persconferentie Amsterdam”	Liveblog	18	In-text Reference to Halsema Press Conference + Reference to NOS Livestream (Hyperlink)	No
A45	“Halsema: mondkapjesadvies in vier grote regio’s”	Liveblog	120	In-text Reference to Halsema Press Conference + Embedded Video	No
A46	“De maatregelen die morgenavond ingaan”	Liveblog	26	Embedded Slideshow + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
A47	“Supportersverenigingen verantwoordigd over publiekstop”	Liveblog	161	No Reference	No
A48	“Horecaondernemers: No lichtpuntje, situatie wordt uitzichtloos”	Liveblog	148	Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink) + In-text Reference to Press Conference	Direct
A49	“Werkgeversorganisaties: begrip, maar testcapaciteit moet snel omhoog”	Liveblog	120	No Reference	No
A50	“Restaurants in Marseille blijven open ondanks verbod: ‘Genoeg is genoeg’”	Liveblog	30	Embedded Video	No
A51	“Topadviseur Trump: Van Dissel moet naar mondkapjesdata kijken”	Liveblog	165	Reference to Nieuwsuur Internet Article + In-text Reference to Nieuwsuur (Transposition) + Reference to NOS	No

				Internet Article (Embedded)	
A52	“Halsema: mondkapjesplicht moet van kabinet komen”	Liveblog	227	In-text Reference to Halsema Press Conference + Int- text Reference to <i>Op1</i> +In-text Reference (Transposition) + Embedded Video	No
A53	“Meerderheid OMT- leden wilde meer landelijke maatregelen”	Liveblog	136	In-text Reference to Nieuwsuur (Transposition)	No
A54	“Geen publiek meer langs sportvelden, ‘dus nu nog even genieten”	Liveblog	29	Embedded Video	No

54 Articles. In the analysis of cross-medial references, the titles of the articles have been excluded.

B1	“Harde klap voor toeristensector: geen 21 maar 7 miljoen buitenlanders”	Internet Article	271	Photograph ANP	No
B2	“Paar honderd miljoen extra voor vervoer in regio Amsterdam”	Internet Article	118	Photograph ANP	No
B3	“Zelfs bij grote werkloosheid veel werk voor technici en verpleegkundigen”	Internet Article	614	Photograph Dolph Cantrijn Hollandse Hoogte + Figure (Table) + Reference to NOS App (Hyperlink) + Reference to Academic Article Universiteit van Maastricht (Hyperlink) + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Interactive Map + Two References to PDF Files (Hyperlink)	No
B4	“Wekdienst 28/9: Zaak Nicky Verstappen begint • Oordeel over coronaboetes”	Internet Article	446	Edited Photograph ANP + Audio Fragment (Embedded) + Screenshot of Weather Map INFOPLAZA + Reference to NOS Traffic (Hyperlink) + Reference to NS Timetable (Hyperlink) + Five References to NOS Internet Articles (Hyperlinks) + In-	No

				text Reference to New York Times + Embedded YouTube Video	
B5	“Ouderen vielen het afgelopen jaar vaker in huis”	Internet Article	281	No Reference	No
B6	“Vanavond coronapersconferentie, nog overleg en onzekerheid over maatregelen”	Internet Article	356	Photograph ANP + In-text Reference to Press Conference + In-text Reference to NPO 1, NPO Start, NPO Nieuws, NOS.nl, the NOS-app, NPO Radio 1 and NOS’ Social Media Channels	Direct
B7	“Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork kan onderzoeksvragen nauwelijks aan”	Internet Article	266	Photograph PIXABAY + Reference to RTV Drenthe Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Article By RTV Drenthe	No
B8	“India: 1 dokter voor duizenden inwoners, ook in coronatijd”	Internet Article	396	Two Photographs NOS + Embedded Twitter Account (Aletta André: Correspondent India) + Embedded Video + Two References to NOS Internet Articles (Embedded)	No

B9	“Deel flexbedrijven benadeeld in steunmaatregel”	Internet Article	571	Photograph ANP + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink)	No
B10	“Lijst met maatregelen: geen publiek bij sportwedstrijden, horeca om 22.00 uur dicht”	Internet Article	273	Photograph ANP + In-text Reference to Press Conference + In-text Reference to NPO 1 + In-text Reference to Livestream on Website and App + Five Hyperlinks (NPO Start, NPO Nieuws, NPO Radio 1, NOS Facebook page and NOS YouTube Channel) + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
B11	“Podcast De Stemming: regionaal coronabeleid is faliekant mislukt”	Internet Article	330	Edited Photograph Chiem Baldijk + Two In-text References to Podcast <i>De Stemming van Vullings en Van der Wulp</i> + In-text Reference (Transposition) + In-text Reference to <i>EenVandaag</i> + Reference to <i>De Stemming</i> (Hyperlink) + In-text References to Podcasts <i>De</i>	Direct

				<i>Dag, Met het oog op Morgen, De NOS op 3 Tech Podcast, Het Beste Uit het Oog and NOS Voetbalpodcast</i>	
B12	“Tweede verdachte aangehouden voor mishandeling boa’s in Medemblik”	Internet Article	178	Reference to NH Nieuws Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Article From NH Nieuws	No
B13	“Thuiswerkvergoeding in nieuwe cao voor rijksambtenaren”	Internet Article	119	Photograph ANP	No
B14	“Oranje reisadvies voor heel België: alleen noodzakelijke reizen”	Internet Article	202	Photograph ANP + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	No
B15	“Bekijk hier de coronapersconferentie van premier Rutte en minister De Jonge terug”	Internet Article	19	In-text Reference to Press Conference + Embedded YouTube Video	Direct
B16	“Horeca-ondernemer: ‘Dat ik mij ernstig zorgen maak, is een understatement’”	Internet Article	716	Edited Photograph NOS + Two References to One NOS Internet Article (Hyperlinks)	No

B17	“Rechter verlaagt coronaboetes van drie overtreeders”	Internet Article	250	Photograph ANP + Reference to NOS Liveblog (Hyperlink) + Two References to NOS Internet Articles (Embedded)	No
B18	“Dit zijn vanavond de nieuwe coronamaatregelen”	Internet Article	454	In-text Reference to Press Conference (Transposition) + Five Screenshots NOS (Previously Shown as Slideshow) + Reference to Rijksoverheid Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Reference to NOS Liveblog (Embedded) + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct
B19	“Kabinet ziet kaart van Nederland steeds roder worden en haalt teugels aan”	Internet Article	529	Photograph ANP + In-text Reference to Press Conference (Transposition) + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Two Embedded Videos + References to Two NOS Internet Articles (Embedded)	Direct

B20	“Doven en slechthorenden boos om neptolk achter burgemeester Berg en Dal”	Internet Article	339	Photograph Omroep Berg en Dal + Embedded Youtube Video + In-text Reference to Omroep Gelderland (Transposition) + Two References to Omroep Gelderland Internet Articles (Hyperlink) + Three References to NOS Internet Articles (Embedded)	Indirect
B21	“Horeca boos op nieuwe maatregelen, winkels tonen begrip”	Internet Article	329	Photograph ANP + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Hyperlink) + Reference to NOS Liveblog (Hyperlink) + Reference to NOS Internet Article (Embedded)	Direct

21 Articles. In the analysis of cross-medial references, the titles of the articles have been excluded. Moreover, embedded articles and hyperlinks not included in the article itself have been excluded. For example, the three References to NOS Internet Articles (Embedded) that are identically present under all of the articles, as seen on January 19, 2021.

C1	“Nieuwe Landelijke Maatregelen...”	Newscast Article	00:52-10:30	Embedded Video of the Press Conference + Screenshots (In Background) + Three Slideshows + Videocall + Embedded Video Interview with Ernst Kuipers + Embedded Video Interviews Regarding the New Measures + Video Reportage (with Voice Over) by Martijn Bink on Football with Interview	Direct
C2	Steeds meer mensen vechten hun corona boete aan	Newscast Article	10:30 – 12:12	Screenshots + Video Reportage (with Voice Over) by Malou Petter on Corona Fines with Two Interviews	No
C3	Reisadvies België Aangescherpt	Newscast Article (Snippet)	17:08 – 17:22	Embedded Slideshow	No
C4	Asiel	Newscast Article (Snippet)	17:40 – 18:01	Embedded Video with Voice Over	No
C5	Banen Verlies ID&T	Newscast Article (Snippet)	18:01 – 18:27	Embedded Video with Voice Over	No
C6	Vraag naar Machinemonteurs	Newscast Article	18:27 – 20:50	Embedded Slideshow + Screenshots + Video Reportage (with Voice Over) by Wessel de Jonge with Five Interviews + Reference to NOS Internet Article	No

				(in-text & Embedded)	
C7	Indonesië Geboorte Golf	Newscast Article	20:50 – 23:09	Embedded Slideshow + Video Reportage (with Voice Over) by Annemarie Kas with Two Interviews	No
C8	Toerisme Nederland	Newscast Article	23:09 – 25:06	Embedded Slideshow + Video Reportage (with Voice Over) by Peer Ulijn with Three Interviews	No
C9	Halsema Amsterdam (mondkapjes)	Newscast Article	27:37 – 28:13	Embedded Video of Press Conference by Femke Halsema	No
C10	Nieuwsuur	Newscast Article (Snippet)	28:13-28:30	Embedded Slideshow + In-text Reference to Nieuwsuur and NPO 2	Direct

10 Articles. This table requires some extra information. The newscast articles were not titled, therefore, I have named the articles (in Dutch) based on the subject discussed in the opening sentences. Adding a word count did not add any necessary, additional information.

Therefore, I have only included timestamps showing the duration for each of each article.

Furthermore, the news anchor presents in front of what I term the News Anchor's Board. Its features are very similar to a slideshow and a screenshot, but it is unique in that it almost constantly contains moving footage on top of screenshots.

Appendix 2

Rajewsky's Intermedial Framework

Rajewsky's framework is a response to certain distinctive trends in the art and media world.⁵⁰ She warns that her three narrow subcategories of intermediality are in no way exhaustive.⁵¹ The eleven references I will compare with Rajewsky's three categories will definitely not be perfect fits. Rajewsky's three categories are the beforementioned 'medial transposition', 'media combination' and 'intermedial references'. As has become clear, part of the in-text references can be considered a form of medial transposition. This type of referencing occurs mostly in the liveblog, but there are multiple examples that can be found in the internet articles and the newscast articles. As explained earlier, medial transposition occurs when one media product is transposed to another medium. This continually occurs in the liveblog since it consists of news originally coming from different sources. For example, when the authors of the liveblog are posting short articles on what is said during the press conferences, they directly transpose what Mark Rutte and Hugo de Jonge are saying. This applies to articles A34 to A40. Quotes originating in other media are often transposed to text, since this is the only way to write something down. Furthermore, the liveblog also transposes information from the internet articles. This applies, for example, to articles A28 and B14 in which case the liveblog article briefly summarizes the internet article. Since the liveblog and the internet articles are two different media, this should also be considered as a form of medial transposition.

Media combination is in its definition the most straightforward category. Rajewsky explains that media combination comprises that at least two conventionally distinct media or medial forms are combined.⁵² Most of the eleven categories of referencing fall in this category: embedded videos and embedded YouTube videos, embedded articles, embedded photos and screenshots, embedded slide shows, embedded Twitter accounts and tweets and the interactive map. The embedded references to other media are always a combination

⁵⁰ Rajewsky, "Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation," 46-47.

⁵¹ Ibid., 53.

⁵² Ibid., 52.

with the written text that is typical for the liveblog article. Media combination is the most typical reference found on the internet. While, medial transposition occurs very often, media combination is one of the main pillars of the internet. The most popular social media websites, for example, are all based on media combination. Facebook, Twitter and Instagram all make it possible to share photos, videos, written posts, livestreams, etc. Manovich' different principles support this idea. Websites are oftentimes made up through modularity and automation where presets are used to combine different elements such as text, photos, videos, etc. Most websites on the internet are defined by their intermediality and the liveblog and the internet articles are no different. News articles are often embedded with videos, photos and other helpful pieces of information that illustrate the presented information. The newscast is also very intermedial. The information the news anchor is presenting is supported by videos, slideshows, statistics and even a videocall. Media have become so intertwined that even a straightforward category will not lead to straightforward answers. For many media forms, media combination has become integral to the point where the medium itself is defined by it. Even the newspaper should be considered a form of media combination in how it connects written articles with pictures. However, the more often this occurs, the more difficult it becomes to apply for practical analysis. The category is much more complicated than its straightforwardness implies. Questions like, what are the borders of a medium are not answered by Rajewsky. She focuses on main artforms and does not delve into the more complex media landscape of the internet. The platforms I have worked would most likely not have been considered to be different media according to the work of Rajewsky. As Manovich' principles suggest, the internet deserves further analysis that this category cannot provide.

Rajewsky's intermedial references are very different to what I have been referring to as 'references'. What she considers an intermedial reference is when media products use their own "media-specific means, either to refer to a specific, individual work produced in another medium... or to refer to a specific media subsystem."⁵³ There are many different forms of intermediality that do not neatly fit in one of Rajewsky's three categories and there are also forms of referencing that apply to more than one category. The 'intermedial

⁵³ Ibid., 52-53.

references' are especially imperfect for application regarding this research topic. The liveblog and the internet articles are so closely related in terms of content and their forms of mediation that it is extremely difficult to distinguish intermedial references between the platforms. Rajewsky's conceptualization of media thus undercuts all of her categories. She argues that in order to consider a reference an intermedial reference it should by definition be one single medium imitating or evoking another medium.⁵⁴ While the liveblog and the internet articles share many media techniques, such as hyperlinks and embedded media forms, they are simply too similar to distinguish any cross-platform or intermedial references. There are no examples of articles on the liveblog presenting themselves 'as if' they were internet articles. The context and size defines the medium, not its use of text or its media combination. The newscast has an entirely different form of mediation, however, and even though there are multiple intermedial references in the newscast, I will not discuss them, since they did not occur in articles relating to the coronavirus and have thus not been part of the corpus and by extension the analysis. This was to be expected, to a certain degree, since the category can be better applied to artworks than to non-fiction news content as is demonstrated by Rajewsky's choice of subjects.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Appendix 3

The NOS and Article 2.34a of the 2008 Dutch Media Law

Firstly, the NOS needs to produce media for ‘the national public media service’ concerning news, sports and events that can eminently be used for “gezamenlijke verzorging” (roughly translating to ‘joined nursing’ or ‘collective nursing’).⁵⁵ The point is further specified. The media offer should at least include media content that requires regular and high frequency distribution, is generally service oriented, or can be better jointly created with more efficient use of resources.⁵⁶ This first specification is best exemplified by the news. The news consists of content that requires high frequency and regular distribution, since the content will otherwise become outdated and less useful. If this would occur, the NOS would not meet the second specification. The foundation has to provide content that is service oriented (for joined nursing), meaning that they have the task to keep viewers up to date on the latest news. The third and final specification holds that resources should be used more effectively (“doelmatiger”), for example an effective division of labor.⁵⁷ Since the NOS is publicly funded, their resources are required to be managed carefully and properly.

The second and third point are much less expansive (and not further specified), but still very important. The NOS has to produce teletext for the national public media service.⁵⁸ The medium celebrated its fortieth anniversary on April 1, 2020. Even though the medium is less popular than it used to be, it still reaches more than a million people every week through the app.⁵⁹ Thirdly, by executive order the broadcaster can be forced to produce the content specified in the first point.⁶⁰ This is especially important, since it means that the NOS is forced to carry out certain tasks that are required by the Dutch government. Even though the foundation is free to produce content, as long as it has a general appeal, they are not always free to choose the subject matter. In the case of a pandemic, this means that the NOS

⁵⁵ Overheid.nl, “Mediawet 2008.”

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ “NOS Teletekst bestaat 40 jaar: ‘Het is een postzegel die je vol schrijft’,” NPO Radio 1, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://www.nporadio1.nl/sport/22765-nos-teletekst-bestaat-40-jaar>.

⁶⁰ Overheid.nl, “Mediawet 2008.”

are forced to play a certain role in the reporting of the data. This explains the central role the NOS is playing in providing the public with the information and mandates from the press conferences and other government outlets. They are provided with the task to broadcast and livestream the press conference. For television, this means that they also introduce and conclude the event. Even though most non-fiction media producers are focusing on the coronavirus in one way or another, the NOS has an obligation based on its responsibilities. However, the media law does not specify in the exact way the content should be portrayed, as long as it corresponds with the statutes.⁶¹ It suggests a neutral approach, based on the joined nursing, but the NOS is not required by law to function as a direct tool of the government.⁶²

⁶¹ NOS, "Taken en missie".

⁶² Overheid.nl, "Mediawet 2008."

Appendix 4

The NOS' and the Platforms they Produce

The platforms the NOS produces on the television media technology are the following, they produce the: NOS Journaal (NOS newscast), NOS Achtuurjournaal (NOS Eight O'clock Newscast), NOS Jeugdjournaal (NOS Youth Newscast), Nieuwsuur (Newshour), NOS Sportjournaal (NOS Sportscast), Nos Studio Sport, NOS Studio Sport Eredivisie and Nos Studio Voetbal (NOS Studio Football). As mentioned, the NOS also produces Teletekst (Teletext), which differs heavily from the other television media. This is also broadcast on television, but can similarly be accessed on mobile devices, for example through the beforementioned app. It is clear that some of the platforms are more relevant to the political press conference than others. However, occasionally all programs refer to the measures concerning the corona virus.

The platforms the NOS produces for the internet are just as various. The foundation produces: internet articles regarding news, internet articles regarding sports (these two are separated on the website), a liveblog, livestreams (for example, for the press conference) and it maintains social media accounts on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube. Except for the accounts on social media platforms, all platforms are congregated on the website which functions as a gateway. Users are immediately presented with the different platforms on the main page. The NOS website features articles, it connects users to the various liveblogs of the day and, for special events, to ongoing livestreams. The press conference could be watched and listened to live on these livestreams found on the website and in the app, on NPO Start, NPO Nieuws, NPO Radio 1, the NOS Facebook page and their YouTube channel.

Lastly, for the radio technology the NOS provide various short newscasts; among others the NPO Radio 1 Journaal (NPO Radio 1 Newscast). I will not consider these in the analysis due to constraints regarding the word limit. All the media content the NOS produces helps construct the press conference as intermedial, but within the scope of this research it

is not possible to consider the entirety of the output.

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PLAGIARISM RULES AWARENESS STATEMENT

Fraud and Plagiarism

Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

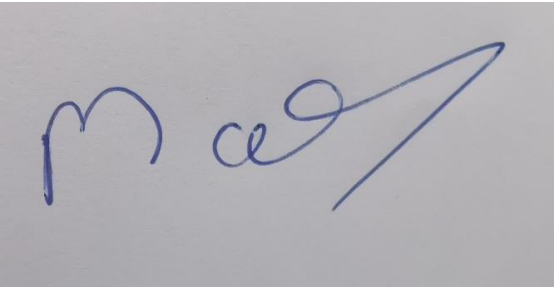
- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
- cutting and pasting text from the Internet without quotation marks and footnotes;
- copying printed materials, such as books, magazines or encyclopaedias, without quotation marks or footnotes;
- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;
- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism

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