Inner Security in Media from the perspective of social science and media studies

Seguridad interna en los medios desde la perspectiva de las ciencias sociales y de los estudios de los medios de comunicación

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Abstract: Security and entertainment are moving closer together. The term Securitainment expresses in this context, the mediation of security through entertainment formats. This will open a new space for Internal Security, which includes its own actors and patterns of interpretation. This space is portrayed in the media and follows the logic of media for attention but is also part of the process of social control. The mass media are therefore an instance of the design of internal security, social control and an interpretation producer. Mass media become actors of the internal security. They provide a symbolic representation of security.

Keywords: Internal Security, sociology of knowledge, Media, Securitainment, Entertainment, Television, Actor.

Resumen: La seguridad y el entretenimiento se están acercando. El término seguranza (Securitainment) se expresa en este contexto, la mediación de la seguridad a través de formatos de entretenimiento. Esto abrirá un nuevo espacio para la Seguridad Interna, que incluye sus propios actores y los patrones de interpretación. Este espacio es retratado en los medios y obedece a la lógica de atención de los medios de comunicación, pero también es parte del proceso de control social. Los medios de comunicación, por tanto, son una instancia de la concepción de la seguridad interna, el control social y un productor de la interpretación. Los medios de comunicación se convierten en actores de la seguridad interna. Ellos proporcionan una representación simbólica de la seguridad.

Palabras clave: Seguridad Interna, sociología del conocimiento, medios de comunicación, Seguranza, entretenimiento, televisión, actor.

1. Securitainment

We use the term "securitainment" – a combination of *security* and *entertainment* – to describe the interplay and interaction between entertainment and the mediation of internal security. The term does not allude to the themes of "Kriminalität und Gewalt durch Medien" (Kersten 2008: 294) ("criminality and violence through media"), which looks at depictions of violence in the media and their effect on the recipients, but to the ways in which security, in the sense of the protection of social and legal order, are mediated. Therefore Securitainment becomes a sociologically relevant concept. The close connection between these two fields – *security* and *entertainment* – in the mass media (above all in television) today is unprecedented in its present form. Securitainment is not just an entertaining, mass media way of presenting issues relating to internal security, but also affects the views and perceptions of the recipients through its processed form of presentation. In short, securitainment is a special form of presentation which offers a range of possible interpretations and actions and has an effect on the structure of the recipients' everyday lives. It constructs a new realm of experience with its own agents, patterns of interpretation and possible meanings (cf. Dörner 2001: 31), which guide the audience's understanding of internal security and offer them possible means of identification. This is "festzuhalten [ist], dass Innere Sicherheit ein subjektives wie objektives Konstrukt ist, das von unterschiedlichen Akteuren auf […] unterschiedlichen Ebenen gewährleistet werden soll." (Feltes 2008: 107) ("because internal security is a subjective and objective construct, which is to be safeguarded by various actors on […] various levels."). To such an extent, internal security is also a media construct (cf. e.g. Stegmaier 2006). Characteristics of securitainment include a high degree of stage management and theatrical performance by the "actors". As part of a staged production (e.g. *Toto und Harry*, a German TV format which follows the work of two police officers*), the characters are not solely concerned in their actions with achieving objectives and communicating as if they were unobserved, but also play to a present and absent (TV viewers) audience with their theatrical gestures (cf. Reichertz 2007: 38). "Inszenierungen zielen auf alltagsenthebende, gesteigerte Erfahrungen des Interessanten bzw. des interessant Gemachten" (Karpenstein-Eßbach 2004: 205) ("Staged productions aim at an escapist, heightened experience of the interesting, or that which is made interesting") and at the same time contain an element of performativity. Here, performativity is understood in its cultural sense as a perspective which focuses on the ability of the actor take action. As cultural performance, rituals, theatrical performances or portrayals in the mass media are social interpretations by the actors, who not only mediate cultural values and other possible means of identification for the audience, but are also responsible for initiating cultural change (cf. Brückner, Schömbucher 2002). This make them interesting for a sociology of knowledge perspective.

Within securitainment, a special role is played by quasi-documentary formats, which are not based solely on reality but also on creative input which they claim to be reality. They represent a kind of "performatives Reality TV" (Döveling 2008: 58) ("performative reality TV"). *Toto und Harry* mentioned earlier or *Achtung, Kontrolle! Einsatz für die Ordnungshüter* (a German TV programme following the work of law and order enforcement professionals*) are examples of this format. They do not use professional actors but members of the relevant profession (e.g. police or customs, health and safety, etc.). Similarly, they portray authentic scenes from the everyday working life of the protagonists rather than fictitious situations. Based on a brief interpretation of an episode of *Achtung Kontrolle!*, we aim to show that, by depicting a condensed version of reality, they are indeed a "staged production". Even though they portray authentic scenarios in their scenes, they are processed for the relevant medium – in our case television – before and after production. This preliminary outline of the concept of *securitainment* alone raises the question of the intended and unintended consequences securitainment brings with it, and it is this question that we wish to take an initial look at in the following.

The first and most obvious purpose of a programme of this kind is to entertain the public. It almost goes without saying that economics and the ratings behind them dictate whether a format in general and a programme in particular stay on air or are axed. Far more interesting – and more difficult to quantify – are the unintended consequences of such formats, or in other words: to what question or social situation do such formats provide an answer? Our hypothesis is that they are a subprocess of the social control that 'encourages' behavioural conformity amongst the members of a society and in this way attempt to manufacture social integration. Securitainment shapes and mediates this aspect; and the media become the (commercial) producers of security, "die über die gesetzlichen Anforderungen hinaus auch die Ordnungs- und Wertvorstellungen ihrer Auftraggeber umsetzen." (Singelnstein, Stolle 2006: 12) ("who above and beyond the legal requirements also play out their clients' concepts of order and value beliefs.")

Before we begin with the interpretation itself, it is important to first specify what we mean by *internal security* and *entertainment* for our purposes. First, let us look at the aspect of internal security.

2. Internal Security and Social Control

Internal security refers to the maintenance of public order and security, and the protection of every member of society by the state. In a narrow sense, this is guaranteed by the state

exercising its monopoly on the use of force through the major institutions of internal security, the public prosecution service and the police. As suggested earlier, internal security is not just a matter of legality; political and media perspectives and the subjective perception of citizens also play a determining role. The absence of crime is the object and (ideal) goal of internal security. One of the problems with this goal is that criminality is not an objective, i.e. invariable, matter of fact, but a social process of attribution that is subject to historic and social change. The security discourse determines what makes its way into the canon of socially acceptable behaviour and what does not. The resulting *fluctuation* or vagueness of the object "gewährleistet indes, dass der Sicherheitsdiskurs an andere Ausgrenzungsstrategien leicht anknüpfen kann. […] Die Instrumente der Kontrolle und Repression schaffen in diesem Sinne gar erst die Verbrechen, die zu kontrollieren sie beabsichtigen." (Kunz 2005: 16) ("however guarantees that the security discourse can easily pick up on other exclusion strategies. [...] The instruments of control and repression in this sense produce the crime they set out to control." And whoever leads the security discourse also decides who and what "als Feind der Inneren Sicherheit zu gelten hat und umgekehrt, wer zu den Bedrohten zu zählen ist." (Kunz 2005: 16). ("counts as an enemy of internal security and, conversely, who is at risk.").

Security must be *mediated* to citizens. On the level of their immediate experience, this takes place when they are protected from personal victimization. Above and beyond this level, the mass media – here particularly television – largely determine how the social world, and thereby security, is perceived. The media offer a way of understanding the world. In the context of internal security, this understanding of the world is provided by everything from news reporting to fictional entertainment. According to our theory, the mass media here are not only *mediating* and reporting internal security, but to an increasing extent also *acting* in this sphere (cf. also Reichertz 2009). And in such a context, securitainment is a means of generating social control.

Social control describes how a society urges all its members to conform to norms and standards. In this way, the social control aspect also helps to guarantee internal security. As an instrument with which to safeguard internal security, social control also depends on social conditions and includes not only state but also media and private mechanisms and processes which ensure social integration. These are family, work and social environment, but also media reporting and media entertainment.[1] Here, the mass media are an essential part of the space in and through which communication on social control takes place. Alongside talk shows, information and news programmes, this mainly refers to the kinds of programmes mentioned earlier, e.g. *Toto und Harry* or *Achtung Kontrolle!*. It is not so much that such programmes are intentionally

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[1] Cf. Singelnstein/Stolle 2006 for the mentioned state/private mechanisms. It is surprising that the media are not mentioned or considered here.

manipulative, but that television picks up on certain issues in discourse, processes them, for example in the aforementioned programmes, and then through those programmes reintroduces them to the debate. This informs the recipients' constructions of reality and truth, including in terms of governmentality. "Welche Interpretation der Wirklichkeit sich dabei durchsetzen und als Realität verankert werden kann, ist danach gleichwohl nicht zufällig, sondern folgt Regeln und ist […] geprägt von gesellschaftlichen Machtstrukturen." (Singelnstein, Stolle 2006: 109). ("The interpretation of reality that can become established and accepted as reality is thus not arbitrary, but follows rules and is [...] characterized by social power structures.")

The social control mediated by securitainment develops into an inner self-control in the recipients as they compare their own behaviours with those portrayed in the programme and the subsequent reactions of the officers. The actions depicted and the reactions to them convey – whether intentionally or unintentionally – clear behavioural norms and desirable reaction patterns. Although the portrayal of the officers suggests external guidance or authority, no explicit behavioural demands are openly made. The images or the low-key way in which the consequences of deviant behaviour are presented are rather designed to speak for themselves. In this way, they are meant to produce a kind of truth that can become part of self-guidance. Here, power and control are no longer openly confrontational or imposed, but much rather become established by way of consent and acceptance (cf. Singelstein, Stolle 2006: 116). External guidance is thus masked as self-guidance. This is not to suggest that the public is intentionally manipulated through the media by some power or authority, as Adorno and Horkheimer believed. "Vorstellungen von eindeutiger Herrschaft, gemäß der die Medienanbieter an den Hebeln der Macht sitzen und die passiven Konsumenten lenken," (Hieber 2008: 99) ("Notions of unambiguous control, according to which the media providers sit at the controls and steer passive consumers,") overlook the recipients' own activities, suggest monocausal action and a resulting hierarchy that does not exist to such an *unambiguous* extent. Yet an influence – or better, an effect – still remains, and it is this we see through securitainment when certain desired modes of behaviour become established. The content of securitainment is guided by the prevailing discourse, whereby control or power are not always apparent and open, but also operate covertly. Strictly speaking, securitainment condenses the prevailing discourse on internal security, where discourse is understood "als subjektunabhängig gedachte Verkettung von Elementen und Argumenten" (Schaal/Heidenreich 2006: 228) ("as a non-subject-dependent linkage of elements and arguments"), which is presented in a heightened form and becomes associated with certain actions, which in turn constitute practice. In such a way, securitainment is a narrative strategy within the prevailing discourse.

There is another important aspect to securitainment in addition to its social control function. The

social control presented in it is portrayed as being legitimate and necessary and thus encourages acceptance of the actions taken and the present conditions. The apparent omnipresence of disorder, danger and criminality is key to encouraging acceptance of the controls. "Die Existenz dieser permanenten kleinen inneren Gefahr gehört zu den Voraussetzungen für die Akzeptanz des Kontrollsystems. Deshalb räumt man der Kriminalität in Presse, Radio und Fernsehen aller Länder der Erde so viel Platz ein, als wäre sie jeden Tag eine Neuigkeit." (Foucault 2005: 233). ("The existence of this permanent, minor internal threat is one of the prerequisites of acceptance of the system of control. That is why criminality is given so much space in the press, radio and television of every country on earth, as if it were something new every day.").

However, the media do not simply pick up and spread the prevailing political stance on internal security in such formats. They much rather also take their own angle on each case, for example by allowing the accused to have their say and thereby engaging sympathy for them, or by showing certain situations to be socially undesirable by adding their own unequivocal commentary (cf. Chapter 4). The media thus become actors within the field of internal security, with their own agenda, interpretations and recommended behaviours.

3. Entertainment as a Total Social Phenomenon

Entertainment in the mass media is a ubiquitous part of contemporary society, with television very much taking the lead role. Consequently, entertainment has attracted the interest not only of psychology, literary, media and communication sciences, but has also increasingly become an established part of other scientific disciplines such as politology and criminology. In this way, entertainment has evolved into a "soziales Totalphänomen" (cf. Saxer 2007: 19) ("total social phenomenon"), and not only in the everyday sense. But what is entertainment? Here it is understood more as 'transience', 'time-killing' or 'distraction' than as an exchange of thoughts, and in these contexts it can have various manifestations. It is about practising values and not least about emotionally reinforcing certain views of the world (cf. Schicha, Brosda 2002: 10). Schicha and Brosda make a further distinction between formal categories of entertaining presentation and entertaining content. While the former call to mind comfort, stimulation, respite and relaxation, the latter have associations with escapism from the real world, banality, vacuity and triviality (cf. Schicha, Brosda 2002: 10f). Yet this does not answer the question of how entertainment or "Entertainization" (Saxer 2007: 21) are combined with information in television formats and what role entertainment actually plays in the process. So far, it has only become clear that sciences previously dedicated to "serious issues", like politology or criminology, can no longer ignore the topic of 'entertainment' in connection with the media.

This is confirmed by Kamps, who explains that 'entertainization' is shifting the orientation towards entertaining formats for communication purposes, and original (television) formats are switching from information to entertainment mode (cf. Kamps 2007: 149). Television formats tagged as documentary or news programmes already enhance their information content with dramatic images and 'stage' eventful stories (cf. Englert/Roslon Chapter XY in this edition). Increasingly, the "Hybridformen (Hickethier 2007: 176) ("hybrid forms") and the hybrid genres of television, such as semi-documentary or semi-fictional programmes, are attracting the interest of the viewing public (cf. Schicha, Brodsa 2002: 7), as the rise of reality TV programmes in German television alone can testify (cf. also Reichertz Chapter XY in this edition). The "mediale Erlebnisgesellschaft" (Dörner 2001: 40) ("media experience society") or the "Fernsehgeneration" (Peiser 1996) ("TV generation") increasingly wants information packaged in a gripping format, and increasing numbers of viewers are placing entertainment value over information value (cf. Corsa 2005). Yet it is not the case here that information and entertainment are mutually exclusive, but rather that they come together in hybrid television formats. This is another indication of the ongoing entertainization and "Boulevardisierung"[2] (Kleiner, Nieland 2004) ("tabloidization") of information, resulting in increased "fictionalization" of information culture or what Leder also defines as "Infotainisierung" (Leder 1996: 92) ("infotainization"). Other terms include "Infotainment" (Wittwen 1995), "Politainment" (Dörner 2001) and "Edutainment" (Mangold 2004). The feel good factor, in other words the presentation of information in an attractive format, takes top priority, as the example of the semi-documentary formats surrounding the subject of internal security (e.g. *Schneller als die Polizei erlaubt* or *Recht & Ordnung*) goes to show. This can be attributed to the fact that entertainment is an emotional event that leads to various gratifications (cf. Saxer 2007: 19). It is not without reason that viewing figures climb as TV content becomes more personalized, emotional and dramatic, particularly if it is presented as closely as possible to the viewer (cf. Englert/Roslon in Chapter

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[2] "Boulevardisierung zeichnet sich durch einen allgemeinen Verfall journalistischer Standards (etwa Objektivität, umfassende Recherche, Wahrung ethischer Grundsätze etc.) aus; durch einen Rückgang räsonierender (z.B. Politik und Wirtschaft) und einen gleichzeitigen Anstieg unterhaltender Themen (u.a. Skandale, Sensationsmeldungen, Sex, Lifestyle), durch die der Massengeschmack bedient werden soll; eine Zunahme von Serviceleistungen; starke Personalisierungen und Emotionalisierungen sowie zynische und ironisierende Kommentare, die eine bestimmte Diskurs-Hippness unterstreichen wollen. Diese inhaltlichen Boulevardisierungstendenzen werden zudem sprachlich und optisch unterstützt, etwa durch die Annäherung an die Umgangssprache, Verwendung vieler Photos, vergrößerte Überschriften sowie plakative Aufmacher und Eye-Catcher." (Kleiner, Nieland 2004: 2). ("Features of 'Boulevardisierung' (tabloidization) are a general decline in journalistic standards (such as objectivity, detailed research, observing ethical principles, etc.) resulting from a reduced number of serious subjects (e.g. politics and economics) and simultaneous rise in entertaining ones (including scandals, sensationalized stories, sex, lifestyle) geared to appeal to the masses; an increase in services; strong personalization and emotionalization and cynical and ironic commentary, which are aimed at underscoring a certain discourse hipness. These tendencies towards dumbing down or tabloidizing content are also supported linguistically and visually, for example by the use of slang and photos, oversized headlines, striking openers and eyecatchers."

XY of this edition).

The trend towards 'staging' informative content is nothing new. In 2002, Thomas Meyer and Christian Schicha described the trend towards staging politics on the television and its increasing relevance (cf. Meyer, Schicha 2002: 53). Further, Erika Fischer-Lichte points out that nothing in the world is entirely free of 'stage management', making it an inherent part of our world (cf. Fischer-Lichte 1998: 88f). Fischer-Lichte defines the term 'Inszenierung' ('staging', 'stage management', 'scene setting') in its theatrical sense as a creative process to connect the imaginary and fictitious with the real and empirical (cf. Fischer-Lichte 1998: 88). Meyer and Schicha reinforce Fischer-Lichte's thinking and explain that "Infotainment […] in hohem Maße informieren [kann und dass] [p]rinzipiell […] alle Inszenierungsformen und Inszenierungsgrade für der Sache angemessene Informationen offen [sind]" (Meyer, Schicha 2002: 57) ("Infotainment [… can] be highly informative [and that] in principle […] all forms and degrees of stage management are open to information that is appropriate to the subject matter"). The important question is therefore how and to what extent elements of the fictional-imaginary and the real-empirical are used to stage a situation and its intended purpose (cf. Meyer, Schicha 2002: 53).

The example of fictional series relating to internal security shows that elements of staging and theatricality are usually quite evident in the use of scripted characters, action scenes or coherent action sequences. The question is, however, how documentary or semi-documentary formats go about reproducing uncontrived, or unstaged, reality. On the surface, accompanying the highway police as they inspect truck drivers on the German-Czech border may not seem that interesting. However, as soon as a truck driver refuses a fine that he feels is unjustified, the action becomes much more interesting. If the apparently 'boring' scenes involving uneventful spot checks on various truck drivers are cut from the actual programme, and music or voice-overs are used to imply certain interpretations, the entertainment factor begins to rise. Clearly, there is a difference between the portrayal of a highway police officer who is going about his work, catches an exhausted truck driver at the wheel and, according to the off-screen voice 'quite rightly, given the potential danger of an overtired driver', takes him off the road, and the portrayal of a highway police officer encountering the same situation but with background circus music and a voice-over commenting that he 'is overreacting; the truck drivers are only doing their job after all'. If the camera perspective is switched from long to full shot allowing television viewers to feel that they are live on the scene and can empathize, the work of the highway police is transformed into an entertaining format for late evening viewing. All this falls under the term *Inszenierung*, which means employing theatrical elements and quite literally *setting a scene* (cf. Hickethier, Bleicher 1998: 369).

If this concept extends to the technical media, the effect becomes twofold (*doppelte Inszenierung*): the characters in front of the camera and the technical modifications, editing, montage and the narrator's voice combine to produce an electronic version or a final staged product (cf. Hickethier, Bleicher 1998: 369). It can be taken even further in connection with *hyper-ritualization* as defined by Goffman (Goffman 1981: 328). Beyond the scene set *in front of*, that is, *for* the camera, the actors are also portraying themselves. They are members of society who play a particular role in their everyday lives and are now playing another role within that role before the camera. As the example of the highway officers shows, they are keen to portray themselves and their work as correct and legitimate. This portrayal then enters a third stage and another level of production when the recorded scenes are edited and given a narrative structure. In many cases, this leads to increased standardization, exaggeration and simplification of rituals (cf. Goffman 1981). According to Goffman's definition, rituals are heavily emphasized or over-emphasized actions or behaviours and have little to do with the everyday ceremonial meaning. This raises the question of whether it would be possible to talk about 'Hyperinszenierung' ('hyper-staging') in this context. Here we see that what we encounter on a daily basis in reality often appears out of focus and ambivalent, and it is only staging by the media that makes an event clearly structured and easy to understand (cf. Hickethier, Bleicher 1998: 369). Relationships and connections quickly become apparent and comprehensible, without the need for further explanation of the facts. In this way, a new order, a beautiful new world, is created which strives to - and actually does - appear real (cf. Thomas' theory). This world is constructed by 'incorporated actors' (cf. also the article by Englert/Roslon Chapter XY of this edition) according to certain socially valid ideals. In this context, Siegfried Kracauer talks about the "Errettung der äußeren Wirklichkeit" ("redemption of physical reality") and the "Affinität zur ungestellten Realität" ("affinity for unstaged reality") (Kracauer 2003: 95ff). That television content virtually never achieves these goals is clear from the first American documentary film of any length, *Nanook of the North*, by Robert Flaherty in 1922. The film attempts to stage reality almost to perfection, with the result that the audience automatically becomes distanced from unstaged reality (cf. Hickethier, Bleicher 1998: 370). This is also true of almost all documentary formats on the subject of internal security today. This process of staging reality has a critical effect on contemporary social culture (cf. Fischer-Lichte 2000: 11), since the way an officer's work is staged by the media conveys to viewers a specific picture and an understanding of what internal security is all about.

This development forms the basis for terms like the aforementioned 'Infotainment' (Wittwen 1995), 'Politainment' (Dörner 2001) or 'Edutainment' (Mangold 2004), which attempt to capture the entirely new circumstances associated with ongoing entertainization. It has, in fact, prompted the emergence of a whole 'family' of '…-tainments' (cf. Mattusch 1997: 124). While

infotainment refers to a genre in which all knowledge transfer is interwoven with entertaining and often emotional elements, and imparting knowledge and integrity thereby become secondary (cf. Mangold 2004: 536), edutainment sets out to reinforce learning motivation and success with elements of fun and entertainment (cf. ebd.). Another new term may seem superfluous to requirements under these circumstances, yet closer inspection shows that securitainment belongs neither to infotainment nor edutainment, and certainly not politainment (given its thematic focus on politics). Firstly, knowledge transfer cannot be said to play a secondary role from the very beginning in securitainment, as is the case in infotainment. Even in everyday situations – traffic for example – many followers of securitainment series will recall the last episode of *Schneller als die Polizei erlaubt* and remember that speeding is not worth the risk of a fine and points on your driving license. Equally, it is not easier to class securitainment as edutainment, since that would require the programmes to be clearly geared towards successful teaching and learning on the part of the programme makers. This is not generally the case in securitainment, where the success of a programme is much more likely to be judged by the viewing figures. The fact that a programme ultimately has an effect on the viewers' understanding of internal security does not necessarily mean that that was the original intention of the TV programme (including the 'incorporated actors' such as the producers and series scriptwriters). In the end, it is the viewing figures and the associated interest in certain content and its application that determine the success or failure of knowledge transfer or modulation. In other words, the recipients' interpretation of *Schneller als die Polizei erlaubt* or *Recht & Ordnung* and what they do with this knowledge in everyday interactions plays a decisive role in building their understanding of internal security. It is not dictated solely by the incorporated actors' intention and goal, if in fact there is one at all. This is how a medium (intentionally or unintentionally) itself becomes an actor in the social construction of internal security (cf. Feltes 2008: 105). Even though we do not obtain all our knowledge through the media (cf. Reichertz 2007: 17), it is nevertheless true that "Kommunikation und Medien haben die Welt verändert und werden sie auch weiterhin verändern" (Reichertz 2007: 11) ("communication and media have changed the world and will go on changing it"), which also applies to the discourse on internal security in Germany.

4. Interpretation of the German television programme, *Achtung Kontrolle! Einsatz für die Ordnungshüter*

"Vergessen Sie den Tatort, wie Sie ihn bisher kennen! Alles erfunden, alles nicht echt! 'Achtung Kontrolle Spezial' zeigt das wirkliche Leben von Polizisten und Zöllnern; Ordnungshüter an

ihren 'Tatorten', wie man sie noch nicht gesehen hat: als zeitversetzte 'Live-Reportage'. […] Ob Polizei, Zoll, Gerichtsvollzieher oder Lebensmittelkontrolleure – die Ordnungshüter sorgen dafür, dass Gesetze eingehalten und Straftaten verfolgt und aufgedeckt werden." ("Forget the usual crime scene! It is all fabrication; none of it is true! 'Achtung Kontrolle Spezial' brings you the real life of police and customs officers, enforcing law and order at their 'crime scenes', as you've never seen them before: in deferred 'live reporting'. [...] Police, customs, bailiffs, health and safety – all these officers are there to enforce the law and solve crime."). This is how the homepage of the German TV station Kabel 1 describes its "reportage" format.[3] It draws attention to the "real life" aspect, stressing that the format deals with real rather than fictitious cases and is a documentation of the events portrayed. The format sets out to be authentic and real. The first "Ordnungshüter" was screened on 02.06.2008. The episode interpreted here ran on 05.03.2009 on Kabel 1.

We would like to make a few preliminary remarks before we begin with the actual case analysis. We base our approach on the assumption from the sociology of knowledge that actors' manners of perception and communication and the ensuing communitization can be understood through interpretation. Audiovisual artefacts are also used to bring about "Veränderungen in der Struktur und der Materialität kommunikativen Handelns" (Raab 2008: 165) ("Changes in the structure and materiality of communicative action") within the viewing communities. "In Gesellschaften, die ihre Mitglieder zunehmend auch medial sozialisieren, sind die audiovisuellen Medien zusätzliche gesellschaftliche Institutionen. Sie bestimmen die soziale und kulturelle Ausformung des Sehens mit und führen es hin zu neuen, verfeinerten Formen der Erfahrung." (ebd. 165) ("In societies which increasingly socialize their members through the media, audiovisual media are additional social institutions. They help to determine the social and cultural form of viewing and take it to new and more sophisticated forms of experience."). For the sake of compactness and brevity, we have occasionally added some contextual knowledge to our interpretation.

Before we outline the content of our chosen excerpt from the programme and go on to interpret the individual sequences, we would like to briefly describe the programme's opening sequence.

The programme introduces the two subjects it will cover with a collage of scenes and a commentary. The preview kicks off immediately with scenes from the programme's second story, which portrays health and safety officers on a restaurant inspection. The 15-second sequence is followed by an introduction to the other story showing a private security firm at a very large student party. This sequence is 45 seconds long. The title sequence concludes with

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[3] Visit http://www.kabeleins.de/doku_reportage/achtung_kontrolle/am 10.04.2009.

the usual 10-second *Achtung Kontrolle!* opening credits and ends on the *Achtung-Kontrolle!* logo.

The story of the private security firm at the student event then begins, and it is this story we would like to introduce and interpret briefly here. The camera is accompanying a team of private security guards, who have been contracted for a large university party. The security service works in front of the party venue, mans the entrances, checks admissions and mingles with the partygoers inside the hall. The focus is on the boss of the security team, Guido, who walks the hall with his colleague and works outside in front of the venue. Guido is interviewed while he is working; some of the action is shown and commented on in a voice-over. This part of the episode ends with a scene showing Guido throwing two students out of the party and banning them from the venue, and the students finally accepting their fate.

Every episode of *Achtung Kontrolle!* is preceded by the same form of opening sequence, which introduces the general topics covered by the format. The predominantly red and white opening sequence, which is underscored with music for dramatic effect, shows officers in a variety of situations. Images of handcuffed hands, police officers kicking down a door in a stairway, a police van with the siren going, a police officer with a speed camera and a customs officer brandishing a stop sign all identify the agents of internal security. In the final take, a hand flashes a shield-shaped badge which bears the words *Achtung Kontrolle! Einsatz für die Ordnungshüter*. This trailer at the start of each programme defines who the officers are and, above all, what special rights and privileges they have in relation to the civilian population. What is noteworthy about the episode we have chosen to analyze is that it focuses on a private security firm, of which no mention, positive or negative, is made in the opening sequence.

We would like to begin with our interpretation of the *Achtung Kontrolle!* logo (photo), which appears in the opening credits and before the first story unfolds. The logo incidentally appears on screen throughout the programme, like the channel logo (Kabel 1).

The still shot shows a kind of wallet being thrust into the picture, with the *Achtung Kontrolle!* logo to the bottom. The shape of the logo resembles a shield, an image which is emphasised by its shiny silver appearance. The programme's title is written across the shield. The entire composition – hand movement, wallet and silver badge – calls an FBI or marshal's badge to mind, possibly even a sheriff's star from the Hollywood movies, and in this way quite consciously sets up the police context. Yet

the term 'officer' does not refer solely to the police in all their guises, but to other officers in law and order, health and safety and – as already mentioned in the content outline – in the programme makers' eyes, to private security firms too. The wallet is another element of the police theme. Although some sections of the German police do carry a badge (e.g. the criminal police), it does not take this particular form. Nor is the wallet part of the German police force's equipment, or that of any other law and order enforcement agents. Officers are responsible for how they carry their identity cards and, where applicable, a badge. However, for some time now members of the relevant professions have been able to purchase wallets similar to that shown in the image at their own expense from internet police and security outfitters (cf. e.g. www.enforcer.de).

The shield symbol also underscores a protective function, implied in the imperative *Achtung Kontrolle!* of the title. The shield protects whoever is behind it. The writing literally expresses exactly what the wearer – the officer – is actually all about. The shield protects its bearer – in the past the virtuous knight – and here the officer of the law, the representative of the social order that needs to be protected. In this sense, the purpose of control is to protect. The camera perspective is such that the audience looks upwards towards the symbol, creating the impression that they are looking at it from a seated position. At the same time, the shield seems to "hover" over the viewers as a symbol of order and justice, thus expressing its two inherent and interacting functions. Its purpose is to protect, which is achieved through control. An entirely different expression or perception of control would have been achieved if a surveillance camera had been chosen instead of the shield as the programme logo. The camera implies the surveillant, all-seeing eye, which creates a sense of oppression and is restrictive and spylike. The shield symbolizes a different notion of security; it stands for protection and not for surveillance or control. In this way, the *Achtung Kontrolle! Einsatz für die Ordnungshüter* writing combined with the shield indicates the direction of the format and what it is about: security and protection, and the people who are committed to working for those goals and for the common good. In combination with a surveillance camera, the same writing could have been used to represent a format which instructs people how and where they are under observation in everyday life, what to look out for, and how they can legitimately avoid it if they so choose.

The wallet is not the only prop for this role; in this particular programme it is also the clothing worn by the security staff. The epaulettes and the dark green badges with the embroidered and underlined name of the security firm on both upper arms of the green shirt are reminiscent of a German police uniform. Yet the officers here are not representatives of the state, but employees of a private security firm. Nevertheless, these features give the clothing the look of an official uniform, which signifies that the wearer has a special status in their surroundings. Although the

two private security guards are only entitled to exercise the same legal power and have the same rights and duties as any other German citizen, they gain authority through their props and are assigned the role of peace keepers on this particular stage at the student party (cf. Goffman 2003). By their authoritarian manner, they live up to what is expected of them. In this way, they are "typical" of their professional group: they are self-assured and have a firm voice, they move confidently through the crowd and are not afraid of confrontation. By behaving in an authoritarian way, they gain authority (cf. Thomas' theory). This image of the officers is reinforced in the course of the programme. At the beginning, security officer Guido predicts that something is about to happen, he speaks in police jargon and behaves exactly how an enforcer of law and order is expected to behave. It comes as no surprise that his prediction soon comes true; after all, he knows what he is talking about.

The stage for this drama is set at the very beginning of the programme. In the first images, the officers stand out from the amorphous mass of students not only because of their dress, manner and appearance, but also because the off-screen voice and the camera perspectives reinforce this impression. In the introduction, the narrator outlines the facts and some key information about the place and event, stressing how 20 security officers are responsible for keeping the peace at a university party of 10,000 students. This is not only a very effective way of implying power – 20 security officers are enough to keep 10,000 potential troublemakers in order at the party – but combined with other remarks also suggests quite clearly that these officers actually will be needed to establish internal security. "Die Security-Männer brauchen nicht lange warten. Einige Studenten haben schon ordentlich getankt und geraten aneinander." ("The security men need not wait long. Some of the students have already drunk too much and clash with one another." (5:31). Even in the opening sequence of the programme, the officers' presence and the action they take at the student party is legitimized by the voice-over (for the viewers): "Wenns am schönsten ist, soll man aufhören. So auch diese Studenten, die bekommen von Guido Hausverbot bei der Uniparty und werden frech." ("Always stop when you're having a good time. The same goes for these students, who have been ejected by Guido and are mouthing off.") (3:57). Guido, the keeper of the peace personified, has the right to ban people from the party, and it becomes very clear that, on this evening and at this party, he is the figure of authority. What is also significant is the following commentary: "Und als das nicht zieht, probieren sie es mit der Mitleidstour, doch Guido bleibt hart und gibt obendrein noch Nachhilfe, was deutsche Satzzeichen anbelangt." ("And when that doesn't work, they try pleading, but Guido stands his ground and even gives them a bit of extra German tuition." (4:10). Guido "stands his ground", he asserts his authority, and right is on his side. On this particular stage, the student party, Guido is in charge.

This is one of the reasons why he and his colleague are followed by the camera throughout the programme. The shaky camera and eye-level perspective give viewers the impression that they are in the midst of the action. Clearly, the camera is not just present as an actor at the party, but actually takes part in it. The camera determines the perspective on the action, decides who gets a chance to speak and which events at the party are important in long or full shots of certain situations. The camera constructs the action, even though it seems merely to be trailing the officers. In the end, it is the camera that determines which perspective is taken on events. When it picks up on a particular situation, the people it focuses on and the conclusions that can be drawn from what is happening (voice-over) consequently depend on the medium of television, which in this way (even if unintentionally) becomes an actor with a role in internal security.

Yet it is not the filming alone but also the off-screen voice that adds to this construction. Both are elements of the medium that is reporting on the event. It, rather than the viewer, therefore carries a certain amount of weight when it comes to interpretation. The medium is on the scene, it sees, speaks, and is right. In this way, on the strength of the camera perspective alone, the television tells a story that could have been told in any number of ways.

The interplay between the off-screen voice and the camera perspective is another critical factor. What is shown may be *pre*selected via the camera perspective, but viewers could still interpret what they see in various ways. For example, in a scene where somebody gets pushed, they could decide for themselves who is the "goody" and who is the "baddy". If the voice-over adds its own comments and meaning to the situation, however, there only appears to be one possible interpretation.

The clarity of the situation and the acting role of the medium are underscored by the use of two common instruments: emotionalization and personalization, which are also classed as typical characteristics of entertainment and tabloid formats (cf. Klein 1998: 103).

Emotions are aroused above all when the off-screen voice makes negative or positive value judgments or almost ironic sounding comments: "Wenns am schönsten ist, soll man aufhören. So auch diese Studenten, die bekommen von Guido Hausverbot bei der Uniparty und werden frech." (3:57). ("Always stop when you're having a good time. The same goes for these students, who have been ejected by Guido and are mouthing off."). In this quote, security officer Guido is personalized by the use of his first name (his colleague's first name is also used at another point in the programme), as is the case on other occasions mentioned in this interpretation. The officers are addressed using "du", the informal form of "you" in German. From the very beginning, the description "Guido, Head of Security Service" (5:16) creates the basis on which the audience can get to know Guido as the programme progresses.

In contrast to the personalization of the officers (above all Guido), which implies social proximity between viewers and Guido, it is also noticeable that the troublemakers are distanced socially from both the officers and the audience. This impression is created when "our" Guido speaks to the troublemakers using the formal "Sie" version of "you". In the same way, the troublemaking students are neither named nor are their faces clearly visible.

One student has been ejected from the party and instructed not to return. A discussion ensues between Guido and the student, who is backed up by one of his friends. Both students remain anonymous. In this scene, which – bluntly put – resembles the kind of ad hoc court set up to deal with insurrection and civil unrest, Guido is judge and jury rolled into one. He questions his colleague as a witness and values his statement higher than that of the banned student's friend, who is keen to stress that the student had himself been pushed and had only knocked into others as a result. The verdict has been passed in the very first scene: no admission for *suspected* trouble-makers. After a ten-minute discussion (according to the information in the voice-over), in which the student protests his innocence and attempts verbally to change the security boss's mind, the latter ends the discussion by walking away. He leaves behind him the two students, whose response to the – in their eyes – unfair verdict is one of incomprehension. The camera subsequently offers both students a forum in which to talk about the injustice they believe they have suffered. The way the students are portrayed evokes sympathy in the audience. They speak and argue their case clearly and sensibly. In the end they submit, with the "guilty" student's parting words: "Na, auf jeden Fall muss ich dann jetzt anderweitig gucken." ("I suppose I'll have to find somewhere else to go instead."). The student's departure again evokes feelings of sympathy in the viewers. He is quiet and sensible, and in spite of the apparent injustice, he accepts his punishment and leaves. The scene could easily have gone another way. The two students could have tried to force their way into the hall; they could have "smuggled" themselves in through a different entrance; they could have kicked up a fuss about the injustice, and so on. As such, a range of options was open to them for action. They chose to accept the apparent injustice, which evokes sympathy and at the same time reveals the underlying dialectic of the situation: a team of 20 people is in charge of security at a party of 10,000 guests. This can only work if any potential sources of conflict are defused by the security team – according to the portrayal in the programme – taking pre-emptive action, or more precisely, rooting them out and preventing them from happening at all. Through its portrayal in the media, this form of prevention, in this case preventive *ex*clusion, becomes a negative example of a positive general prevention strategy, which is designed to reinforce behavioural conformity by exerting pressure on the population and thus strengthen their faith in the legal and social order.

The final sequence also presents the audience with a possible way of behaving if they too ever

encounter unfair treatment, and this reaction is subtly justified and legitimized in the scene. It shows a single individual accepting his fate for the good and security of the whole (in this case the party of 10,000 students)[4] and suggests that, by behaving responsibly, it is possible to avoid ambiguous situations in which we may appear to be causing trouble or breaking the rules. If we do not behave in this responsible way, we may get caught up (through our own fault) in the process of upholding order and the possible consequences associated with it. In the two students' case, their faces were unidentifiable and the students themselves remained anonymous. This creates a basis for both inductive inference and, more so, a typology of action, since it allows general conclusions to be drawn from the (interchangeable) individual case. Socially desirable behaviour in this situation is an orderly, not too loud and acquiescent departure from the scene.

Our analysis confirms that *Achtung Kontrolle!* belongs to the semi-documentary format. This is particularly evident from the elements of tabloid reporting such as emotionalization and personalization, the entertaining part of the format. Editing of the filmed scenes, the camera's chosen perspective of the action and the voice-over impose a narrative structure through the relevant medium. However, the programme also contains documentary components: it is not a purely fictional format in the sense of an invented story (as is the case in other programmes such as the German courtroom series* *Barbara Salesch* and similar formats), and some of the scenes clearly document the work of the officers. The camera, and thereby the medium, may have their own perspective on events, but they still document the actions of the characters who are followed by the cameras throughout the series. This particular episode of *Achtung Kontrolle!* likewise contains both fictional and documentary elements, which is what makes it a semi-documentary format.

This special classification of the programme as semi-documentary indicates the key role played by the medium in constructing an understanding of internal security. It does this in part by selecting certain scenes, adding commentary and taking a certain perspective on the action, which it legitimizes by setting authenticity as its standard and claiming to depict reality. In this way, internal security is modified by securitainment, whether intended or not.

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[4] Ein zugespitztes Beispiel für einen solchen Fall bot die Diskussion zum Abschuss von entführten Flugzeugen, die Innenminister Wolfgang Schäuble gesetzlich verankern wollte. Diese Initiative scheiterte durch das Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgericht im Februar 2006, das den entsprechenden Paragraphen für verfassungswidrig erklärte. (An acute example of such a case was the debate on the shooting down of hijacked aeroplanes, which German Minister of the Interior Wolfgang Schäuble attempted to introduce into law. His initiative failed when the German Federal Constitutional Court ruled the relevant clauses to be non-constitutional in February 2006.

5. Conclusion: from Mediator to Actor

In our understanding, there are two key aspects to securitainment. Firstly, the existence and spread of programmes like those addressed here in the mass media help to establish internal security symbolically. Although these programmes are based on everyday life and discreetly claim to be authentic, they also possess an essentially fictional component and are therefore impossible to class as either pure documentation or exclusively fictional.

In the *Achtung Kontrolle!* series, the programmes construct their own reality in which they first identify the agents of internal security, legitimize their actions within this context and define the scope of internal security based on the various areas of activity it entails. How control and its role are depicted is also determined and developed here. The choice of the shield symbol and lettering to represent the series indicates a different understanding or portrayal of security and control than, e.g., a surveillance camera in its place. The shield begs acceptance and understanding, while the camera is reproving, and the focus of its all-seeing eye is on surveillance and control.

However, securitainment is not only responsible for helping to construct and/or modify an understanding of internal security, but also makes way for the emergence of a new form of social control. It presents correct or acceptable actions and behaviours, together with the potential consequences of failing to conform to them (as the example of the two students clearly shows). Viewers implicitly learn something about internal security, its control and legitimation in this way. The mass media's primary intention in broadcasting such programmes may not be to actively portray and emphasize social control, but this is precisely their contribution to the discourse on internal security. "Dass ein solches Agieren der Medien vor allem der Bindung der Leser / Zuhörer / Zuschauer an das ,Programm' der Medien dient, dass es also um Kundenbindung geht und nicht um eine (ausgearbeitete) Sicherheitspolitik, ändert nichts daran, dass es de facto Sicherheitspolitik ist. Nicht die Absicht zählt, sondern die Folgen – und jede Theorie, die sich mit dem Agieren der Medien beschäftigt, muss die Folgen dieses Agierens für die Herstellung der Inneren Sicherheit einer Gesellschaft im Auge haben." (Reichertz 2009: 12f.) ("That the media acts this way primarily to keep their readers/listeners/viewers loyal to their own 'programme', that it is a matter of customer loyalty and not some (well thought-out) security policy, does not alter the fact that it is indeed security policy. It is not the intention but the outcome that counts – and any theory of media conduct must bear in mind the consequences of that conduct on the establishment of a society's internal security."). The media pick up on security discourse, process certain elements of it and feed them back into the debate as new aspects or events. The media thus assume an essential and active role in internal security, since

they are responsible, among other things, for re-constructing and re-ordering this field. The media, which initially set out to satisfy economic interests by entertainizing the theme of internal security, in the second instance become agents of internal security and help to influence its construction in a society. The role of mere mediator between internal security and the viewing public has long since ceased to apply to the media. In its place, they are now assuming an increasingly active role within this discourse and, whether intended or not, changing and creating.

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