Media Framing of Third Sector Activities in Europe

Part I of deliverable 2.3 of the project:
"Impact of the Third Sector as Social Innovation" (ITSSOIN),
European Commission – 7th Framework Programme

28 February 2015

Suggested citation

Acknowledgements

ITSSOIN

Content

Executive summary

This report from the ITSSOIN-project contains content and framing analyses of 8463 items on third sector activities sampled from the year 2013 in leading national and regional newspapers from nine European countries, posing the research question: *How are third sector activities and social innovation framed by European news media?*

The analysis is one part of the deliverable D2.3 'Images of the Third Sector' of the ITSSOIN project. D2.3 has been conceptualised to evaluate perceptions of media and citizens attitudes towards the third sector. Both perspectives are published as distinct and independent papers. Readers also interested in the citizen perception find more insights in the publication 'Empirical analyses of citizen perceptions of the third sector in Europe'.

The introduction (section 1) demonstrates that little relevant media research has been published specifically on third sector activities related to social innovation policy and civic engagement. Consequently, it is argued that more empirical research is urgently needed, and that a framing perspective, drawing upon the growing literatures of agenda-setting and diffusion of innovation, is particularly relevant for studies of this kind.

The media content analysis (section 2) summarizes the major trends in mediated discourse on third sector activities in the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom 2003-2013. These tendencies are related to social innovation policy streams documenting that the latter is covered to a minimal extent. In all the countries under study, journalism tends to neglect innovative performances by the third sector. In so doing, mass media may not directly influence public opinion by telling people what to think, but rather indirectly by indicating to the decision makers what (not) to act upon.

The framing analysis (section 3) indicates that third sector activities – in marked contrast to business and politics – do not have high priority as a news reporting beat in their own right. The third sector is primarily mediated with localized references to specific organizations and individuals performing advocacy and services provision on a non-profit basis. In the relatively few instances where social innovation policy in a more general sense is related to the third sector media coverage, the reporting is overwhelmingly loyal to government views.

Four hypotheses are tested (section 4) showing that the press framing of the third sector is generally positive. It is also demonstrated how social innovativeness is less pronounced in press coverage than other civil society values, e.g. voluntarism and civic engagement. Most of the press coverage is consensus-oriented leaving little room for anti-establishment frames. Especially after the financial crisis of 2008, "volunteering" and "civil society" have become political catchwords regarded by governments as well as journalist to be universal solutions to social problems. Finally, an affinity between the media framing of different third sector fields and civil society roles is indicated. Advocacy is particularly emphasised in relation to environmental sustainability and community development. Service provision is stronger in relation to social services and healthcare.

Please note that the study is explorative rather than explanatory in scope. Accordingly, we advise caution in drawing general conclusion from the limited amount of data available (section 5), and call for more empirical and comparative research involving a broader variety of media platforms, including electronic- and social media.

1. Introduction

WP 1.3 of the ITSSOIN-project (Bekkers & Brink Lund, 2014) contains a screening of the literature on media perception of third sector activities, and demonstrates clearly that content analyses of this kind have been neglected, compared to media coverage research focussing on business or policy activities. A rich, but somewhat dated, literature exists on media perception of advocacy, originating from the cultural studies tradition (Halloran, Elliott & Murdoch, 1970; McLeod & Hertog, 1992), and critical scholarship on the rise and decline of the public sphere (Habermas, 1962; Sennett, 1977). Few studies have also been performed in relation to third sector service provision, and even fewer with focus on social innovations (Lund, 1999; Rogers, 2003). In line with this it was concluded:

> (L)ittle research has been published in Europe on contemporary media perception of social innovation and civic engagement. Consequently, ITSSOIN shall do an original, comprehensive and comparative nine country-based framing analysis. The research takes its point of departure from theory-based ideal types related to advocacy and service provision. (Bekkers & Brink Lund, 2014:24)

Media scholars have demonstrated that diffusion, of ideas in general and specific innovations in particular, depends heavily on the media framing of news and views selected on the basis of professional criteria defined by journalists and editors (Reese, 2001). Media professionals consider framing to be the essence of the craft of publishing (Rich, 2007), realizing that news production is not merely a matter of reporting facts, but also a process of inter-views constructing meaning:

> Any analytic approach to journalism – indeed to the production of any mass-mediated content – must ask: What is the frame here? Why this frame and not another? What patterns are shared by the frames clamped over this event and the frame in different media in different places and different moments? And how does the news-reporting institution regulate these regularities? And then: What difference do the frames make for the larger world? (Gitlin, 1980:7)

Since the 1980s, framing paradigm has become the core of a more general agenda setting theory (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997), demonstrating how professional perception of what is relevant news and what is not, defines not only the content of the mass media, but also frequently becomes the premises for political debate (Norris, 2000). In order to understand the dynamics of social domains, e.g. third sector activities, it is important to study how different fields of interest are communicated, perceived as more or less "news worthy" in terms of premeditated frames defined by press, radio and television.

In turn, knowledge of framing processes is not only essential in order to evaluate the priority of certain types of messages, but more importantly to understand how pack journalism shapes public opinion (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). In other words, regarded from an agenda setting perspective, the power of the news media is not primarily their direct influence on what people think, but rather how journalism indirectly frames what decision makers perceive as important to act upon.

Over the last decade these processes of mediated framing have been increasingly influenced by the emergence of new, so-called social media of the Facebook and Twitter-type. Online framers of current affairs bridge the unedited gossip of informal grapevine communication with authoritative and vetted media content, changing the premises for what may be considered relevant news and legitimate views. Yet, since these hybrid channels of communication are fuzzy and hard to document, it is almost impossible to get valid and comparative data for

systematic research purposes. Consequently, we have limited our scope to key word based analysis of comprehensive samples from national and regional newspapers.

Newspapers not only influence public opinion and decision making by diffusing news and views, but also by ignoring claims and events not fitting into pre-defined frames. Significant developments in civil society may be victims of media neglect theorized as 'spirals of silence' (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). In agenda setting of this negative kind, controversial as well as routine activities may be excluded from public discourse, not because they are irrelevant to people's lives, but because they do not fit the current framework of professional journalism. Framing of third sector activities is an on-going process, not a taken for granted privilege belonging to official authorities and membership organizations (Schudson, 2003). In most European countries, newspaper journalists working in print as well as online reporting, play a defining role within an ecology of professional media framing. In short, mass media in general and newspapers (considered serious and informed) in particular, still act as important agenda setters by framing public discourse (Brink Lund, 2013).

Taking our point of departure from this brief sketch of agenda setting theory (with particular emphasis on framing practices in diffusion of innovations), empirical data from leading national and regional newspapers, publishing news and views in nine different European media systems (Hallin & Manchini, 2004), has been analysed in order to answer the research question: How are third sector activities and social innovation framed by European news media? More specifically we test four hypotheses:

> *H1: The press framing of third sector activities on the micro level is expected to be more positive than on the meso- or macro-level.*

As ITSSOIN has demonstrated in WP 1.3., perceptions play an important role in the development of civil society. Fundamentally, third sector activities take place at the micro-level in local communities, but public debate on these issues originate at the macro-level of national and regional decision making, and the organizations providing advocacy and services of non-profit character are primarily found at the meso-level. We expect that the media framing takes place on all three levels, with particular emphasis on political views and localized news. Consequently, the sampling of data contains national as well as regional news media. In the content analysis, we not only focus on positive/negative framing, but also on priorities given to mediation of social innovations and civic engagement:

> *H2: Social innovativeness is expected to be relatively less pronounced in press coverage of third sector activities than a number of other civil society values, e.g. voluntarism and civic engagement.*

The overall aim of the ITSSOIN-project is to test whether or not third sector actors may be regarded as more or less socially innovative than state and market actors. First, we relate explicitly to this hypothesis by comparing innovativeness to other civil society norms. Secondly, we take the analysis to the macro-level of policy discourse, comparing the mediation of social innovation to claims in official policy documents. This latter framing analysis takes its point of departure from the third hypothesis:

> *H3: Press reporting on national social innovation streams is expected to be in line with the national policy discourse on social innovation.*

In order to test H3, the quantitative coding has been supplemented by content analysis of current policy regimes in the nine countries under study (Flening, Einarsson & Preuss, 2015). This material constitutes a baseline for single as well as trans-national comparisons, well

suited for identifying whether or not mass media apply a consensual or a conflictual framing strategy related to government policy papers covering the period 2003-2013. Finally, we test a fourth hypothesis:

> *H4: The main dimensions used by the press to frame third sector actors are expected to be roles of advocacy and roles of service provision.*

For this purpose, third sector activities have been defined as mediated events taking place in non-profit domains containing non-governmental organisations, volunteers and self-organized initiatives. More specifically we have surveyed social services, healthcare, consumer protection, community development, work integration, environmental sustainability, arts and culture. Related to these activities, the ITSSOIN-project (Anheier et al. 2013) suggests advocacy and service provision to be central dimensions for the development of social innovation and civic engagement (Anheier et al. 2013). In line with this, we shall test to what extent advocacy and service provision serve as master frames for the newspaper mediation of third sector activities in the nine countries under study.

We address the four hypotheses in section 4 of this report. First, however, we offer country specific presentations of media coverage on third sector activities over for the period 2003-2013 (section 2), followed by a comparative framing analysis based on the vetted and aggregated inter-European media content sample, consisting of those items from the individual country samples mediating third sector activities from the year 2013 (section 3).

2. Media coverage of third sector activities 2003-2013

The aim of this section is to describe major trends in the newspaper mediation of third sector activities over time in the nine European countries taking part in the ITSSOIN-project. Ideally we would have liked to base the study on coded content from all communicative platforms, including informal grapevines, social media, radio, and television. This, however, has not been feasible with the limited resources allocated for the task.

We have to make do with data from leading newspapers generated by systematic searches for six pre-selected key words covering the period 2003-2013. The coding of the articles has been conducted by native-speakers following a mutual coding manual. Problems encountered during the language-specific coding procedures were discussed within the ITSSOIN team and coordinated from CBS Center for Civil Society Studies at Copenhagen Business School. For more details on methodology and comparability see Appendix 1.

Figure 2.1.: Trends in media coverage of third sector activities 2003-2013
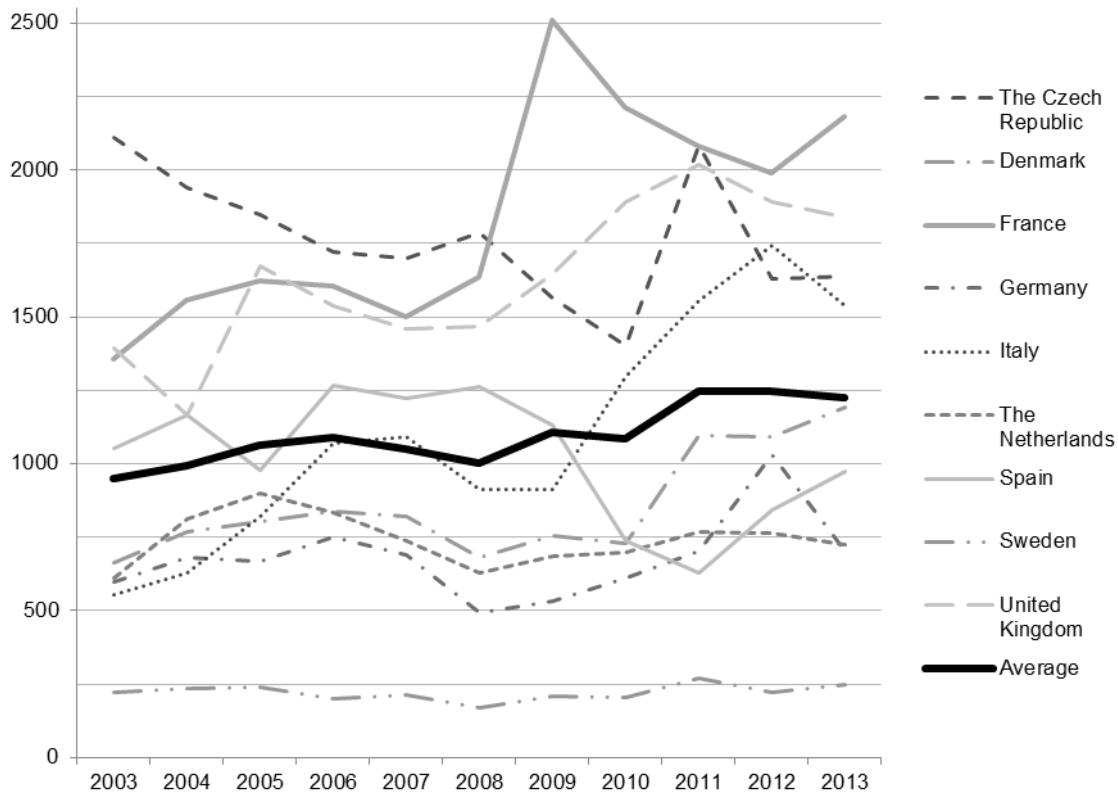
Figure 2.1. shows an increase in references to third sector activities from an average of 951 in 2003 to 1227 in 2013. The most illuminating reading of the table, however, is the relative values within and between countries, whereas the absolute numbers reported must be evaluated with caution (see Appendix 1): We only capture a selective sample of all third sector activities. A catch all sampling would have to include far more key words, e.g. all major third sector organizations and informal actors. This however, is a formidable task, way beyond the confines of the resources available. It should also be noted that the 2013-numbers have been adjusted for comparative purposes in the pan-European framing analysis (reported in Section 3 and 4).

Keeping these methodological limitations in mind, figure 2.1. tells a simplified and aggregated story about mediated perceptions of third sector activities in Europe. The most widely used key concept in the newspapers, is national language variations of "civil society", a flexible and contested concept, containing conflicting norms related to active citizenship beyond the spheres of family, market, and state. Jeffrey C. Alexander (1998:7) defines it as a sphere that "is exhibited by 'public opinion', possesses its own cultural codes and narratives in a democratic idiom, is patterned by a set of peculiar institutions, most notably legal and journalistic ones, and is visible in historically distinctive sets of interactional practices like civility, equality, criticism, and respect".

What Alexander calls "journalistic institutions" legitimize their framing of social phenomena in the self-appointed role as servants of informed citizenship within the public spheres, at arm's length from market as well as government control. National and regional newspapers, themselves operating as civil society institutions, could be expected to be particularly attentive

to third sector activities. This, however, is not the case in the nine European countries under study. In marked contrast to business and politics, third sector news and views do not have high priority as a newspaper beat in its own right.

The general trend in the country reports presented in this section is that third sector activities are primarily mediated with localized references to specific organizations and individuals performing advocacy and service provision on a non-profit basis. In the relatively few instances where social innovation policy in a more general sense is related to the third sector media coverage, the reporting is overwhelmingly loyal to government views. For more country-specific details see statistics in Appendix 2.

2.1. Czech Republic

Based on data from three newspapers (Anopress, 2014): *Mladá fronta Dnes* (incl. its regional supplements), *Právo*, and *Deník* – the Czech media content development 2003-2013 tells a different story than the rest of the countries in the sample. From a maximum in 2003, third sector coverage declines and reaches an absolute low point in 2010. After a brief revival in 2011 it settles at 1554 items (vetted for redundant and inordinate content) in 2013. This is still well above the nine-country average. Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Czech media contributes 1554 items to the comparative European sample.

The main trends in this development can be explained by changes in Czech politics. In the aftermath of the so-called velvet revolution, "civil society" became the catchword for non-partisan and value-based politics related to the fall of the state-socialist regime. Third sector actors played important and largely publicized role until the turn of the millennium, but after that the Czech governments turned more neo-liberal and technocratic and slowly turned its back on the civil society hype of the 1990s.

The later twists in press coverage of the third sector concepts (including the perception of "volunteering") may be connected to the preparation of a new Civil Code that entails radical changes in the legislation on non-profits in the Czech context. In 2008, the code was officially submitted for review with stakeholders (including actors from non-profit sector), and in 2011 the code underwent a series of debates in the Czech Parliament. Especially the latter might have triggered media attention.

All in all, the third sector media coverage is positive, especially in the regional press, praising individual volunteers and non-profit service provision. The few negative items are associated with the advocacy of the non-profits in the field of environmental protection, because their claims were deemed as contentious by government and expert sources. The third sector is not framed as particularly innovative, and while the intersection between the political system and civil society is sometimes conceived as problematic, exchanges between the market and the third sector are heralded as "humanizing the business", well suited to improve welfare service provision.

The low or nearly missing connection between the concept of social innovation and third sector is fully consistent with the Czech policy discourse on innovation: the key official policy documents treat the concept mainly in a narrow technocratic way. The innovations are mostly conceived as technological tools that are expected to improve the living standards of the Czech citizens mainly through modernizing and stimulating the national economy, making it more competitive vis-à-vis the other countries and speeding up the economic growth. Some of the

main connotations used in combination with the concept of innovation are "research", "competitiveness" and "education", but these mostly focus on natural and technical sciences, commercial services, and economic growth. In other words, official Czech policy discourse neglects the social aspects of the processes of innovation and thus fully complies with the virtually non-existent connections between the third sector and social innovations in the mainstream media.

2.2. Denmark

The Danish media content (Infomedia, 2014) originates from *Berlingske*, *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Fyens Stiftsstidende*. In contrast to the Czech Republic, the media coverage shows a steady increase 2003-2011 stabilizing around the nine country average level in 2013. Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Danish media contributes 1157 items to the comparative European sample.

This overall trend reflects an increase in government and municipal concern with growing costs of welfare services. Consequently, politically elected officials turn to third sector actors expecting their assistance in the delivery of social services, healthcare and other tax-based tasks on a voluntary basis. This kind of mediation is mostly related to the key words "non-profit sector" and "voluntarism" whereas items mentioning "civil society" are more concerned with developments abroad, especially in Eastern Europe and so-called "developing countries". The ambiguities of this *them* versus *us* media coverage was illustrated in a spectacular fashion in 2005 during the so-called "Mohammed Cartoon Crisis", framed by the provincial newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* but making an advocacy impact world-wide.

Most of the press coverage of third sector activities, however, is less militant and more service provision oriented, mediated in positive frames of "associational life". In 2001, a Charter for the cooperation between the voluntary sector and the public sector was drafted in general terms (with little measurable impact). In 2011, *Civilsamfundsstrategien* (Danish civil society strategy) was promoted by the government. In 2014, a renewed Charter for the cooperation between the voluntary sector and the public sector has been published. The Charter for cooperation between the voluntary sector and the public sector describes the fundamental values and frameworks for interaction. These ideals of voluntarism and civic engagement in terms of social innovation are infrequently reflected in national debate on policy principles.

As far as official Danish social innovation policy is concerned the newspapers generally ignore the official white papers. The debate actually taking place, on the other hand, is pretty much in line with government policy and little criticism is raised in terms of the current third sector strategy. The few exceptions to the political consensus are interviews and letters to the editor, especially from union representatives, casting voluntary work within more critical frames, expressing fear of layoffs and lack of professional quality in welfare services outsourced to private, non-profit organizations. Most of the domestic coverage of third sector activities, however, consists of local stories focused at the micro-level, heralding altruist individuals and organized community groups performing valuable third sector activities and philanthropy.

On the whole, the mediated attitude towards the third sector is positive, bearing witness to a collective notion of associational life as the backbone of Danish society. The concept of civil society is linked to democratic virtues such as participation and freedom of association as the guarantor of societal cohesiveness and general well-being of citizens. In the face of the many

challenges confronting today's welfare societies, great confidence is held in the potential resources of the third sector to ensure the perseverance of social services.

2.3. France

The French data (Factiva, 2014; Europresse, 2014) is based on *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Parisien* and *Ouest France*. Between 2010 and 2011 *Ouest France* changed editorial policies by segmenting local coverage geographically, which resulted in a massive mechanical increase in the number of articles containing the keywords. To measure the extent of this mechanical bias, the neutral keyword "France" was used for a search, which showed that the third sector keywords and "France" followed the same trend. Thereby it became possible to eliminate the mechanical bias and generate more accurate data, which is what is shown in figure 2.1. For practical as well as comparative reasons, the French 2013-sample has furthermore been vetted for replicated and inordinate items to an adjusted number of 764 items to be included in the framing analysis.

French media coverage of third sector activities is characterized by a general increase 2004-2013. An interesting peak can be observed 2009- 2011, probably in part caused by the economic crisis and changes in the editorial policies. Most of the media coverage of third sector activities is undertaken by regional newspapers through the depiction of local initiatives. Despite this focus, societal issues are addressed, such as, for instance, the aging population and the subsequent isolation of the elderly. Overall, the third sector is positively framed. Advocacy stands out as a clear characteristic of the third sector and sometimes contrasts with the alleged inertia of the state. On the debate on "end-of-life" which took place in 2013, the line of the government is distinguished from the one of the associations and civil society advocating for the legalisation of euthanasia.

It should also be noted that many of the articles with the keyword "civil society" seemed out-of-topic in the sense that they were not so much referring to the third sector and the organizations that it encompasses, but rather to citizens in general, sometimes political activists, and often framed in an international context, e.g. civil society defying the corrupted politicians in Eastern Europe.

Recent government policy development aims at fostering cooperation between the third sector and the public sector. In particular, in 2014, the government promoted *La Loi sur l'Economie Sociale et Solidaire* (Social and Economy Society Act). However the state seems to be willing to condition its support for the third sector to its economic and social impact. Consistent with this evolution, public subsidies to associations are decreasing (less 17% in six years) while public procurements are booming (+73% over the same period) (Sibille & Tchernonog, 2013).

Thus, as far as the government is concerned, much social innovation takes place in the third sector. Volunteering, however, is not at all associated with social innovation; and the third sector is pictured neither as a service provider nor as an advocate. Instead, it is referred to as a motor for sustainable local development and economic growth.

With one remarkable exception, *Spark News*, a start-up whose mission is to share social innovations with traditional news media, the notion of "social innovation" is scarcely mediated at all. While associational life is extensively reviewed and civic engagement highly valorised, when it comes to social innovations, the debate on the "opportunistic" versus "altruistic" nature of the mentioned initiatives may raise more attention than their innovativeness. This is

notably the case of so-called "social businesses", at the edge of the non-profit and market sectors.

2.4.Germany

The German data (LexisNexis, 2014) is based on *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Die Welt*, *Berliner Zeitung* and *Stuttgarter Zeitung*. Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the German media contributes 691 items to the comparative 2013-sample.

The media framing of the third sector in Germany is focussed on organisations as associations, confederations and charities. General terms associated with the third sector are not mentioned very often in German media, but if they occur they do so in connection to advocacy and co-production. Even the key word 'civil society', the most frequent term, is only rarely used. The use of the term 'civil society' ('Zivilgesellschaft') rose slowly but not constantly from 2003 to 2011. In 2012 it culminated with 711 items, but fell again in 2013 to 416 items. This indicates an increased journalistic interest in the subject. Meanwhile, from 2007 a decline can be observed with regard to the terms 'associational life' ('vereinsleben') and 'voluntarism' ('freiwilligkeit').

Relating these insights to the policy analysis first the divide in the policy discourse has to be reflected. The third sector is of no relevance in policies that refer to innovations in an economic context, but only to those policies relating to civic engagement. Even though this topic is not the highest priority in German policies it is relevant since the early 2000th. Since 2009 regular reports on civic engagement as founding for further policy decisions indicates a rising attention from policy makers for the subject. Content wise civic engagement is of more relevance than the third sector in this policy stream. The generally little attention for the third sector is similar in media, visible by little media references to these terms. But the increase of attention in policy from 2009 on is not reflected in media by higher numbers of articles that refer to civic engagement or voluntarism. And even though a slight decrease in articles on civil society and associational life from 2008 (civil society) respective 2012 (associational life) can be detected, content wise the approach of media and policy makers is quite different.

Journalists mostly refer to civil society or civic engagement in terms of advocacy, describing international protests of the public against the political regime, for example in Turkey or Syria. Some reports on national level reflect on the role of right-wing extremists or third sector activity in regard to the question of nuclear waste disposal. Further few articles relate to the role of civil society for the democratic system in Germany generally. The policy discourse on civic engagement in contrast relates stronger to volunteers as actors of civil society in Germany. Here concrete examples for engagement are given like providing services in health care or participating in environmental sustainable urban planning. Similar references to civic engagement can also be found sporadic in media, like reports on organisations founded to support elderly people with dementia. They indicate an accordance of media and policy perception of the third sector. But as media reports are mostly focussed on civil society and those concentrate on an international context, a general conclusion is difficult to make.

This observation hints to the assumptions that the suggested enhancement of the media analysis on organisation-level of third sector activities would provide broader insights into the discourse. Media articles referring to organisations are more likely to reflect on the role of the third sector for Germany than relating to international developments. Knowing that the few articles relating to similar subjects as policy streams are also close in regard to the description

of the third sector, stronger relationship between media and policy perceptions of the third sector in Germany can be expected from this approach.

2.5. Italy

The newspapers selected for the analysis are *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere del Mezzogiorno*. Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Italian media contributes 1162 items to the comparative 2013-sample. The vast majority of articles come from the first two newspapers listed. Most of the press coverage, in fact, is about "volunteering" and "civil society" concerning the sector of social services (or more than one sector together).

It is difficult to evaluate if there is consistency between the official policy documents and media perception of the third sector. This is mainly due to the political situation and the lack of policy documents regarding the third sector. The year of the framing-analysis, 2013, falls in the middle of a political turmoil in Italy, with Mario Monti (technical government) stepping out in April 2013 and leaving the government to Enrico Letta (Democratic Party) who will govern for less than a year. During the Monti government, the Agency for the Third Sector was closed. The Democratic Party has long promised a law for the reform of the third sector, which will be finally approved in the next months (from Matteo Renzi, still of the Democratic Party).

The perception of the third sector given by the media is definitely not connected to the political situation (with few exceptions). A partial explanation for this may rest on the nature of the two first mentioned newspapers. They both have a national coverage and a very wide audience, and they are not "militant" in this respect. A few articles condemn the third sector for its inefficiencies, for scandals, or for its incapacity of self-representation at policy-making tables. However, these represent exceptions: overall, no articles relate the third sector to the lack of policy action or the current political situation.

Generally, however, the mediated attitude towards the third sector is positive. The third sector is depicted favourably for its role of service provider and "gap filler" in the provision of public goods which the public sector at all levels – national, regional or local - cannot face any more. In particular, newspapers with a more local than national coverage refer more to the regional context than to the national one. Nonetheless, the financial crisis is the most recurrent contextual information given by any media source, often as the root to complain for the lack of public resources which makes the third sector the only actor of solidarity towards less fortunate people.

2.6. Netherlands

Two national newspapers, *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*, and the two largest regional, Dagblad van het Noorden and *De Gelderlander* (LexisNexis, 2014) constitute the data for the Dutch contribution to the European sample. Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Dutch media contributes 621 items to the comparative 2013-sample.

Media coverage on the third sector in the Netherlands peaked in 2004 and 2005. A possible explanation for this could be that in the spring of 2004 a parliamentary discussion on the Social Support Act started. On the other hand, there is no increase in media coverage during 2007, the year in which this act was actually implemented. An alternative explanation for the peak could be a new 'temporary measure for encouraging volunteering' that was implemented that year.

There was a second smaller peak in media coverage of the third sector in general around 2012. Especially the term 'verenigingsleven' (associational life) was used more often than most other years. Furthermore, 'maatschappelijke betrokkenheid' (civic engagement) showed up more than in other years. In 2011 the ruling government announced policy measures that would stimulate financial independence and civic engagement, which might partly explain this peak.

The key word 'sociale innovatie' (social innovation) was used more than average in 2006, after which the usage dropped, and peaked again in the years 2012 and 2013. Content analysis shows that two labour unions were instrumental in putting the topic on their agenda, next to their core themes of employment security and income security. Furthermore, het Centrum voor Sociale Innovatie (the Centre for Social Innovation) was founded. Finally, The Social and Economic Council for The Netherlands (SER) published their recommendations to the government on social innovation in 2006. The 'Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning' (Social Support Act) in 2007 and the emergence of concepts such as 'doe-democratie' (do-democracy) in 2012 and 'participatiesamenleving' (participation society) in 2013 were also reflected in the media coverage.

The financial crisis, which started in 2008, could influence trends concerning third sector activities and social innovation as well. For example, unemployment can lead to a larger number of volunteers. People seek a useful way to spend their time, increase their self-respect and avoid isolation. Also, experience with voluntary work can be a good addition to one's résumé. Furthermore, there are discussions on 'compulsory voluntary work' in exchange for unemployment support. It is possible for local government authorities to oblige unpaid community service for those who are eligible for unemployment support. Local government authorities can choose to implement such a policy measure in their municipality. Finally, concepts such as 'do-democracy' and 'participation society' that showed up in politics and the public debate in 2012 and 2013 characterize the current emphasis on an active role of citizens in society.

While recent policy frames present civic engagement as a necessary form of participation in an inclusive democracy, some media outlets are more sceptical about government intentions. Media write about national and local welfare reforms as budget cuts sometimes with disastrous consequences for third sector activities. Sometimes citizens come up with initiatives to deal with these consequences, for example volunteers that exploit a swimming pool that used to be run by paid employees. Third sector activities are sometimes initiated and stimulated by the government, like a municipality that helps organizations to recruit volunteers by using social media such as Facebook and Twitter.

Besides the numerous and undeniably positive articles about individual volunteers or voluntary activities that improve social cohesion, some debate exists about the professionalization of third sector organisations. There is the so-called "professional paradox", referring to charity organizations that once started as an idealistic group of volunteers and have eventually developed to institutes with highly educated, well paid employees and international ramifications, contributing to an image of bureaucracy and overhead. Furthermore, there are articles about stricter regulations concerning third sector activities that can form obstacles for, for example, volunteers.

2.8. Spain

The data from Spain (MyNews, 2014) originates from two national newspapers *El Mundo* and *El Pais* plus two regionals *La Vanguardia* (during the period of analysis pro-nationalist) and *El Correo* (non-nationalist). Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Spanish media contributes 811 items to the comparative 2013-sample.

Spain has been suffering widespread consequences of economic crisis since 2008. The effects of this development are reflected, directly or indirectly in the majority of the material analysed, mediated as an increased demand for social action, mitigating the consequences of cuts in public grants and subsidies to third sector organizations, and/or important delays in paying agreed funds – a trend particularly marked in Catalonia.

Savings banks and their social action initiatives and foundations have been undergoing a comprehensive restructuring process, which started in 2009. Until their recent dismantling, Spanish savings banks were financial entities of foundational nature, often with their own instrumental foundations dedicated to managing their social action. The social action of savings banks ("obras sociales") and their foundations had traditionally been included in many estimates of the size of the Spanish third sector as one of its most relevant components. Restructuring affected 43 out of 45 savings banks existing in 2009, meaning that the sector is currently constituted by only 11 organizations/groups of organizations. The number of branches and employees has been significantly reduced and limits have been legally imposed on their financial activity and governance (see CECA, 2014). A limited number of banking foundations resulting from the restructuring have experienced dramatic reductions of their budgets. A series of articles echo this restructuring process and its (potentially negative) consequences as regards social action capacity of surviving organizations and effects on funding to former beneficiaries, most notably independent nonprofits.

In a broader context of weakened trust and relatively positive perceptions of third sector organizations, a series of scandals related to bad governance and corruption involving the latter have recently attracted media attention. We can find a series of articles on these recent scandals where third sector organizations are involved and mediated negatively: in particular related to the funding of political parties and their foundations and think tanks, trade unions involved in corruption and mismanagement of funds, and a specific scandal of a foundation involving members of the royal family. This trend can also help explain the high number of articles mediating individual and/or community initiatives of solidarity and advocacy.

The two regional newspapers selected are based in autonomous communities that are characterized as historical nationalities, each of them with a distinct culture and own language, different from Spanish: Catalonia and the Basque region. In 2013 latent nationalist tensions have escalated. This is visible in a series of articles addressing civic advocacy and political activities of the third sector, particularly in Catalonia (mostly related to the current debate on its status within Spain and/or independency aspirations), but also in the Basque region (here mostly related to consequences of pro-independence terrorist organizations (ETA), their victims and families, and nationalist political parties).

Both the media and the existing policy packages referring to social innovation and the third sector (see Rey-García & Felgueiras, 2014 for an overview of the existing policy documents) put high expectations on the role of the third sector in solving social problems. Several years of economic crisis and the related reduction of government expenditure on social welfare have

increased societal demands and expectations of aid and service delivery upon the third sector in the country and are reflected in public and media discourses. However, we can find a gap between those discourses and the reality of a third sector that lacks institutionalization and adequate funding to respond to societal expectations (see for example López Pintor, 2004; Plataforma de ONG de Acción Social, 2012). The low level of institutionalization becomes patent by the fact that the keywords "asociaciones" (associations) and "fundaciones" (foundations) the most common legal forms third sector organizations adopt in Spain, have returned much higher articles than the keyword "tercer sector" (third sector).

The results of our analysis confirm that the social image of the third sector is not defined in opposition to the public and the for-profit sectors but by the social functions it performs (de la Torre, 2007), those being most often mediated as service provision due to the context of scalating but frequently unmet demands. In a context of economic crisis and generalized institutional distrust (CIS, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2011b) third sector organizations are mediated as the reliable actor that is operating there where government fails to address socioeconomic needs. The positive public image of third sector organizations persists despite a series of recent scandals involving third sector organizations, as well as a lack of systemic evaluation procedures and transparency practices that can demonstrate the real results and impacts of the sector (Álvarez & Sanzo, 2009).

2.9. Sweden

The Swedish data (Retriever, 2014) originates from two national (*Aftonbladet and Expressen*) and two regional newspapers (*Sydsvenskan & Östersunds-posten*). Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the Swedish media contributes the relative low number of 216 items to the comparative 2013-sample.

As there are few articles referring explicitly to the civil society sector/third sector, there is reason to believe that Swedish sector activity is also articulated in other ways than the applied keywords capture. For instance, a test search for a single third sector organisation name (Red Cross), returned 45 hits only for one of the national newspapers (Aftonbladet) in 2013, which is the same number as the result from the keyword giving the most hits in our sample in all of that year. Consequently, Swedish media do write about civil society organizations but they do not seem to conceptualise civil society or the third sector as a whole.

One possibility is that third sector activity is rather spoken of in terms of "societal issues". The sector might in these cases sometimes more implicitly be understood as advocates or service providers related to that issue. In a similar way, articles that potentially would discuss "societal actors", or similar broader notions including a variety of actors, such as third sector organisations, is not captured.

There are also many different terms used to speak of third sector activity in the Swedish language. The most visible trends in the quantitative coding are that the keyword "civilsamhället" (civil society) has become more frequent during the period of investigation, while the keyword "föreningslivet" (associational life) has become less frequent. "Social innovation" (social innovation) turns up in articles for the first time in 2010.

One widespread news story that was captured several times in the 2013-sample was the "Omar Mustafa-affair". Mustafa was excluded from his post as suppliant in the Social Democratic party board, as his conduct within the Muslim civil society was considered to be against the

values of the party. The Muslim organization that he represented had, for an example, invited lecturers with well-known anti-Semitic standpoints. Thus, these articles reflect both a critique of and also a fundamental faith in and positive view of the civil society sector actors.

One media event that does not occur in our sample, although it could be considered highly relevant with regard to the potential role of civil society actors, is the large debate in media on the possibilities for profit-distribution within welfare service. Although restrictions of dividend distribution have often been proposed, the civil society sector has only rarely been highlighted as a possible solution or as an alternative form of welfare service provider. The lack of this large media event in our sample might have to do with the general view of the sector as advocates rather than service providers. It might also mirror a general lack of knowledge and interest in the potential of the sector. It might also indicate that the general media discourse is more focused on political issues rather than actors and activities.

Swedish media do not seem to consider or to be up to date with the policy makers. There have been some policy initiatives with the purpose of strengthening civil society as a compact between the public sector and third sector organizations in the social sphere, a new law allowing tax reduction for gifts to non-profit organizations and a new legal business form for non-profits. This newly found interest for civil society and third sector from the policy makers is hardly reflected in the analysed news articles.

2.10. The United Kingdom

Data from the UK (LexisNexis, 2014) originates from *The Times* (a broadsheet right wing national paper), *The Guardian* (a broadsheet centre-right wing national paper), *The Herald* (a centre-left leaning Scottish broadsheet), and *The Belfast Telegraph* (a neutral Northern-Irish newspaper). Vetted for replicated and inordinate items, the United Kingdom media contributes 1487 items to the comparative 2013-sample. This reflects a growing media interest in third sector activities – especially after the financial crisis of 2008.

Media coverage from to 2003 to 2013 shows consistently government efforts to recruit volunteers; for example the current Office for Civil Society calls for more people to spend their time volunteering and encourages social engagement more generally. In the past, governments were in the media with cash incentives schemes for volunteers, in particular targeted at youth volunteers. Media coverage indicates that before the economic crises, under the Labour government, there was a clear focus on recruiting people from deprived and vulnerable backgrounds to allow them to take up volunteering in their communities such as through award schemes in collaboration with schools, colleges, universities and business partners (e.g. Department for Education and Skills scheme, report by the Institute for Public Policy Research); current government efforts do not seem as concerned with targeting deprived areas and vulnerable groups.

In 2013, the Coalition government appears concerned with forging partnerships between private and third sector in areas that the government considers high priority such as education and employment of young people, support for older people and digital technologies. In addition, innovative financial solutions and organisational models such as social enterprises received media coverage. Activities often appear incentivised by government and carried out in cooperation with other parts of the third, the public and the private sector; it shows that innovation is strongly influenced and sometimes directed by the government and also

dependent on activities of big private companies; the skills of the third sector, however, seem to be utilised extensively for making these projects happen.

Many of the articles in which the third sector is presented in a positive light come from the meso- and micro-levels and often present stories by third sector speakers, with almost half of those being related to service provision and about a third being related to advocacy. Self-actualisation plays a significant role in the portrayal of the third sector. As well as giving specific attention to the good work being done and the social development gained from involvement in third sector activities, there is a profound interest in selling the opportunity to readers.

The third sector is presented in its role as service provider often with reference to government in its role as regulator or auditor (macro or micro level); although organisations might use their power and status as service provider role to raise awareness of social problems; concerns have been raised now and in the past that government regulation in the UK undermines the ability of the certain sector to meet local needs and to voice concerns. Volunteering debated as key priority on government agenda but a third sector report discusses implications of the fact that state and third sector relationship are manifested increasingly through public service contracts and potential threat to third sector's independence (The Baring Foundation, 2014).

The third sector is viewed negatively in articles that report on scandals of fraud and abuse of taxpayer's money although the blame is put equally on certain government departments and bodies with regulation responsibilities. Criticism can come from other government institutions and MPs. Similarly, there is media coverage which critically reports on unjust demands on taxpayers' money for accessing third and public sector provided services (e.g. expensive help lines), particularly affecting vulnerable groups and at a micro level complaints of an uncoordinated provision of public and third sector provision (e.g. for veterans) that is reflected in waste and duplication on the one hand and gaps in service provision on the other.

Current government places emphasis on social innovation through collaborations between private, public and third sectors and this is reflected in media perceptions as well as in policy documents. The third sector takes opportunities to ensure that it is reflected positively in the media in terms of its contributions to welfare and social innovations, and some government documents also reflect upon third sector provided examples of social innovation. Generally, there is a broad consistency between policy documents and media perceptions in regards to social innovation although there are also conflict of interests between government and third sector, which sometimes find reflection in the media debate.

Section 2 has reflected on the trends in the third sector media coverage for each participating country respectively, covering the years 2003-2013. On this backdrop we are now prepared to move on to a comparative analysis of the aggregated European data from the year 2013.

3. Media framing of third sector activities in 2013

Based on the media monitor searches on newspaper coverage of the third sector 2003-2013 conducted in each participating country, the data from 2013 was excerpted and coded qualitatively under different parameters, some of which will be explained below (please see appendix 1 for more details). Subsequently, the 2013 coded data from each country database was collected in a trans-national database, where it was subjected to further study in a quantitative framing analysis, focusing on how third sector activities are framed in European

journalism. In so doing the 2013 data had to be vetted, since some media items were repeated in the media monitors or rendered non-substantial content, for example biographies and interviews that mention one of the keywords in passing without really dealing with third sector activities. See appendix 1 for more information on methodology and treatment of data.

Throughout this section the media items are analysed using descriptive statistics. The approach is inductive, as testing of hypotheses are reserved for section 4. The objective will be to identify general tendencies in data, as well as noting whenever countries deviate from the general tendencies.

3.1. Keywords

The data was generated through media monitor searches (Anopress, Factiva, Europress, Infomedia, LexisNexis, MyNews and Retriever, 2014) on six predefined keywords in each of the participating countries. The keywords used account for different proportions of the trans-national dataset, distributed as shown in the table below.

Table 3.1.1.: Count of sample keywords

Sample keyword	Count
Civil society	2508
Associational life	1351
Non-profit	1795
Voluntarism	2274
Social innovation	95
Civic engagement	440
N	**8463**

As the table shows, "civil society" and "voluntarism" are the most pronounced keywords followed by "non-profit" and "associational life". Furthermore, the table indicates that despite considerable political and scholarly interest in the concept, "social innovation" barely exists as a mediated concept in European journalism.

Some differences can be identified amongst the countries regarding which keywords generate the most prominent proportions of data. Items generated by the keyword "civil society" dominate the media samples from Germany and France, and also makes a notable contribution to the samples from Denmark, Sweden, Czech Republic, and Italy. More than half of the German items and about 65% of the French items are generated by the "civil society" keyword. "Associational life" is primarily apparent in the Swedish, Dutch, Danish, and Czech items. "Non-profit"-related keywords appear first and foremost in Spain and the United Kingdom, and accounts for more than half of the Spanish media items and about 40% of the British media items. Meanwhile "non-profit" appears to a minor extent in media in Germany, The Netherlands, and Sweden. "Voluntarism" is prevalent in all countries media samples, - especially in Italy, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. App. 45% of the Italian items and app. 40% of the Dutch and British items were generated by the "voluntarism" keyword. While "civic engagement" is frequent in Dutch, Danish and Swedish media, it barely appears in the media samples from the rest of the countries.

When interpreting these differences between countries, we should, however, keep in mind that the meanings of political concepts vary across languages (Koselleck, 1985). Despite the fact that the translations are accurate, we cannot be sure that for example "civil society" carries the same connotations as "zivilgesellschaft" in German and "občanská společnost" in Czech. In Spanish there is not even a direct translation of the concept of civil society that would capture a direct connotation with third sector organizations. This challenges the comparability of the keyword proportions, but we have to trust that each country has chosen the keywords with the greatest possible comparability to the predefined keywords.

3.2. ITSSOIN-fields

Each media item from the 2013 sample was given a code, denoting which ITSSOIN-field it mainly pertains to. The distribution of fields is shown in the table below.

Table 3.2.1.: **Count of ITSSOIN-fields**

ITSSOIN-field	Count
Social services	936
Healthcare	259
Community development	1309
Work integration	320
Environmental sustainability	368
Consumer protection	129
Arts & culture	663
Several fields mentioned	203
No ITSSOIN-field mentioned	4276
N	**8463**

Approximately half of the analysed items are on other topics than the ITSSOIN-fields. The other half are distributed so that especially community development, social services, and arts & culture are highly represented. Consumer protection stands out by being represented in very few items. Social services are strongly associated with the third sector in most countries. However, Germany, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom stand out as less than 10% of their items are related to social services. Health care is related to third sector to a minor extent in all countries except in Italy where the two concepts are more often associated. Community development is joined with the third sector frequently in most countries, especially France and Czech Republic. However, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom deviate from this trend, as less than 10% of their items are related to community development. Work integration is associated with third sector primarily in France and the United Kingdom, secondarily in the Netherlands, and hardly at all in the rest of the countries. Environmental sustainability is only weakly associated to the third sector in all countries. Consumer protection is related to the third sector to a minor extent in Spain and the United Kingdom, and almost not at all in the rest of the countries. In all countries, arts & culture are associated with the third sector to a considerable extent.

For clarification it should be noted that the proportions mentioned above are taken from all items. The proportions would be markedly higher if taken from only those items related to an ITSSOIN-field. This is what will be done in section 4.4.

3.3.National vs. regional media

Each item was coded to indicate its origin in either a right or left-leaning national or regional newspaper. Meanwhile, several countries reported challenges related to coding whether newspapers were right- or left-leaning. Therefore, this parameter was recoded as a binary variable, consisting of two possible values; national media or regional media, disregarding

Table 3.3.1.: Type of media

Media	Count
National	4172
Regional	4291
N	8463

All in all, the items are almost equally distributed between national and regional media. However there are some considerable variations in between the countries. More than 75% of the Czech and Dutch items are coded as originating from regional media. Contrarily, app. 85% of the Italian items and 70% of the British items are coded as originating from national media.

3.4.Media genre

Each item was coded to indicate its genre. To reduce complexity six initial categories of media genres were recoded either as news (front page news and ordinary news), views (editorial comment, invited comment, and letter to the editor), or other. Other refers to items that are not covered by the initial categories, for example interviews, book reviews, or obituaries. The table below shows the distribution of the variable.

Table 3.4.1.: Media genre

Genre	Count
News	6360
Views	1578
Other	525
N	8463

In general third sector activities are predominantly covered in news articles. Third sector activities are, however, not front-page material since only a minimal proportion of the news items were coded as front-page news. Third sector activities are to some extent debated through views. This is the case especially for Denmark, Sweden, and Czech Republic, where app. 35% of the items are views. The Netherlands deviates to the other extreme as only 4% of the Dutch items are coded as views.

3.5.Level of discourse

Each item was coded according to its level of discourse. Items were coded as oriented towards macro-level (policy activities), meso-level (organizational activities), or micro-level (individual and community activities). The distribution of the variable is shown below.

Table 3.5.1.: Level of discourse

Level of discourse	Count
Macro	2765
Meso	2641
Micro	3057
N	**8463**

The distribution between the three discursive levels is almost equal. It must, however, be noted that several countries have reported challenges related to coding the level of discourse. Newspaper articles often relate both to macro-, meso-, and micro-level, for example by relating meso- or micro-level cases to the macro-level development. This poses challenges in determining which level is dominant in the article. In hindsight, it would have heightened the reliability of this variable, had it been possible to code combinations of discursive levels. The variable at hand is not fully reliable and is thus excluded from the further analyses.

On the other hand, it can be argued that comparisons of content between national media and regional media may be interpreted as a proxy for differences in macro- and micro-level discourses. This use of proxy is discussed in more detail in section 4.1., when testing the hypothesis about discursive level and attitude towards third sector activities.

3.6. Attitude towards the third sector activities

The items were further coded to indicate the framed attitude towards the third sector. They were coded on a scale consisting of five values from very positive to very negative. To reduce complexity the variable was subsequently reduced from five to three values, focusing on whether third sector is framed as positive, neutral, or negative. Table 3.6.1. below shows the distribution of the variable.

Table 3.6.1.: Framed attitude towards third sector (N=8463)

Positive	Neutral	Negative	Grand total
47%	49%	4%	100%

The third sector activities are predominantly framed positively or neutral, very few items being framed negatively. The tendency is common to all countries except the United Kingdom, where the mediated attitude towards the third sector is generally less positive than in the rest of the countries. The vast majority of the British items are framed neutrally. The British deviation is to some extent explained by scandals of fraud and abuse of taxpayer's money involving third sector actors, which sometimes dominate the media coverage.

3.7. Innovativeness

Finally, items were coded according the framed innovativeness of the third sector. Table 3.7.1. below shows the distribution of the variable.

Table 3.7.1.: Framed innovativeness of the third sector (N=8463)

Very innovative	Somewhat innovative	Neutral	Not innovative	Anti-innovative	Grand total
4%	12%	83%	1%	0%	100%

Third sector is predominantly framed neutrally when it comes to innovation, being framed neither as innovative nor anti-innovative. It should be noted that when comes to France and Denmark, the third sector is more often framed as innovative than in the rest of the countries, but still predominantly as neutral.

4. Testing hypotheses

We now turn from the inductive analysis of variables to the deductive testing of hypotheses. As described in the introduction, four hypotheses are tested. The first regards the relation between discursive level and framed attitude towards the third sector. The next two deal with framed social innovativeness in relation to the national policy discourse on social innovation. The final hypothesis concerns ITSSOIN-fields related to framed third sector roles.

4.1. Discursive level and attitude towards third sector activities (H1)

From section 3.6. we learned that third sector activities are generally framed positively in European media coverage, the framing taking place on all three levels of discourse; macro, meso, and micro. Furthermore, a screening of literature on media perceptions and discursive levels (Bekkers & Brink Lund, 2014) provides basis for the first hypothesis:

> H1: The press framing of third sector activities on the micro level is expected to be more positive than on the meso- or macro-level.

As described in section 3.5. and in appendix 1, the variable measuring the discursive level is not fully reliable due to reported challenges in the coding process. Consequently we are not able to test the hypothesis without risking to compromise reliability. However, by narrowing the scope to macro- and micro-level, thereby excluding the meso-level, it might be possible to test a related hypothesis. Based on the assumption that national media are less micro-oriented, while regional media are less macro-oriented, the variable measuring national/regional media can be used as a proxy for the micro-/macro-level variable. Hypothesis H1 is thus rephrased:

> H1.2: The press framing of third sector activities in regional media is expected to be more positive than in national media.

Table 4.1.1. shows that regional media frame third sector activities more positively than national media. This confirms the hypothesis saying that press framing of third sector activities in regional media is more positive than in national media. The tendency is pretty much the same in all countries except Sweden, where national media frame the third sector more positively than regional media.

Table 4.1.1.: Media and framed attitude towards third sector (N=8463)

Attitude / Media	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
National	36%	59%	5%	100%
Regional	57%	40%	3%	100%

The confirmation of H1 is supported further by the fact that when excluding items with no ITSSOIN-field mentioned, third sector is generally framed more positively. This might indicate that when media covers field-specific micro-level examples, e.g. concrete cases or particular persons involved, the third sector is generally framed more in a more positive light than when the sector is covered on an overall macro-oriented level. It should be noted that there are no differences between the fields have been identified regarding framed attitude.

These explanations of the framed attitude can be further qualified by examining media genres. Mediated attitudes towards third sector activities vary over different media genres. Table 4.1.2. below indicates that views frame third sector activities more positively than news.

Table 4.1.2.: Genre and framed attitude towards third sector (n=7938)

Attitude / Genre	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
News	46%	50%	4%	100%
Views	56%	39%	5%	100%

This probably has to do with the fact that ideals about objectivity and neutrality are held highly in news production, while views are characterized by explicitly expressing attitudes. However, in Czech Republic and France the tendency is opposite, as news items tend to mediate a more positive attitude towards third sector than views.

4.2. Social innovativeness or lack of same (H2)

The social innovativeness of the third sector is the main focus for ITSSOIN. In line with this, the second hypothesis relates media content to this kind of framing:

H2: Social innovativeness is expected to be relatively less pronounced in press coverage of third sector activities than a number of other civil society values, e.g. voluntarism and civic engagement.

From section 3.7. we learned that in general, third sector activities are seldom framed as innovative. Furthermore section 3.1. showed us that the concept of social innovation barely exists in European journalism. On the other hand, voluntarism was found to be very pronounced while civic engagement was less pronounced. These findings initially confirm hypothesis H2: In general the third sector is not regarded as particularly innovative. The conclusion can be qualified by examining differences between ITSSOIN-fields related to framed innovativeness. This is demonstrated in table 4.2.1. below.

Table 4.2.1.: ITSSOIN-fields and innovation (N=8463)

Field \ Innovation	Very innovative	Somewhat innovative	Neutral	Not innovative	Anti-innovative	Total
Social services	6%	14%	78%	2%	0%	100%
Healthcare	8%	20%	71%	2%	0%	100%
Community development	7%	24%	66%	2%	0%	100%
Work integration	13%	16%	69%	2%	0%	100%
Environmental sustainability	7%	15%	77%	1%	0%	100%
Consumer protection	5%	13%	81%	1%	0%	100%
Arts & culture	5%	16%	77%	2%	0%	100%
Several fields mentioned	10%	19%	70%	0%	0%	100%
No field mentioned	2%	5%	92%	1%	0%	100%

First of all, the table shows that when third sector activities are related to one of the fields, they are framed as more innovative than when not related to the fields. It further shows that, although third sector in all fields is primarily framed as neutral, there are differences between fields. In the fields of community development, work integration, and healthcare, third sector is framed as more innovative than in the rest of the fields. In the initial analysis we found that in France and Denmark, third sector is regarded as more innovative than in the rest of the countries. In Denmark, especially the fields of community development, environmental sustainability, and arts & culture are framed to be innovative. In France, especially work integration and arts & culture are framed as innovative.

It should be noted that data shows no difference between news and views and between national and regional media when it comes to framed innovativeness.

4.3. Media discourse and policy discourse on social innovation (H3)

ITSSOIN-partners from each of the nine European countries under study have evaluated leading newspapers at the national and regional level in terms of major trends over time (see section 2). This exercise was done with particular emphasis on the relationship between media coverage and official third sector policy (the latter presented in more detail in WP 2.2. edited by Flening, Einarsson & Preuss, 2015). The aim is to test the third hypothesis presented in section 1:

> H3: Press reporting on national social innovation is expected to be in line with the national policy discourse on social innovation.

Before jumping to conclusions, it must be noted that as far as national and regional social innovation policy is concerned, most European newspapers generally ignore the official policy documents, and there is little informed or critical debate on these issues on the editorial pages. In line with Noelle Neumann (1984) we may regard this as a "spiral of silence": The media do not regard third sector policy making as newsworthy in its own right. Not because it is regarded as irrelevant, but rather because consensus is the name of the game. Policy streams are merely

referred to when protest is voiced, and because most advocacy of this kind takes place on the local and regional level, little third sector policy discourse is reported at the national and international macro-level.

Furthermore, some inconsistency between media framing and policy discourse were identified. As described in Flening, Einarsson & Preuss (2015), third sector actors in United Kingdom and France have a strong service provider function in policy discourse, but, as we shall see in section 4.4., this is not reflected in the media framing. This finding can be regarded at yet another sign of "spiral of silence", i.e. service provision in the third sector is only regarded as newsworthy in the regional press, not in the national media – unless they can be framed as scandalous or deviant in other spectacular ways.

This being said, however, the inter-relation hypothesis is confirmed: The relatively few stories relating social innovation policy to third sector activities, are pretty much in line with government views. Little criticism is raised. Infrequent flares of media interest have been recorded, especially when politically elected officials turn to the third sector for non-profit assistance in the delivery of social services, healthcare etc. After the financial crisis of 2008, "volunteering" and "civil society" have become political catch words regarded by governments as well as by most journalist as universal solutions, mitigating the burden of tax-payers, especially by providing non-profit efforts in healthcare and social services. In those instances, press coverage is particularly consensus-oriented, leaving little room for anti-establishment frames.

All in all, the newspapers studied rarely confront government decision makers with critical arguments originating from concerned third sector actors. Consequently, one should be careful not to overestimate the inter-relationship between policy streams and media coverage of social innovation. The data applied to H3 is qualitative in scope and limited in scale. We stress that more research is needed in order to make general and robust conclusions on how press reporting on national social innovation streams influence policy discourse on social innovation – and vice versa.

4.4. ITSSOIN-fields and framed third sector roles (H4)

The newspaper items were coded to indicate how third sector actors are framed into specific roles, theorised on the basis of research-based literature on third sector actors (Anheier, 2013). We were particularly interested in learning to what extent third sector actors are framed as advocates, service providers, co-producers, and self-actualizers.

Initially it must be noted that items generated by keywords "civil society" and "civic engagement" are more often associated with the role of advocacy than items generated by the rest of the keywords. "Voluntarism" and "non-profit" are the keywords least frequently generating items associated with advocacy. Concerning the role of service provision, keywords "social innovation" and "voluntarism" generate the most associated items, while "civil society" and "civic engagement" are the keywords that generate the least items associated to the service provision role. Furthermore the third sector is most often framed as innovative when an actor in one of the four roles is framed in the same item. The innovativeness-frame and the role-frame go hand in hand so to speak. However, the roles are framed as equally innovative. Furthermore, there is no difference between news and views and no difference between national and regional media in terms of framed roles.

As described in the introduction the fourth hypothesis deals with the framed roles of third sector actors. A wide variety of such roles have been reported in the press, e.g. `"social capital builders", "philanthropists" and "trust generators". In this report, however, we focus primarily on the dimensions "advocacy" and "service provision":

H4: The main dimensions used by the press to frame third sector actors are expected to be roles of advocacy and roles of service provision.

More specifically, the ITSSOIN-project is expecting third sector actors to be framed as advocates and service providers to a varying degree, including hybrid-roles of "co-producers", and "self-actualizers". Furthermore, it has been expected that roles differ in prevalence depending on the field of third sector activity in question. The ITSSOIN expectations are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.4.1.: ITSSOIN expectations elaborated – fields and framed roles

Service pro- vision / Advocacy	less pronounced	more pronounced
less pronounced	arts & culture	social services; healthcare
more pronounced	environmental sustainability; consumer protection	work integration; community development

In the fields of environmental sustainability and consumer protection advocacy is expected to be more pronounced, while service provision to be less pronounced. Thus, third sector actors in these fields are expected to be framed as advocates. In the fields of social services and healthcare the expectation is the opposite, namely that service provision is more pronounced, while advocacy is less pronounced, thereby framing third sector actors as service providers. In the fields of work integration and community development both advocacy and service provision are expected to be pronounced, thus framing third sector actors as co-producers. Finally, in the field of arts & culture both advocacy and service provision are expected to be less pronounced, thereby framing third sector actors as self-actualizers. We suppose that actors who are framed as advocates *and* as service providers may be interpreted as co-producers. This will be tested by examining whether the relevant items are also coded as framing pronounced co-producers. Likewise, by an analogous procedure, it is tested whether less pronounced advocacy *and* less pronounced service provision could be interpreted as self-actualization.

In order to provide basis for the most accurate testing of the hypothesis, data is reduced to consist of only items representing an ITSSOIN-field. The 4276 items with no ITSSOIN-field mentioned are excluded and n is reduced to the remaining 4187 items.

Table 4.4.2. below shows the share of the total number of items in each field framing third sector actors as advocates, service providers, co-producers, and self-actualizers.

Table 4.4.2.: ITSSOIN-fields and framed roles (n=4187)

Field \ Role	Share of total number of items in each field with pronounced...			
	Advocacy	Service provision	Co-producing	Self-actualization
Social services	35%	78%	34%	25%
Healthcare	37%	70%	36%	26%
Community development	64%	47%	41%	38%
Work integration	33%	46%	43%	47%
Environmental sustainability	65%	27%	33%	23%
Consumer protection	62%	47%	33%	16%
Arts & culture	34%	40%	20%	37%
Several fields mentioned	37%	76%	31%	34%
Total shares	**47%**	**54%**	**35%**	**33%**

First, lets us make some general remarks about all of the items here shown, i.e. all items referring to an ITSSOIN field. In almost half of the items, third sector actors are framed as advocates. In slightly more than half of the items third sector actors are framed as service providers, while in app. 35% and 33% of the items third sector actors are framed as co-producers and self-actualizers respectively. This indicates that the third sector is primarily framed in terms of advocacy and service provision, secondarily co-production and self-actualization.

Secondly, having briefly outlined some tendencies relating to the ITSSOIN fields as a whole, we now move on to elucidating some general European tendencies relating to framed actor roles within each of the ITTSOIN fields respectively. Country specific deviations from the general trends will be highlighted.

Based on data from table 4.4.2. above, the figure below illustrates how third sector actors are framed depending on the field.

Figure 4.4.1.: Share of total number of items in each ITSSOIN-field with pronounced advocacy, service provision, co-producing, and self-actualization (n=4187)
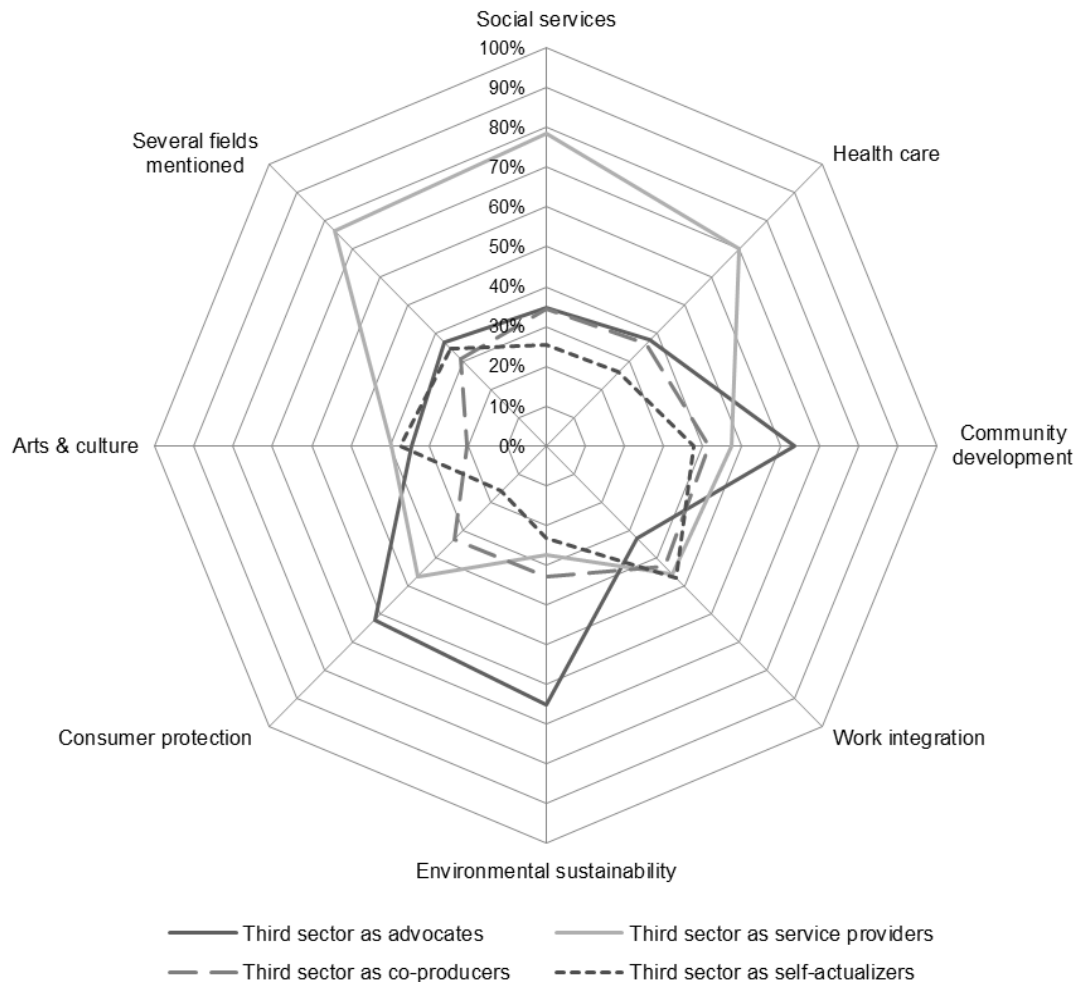
It is worth noting that all four roles are represented to some extent in each of the third sector fields. However, in the field of social services, the third sector actor is predominantly framed as service provider. This complies with the expectation. Specific country deviances were identified: in the French case, third sector actors in social services are widely framed as advocates and co-producers. In Germany social services actors are generally framed as advocates, while they are typically frame as co-producers in the United Kingdom.

The expectations are further confirmed in the field of healthcare, within which third sector actors are predominantly framed as service providers. In German and French media, third sector actors in the healthcare field are commonly framed as advocates and co-producers.

Within the field of environmental sustainability, third sector actors are predominantly framed as advocates. This confirms the hypothesis and applies broadly to all countries, except the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. In addition to being framed as advocates, third sector actors in the field of environmental sustainability are framed as service providers in Spanish and Italian media, as co-producers in the German media and as self-actualizers in the French media.

Overall, only a meek 130 items in the trans-national database are related to consumer protection. Since each country has very few items within the field, country-specific conclusions would be rather random and uncertain. Therefore, we stick to the general conclusion, which is consistent with the expectations that within the field of consumer protection third sector actors are primarily framed as advocates, secondarily as service providers.

When it comes to the field of community development, third sector actors are primarily framed as advocates, secondarily as service providers. This partially confirms the hypothesis, granted that actors were framed as service providers to a lesser extent than expected. The tendency applies to all countries except Netherlands and Spain, where the opposite tendency is the case: third sector actors in the field of community development are primarily framed in terms of service provision and secondarily advocacy. The British media frame third sector actors in community development as co-producers, while the Danish media frame them as self-actualizers to some extent.

In the field of work integration, third sector actors are generally framed as service providers, self-actualizers, and co-producers to the same extent - contrary to what was expected. The Danish and Spanish third sector actors are framed as service providers, the French third sector actors as advocates, and the British third sector actors are framed as self-actualizers to a greater extent than the rest of the countries. Regarding self-actualization, third sector actors in Czech Republic and Spain are hardly framed as such.

Third sector actors in arts & culture are generally framed as service providers, self-actualizers, and advocates to an almost equal extent. This is roughly in line with the hypothesis. The British third sector actors in the field of arts & culture are, however, neither framed as advocates nor service providers, while the German and Italian arts & culture actors are predominantly framed as advocates and the Spanish media frames them predominantly as service providers.

Work integration and community development are the fields with the highest proportion of items framed as co-producers, which is line with the hypothesis. The prediction that co-producing as a role is associated with pronounced advocacy and service provision cannot be confirmed though, as advocacy and service provision are not particularly pronounced in the field of work integration, and service provision is only weakly pronounced in community development.

The fields of work integration, arts & culture, and community development are the fields with the highest proportion of items framing third sector actors as self-actualizers. Concerning arts & culture, this is in line with the hypothesis. The supposition that self-actualizing is correlated to less pronounced advocacy and less pronounced service provision is roughly confirmed, since both role types are weakly pronounced in both fields.

All in all, the ITSSOIN expectations regarding fields and framed roles are largely fulfilled. However, fields of community development and work integration deviate from predictions. The former is less pronounced in terms of service provision than expected, while the latter proved to be framed oppositely to what was expected.

The conclusions on fields and framed roles can be further qualified by analysing the relation between countries and framed roles. The table below shows data for such an analysis.

Table 4.4.3.: Countries and framed roles (n=4187)

Country \ Role	Share of field-items from each country with pronounced…			
	Advocacy	Service provision	Co-producing	Self-actualization
The Czech Republic	54%	42%	33%	23%
Denmark	51%	67%	33%	43%
France	65%	39%	52%	50%
Germany	86%	55%	53%	25%
Italy	42%	76%	17%	33%
The Netherlands	28%	67%	24%	35%
Spain	33%	75%	17%	6%
Sweden	37%	51%	37%	38%
The United Kingdom	29%	35%	48%	39%
Total shares	**47%**	**54%**	**35%**	**33%**

When it comes to advocacy, Germany stands out compared to the general tendency, as advocacy is pronounced in app. 85% of the German items, while the Netherlands and the United Kingdom deviate to the extreme with less than 30% of their items framing third sector as advocates. In terms of service provision Spain and Italy stand out, as service provision is pronounced in app. 75% of their items. France and the United Kingdom are notable for having less than 40% items with pronounced service provision. Regarding co-producing, app. 50% of the French, German, and British items pronounce co-producing, while less than 20% of the Spanish and Italian items do so. In the case of self-actualization, app. 50% of the French items and almost 45% of the Danish items frame third sector as self-actualizers, while less than 10% of the Spanish items and less than 25% of the Czech items do so. Some of these differences may be due to coder bias. Bearing this in mind, the data is visualized in figure 4.4.2. below.

Figure 4.4.2.: Share of field-items from each country with pronounced advocacy, service provision, co-producing, and self-actualization (n=4187)
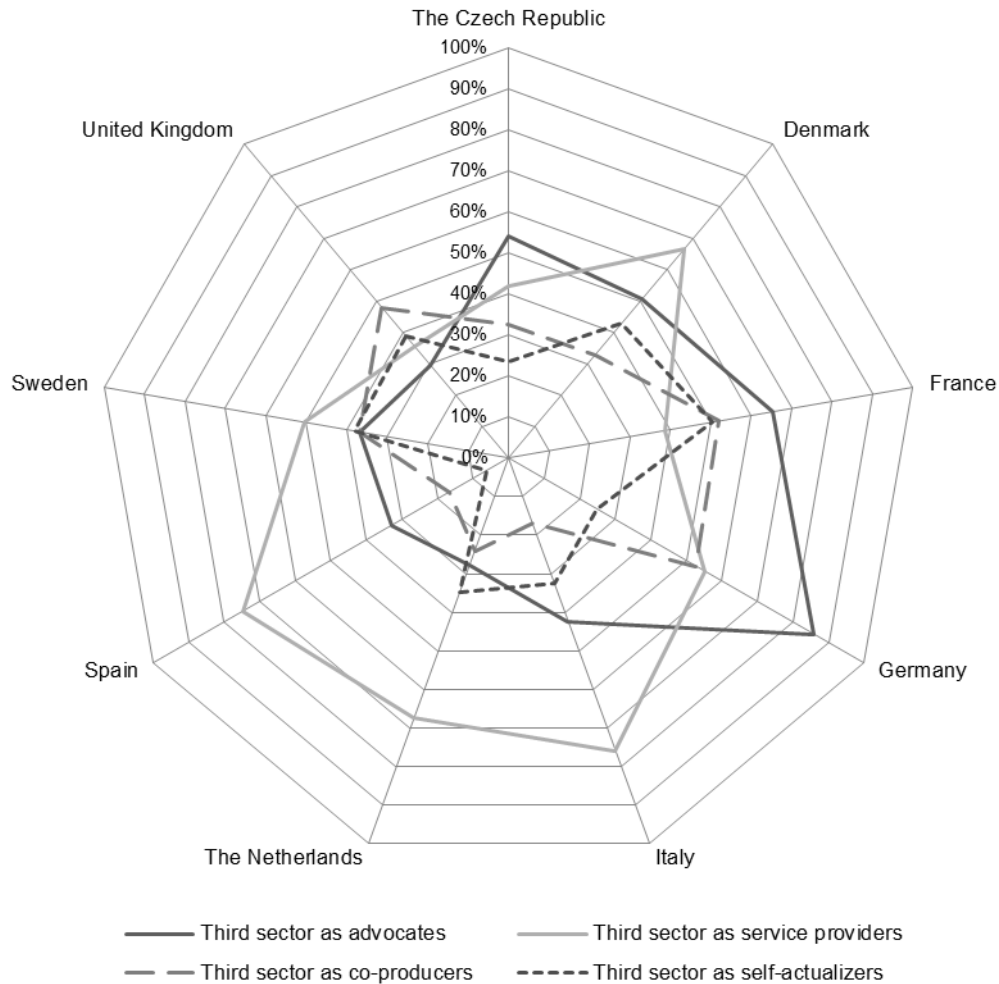
The major tendencies are summarized in the table below, categorizing the nine countries under study in the two core dimensions – advocacy and service provision. Press coverage has been coded in order to determine if advocacy/service provision is more or less pronounced. A role is defined as more pronounced when more than 50% of the field-items of a particular country sample have been coded as such, while it is less pronounced when less than 50% of the field-items are framed in this fashion.

Table 4.4.4.: Categorization of countries – advocacy and service provision

Service pro-vision Advocacy	less pronounced	more pronounced
less pronounced	The United Kingdom	Spain; Italy; Netherlands; Sweden
more pronounced	France; Czech Republic	Germany; Denmark

Both advocacy and service provision are widely pronounced in the coded samples from Germany and Denmark. On the contrary, United Kingdom newspapers neither have advocacy nor service provision as dominant roles in their media framing of third sector actors. French and Czech third sectors actors are predominantly framed as advocates, while service provision is more pronounced in the media framing of third sectors actors in Spain, Italy, Netherlands, and Sweden.

5. Conclusions

In the introduction of this report (section 1) we demonstrated that little relevant media research has been published specifically on third sector activities related to social innovation and civic engagement. The media content analyses (section 2) summarized the major trends from in mediated discourse on third sector activities in the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom 2003-2013. The framing analyses (section 3) indicated that third sector activities are primarily mediated as specific references to organizations and individuals performing advocacy and providing services on a non-profit basis. One important finding was that "third sector" and "social innovation" is not an established short hand for third sector activities in Europe. More prevalent key words depicting this domain are "civil society" and "voluntarism",

On this backdrop, bearing the limitation of data in mind (see Appendix 1), we posed the research question: How are third sector activities and social innovation framed in European news media? Four hypotheses were tested (section 4) showing that the press framing of third sector activities is generally positive or neutral. It is also clearly demonstrated that in the press coverage at hand social innovativeness is less pronounced than other civil society values, e.g. voluntarism and civic engagement. In the relatively few instances where social innovation policy is related to the third sector media coverage, the reporting is overwhelmingly loyal to government views. Finally, it is indicated that there is an affinity between certain fields of third sector activities and different roles of advocacy and service provision can be identified. Advocacy is particularly emphasised in relation to the ITSSOIN-fields of environmental sustainability and community development. Service provision is strong in relation to social services and healthcare.

Self-critical reflections on methodology and coding challenges (section 5) document inter-coder reliability to adhere to international standards. Only one variable – the distinction between macro-, meso- and micro-level of discourse – has proven too difficult to cope with in a comprehensive and comparative fashion. None the less, the study is explorative rather than explanatory in scope. Accordingly, we advise caution in drawing general conclusion from the limited amount of data available, and call for more empirical and comparative research involving a broader variety of media platforms, including electronic and social media.

6. Appendices

6.1. Appendix 1: Methodology and coding

According to the ITSSOIN contract, WP1 & 2 shall contain an Analysis of Media Coverage on the Third Sector (Task 1.3. and 2.3.). This appendix presents a methodological framework for this purpose, including comments on applied practice. The aim has been to offer a robust and comparative approach and to keep data collection as simple and reliable as possible in three steps:

Step 1: Building a comprehensive database

Step 2: Quantitative framing analysis

Step 3: Qualitative perceptions analysis

Step 1: Building a comprehensive data base

Each of the partnering countries have drawn a comparative data sample from media monitors, i.e. Europresse, Factiva, Infomedia, LexisNexis, MyNews and Retriever, containing third sector related content from two leading national and two leading regional newspapers. The specific choices have been made to maximize editorial plurality of sampled media. Please note that these choices have been dictated by practical reasons, not because these newspapers by definition are the most significant movers of social innovations and civic engagement.

Key words sampled (in the national language) include: "Civil Society" / "Third Sector", "Voluntarism", "Social Innovation", and "Civic Engagement". In translating keywords some partners have conducted semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, identifying the most relevant (i.e. probably the most inclusive) terms for the automated search, e.g. concepts such as "non-profits" and "associational life". Accordingly, all partners did not proceed within the very same sequence of keywords, but comprehensive efforts were made to secure trans-national comparability.

The sampled data was assembled in a table for each country showing the number of occurrences of each key word in selected newspapers over the years 2003-2013 (see appendix 2). Not all media monitors allow for the aggregation of sources within the search formula. Therefore, source searches were run individually and sums were calculated in a Microsoft Excel document. Keep in mind, in some cases two or more keywords may occur in the same article, which may distort the 'total' sum. This possible discrepancy has been mitigated for the 2013 data, through processes of vetting data of inordinate items (this will be further elaborated in the following pages).

Step 2: Quantitative Framing Analysis

Each participating ITSSOIN-country did a framing analysis based on the sub-sample of the year 2013, following the instructions described in a codebook provided by CBS Center for Civil Society Studies.

The country-specific framing analyses were carried out in Excel, where each article was coded as one item containing 8 dimensions (A-M). Coders were instructed to exclude from the sub-sample redundant and inordinate items. An item would be deemed inordinate if the sole reason for its appearance in the sample was that a keyword was mentioned in passing, without otherwise framing third sector activities at all. An example could be a front-page note referring to an article inside the paper. Partners were asked to select 10% of all articles to be coded a second time by members of the team to grant for inter-coder reliability. No partner has reported inter-coder inconsistency beyond the peer-reviewed norms for content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013). The only question causing problems of inter-coder reliability was dimension M (Level of discourse). Reports from partners show that the decision for coding of micro-, meso- and macro-level of discourse is open to some interpretative differences. Still, deviances are within the span considered acceptable, i.e. no less than 75 % inter-coder consistency.

Coders were asked to keep individual logbooks where all doubts and ambiguities would be addressed, especially ones that may give rise to biases or misinterpretations. These logs can also be valuable for further ITSSOIN-research. Accordingly, coders were encouraged to take note of general trends, examples of particular interest related to future case studies, national peculiarities and the like. Coding was done on screen, but paper copies were made of central text in order to document and preserve content for further study. In this way, news and views collected have rendered added value to the mandatory mapping of third sector fields relevant for the case study deliverables.

Subsequently to the individual country analyses, the databases from all countries were collected in a comprehensive trans-national database by the CBS team. Here the data was further vetted in order to achieve the greatest degree of comparability and the highest possible n value.

Generally the data was of high quality. However, some "invalid" code values that need to be adjusted were identified. Some were simply due to obvious typing mistakes and could easily be recoded to the intended value, while others were systematic, requiring more attention to achieve the correct adjustment. In challenging cases, the individual log books were consulted in order to understand the rationale behind the applied coding practice. Following appropriate methodological considerations, the invalid values were recoded in accordance with the intentions expressed in the log books. In the following pages, we will briefly summarize the actions taken to recode invalid data under each dimension respectively.

The table below shows the number of media items each country contributed to the comprehensive trans-national database.

Table 5.1.1.: Count of third sector media items for each country in 2013

Country	Count
The Czech Republic	1554
Denmark	1157
France	764
Germany	691
Italy	1162
The Netherlands	621
Spain	811
Sweden	216
The United Kingdom	1487
N	**8463**

First, please note that the final comprehensive trans-national database contains fewer items than the sum of individual partner databases, due to the vetting mentioned above. In particular, the French 2013-database contained a very large amount of data due to geographical news segmentation of one regional newspaper sampled. As described in section 2.3., the mechanical bias was eliminated and 764 of French items have been included in the comprehensive database. This procedure may raise uncertainty about comparative validity and reliability. In order to test this, the vetted 2013-data has been analysed both with and without the French contributions. Differences between the two framing analyses were found to be minimal, i.e. we shall regard the French data as consistent with the other country data sampled.

Secondly, as some countries have contributed a larger proportion of the total dataset than others, it could be argued that conclusions may be biased towards countries with larger samples. Consequently, in order to account for the bias towards countries with a high proportion of the dataset, it is clearly noted throughout the report whenever a country deviates from the general tendency.

In short, this way of vetting data may not be flawless, but it does provide valid grounds for a relatively accurate interpretation of European media coverage writ large.

In the following, methodology concerning each one on the 8 coding dimensions is reviewed:

A) Country of origin
1= The Czech Republic
2= Denmark
3= France
4= Germany
5= Italy
6= The Netherlands
7= Spain
8= Sweden
9= The United Kingdom

Dimension (A) is self-evident and was pre-programmed and kept constant in each country database. However, a single item was not coded. It was traced to the Italian data base and therefore recoded as 5 (Italy).

B) Unique item number

Each news item was given a unique catalogue number, the main purpose of which was to help the coders keep track of their work as well as providing a way of cleansing the database of redundant items. If the search engine provided a unique item number (e.g. 'infomedia artikel-id'), it was advised to use this.

C) Media
1= [Left-leaning National Medium]
2= [Right-leaning National Medium]
3= [Left-leaning Regional Medium]
4= [Right-leaning Regional Medium]

Dimension (C), too, is rather clear cut. If possible, partners coded media 1 and 3 to be the more left-leaning in its category, and 2 and 4 the more right-leaning. Such differences in political viewpoint could not be made in all countries – especially not at the regional level. Partners have explained why this is so, and we have used this dimension with caution, merely focusing on national versus regional framing practices.

The variable was recoded as a binary variable (national/regional medium). 2 and 1 was recoded as 1 (national medium). Values 3 and 4 were recoded as 2 (regional medium). Furthermore Spain had coded 5 and 6 instead of 3 and 4. 5 and 6 were therefore recoded as 2 (regional medium). 475 items from The Netherlands were not coded. According to their report this was due to the fact that Dutch regional newspapers cannot be coded as left- or right-leaning. These items were recoded as 2 (regional medium).

D) Sample keyword

The purpose of this dimension was to keep note of which sample batch (from Step 1) the particular news item originated from and reveal if some keywords provide items of more interest to ITSSOIN than others. It also provides a way of verifying that the number of articles from each batch corresponds to the results of the Step 1 analysis.

To reflect the cultural differences and lexicon commonly used in UK media, UK coders chose to expand the vocabulary of the given codes. In order to strengthen the comparability the codes have been reclassified in line with their suggestion - Civil Society" was recoded as 1 (civil society); "Charity sector", "Non- Profit", and "Non-Government OR NGOs" were recoded as 3 (Non-profit); "Voluntary Sector" and "Volunteering (rather than Voluntarism)" were recoded as 4 (voluntarism); "Social Innovation" was recoded as 5 (social innovation); "Civic Engagement" and "Community Involvement" were recoded as 6 (civic engagement).

The Czech Republic had sometimes coded combinations of values, for example "3, 1", probably because more than one keyword were mentioned in some items. All combinations of values were recoded as the first value in the combination. For example "3, 1" was recoded as 3.

E) Type of media item (genre)
1= Front page news
2= Ordinary news
3= Editorial comment
4= Invited comment
5= Letter to the Editor
9= Other

From similar research we know that the status and impact of media items differ. Front page news is perceived as more prestigious than ordinary news items, editorial comments (i.e. views expressed by journalists employed by the publisher) are presented differently from invited comments written by experts and decision makers with authority, and the more citizen-based letters to the editor. Consequently we sought to distinguish content by genre. If coders were in doubt, or if the news item in question fell outside one of the mentioned categories, code 9 (other) was applied. However, in some of the electronic databases, the presentation of the articles did not allow distinguishing front-page news or editorial comments. The main remaining distinction is between ordinary news (i.e. Articles written by insider journalists) and invited comments. Consequently this dimension was recoded and collapsed into three values:

1+2   = News (1)
3+4+5   = Views (2)
9   = other (e.g. interviews, obituaries etc.)

However, Italy had redefined their code list so that 1= News, 2= Editorials, 3= Letter to the editor and other commentary, and 4= Interview. Consequently, the Italian data was recoded so that 2+3 were recoded as 2 (views), while 4 was recoded as 9 (other).

F) The Main ITSSOIN-field mentioned
1 = Social services
2 = Healthcare
3 = Community development.
4 = Work integration
5 = Environmental sustainability
6 = Consumer protection
7 = Arts & culture
8 = Several ITSSOIN-fields mentioned (but none of them clearly dominant)
9 = No ITSSOIN-field mentioned

Dimension (F) contains information addressing the very core of the ITSSOIN case work: ITSSOIN-fields (to be analysed in WP 4-7). Not all mediated items, however, relate to these fields. Coders have used 9 if none of these topics are mediated in an article. For definitions of the fields the ICNPO - International Classification of Non-profit Organizations (Salamon and Anheier 1992) has been consulted.

The field of social services contains organizations and institutions providing human and social services to a community or target population.

The field of healthcare consists of organizations that engage in health-related activities, providing healthcare, both general and specialized services, administration of healthcare services and health support services.

The field of community development is characterized by community and neighbourhood organizations: organizations working towards improving the quality of life within communities or neighbourhoods - for example, squatters associations, local development organizations, or poor people's co-operatives.

The field of work integration is embedded ICNOP group "Development and housing", that describes organizations that promote programs and provides services to help improve communities and the economic and social wellbeing of society. The field of work integration contains actors and embeds actions that support work integration of those, disadvantaged in the job market.

The field of environmental sustainability includes organizations promoting and providing services in environmental conservation, pollution control and prevention, environmental education and health and animal protection.

The field of consumer protection in finance can be identified as a field belonging to the group of law, advocacy and politics, in the ICNPO classification. Accordingly organizations of this field promote, regulate and safeguard business, professional and labour interests with a special focus on consumer protection in finances.

The field of arts & culture refers to organizations and activities in general and specialized fields of culture. These can be very divers. To give just some examples this can be connected to media and communication, visual arts, architecture, ceramic art, performing arts, or museums.

If an item falls under 1-8, coders complete all the following framing dimensions. If an article is coded 9, coders go directly to items K, L and M.

Italy had coded 114 items as "duplicate". The same items have also been coded duplicates in variables G) to M). Since the code instruction was to exclude duplicates, the 114 items were deleted.

Spain had added two extra values (9.1 and 9.2), which was about banks and corruption. They were recoded as 9 (no field mentioned).

Sweden had sometimes coded combinations of values, probably because more than one field were mentioned. These items were recoded as 8 (several fields mentioned).

Few items were not coded at all. They were recoded as 9 (no field mentioned).

G) Third sector actors mediated as Advocates

1= Advocacy is *markedly* pronounced in the item
2= Advocacy is *less* pronounced in the item
9= Advocacy is *not* pronounced in the item at all

The ITSSOIN project works with ideal types in order to highlight different role-expectations to third sector actors. The first one is the advocate frame, i.e. individuals, organizations, networks, clusters, informal groups etc. propagating third sector ways as engaged citizens. This need not only be grass root activists in the narrow sense, but may also include voices of concerned scientists, campaigning politicians and engaged administrators, if they call for

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action (change as well as preservation of status quo). The same actor may be framed as advocate as well as other roles. Theoretically ITSSOIN expected this role to be particularly salient in the fields of environment sustainability, consumer protection, work integration, and community development.

Coders were asked to evaluate to what degree the actor mediated in the article was portrayed as an advocate. Here, (as is also the case in dimensions H, I, and J) a challenge was that articles do not necessarily clearly mediate an actor. If an actor is mediated, deciding whether or not the actor is specifically a *third sector* actor gives rise to further ambiguities. As dimensions H, I and J focus specifically on the actor as third sector actor, cases where either no actor was mediated, or the actor was not interpreted as a third sector actor, code 9 was applied.

Few items from different countries had been coded 0, 3, or 6. This is probably due to typing mistakes. 0 was recoded as 1, 3 *was recoded as 2, and 6 was recoded as 9.

65 of the items not coded are from Sweden and 13 are from Denmark. The same Swedish items are also uncoded in variables H) to J). The same Danish items are also uncoded in variables H) to M). This is due to the fact that they were coded 9 in item F) (no ITSSOIN-field mentioned). The items were recoded as 9 (no advocacy pronounced in item) in items G) to J).

H) Third sector actors mediated as Service Providers

1= Service provision is *markedly* pronounced in the item
2= Service provision *less* pronounced in item
9= Service provision is *not* pronounced in the item at all

Another role third sector actors may be framed in is the service provider role, i.e. individuals, organizations, networks, clusters, informal groups etc. offering voluntary assistance and/or services on a non-profit basis. ITSSOIN expected this role to be particularly salient in the fields of healthcare and social services.

Few items from different countries have been coded 0 or 3. This is probably due to typing mistakes. 0 is recoded as 1 and 3 is recoded as 2.

I) Third sector actors mediated as social problem solvers (Co-Producers)

1= social problem solving markedly pronounced in the item
2= social problem solving less pronounced in the item
3= social problem solving not pronounced in the item

The third civil society role theorized as the Co-Producer, i.e. individuals, organizations, networks, clusters, informal groups etc. solving social problems in cooperation with partners from the public and private sector.

This kind of constructive co-production may be mediated as material as well as immaterial problem solving and more or less self-organized social innovation. ITSSOIN expected this role to be particular salient in the fields of work integration and community development.

Co-Producers is theorized as less activist than Service Providers, so that an actor mediated as the primary provider of some service, would be coded as service provider, whereas an actor

engaged in services that are otherwise considered the primary responsibility of a different unit (e.g. state), would be coded as a co-producer. In practice, this distinction has been ambiguous to work with, and often an item would be coded the same in both dimensions H and I.

Few items from different countries had been coded 0, 3, or 8. This is probably due to typing mistakes. Therefore 0 was recoded as 1, 3 was recoded as 2, and 8 was recoded as 9. However, when it comes to the United Kingdom 3 was not recoded as 2. The United Kingdom had coded 320 items as 3. According to their log book 3 means the same as 9 (no co-producers pronounced in item). Therefore 3 was recoded as 9 in the British data.

J) Third sector actors mediated at Self-Actualizers

1= self-actualization *markedly* pronounced in the item
2= self-actualization *less* pronounced in the item
9= self-actualization *not* pronounced in the item

The self-actualizer role is framed as individuals, organizations, networks, clusters, informal groups doing third sector activities in a performative fashion, i.e. primarily for their own enjoyment and self-development, so to speak. ITSSOIN expected this role to be mediated most frequently in the fields of arts and culture. Self-actualization need not exclude more altruistic motives, of course, and that self-serving motives may be mediated for other third sector actors than creative artists and radical activists, e.g. students improving their CV by doing voluntary social work or philanthropists improving their image by giving while living.

Coders were asked to evaluate to which extent the framing implied, implicitly or explicitly, that the actor's motivation to perform third sector activities arose out of self-interest. Of course, several roles can be in play in any given mediated item, and the same actor may be framed in several of the roles addressed in G, H, I, and J.

Few items from different countries had been coded 0 or 3. This is probably due to typing mistakes. There 0 was recoded as 1 and 3 was recoded as 2.

K) Third Sector Activities mediated as innovative (or not)

1= Third sector activities mediated as *very* innovative
2= Third sector activities mediated as *somewhat* innovative
3= Neutral
4= Third sector activities mediated as *non-innovative*
5= Third sector activities mediated as *anti-innovative*

A key focus of the ITSSOIN project is *social innovation*. Consequently, we asked coders if third sector media items frame civil society actors as innovative (codes 1 and 2) or not (code 4). In some instances these actors may even be framed as anti-innovative (code 5), i.e. mediated as sticking to business as usual and/or standing for status quo with well-established practices. If the attitude of the media item was neutral in terms of innovativeness or if the innovativeness (or lack of same) was not pronounced at all in the item at all, code 3 has been applied.

Coding challenges reported relating to dimensions K, L and M in general concern ambiguities regarding what constitutes a *third sector activity*. Must a third sector activity be performed by a third sector actor, or is there a certain third sector quality adhering to the activity as such? As

dimensions K, L and M focus on the *activity* (as opposed to dimensions G, H, I, and J that focus on *actors*) being third sector, coders were instructed to evaluate the activity mediated in the item, regardless of who was performing it.

Another reported challenge concerning evaluation of mediated innovativeness relates to the presence of a normative element in some articles. A notable portion of the articles that discuss innovativeness tend to mediate the third sector as carrying great innovative potential, while this potential is only scarcely realized, which is often attributed to constraining policies. This bears witness to the presence of notions that the third sector contains great innovative potential, and that there is a discrepancy between the potential and the extent of its realization, which *ought* to be levelled out. Unfortunately, the confines of the codebook have not allowed accounting for these sorts of nuances.

Italy had coded 656 items as "no third sector". According to the log book this is because the items are irrelevant to the research focus. It could be biographies or obituaries that mention a keyword, but aren't related to third sector topics at all. The rest of the countries had excluded such items. Therefore all items coded "no third sector" was deleted. 16 items had been coded 9. This is probably due to the fact that 9 had been a correct value in the previous variables. 9 was recoded as 3 (neutral). Few uncoded items were recoded as 3 (neutral).

L) Mediated attitude in general (in the item at hand) towards Third Sector Activities

1= *very positive* towards third sector activities
2= *positive* towards third sector activities
3= *neutral*
4= *negative* towards third sector activities
5= *very negative towards third sector activities*

An important aim of ITSSOIN is to determine the overall media perception of Third Sector activities in terms of normative value or civic engagement and social innovativeness. Such attributions are difficult to measure, but journalists and other media actors implicitly or explicitly frame attitudes of this kind when relating news and views. Consequently we asked coders to put themselves in the ordinary reader's position: How would you perceive the item at hand in terms of third sector legitimacy and effectiveness: Is it predominantly positive, neutral or negative? When in doubt, coders have used 3 for neutral.

In hindsight, a binary coding as 'positive' or 'negative' would have been more precise for these articles, but as such an option was not provided in the CBS coding book. However, the codes for this dimension have been left further alterations, for reasons of trans-national comparability of results. 3 items had been coded random invalid values probably due to typing mistakes. They were recoded as 3 (neutral). Few items had not been coded. They were recoded as 3 (neutral).

M) Level of discourse

The Third Sector may be discussed at several levels. The final question we asked coders to answer was at what level the item at hand discusses civil society issues. We can illustrate in this fashion:

Macro-level: Policy activities, e.g. legal requirements and control, subsidies, civil rights, corruption
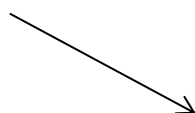
Meso-level: Organizational activities, e.g. accreditation, efficiency, legitimacy, impact
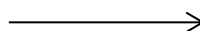
Micro-level: Individual and community activities, e.g. personal motivation, prosocial values, generalized trust, participation.

> Media perceptions of the third sector
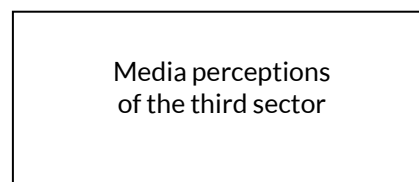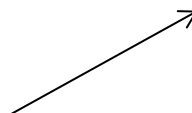
This item has proven more difficult to code than expected, partly because news items tend to combine macro- with micro-level, and the manual did not allow for multi-coding of this framing dimension. Furthermore, the keywords used to draw the sample probably created a bias towards either the macro or the micro level. Had key words denoting third sector *organizations* been used (such as "red-cross"), we expect there had been a stronger representation of meso-level mediation. In hindsight it would probably have been more informative to split this item into three, allowing for degrees rather than either/or, e.g. macro-level (1) highly pronounced, (2) moderately pronounced, (9) not pronounced.

As a consequence of the reported coding difficulties, we have avoided drawing conclusions based on this variable.

Step 3: Qualitative Perceptions Analysis

Coders (and/or their country supervisors) were asked to provide essayist reflections on media content related to official policy on third sector activities allowing a deeper framing analysis of their particular national setting. Essays have been based on coders' log books and general impression from data coded. Some ITSSOIN-partners also provided references to research concerning media coverage and public perception studies related to the third sector:

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6.2.Appendix 2: Country-specific key word tables

Table 1. Country-specific key work search on mediated third sector activities 2003-2013

Year / Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
The Czech Republic	2112	1939	1846	1720	1701	1788	1563	1403	2084	1628	1638
Denmark	665	767	805	840	822	680	755	728	1094	1092	1193
France	1356	1559	1622	1604	1501	1638	2511	2213	2080	1991	2182
Germany	597	680	666	750	688	492	532	610	704	1030	703
Italy	552	628	821	1069	1090	912	911	1295	1557	1742	1539
The Netherlands	610	812	900	834	739	627	686	699	770	765	726
Spain	1052	1167	978	1266	1224	1262	1132	738	630	842	975
Sweden	222	236	240	202	211	170	207	203	271	222	248
The United Kingdom	1392	1167	1672	1537	1457	1469	1647	1891	2018	1893	1838
Average	**951**	**995**	**1061**	**1091**	**1048**	**1004**	**1105**	**1087**	**1245**	**1245**	**1227**

Table 2. The Czech Republic, keywords 2003-2013.

Year / Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
občanská společnost (civil society)	686	568	489	435	450	484	481	432	538	512	524
nevládní organizace (associational life)	559	558	606	634	570	642	435	366	482	392	394
neziskový sektor (non profit sector)	659	584	557	467	435	445	342	321	333	295	284
Total 'third sector'	1904	1710	1652	1536	1455	1571	1258	1119	1353	1199	1202
dobrovolnictví (voluntarism)	192	209	164	155	183	153	248	231	649	349	360
sociální inovace (social innovation)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2
aktivismus (civic engagement)	16	20	29	29	63	64	56	53	80	80	74
Grand total	**2112**	**1939**	**1846**	**1720**	**1701**	**1788**	**1563**	**1403**	**2084**	**1628**	**1638**
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											**1554**

Table 3. Denmark, keywords 2003-2013.

Keyword \ Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
civilsamfund (civil society)	116	137	157	182	191	156	180	179	339	335	331
foreningsliv (associational life)	195	248	276	250	263	234	242	260	276	235	294
non profit (non profit sector)	47	79	83	104	102	79	95	100	126	133	144
Total 'third sector'	358	464	516	536	556	469	517	539	741	703	769
frivillighed (voluntarism)	257	238	195	229	185	151	181	142	281	271	256
social innovation (social innovation)	4	2	3	11	5	7	6	5	10	27	9
Borgerind-dragelse (civic engagement)	46	63	91	64	76	53	51	42	62	91	159
Grand total	665	767	805	840	822	680	755	728	1094	1092	1193
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											1157

Table 4. France, keywords 2003-2013.

Keyword \ Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Société civile (civil society)	979	1119	1113	1045	991	809	801	688	1144	1214	1386
Monde associative (associational life)	128	142	173	166	233	227	313	348	640	607	814
Economie sociale et solidaire (non profit sector)	24	45	69	89	78	119	175	201	602	844	941
Total 'third sector'	1131	1306	1355	1300	1302	1155	1289	1237	2386	2665	3141
Bénévolat (voluntarism)	208	310	450	470	435	645	1083	1113	2965	2947	3103
Innovation sociale (social innovation)	13	20	24	23	25	24	43	34	56	93	98
Engagement citoyen (civic engagement)	21	35	40	76	67	69	104	66	198	214	200
Grand total	1373	1671	1869	1869	1829	1893	2519	2450	5605	5919	6542
Grand total corrected for mechanical bias	1356	1559	1622	1604	1501	1638	2511	2213	2080	1991	2182
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											764

Table 5. Germany, keywords 2003-2013.

Year Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Zivilgesellschaft (civil society)	291	330	322	338	361	249	306	319	461	711	461
Vereinsleben (associational life)	150	139	154	196	140	100	99	85	80	184	127
Dritter Sektor (non profit sector)	6	14	4	14	6	7	2	2	3	8	0
Total 'third sector'	447	483	480	548	507	356	407	406	544	903	588
Freiwilligkeit (voluntarism)	147	165	161	173	162	116	110	193	139	102	92
Soziale Innovation (social innovation)	3	4	8	0	9	3	4	3	2	4	4
zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement (civic engagement)	0	28	17	29	10	17	11	8	19	21	19
Grand total	597	680	666	750	688	492	532	610	704	1030	703
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											691

Table 6. Italy, keywords 2003-2013.

Year Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
società civile (civil society)	136	148	298	383	448	319	246	417	520	619	457
associazionismo (associational life)	19	23	33	56	63	44	44	64	78	92	76
non profit (non profit sector)	159	220	186	169	186	196	205	294	306	411	360
Total 'third sector'	314	391	517	608	697	559	495	775	904	1122	893
volontariato (voluntarism)	236	237	304	456	384	350	415	515	639	604	630
innovazione sociale (social innovation)	1	0	0	1	5	1	0	2	8	13	12
partecipazione civile (civic engagement)	1	0	0	4	4	2	1	3	6	3	4
Grand total	552	628	821	1069	1090	912	911	1295	1557	1742	1539
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											1162

Table 7. The Netherlands, keywords 2003-2013.

Year / Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
maatschappelijk middenveld (civil society)	28	28	26	32	42	26	26	45	39	26	27
Verenigingsleven (associational life)	256	375	351	313	253	212	214	251	215	258	235
non-profit (non profit sector)	47	47	61	48	49	31	46	35	38	32	42
Total 'third sector'	331	450	438	393	344	269	286	331	292	316	304
vrijwilligerswerk (voluntarism)	215	273	351	308	270	235	249	279	330	321	288
sociale innovatie (social innovation)	0	4	8	21	13	12	13	7	7	14	13
maatschappelijke betrokkenheid (civic engagement)	64	85	103	112	112	111	138	82	141	114	121
Grand total	610	812	900	834	739	627	686	699	770	765	726
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											621

Table 8. Spain, keywords 2003-2013.

Year / Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
tercer sector (third sector)	9	19	16	13	20	18	36	38	55	77	104
fundaciones (foundations)	68	47	55	275	280	372	296	60	67	110	168
Asociaciones (asociations)	819	945	793	869	795	755	681	528	439	545	583
Total 'third sector'	896	1011	864	1157	1095	1145	1013	626	561	732	855
Voluntariado (voluntarism)	155	155	112	106	109	97	101	70	35	84	84
innovación social (social innovation)	1	1	2	3	20	20	18	42	34	26	36
Grand total	1052	1167	978	1266	1224	1262	1132	738	630	842	975
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											811

Table 9. Sweden, keywords 2003-2013.

Year / Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
civilsamhället (civil society)	6	9	9	10	9	4	21	22	27	27	55
föreningslivet (associational life)	128	137	127	121	137	94	105	100	148	96	89
ideella sektorn (non profit sector)	2	7	6	2	5	7	9	5	11	6	14
Total 'third sector'	136	153	142	133	151	105	135	127	186	129	158
ideellt arbete (voluntarism)	57	62	68	40	34	40	50	45	52	47	41
social innovation (social innovation)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	9	8
Samhällsengage-mang (civic engagement)	29	21	30	29	26	25	22	30	29	37	41
Grand total	222	236	240	202	211	170	207	203	271	222	248
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											216

Table 10. The United Kingdom, keywords 2003-2013 *(the 10 keywords are merged into the 6 predefined ones. See app. 1 on methodology -> D))*

Year / Keyword	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Civil Society (civil society)	128	148	179	183	191	171	202	270	349	318	309
Associational Life (associational life)	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
Voluntary Sector	423	305	408	397	383	339	308	399	452	276	231
Non-Government / NGOs	203	205	339	306	268	348	447	425	398	445	474
Charity sector	51	36	50	60	45	38	66	43	45	34	58
Non-Profit (non profit sector)	199	178	211	200	198	216	197	194	198	229	245
Total 'third sector'	1008	872	1312	1146	1086	1112	1220	1331	1417	1304	1317
Volunteering (voluntarism)	273	232	303	315	322	304	369	505	549	542	460
Social Innovation (social innovation)	2	5	2	8	6	11	16	10	9	5	15
Civic Engagement (civic engagement)	8	10	12	10	5	11	9	19	4	12	14
Community Involvement	101	48	43	58	38	31	33	26	39	30	32
Grand total	1392	1167	1672	1537	1457	1469	1647	1891	2018	1893	1838
2013-data vetted for replica and inordinate items											1487

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